

CIVILNO DRUŠTVO
U JAČANJU SOCIJALNE UKLJUČENOSTI

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Predgovor

Saradnja između Švicarske Agencije za razvoj i saradnju (SDC) i Nezavisnog biroa za humanitarna pitanja (IBHI-BiH) datira od 1999. godine, kada SDC prepoznaje potrebu da partnerskim nevladinim organizacijama, osim finansijske, obezbijedi i podršku kroz edukaciju iz oblasti projektnog menadžmenta i na taj način dodatno doprinese njihovom razvoju.

Ova saradnja se proširuje i učvršćuje implementacijom *Švicarskog programa podrške nevladinim organizacijama u BiH 2004 – 2008* u kojem IBHI BiH ima ulogu izvršne agencije Programa, zadužene, kako za administrativno praćenje projekata partnerskih organizacija tako i za obezbjeđenje stručne podrške partnerskim organizacijama. U okviru Programa, 2005. godine, štampana je prva publikacija na temu socijalnog uključivanja u BiH: *Socijalna uključenost – Pozitivna iskustva Švicarskog Programa podrške nevladinim organizacijama u BiH*, sumirajući iskustva partnerskih organizacija nakon prve dvije godine Programa.

Veliko nam je zadovoljstvo što smo, štampanjem ove druge publikacije: *Civilno društvo u jačanju socijalne uključenosti*, u prilici napraviti dodatni korak u analitičkom promišljanju teme socijalnog uključivanja te uloge koja u ovom procesu pripada organizacijama civilnog društva.

Cijenimo da će pristup temi socijalnog uključivanja iskorišten u izradi ove publikacije, uspjeti čitaocu približiti i evropski kontekst i složenost teme, koja se ogleda u preplitanju pitanja iz oblasti promocije vrijednosti civilnog društva. Publikacija u fokusu ima doprinos organizacija civilnog društva jačanju socijalne uključenosti obezbjeđujući sektorski pristup (sa posebnim osvrtnom na ekonomske, obrazovne, zdravstvene i aspekte socijalnog isključivanja povezane sa socijalnom zaštitom) sa posebnim akcentom na participaciju i partnerstvo različitih aktera, kao i na post-ratne specifičnosti BiH izražene u posebnim formama socijalne isključenosti uzrokovane etničkim migracijama. U Publikaciju je integrisano i poglavlje koje tretira relevantna iskustva iz zemalja regiona.

Analitički pristup u izlaganju obogaćen je obiljem podataka na osnovu istraživanja i studija slučaja. Smatramo da je na ovaj način zadovoljen interes kako donositelja odluka na različitim nivoima vlasti tako i praktičara koji se sa pojedinim aspektima socijalne isključenosti susreću u svakodnevnom radu.

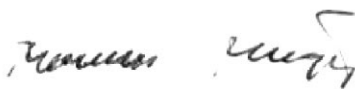
U izradi publikacije je, direktno ili indirektno, učestvovao veliki broj stručnjaka iz raznih oblasti. Koristimo ovu priliku da se zahvalimo svim onim koji, obzirom na prirodu svog učešća, nisu navedeni u listi autora a bez kojih bi ova publikacija bila znatno siromašnija. To se u prvom redu odnosi na predstavnike nevladinih organizacija, članica *Švicarskog Programa podrške nevladinim organizacijama u BiH*, a radi se o 25 organizacija iz čitave BiH, koje su aktivno, od samog početka, učestvovale u iniciranju, profiliranju i promociji Inicijative za uspostavu *Fonda za socijalno uključivanje u BiH*, obezbjeđivale administrativnu, stručnu i svaku drugu pomoć u izradi publikacije. Također, zahvaljujemo se autorima *Lejli Somun-Krupalija* i *Mervanu Mirašiću* čija je ekspertiza, vezana za specifične teme gendera i legislative, dala važan doprinos velikom broju poglavlja ove Publikacije.

Na kraju, izražavam zahvalnost predstavnicima vladinih institucija: općina/opština, kantonalnih, entitetskih i državnih ministarstava koji su našli vremena da dostave podatke o finansijskim izdvajanjima njihovih institucija nevladinom sektoru i tako, po prvi put, omogućili analitičniji pristup u razmatranju ove važne teme.

Nadam se da će Publikacija koja se nalazi pred Vama, dati svoj doprinos približavanju stavova i jačanju partnerstva državnih i javnih institucija, nevladinih i međunarodnih institucija i privatnog sektora te na taj način pokušati dati odgovor na pitanje *kako smanjiti socijalnu isključenost u BiH*.



dr Žarko Papić
IBHI BiH Direktor



Thomas Ruegg
Direktor SDC u BiH

Civilno društvo i socijalno uključivanje – ka razvoju sa ljudskim likom

dr Žarko Papić
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1. Uvod - Šta su civilno društvo i socijalno uključivanje?

1.1. Civilno društvo, ne ulazeći u njegove brojne definicije, je pokušaj da se uz klasičnu parlamentarnu demokraciju i njoj odgovarajuće funkcionisanje vlade i javnih institucija, otvore novi prostori stvarnog uključivanja građana u društvene tokove i odlučivanje o njima. Detaljnije, riječ je o demokratski izabranoj, transparentnoj i odgovornoj vlasti te vladavini prava; slobodi informacija i nezavisnim medijima; udruživanju građana u posebne oblike organiziranja da bi se ostvarili društveni ciljevi što nazivamo NVO-ima, lokalnoj samoupravi, itd. kao cjelini komponenti civilnog društva.

Dakle, civilno društvo je matrica i sinteza više oblika i načina organiziranog djelovanja. Važnija je suština a nju čini građanin koji se udružuje sa drugim građanima i koji u opštem demokratskom ambijentu ima mogućnost da utiče na sopstveni život i društvene tokove.

U BiH se pojam civilnog društva uobičajeno reducira na njegov veoma važan, ali ipak samo dio, na NVO-e. Bez pomenutog opšteg demokratskog ambijenta (transparentna i odgovorna vlast, vladavina prava, jakih nezavisnih medija te jake lokalne samouprave) uticaj građana kroz NVO-e je ne samo veoma ograničen već se, indirektno, razvija kao paralelizam javnim institucijama. Jaz između NVO i vlasti i javnih institucija sada je manji nego krajem devedesetih kada se termin "nevladin" često razumijevao kao "antivladin".

U pretpostavljenim uslovima realnog civilnog društva i Vlast i NVO-i imaju isti cilj, ostvarivanje interesa građana i to je polje njihovog zajedničkog usmjerenja i saradnje.¹

1.2. Preciznih definicija socijalne isključenosti nema baš mnogo.² Općenito, smatra se da biti "isključen" znači biti ostavljen izvan većinskoga te biti uskraćen za socijalna, ekonomska i politička prava koja su osigurana drugima. Striktne definicije i politike namijenjene borbi protiv socijalne isključenosti (odnosno programima socijalne uključenosti) još uvijek više ovise o kontekstu.

"Socijalna isključenost opisuje proces kojim se određene grupe sistematski stavljaju u podređeni i nepovoljan položaj jer ih se diskriminira na osnovu njihove nacionalne pripadnosti, rase, vjerske pripadnosti, seksualne orijentacije, kaste, porijekla, spola, dobi, invaliditeta, zaraženosti HIV virusom, migracijskog statusa ili mjesta prebivališta. Diskriminacija se javlja u javnim institucijama, npr. u pravnom ili obrazovnom i zdravstvenom sistemu, ali i u okvirima društvenih institucija - domaćinstvima npr."³

Nadalje, može se tvrditi i da u kontekstu ekonomije u razvoju ili u tranziciji postojanje socijalne isključenosti:⁴

— uzrokuje siromaštvo specifičnih grupa ljudi čime dovodi do viših stopa siromaštva među najisključenijim grupama;

1 Vidi, u ovoj publikaciji, rad F. Šero, *Uloga civilnog društva u socijalnom uključivanju u BiH*.

2 Vidi UNDP/IBHI BiH, *Izveštaj o humanom razvoju 2007 - Socijalna uključenost u BiH*, Sarajevo, 2007, str. 16. i 17.

3 DFID, *Reducing Poverty by Tackling Social Exclusion - Smanjenje siromaštva rješavanjem pitanja socijalne isključenosti*, septembar, 2005., str. 3.

4 DFID, *ibid*, str. 5.-9.

- umanjuje proizvodne kapacitete i stopu smanjenja siromaštva društva u cjelini;
- otežava postizanje Milenijumskih razvojnih ciljeva (MDG);
- dovodi do sukoba i nesigurnosti.

EU, koja je socijalno uključivanje postavila za okosnicu u izradi svojih politika, isključenost opisuje kao poseban oblik siromaštva koje se mjeri dohotkom. Siromaštvo je rezultat raspodjele, dok je isključenost s tim povezan proces odbijanja sudjelovanja, solidarnosti i pristupa. I doista, za jedne isključenost predstavlja širi pojam koji uključuje i siromaštvo; za druge je ona uzrok ili posljedica siromaštva. Smatramo međutim, da je uzročno-posljedična povezanost obostrana.⁵

Općenito uzevši, može se reći da je socijalna isključenost višedimenzionalna ili socioekonomska; da obuhvaća zajedničke jednako kao i individualne resurse; da je dinamički proces koji prati putanju između pune integracije i višestruke isključenosti; da je odnosna, to jest da podrazumijeva društvenu distanciranost ili izoliranost, odbacivanje, ponižavanje, nedostatak mreže društvene podrške i osporavanje sudjelovanja; u određenom smislu aktivna, odnosno da postoje sile ili agent koji tu isključenost pokreću; te konačno, da je specifična u odnosu na kontekst. Nepoštivanje, diskriminacija i degradiranje u tom smislu djeluju jednako kao i siromaštvo definirano finansijskim ograničenjima i stanje fizičke potrebe. Čak i savremene socijalne države na temelju različitih razloga neke svoje građane mogu staviti u stanje isključenosti.

2. Osnovne "filozofije razvoja"

2.1. Da bi razumjeli stvarne, istorijske mogućnosti civilnog društva i socijalnog uključivanja moramo se osvrnuti na razlike u postojećim konceptima ekonomskog i društvenog razvoja. Jednima su civilno društvo i socijalno uključivanje komplementarni i njihovi su "unutrašnji faktori", drugima nisu, već su tek vrsta make-upa, dodatka koji treba da uljepša sliku "ekonomističnog/tržišnog fundamentalizma".

U tabeli⁶ koja slijedi, pokušavamo, uz rizik pojednostavljivanja, opisati razlike između dva osnovna pristupa filozofiji razvoja.

Humani razvoj	Tradicionalne koncepcije razvoja (neoliberalizam)
Cilj: povećanje ljudskih mogućnosti i sposobnosti - razvoj kao sloboda	Cilj: maksimalno uvećanje ekonomske dobrobiti
Pažnja fokusirana na: ljude, uključujući njihovo udruživanje, civilno društvo i ravnopravnost spolova	Pažnja fokusirana na: tržišta
Vodeći princip: pravednost i pravda	Vodeći princip: ekonomska efikasnost
Težište na: ciljevima	Težište na: sredstvima
Glavni pravac: smanjenje siromaštva i socijalne isključenosti	Glavni pravac: ekonomski rast
Definicija siromaštva: stanovništvo u višestrukoj nestašici	Definicija siromaštva: stanovništvo ispod praga siromaštva
Osnovni indikatori: HDI, GDI, GEM, i procenat HPI	Osnovni indikatori: DBP, rast DBP-a i procenat ispod praga siromaštva

⁵ Silver, H. i Miller, S.M., *Social Exclusion, The European Approach to Social Disadvantage, Indicators, vol.2. no.2 - Socijalna isključenost, evropski pristup socijalnoj zapostavljenosti, Indikatori, tom 2, broj 2, proljeće 2003.*

⁶ Tabela je razvijena imajući u vidu R. Jolly, *Compared Paradigms of Human Development and Neo-Liberalism - Uspoređene paradigme humanog razvoja i neoliberalizma, Readings in Human Development - Tekstovi o humanom razvoju*, UNDP Office for Human Development Reports - Ured za izvještaje o humanom razvoju, New York, Oxford University Press, 2003, str. 109.

2.2. Zadržat ćemo se na "lijevom" (ne samo u tabeli) pristupu:

Pristup humanog razvoja u fokus, odnosno kao svoju osnovu postavlja slobodu ljudskih bića ili bolje rečeno "mogućnost" - pozitivnog izbora i to ne u formalnom smislu, već prije u smislu stvarnog stanja i uvjeta koji ograničavaju slobode čak i u najdemokratskijim društvima.⁷ Tako biti "razvijen" znači imati mogućnost, odnosno biti sposoban na izbor koji omogućuje sticanje određenih osnovnih stanja ljudskih bića - dakle, da budu obrazovani, zdravi, da imaju pravo na izražavanje stajališta, da budu politički aktivni i u mogućnosti da sudjeluju u materijalnom bogatstvu društva itd.

Koncept humanog razvoja temelji se tako na snazi ljudskog potencijala naspram ograničenja koja nameće životna stvarnost. Nedostatak obrazovanja, loša zdravstvena zaštita, neadekvatne ekonomske mogućnosti, kršenje političkih sloboda i zanemarivanje građanskih prava mogu, opšte gledano, ograničiti slobode ljudskih bića.

Perspektiva humanog razvoja sadržava potrebu da se prevaziđu prepreke s kojima se ljudi suočavaju kroz vlastita nastojanja i inicijative. Namjera nije samo unaprijediti život ljudi u smislu blagostanja i slobode nego i pokazati da rezultati koje ljudi postižu mogu radikalno promijeniti i poboljšati način na koji je društvo uređeno. S jedne strane, nastojanja se usmjeravaju na stvaranje jasnije perspektive o tome na koji se način i kako mogu poboljšati životi ljudi, a s druge, na kompletniji uvid o tome kako se kroz jačanje ljudskih postignuća može postići takvo poboljšanje.⁸

"Osnovna svrha humanog razvoja jeste širenje mogućnosti izbora koje ljudi imaju na raspolaganju. Prije svega, važno je napomenuti da su ove mogućnosti izbora nedefinirane te se vremenom mijenjaju. Ljudi veoma često cijene postignuća koja su, opšte uzevši, teško mjerljiva i koja nemaju veze s dohotkom ili ekonomskim rastom, kakvi su npr. bolji pristup obrazovanju, kvalitetnija prehrana i zdravstvene službe, siguran životni prostor, kulturne slobode i osjećaj sudjelovanja u aktivnostima zajednice. Cilj humanog razvoja predstavlja uspostavljanje okruženja u kojem će ljudi moći živjeti zdravim i kreativnim, dugim životom."⁹

Osnovnu razliku između klasične ekonomske filozofije i humanog razvoja predstavlja činjenica da se prva fokusira na razvijanje samo jedne mogućnosti izbora - izbora dohotka - dok ljudski razvoj podrazumijeva unapređivanje i proširivanje svih izbora koje ljudi imaju na raspolaganju bez obzira jesu li oni ekonomske, socijalne, kulturne ili političke prirode. Stoga je moguće tvrditi kako će povećanje dohotka dovesti i do povećanja mogućnosti izbora na drugim planovima. Takav odnos ipak nije automatski.

Glavna dodatna vrijednost elemenata humanoga razvoja je u slijedećem: kao prvo, da nejednakost u distribuciji dohotka "zamagljuje" automatski odnos koji se zamjećuje između rasta dohotka i ekonomskog rasta, i drugo da bi društvo trebalo izgrađivati i razvijati ljudske potencijale kako bi osiguralo jednak pristup mogućnostima koje su ljudima na raspolaganju. Tako na primjer, rast DBP-a, predstavlja značajan instrument za uvećavanje ljudskih potencijala. Pa ipak se procesi proizvodnje ne mogu tretirati u apstraktnom odnosu jer njihovo postojanje zahtijeva ljudski kontekst. Ukratko, i ljudski su potencijali značajno sredstvo za postizanje ekonomskog blagostanja. Treće, paradigma humanog razvoja podrazumijeva ne samo ekonomiju, nego društvo u cjelini. Političkim, kulturnim i socijalnim faktorima se posvećuje jednaka pažnja kao i ekonomskim. Istraživanja o odnosu ekonomskog i neekonomskog okruženja predstavljaju jedan od najvažnijih aspekata unutar pojma humanog razvoja. Četvrto, ljudi su i krajnje ishodište, ali i sredstvo humanog razvoja. Ljudi se ne percipiraju isključivo kao proizvodna sredstva - kroz uvećavanje ljudskog kapitala, nego kao i konačna odrednica na koju je razvoj usmjeren.

Sistem socijalne zaštite, mreže socijalne sigurnosti ili ulaganja u obrazovanje i zdravstvenu zaštitu ne mogu se ujednačiti bez ovakve paradigme humanog razvoja. On podrazumijeva ove aspekte, ali samo kao komponente. Paradigma humanog razvoja podrazumijeva sve aspekte razvoja, od ekonomskog rasta, međunarodne trgovine, budžetskog deficita i fiskalne politike pa sve do štednje, ulaganja, tehnologije osnovnih socijalnih službi i mreža socijalne sigurnosti namijenjenih siromašnima. Ne postoji niti jedan aspekt razvoja koji ne potpada pod ovo područje, ali najvažniju stavku predstavljaju razmjere i priroda izbora i mogućnosti koje ljudi imaju na raspolaganju, te unapređenje ljudskih života. U

7 Analiza humanog razvoja data je na osnovu UNDP/IBHI BiH, ibid, str. 18.-21.

8 Amartya Sen, *Forward - Naprijed, Readings in Human Development - Tekstovi o humanom razvoju*, ibid, str. VII.

9 Mahbub ul Haq, *Human Development Paradigm - Paradigma humanog razvoja*, str. 17., Autor se smatra teorijskim utemeljiteljem koncepta humanog razvoja razrađenog u okviru UNDP-a.

stvari se svi aspekti života - ekonomski, politički i kulturni - sagledavaju iz ove perspektive. Ekonomski rast tako postaje samo jedna od komponenti u paradigmi humanog razvoja.

Paradigma humanog razvoja ukratko naglašava:

- da razvoj u središte svojih ciljeva mora postaviti ljude;
- da je svrha razvoja unapređenje svih mogućnosti i izbora koje ljudi imaju na raspolaganju, a ne samo dohotka;
- paradigma se pored toga odnosi na izgradnju ljudskih potencijala (kroz ulaganje u ljude) i cjelovitim korištenjem tih ljudskih potencijala (kroz izgradnju okvira za razvoj i zapošljavanje);
- temelji se na četiri osnovne postavke; jednakosti, održivosti, produktivnosti i osnaživanju (napomena: ekonomski rast predstavlja značajan element unutar pojma humanog razvoja, ali se u tom smislu naglašava potreba da se pažnja posveti njegovoj jednakosti i raspodjeli);
- svrha analiza humanog razvoja je da ponude praktične opcije kroz koje je moguće postići razvoj.¹⁰

Čini se da se može zaključiti da je koncept humanog razvoja komplementaran, prirodni ambijent za civilno društvo i socijalno uključivanje.

U tom kontekstu, ograničavajući se na NVO-e kao važan aspekt civilnog društva, važno je razmotriti njihovu ulogu u socijalnom uključivanju.

3. Uloga NVO-a u socijalnom uključivanju u BiH

3.1. Razmjer i priroda socijalne isključenosti u BiH analizirana je u NDHR 2007¹¹ u sljedećim kategorijama: post-ratna diskriminacija i etnička podijeljenost, ekonomska nesigurnost i ugroženost, obrazovanje, zdravstvo, socijalna zaštita i građanska participacija. Gender aspekti isključenosti mogu takođe biti ispitani u okviru svih ovih segmenata.

Kako bi se omogućio opšti barometar isključivanja u BiH, istraživači NHDR 2007 su razvili metodologiju za izračunavanje niza od tri indikatora socijalne isključenosti. Ovo se oslanja na pristup korišten u mjerenju promjena u humanom razvoju, ali se specifično odnosi na probleme izolacije od ključnih ekonomskih, političkih i društvenih procesa.

Indeks generalne socijalne isključenosti (HSEI) je baziran na sedam glavnih indikatora koji odražavaju životni standard, zdravlje, obrazovanje, učestvovanje u društvu i pristup uslugama. Indeks pokazuje da je 50.32% stanovništva u BiH socijalno isključeno u barem jednom od ovih oblika. Sa stanovništva uloge NVO-a posebno je značajan aspekt učestvovanja u društvu i sljedeća njegova dva indikatora. Indikator "Nisu glasali na izborima" je 43,6% ispitanika, a "Ne sudjeluju u radu društvenih organizacija" je 90,7% ispitanika. Riječ je dakle o neučestvovanju.

Indeks ekstremne socijalne isključenosti (HSEI-1) je izraženiji oblik HSEI-ija i procijenjen je na 21.85%. Ovo znači da je oko 22% stanovnika u BiH ekstremno isključeno od najosnovnijih procesa i potreba.

Indeks dugoročne socijalne isključenosti (HSEI-2) se razlikuje od ostalih u tome što mjeri dio stanovništva koji ima ograničene izbore za poboljšanje vlastite situacije, što znači da su u riziku od dugoročne socijalne isključenosti. Ovaj indeks pokazuje da je 47% stanovništva u BiH u riziku od dugoročne isključenosti.

3.2. U zadnjem desetljeću prošlog stoljeća socijalna se politika EU počela razvijati na osnovama smanjenja socijalne isključenosti. Početnu je tačku predstavljalo uvođenje pojma "socijalna isključenost" u preambulu Evropske socijalne povelje (1989.) i njene izmjene i dopune (1996.), kada je u nju uvršteno i novo pravo, "pravo na zaštitu od siromaštva i socijalne isključenosti".

Podsjećamo da socijalna isključenost u osnovi znači da ugrožene grupe imaju malo mogućnosti pristupa moći i tijelima zaduženim za odlučivanje te se često osjećaju nemoćnima i u nemogućnosti da na bilo koji način utječu na odluke koje se direktno tiču njihovog svakodnevnog života. Zato i pojam "socijalna" ovdje treba razumjeti kao "društvena".

¹⁰ Mahbub ul Haq, ibid. str. 19.

¹¹ Vidi UNDP/IBHI BiH, ibid, str. 11.-12.

Socijalna uključenost za EU predstavlja proces kojim se osigurava da oni koji su u riziku od siromaštva i socijalne isključenosti dobiju mogućnosti i resurse potrebne kako bi u cijelosti sudjelovali u ekonomskom, društvenom i kulturnom životu, i uživaju životni standard i blagostanje koji se smatraju normalnim u društvu u kojem žive. Njime se osigurava da potpunije sudjeluju u procesu donošenja odluka koje se izravno tiču njihovih života i pristupa temeljnim pravima. Dakle, uključivanje u društvene tokove i odlučivanje uslov je i rješavanja socijalnih problema.

3.3. Polazeći od prethodnog, udruživanje građana u NVO-e u BiH veoma je važan aspekt i poluga socijalnog uključivanja. Tim prije što NVO sektor u BiH ima značajne kapacitete.¹² I zbog toga važno je imati u vidu i glas samih NVO-a.

Okrugli sto "Socijalna uključenost - strateška orijentacija NVO" je organiziran 2. juna 2006. godine na Jahorini. Predstavnici nevladinih organizacija (21 NVO iz BiH, korisnice švicarskog programa podrške za NVO u BiH, SDC/IBHI BiH) na ovoj su konferenciji analizirali potrebu sistematičnog formuliranja iskustava u svakodnevnoj primjeni socijalne uključenosti u strateškim dokumentima, čime se osigurava univerzalna primjena ovog koncepta nezavisno o postojećim, odnosno projektima u tijeku.

Na konferenciji su donesene sljedeće preporuke:

- Teška situacija u domeni socijalne zaštite se može prevazići isključivo kroz zajednička nastojanja svih aktera, a ne pojedinačnim i izoliranim djelovanjem pojedinačnih institucija/organizacija.
- Nevladine organizacije i javne institucije, kao ključni akteri u području socijalne zaštite na lokalnom nivou, imaju kapacitete koji se međusobno nadopunjavaju i čijim korištenjem mogu promovirati načelo socijalne uključenosti ugroženih grupa i pojedinaca te podići svijest u široj zajednici o aktivnom sudjelovanju u borbi protiv socijalne isključenosti.¹³
- Imajući u vidu navedeno, od ključne je važnosti saradnja i koordinacija nevladinih organizacija i javnih institucija.
- Značaj usmjerenosti djelovanja na načela socijalne uključenosti dodatne temelje ima i u zahtjevima Evropske unije, kako je to definirano njenom Bijelom knjigom. Nevladine organizacije moraju preuzeti aktivniju ulogu u profiliranju lokalnih politika kako bi se zakonodavstvo i društvena praksa u BiH uskladile sa zahtjevima EU.
- Značaj sudjelovanja NVO u promoviranju socijalne uključenosti dodatno podcrtava i njihova šira orijentacija, odnosno činjenica da njihova djelatnost nije usmjerena samo na osobe u stanju socijalne potrebe, nego i širim društvenim snagama. Dvije su osnovne prednosti ovakvog pristupa: (1) za razliku od drugih aktera, NVO mogu podići svijest o potrebama socijalno zapostavljenih grupa i pojedinaca među različitim slojevima u zajednici i to kroz javne kampanje, poticanje volonterstva, itd.; (2) NVO mogu artikulirati mogućnosti isključenih grupa u smislu samopomoći.
- NVO moraju imati na umu uzajamne iako ne i identične aspekte međusobne zavisnosti socijalne isključenosti i siromaštva. Iako aktivnosti koje za cilj imaju smanjenje socijalne isključenosti koja rezultira iz siromaštva predstavljaju važan element rada NVO, jednako je važno djelovati po pitanju onih elemenata isključenosti koji ne samo da su posljedice, nego su i uzročnici siromaštva.

Potrebno je napomenuti da je prva publikacija o pitanju socijalne isključenosti u BiH bila "Social Exclusion-Positive Experiences of the Swiss Programme of Support for Nongovernmental Organisations in BiH" - "Socijalna isključenost - pozitivna iskustva švicarskog Programa podrške nevladinim organizacijama u BiH", SDC/IBHI BiH, Sarajevo, januar 2006.¹⁴

3.4. Politike socijalnog uključivanja u BiH, zbog veličine problema isključenosti i značaja tih politika za EU integracije, postaju veoma važne i aktuelne.

12 O veličini, socijalnom i ekonomskom značaju NVO sektora u BiH vidi, u ovoj publikaciji rad, Ranka Ninkovic-Papić, *Civilno društvo - od participacije do partnerstva i socijalnog uključivanja*.

13 Vidi, u ovoj publikaciji, rad M. Čuk, *Socijalna zaštita i socijalna isključenost - Razvoj integralne socijalne zaštite u BiH*.

14 Vidi UNDP/IBHI BiH, *ibid*, str. 138.

Veoma je važno razumjeti da cilj tih politika, jačanje socijalnog uključivanja, određuje i njihov karakter, način formiranja politika i njihovu implementaciju.

Politike socijalnog uključivanja moraju biti uključujuće.

Uključujuće politike znače uključivanje, kroz razne oblike partnerstva, svih aktera u formiranju i implementaciji, dakle:

- isključenih grupa
- svih nivoa vlasti i pružatelja usluga iz javnog sektora
- socijalnih partnera
- organizacija civilnog društva, NVO i
- svih građana.

Dakle, treba razviti strukture i njihovu koordinaciju za uključujuće politike, organizirati učešće i partnerstvo svih.¹⁵

3.5. Koordinaciono tijelo za ekonomski razvoj i EU integracije BiH odlučilo je da se pristupi izradi Razvojne strategije BiH 2008–2013 i Strategije socijalnog uključivanja. Koordinaciju pripreme tih dokumenata uz puno učešće eksperata i Vijeća Ministara BiH vršit će Direkcija za ekonomsko planiranje VM (DEP).

Imajući u vidu značaj uloge NVO-a u socijalnom uključivanju, formiranje Fonda za socijalno uključivanje,¹⁶ kojim bi se podržale aktivnosti NVO-a u pripremi i implementaciji Strategije socijalnog uključivanja BiH, od suštinskog je značaja za jačanje socijalnog uključivanja i razvoj BiH kao civilnog društva.

¹⁵ Začetak tih struktura razvijen je kroz niz posebnih projekata: DFID Projekat "Reformisanje sistema i struktura režima centralne i lokalne socijalne politike u Bosni i Hercegovini", UNICEF Projekti "Promoviranje reforme sistema dječije zaštite na centralnom i lokalnom nivou" i "Podrška reformi sistema dječije zaštite", a svoj najizraženiji oblik ima u Savjetodavnim grupama za socijalnu politiku (SPAG-ovima) formiranim 2007. na iskustvima prethodno pomenutih projekata u DFID Projektu "Podrška razvoju politika za smanjenje siromaštva" (DEP/LSE Konzorcij). Šeme tih struktura vidi u ovoj publikaciji u radu Ranke Ninkovic-Papić *Civilno društvo - od participacije do partnerstva i socijalnog uključivanja*.

¹⁶ Vidi, u ovoj publikaciji, rad D. Vuković, *Od projekta do sistemskih promjena: država i nevladin sektor u reformi socijalne zaštite i uloga Fonda za socijalne inovacije*.

Studija slučaja

Evropska Unija i socijalno uključivanje

dr Žarko Papić
IBHI BiH

1. EU zajednički ciljevi strategije socijalnog uključivanja su:

- Promoviranje sudjelovanja u zapošljavanju i pristupa svim robama, uslugama, resursima i pravima
- Sprječavanje socijalne isključenosti
- Podrška najugroženijim
- Mobiliziranje svih relevantnih tijela

2. EU zajednička Strategija socijalnog uključivanja ostvaruje se Otvorenim metodom koordinacije (OMK) čiji su ključni elementi:

- zajednički ciljevi
- akcioni planovi o socijalnom uključivanju zemalja članica (NAP inkluzija), zajednički memorandum o uključenosti (JIM) za države kandidate u predpristupnom periodu
- zajednički izvještaji o socijalnom uključivanju
- zajednički dogovoreni indikatori socijalne isključenosti (Laeken indikatori)
- razmjena stečenih iskustava

3. Državni akcioni plan za socijalno uključivanje (NAP / Inkluzija) sadrži (primjer: NAP Slovenije, 2004-2006):

- Glavni trendovi i izazovi
- Strategija, glavni ciljevi i ciljane grupe
- Olakšavanje učestvovanja u zapošljavanju (ciljevi i mjere)
- Olakšavanje pristupa resursima, pravima, robama i uslugama (ciljevi i mjere)
- Sprječavanje rizika isključenosti (ciljevi i mjere)
- Pomoć najugroženijima (ciljevi i mjere)
- Institucionalni okvir
- Primjeri dobre prakse

4. Zajednički Memorandum o uključenosti (JIM) je:

- Dokument koji zajednički pripremaju Evropska komisija i države kandidati/pristupnice
- Dokument s opštim pregledom glavnih izazova, te aktuelnih ili predviđenih rješenja kreiranih politika za pitanja borbe protiv siromaštva i socijalne isključenosti

5. Svrha JIM-a je:

- Priprema kandidata za učešće u otvorenom metodu koordinacije (OMK) nakon pristupanja EU

- Osiguravanje sredstava za države kandidate/pristupnice
- Ugrađivanje socijalnih ciljeva EU u politike zemalja kandidata
- Omogućavanje procesa zajedničkog učenja

6. To je proces koji će pomoći da se:

- Izgrade kapaciteti i pokrenu svi akteri
- Odredi srazmjer aktivnosti, te identificiraju osnovni problemi
- Razvije statistika i promoviraju indikatori
- Ocjeni koji su to ključni izazovi
- Poveća svjesnost o zajedničkim ciljevima
- Razvije integrirajuća strategija u zemlji
- Ocjeni relevantnost postojećih politika
- Identificiraju prioritete u politikama koji će poboljšati procese socijalne uključenosti

JIM, zapravo predstavlja Strategiju socijalne uključenosti koji zajednički dogovore EC i država pristupnica.

Opšti okvir za JIM je (primjer: JIM Hrvatske, 5. mart, 2007):

1. Privreda i tržište rada
2. Socijalna situacija
3. Ključni izazovi
4. Prijedlozi mjera
5. Promoviranje jednakosti polova u borbi protiv socijalne isključenosti
6. Statistički sistemi i indikatori za praćenje siromaštva i socijalne isključenosti
7. Projekti socijalnog uključivanja podržani kroz predpristupne fondove
8. Zaključci

Uloga civilnog društva u socijalnom uključivanju u BiH

mr Fadil Šero

Centar za promociju civilnog društva

Uvod

Kako sam, već jedan duži period vremena, profesionalno angažovan u jednoj od, kako se to voli reći, mnogo-brojnih organizacija civilnog društva, uvijek sam se pitao kako organizacije ili pojedini istraživači koje se bave razvojem demokratije i civilnog društva u Bosni i Hercegovini ne postavljaju pitanje koji to razlozi dovode do pojave "velikog" broja nevladinih organizacija u našoj zemlji i pokušaju odgovoriti na njega. Kada se nekolicina nas okupila oko ideje da formiramo *Centar za promociju civilnog društva* mi smo se rukovodili *ekonomskim, socijalnim i političkim razlozima*. Vjerujem da bi istraživanje razloga ekspanzije nevladinog sektora u BiH opravdalo ista ili slična razmišljanja u 90% slučajeva. *Ekonomski faktor* je nešto što se zove nedostatak posla, tržišta ili konkurencije u nekim specifičnim područjima gdje smo vidjeli mogućnosti našeg djelovanja. Mi smo vjerovali da postoji mogućnost da ćemo u zadovoljenju ovih specifičnih potreba obezbjediti kvalitetniju i jeftiniju uslugu za koju privatni i javni sektor, u to vrijeme, nije imao interesa. Naša unutrašnja struktura i podrška donatora nam je omogućavala mnogo fleksibilnije i lakše donošenje odluka u pogledu konkretne situacije ili problema sa kojima smo se suočavali. U isto vrijeme stvarali smo realnu osnovu za vlastiti profesionalni angažman koji je mogao biti plaćen. Takođe, na vlastitom iskustvu, zaključili smo da stojimo u indirektnoj funkciji profitnog sektora.¹ *Socijalni faktor* je jedan od značajnih motivacijskih elemenata koji je opredjeljivao, u to vrijeme, veliki broj ljudi da se angažuju u tom području. Nije potrebno posebno argumentirati takve razloge 1996. godine ali su oni veoma indikativni ako nas još uvijek motiviraju na isti način kao i tada. *Politički faktori* su nas zaokupljali zbog pluralizma i potrebe izgradnje tolerancije koji su, tako nam je tada izgledalo, međusobno uslovljeni. Tada smo vjerovali da će nam to omogućiti da izrazimo različiti interes od preovlađujućih stavova (orijentacija) nacionalnih elita političkih stranaka.

Deset godina poslije sve više postajemo frustrirani trendovima u kojima učestvujemo i rezultatima koje postižemo. Međutim, pokušaću preko nekoliko pokazatelja dati pregled učinaka za koje vjerujemo da su ostavili dubok trag za budući izbor orijentacija u svakom od ovih područja. Izbor u angažmanu organizacija civilnog društva opredjeljivaće društvene trendove u budućnosti naše zemlje. U prvom redu riječ je o povjerenju građana koje imaju u nevladin sektor, vladu i iskazanu spremnost građana za angažman na "novim osnovama".

Istraživanje² pokazuje da su *etničke "manjine" konstitutivnih naroda³, siromašni i žene* najmarginalizovane društvene grupe u Bosni i Hercegovini. Isti stav iznijeli su građani (1200 ispitanika) i lideri nevladinih organizacija. Međutim, lideri nevladinih organizacija su istakli da su ove grupe najmanje zastupljene i u samom nevladinom sektoru. Dakle, riječ je o dvostrukoj isključenosti, ne samo što su isključeni u društvu već i u organizacijama civilnog društva posredstvom kojih bi trebali lobirati za promjenu vlastitog položaja. U suštini ova podvojenost mnogo govori o organizacijama civilnog društva ako imamo u vidu da su, u bar dva slučaja, najčešće u pitanju iste osobe. Pitanje siromašnih i etničkih

1 Izdavali smo mjesečni stručni časopis "Pravni savjetnik" i održavali serije seminara iz oblasti za koje je direktno bio zainteresiran profitni sektor.

2 "Istraživanje nivoa razvijenosti civilnog društva u BiH" deset godina poslije, koje je obavio Centar za promociju civilnog društva uz finansijsku podršku Fonda otvoreno društvo BiH – SOROS (Rezultati će biti javno publikovani krajem novembra 2007. godine).

3 Srbi u Federaciji BiH a Hrvati i Bošnjaci u Republici Srpskoj.

skupina, između ostalog, ulazi u sferu ljudskih prava o čemu smo najčešće skloni govoriti na apstraktan način. Vrlo rijetki su primjeri kritike sistema ili njegovih nosilaca koji "proizvodi" isključenje i diskriminaciju. Sve tri društvene grupe moramo, kada je riječ o angažmanu organizacija civilnog društva, propitati i sa stanovišta odnosa: građani – organizacije civilnog društva – vlada.

Odnosi između, građana, organizacija civilnog društva i vlade

Isključivanje navedenih društvenih grupa samo je vrh ledenog brijega odnosa vlasti i građana u BiH. Pokidane veze nastale tokom rata nikada nisu ni uspostavljene niti postoji ozbiljan nagovještaj kada će ovi odnosi biti uspostavljeni. Građani su potpuno isključeni i nemaju uticaja na društvene tokove. Pitanje kvaliteta života snažno je potisnuto izvan horizonta egzistencijalne svakodnevnice "običnih ljudi". Oni su postali zatočenici vladajućih nacionalnih elita koje sve manje imaju razumijevanja za probleme koji pogađaju najveći broj ljudi. Međutim, postoje neki "tihi" društveni procesi čije rezultate možemo pratiti posredstvom različitih istraživanja koje treba uzeti u obzir prilikom planiranja budućih akcija organizacija civilnog društva. Pomenuto istraživanje pokazuje sve manje povjerenja građana za uključivanje u organizovane oblike djelovanja (političke stranke, sindikate, nevladine organizacije, itd.). S aspekta povjerenja građana, na prvom mjestu je povjerenje u vjerske zajednice, a na drugom, u nevladine organizacije. Iako građani sami kažu da vrlo malo znaju o radu nevladinih organizacija oni imaju veliko povjerenje u njihov rad. Oko 82,9% građana nije član bilo koje organizacije, dok nešto manje od jedne petine ili njih 17,1% smatra se članom neke organizacije. U pogledu tipa i područja rada organizacija u koje su uključeni najmanji interes, ili gotovo zanemarljiv, vlada za *organizacije manjinskih etničkih grupa i ženske organizacije*. Ovaj stav u potpunosti korespondira sa stavovima lidera civilnog društva, po kojim su manjinske etničke grupe, siromašni i žene najmanje zastupljeni u članstvu organizacija civilnog društva. Prema veličini udjela građana koji su bili članovi ili su sada uključen u članstvo neke organizacije, prednjače političke stranke (14,4% članova plaćaju članarinu), slijede sindikati sa 11,2%, te sportska udruženja.

Nešto manje od jedne desetine građana BiH (9,2%) smatra se aktivnim članom neke organizacije, pri čemu su 5,4% građana aktivni volonteri i učestvuju u pružanju nenovčane podrške kroz konkretne aktivnosti u organizaciji. U pogledu članstva, od socio-demografskih obilježja značajne razlike utvrđene su samo s obzirom na dob i stepen obrazovanja, pri čemu je članstvo i učestvovanje značajno više u kategoriji građana srednje dobi, i udio članstva povećava se s porastom stepena obrazovanja. Siromašni članovi zajednice uglavnom su isključeni. Možemo zaključiti da ovi podaci ukazuju na nedovoljnu informisanost o postojećim organizacijama, nedostatku vremena, nepoznavanju ljudi uključenih u rad organizacija te da postojećim organizacijama ne vjeruju u dovoljnoj mjeri ili takva organizacije za njih ne postoje.

Aktivno učešće u članstvu organizacija civilnog društva je problem i često je limitirano, prema stavovima stručnjaka, strukturom organizacije koju čine vođa te dvoje-troje njegovih sljedbenika ili prijatelja iz školskih dana. Ove činjenice su prepoznate u javnosti i često limitiraju organizacije civilnog društva u ostvarivanju njihovih misija. Volonterski rad je jedna od ključnih dimenzija sposobnosti organizacije civilnog društva da okupi i uključi ljude u konkretne akcije za dobrobit zajednice. Najveći broj aktivnih članova koji se okupljaju oko organizacija civilnog društva volonterski je angažirano u različitim oblicima socijalne pomoći ili statusnih pitanja svojih članova. Međutim, na pitanje *Koliko ste aktivni u pružanju neke/ikakve vrste podrške članovima zajednice (izvan porodice) ali tako da to ne radite preko neke organizacije (npr. pomoć starijima, obuka studenata, doniranje polovne odjeće i sl), i da niste plaćeni za to?* oko polovine anketiranih građana (52,25%) je odgovorilo pozitivno. Njih 42,57% to nije činilo. Postoji značajna statistička razlika po ovom pitanju u odnosu na spol ispitanika. Žene su znatno više uključene u pružanje podrške zajednici a da nisu plaćene za to (57,7%), u odnosu na muškarce.

Postoji evidentna razlika između individualnog angažmana i angažmana kroz neku od postojećih organizacija. Građani su više angažovani kroz neformalne oblike uključivanja ili akcije koje poduzimaju samoinicijativno, u lokalnim zajednicama ili najbližem okruženju. Ovo je jedan od pokazatelja da organizovani oblici djelovanja ne pružaju dovoljno prihvatljiv okvir građanima da posredstvom njih zadovolje ili ispune svoju potrebu za pružanje usluga drugima u zajednici. Stavovi lidera organizacija civilnog društva ili političkih stranaka o malom ili gotovo nikakvom interesu građana za

angažman u lokalnim zajednicama nisu vjerodostojni. Problem je u tome što građani nemaju povjerenje ili im organizovani oblici ne pružaju dovoljno dobar okvir za zadovoljenje njihovih interesa.

Davanje u humanitarne i druge svrhe predstavljaju najčešći vid dobrovoljne podrške. U posljednje vrijeme davanje u humanitarne svrhe povećano je zahvaljujući novim "tehnologijama" davanja putem telefonskih poziva. Ovaj oblik angažmana pokazuje visok nivo povjerenja u sazivače ovih akcija što može biti osnovom izgradnje novih oblika solidarnosti i osjećaja za *opće dobro*. Ovo može biti inspiracija organizacijama koje žele da uvede nove oblike komunikacije sa građanima i podignu svoj ugled i povjerenje. Nešto više žena nego muškaraca daje u humanitarne svrhe. Rezultati do kojih smo došli govore nam o potrebi preispitivanja dosadašnjeg načina rada i traganje za novim pristupom u razvoju kulture davanja u BiH. S obzirom da je oko 52% građana učestvovalo u nekoj vrsti humanitarnog rada a od toga 15% doniralo je novac, možemo zaključiti da postoji značajno velika razlika između volonterskog angažmana i darivanja novca kroz organizaciju i izvan organizacije. Postoji mogućnost da građani nemaju dovoljno povjerenja u postojeće organizacije koje su posvećene ovim aktivnostima ili nisu u dovoljnoj mjeri upoznati sa mogućnostima volonterskog angažmana u slobodnom vremenu ili u dobrovoljnom darivanju novca. Najveća ograničenja koja su karakteristična za organizacije koje uključuju dobrovoljni rad i doniranje novca vezana su za nedostatak informacija darovateljima u kojoj je mjeri njihov novac donio koristi onome kome je namijenjen.

"Građanski aktivizam" u zajednici jedan je od najboljih indikatora spremnosti građana za uključivanje u zajedničke akcije na rješavanju konkretnih i zajedničkih problema. Mnoge ocjene o nespremnosti građana da se uključe u određene aktivnosti posebno, na lokalnom nivou, ostaju neutemeljene. Učešće na sastancima političkih stranaka ili akcija koje su inicirane od njihove strane nisu mjerilo interesovanja građana za učešće u aktivnostima zajednice. Sadržaj akcija je bitno mjerilo za uključivanje: ukoliko one pogađaju direktno u sam interes građana njihovo učešće i interes je daleko veći. Građani su spremni i uključuju se u konkretne akcije ali nisu spremni da se uključuju u isprazne političke debate koje nemaju konkretne rezultate. Postoji značajna statistička razlika, ispitanici sa sela pozitivno su odgovorili na ovo pitanje u znatno više slučajeva. Građani u ruralnim područjima više su skloni da se oslanjaju jedni na druge u pokretanju lokalnih akcija na rješavanju problema u zajednici dok su građani u urbanim područjima skloni da se više oslanjaju na lokalnu vlast i budžetska sredstva za rješavanje problema zajednice.

Dva odvojena "svijeta": Vlast i građani

U posljednje dvije godine u kojima je došlo do osjetnog povećanja sredstava u budžetima javnih institucija, vlade u našoj zemlji bile su pozvane da u okviru svoje uloge i svojih nadležnosti obezbijede veća finansijska sredstva za socijalne programe. Mnoge organizacije civilnog društva angažovane u području pružanju socijalnih usluga ili suzbijanju siromaštva vidjele su velike mogućnosti da nastave svoje napore kroz partnerstvo sa vladama. Međutim, to je imalo razorne posljedice jer je rad ovih organizacija obezvrijeđen i podcijenjen od strane vlada i njihov dugogodišnji angažman u ovoj oblasti nije prepoznat izvan granica njihovih lokalnih zajednica. Ove poslove preuzele su vladine institucije koje su ovlaštene za te poslove ali ne i dovoljno involvirane u zajednicama. Ključni razlog toga odnosa leži u činjenici da se vlade ne žele odreći ove vrste moći kao načina kupovine stranačkog povjerenja kod najsitimašnjih članova zajednice. Sistem socijalne zaštite i podrške najsitimašnjim nije uzdignut do nivoa obaveze države i društva već ostaje izraz dobre volje i sposobnosti trenutnih političkih elita koje nastoje, u državnim institucijama, biti kompenzacija za izgubljeno očinstvo ili brigu države i društva ili najbližeg okruženja. Značajan dio društvene patologije uzrokovan hroničnim nedostatkom posla vješto se preusmjerava na odgovornost države dok političke elite ostaju izvan odgovornosti za nastale posljedice jer najveći broj ljudi nastoje svoje probleme rješavati posredstvom njih. U budućnosti, odgovorni politički lideri morati će se suočiti sa sljedećom potrebom: smanjivati i pojednostavljivati prekomjernu pravnu i administrativnu legislativu kako bi se država učinila efikasnom u pružanju socijalnih usluga građanima, prepuštajući dio poslova organizacijama civilnog društva, uz promociju i jačanje uloge onih političkih lidera koji će afirmisati najviše moralne standarde javnog i privatnog ponašanja. U jednom dužem periodu vremena prije rata, posao u sektoru javnih službi koje su se bavile problemima siromašnih, bila je jedna od najplemenitijih profesija. Nakon rata do danas javni službenici u sektoru pružanja socijalnih

usluga moraće se suočiti sa problemima kriminala, zloupotrebe i korupcije kako bi preuzeli brigu o siromašnoj i isključenoj populaciji, i obezbijedili jednake mogućnosti za sve – postavljanje ovih zadataka ne ulazi samo u sferu obaveze države već i njihovog ličnog angažmana. Mnogi građani u našoj zemlji su skloni da pojedine službenike sektora javnih službi poistovjećuju sa cijelim institucijama, smatrajući ih odgovornom i prozvanim. Upravo je to razlog što građani, zbog nedostatka povjerenja u institucije, nastoje svoje probleme rješavati izvan postojećeg sistema ili oni koji žele pružiti tu pomoć ne pružaju je posredstvom postojećih organizacija. Građani jednostavno počinju graditi "svoj svijet života" neovisno od institucija i preovlađujućih akcija koje te institucije realiziraju. Vrhunac "uspjeha" ovih institucija i ljudi u njima je nedostatak interesa građana o tome šta te institucije rade i u čije ime to sve rade.

Rast povjerenja u organizacije civilnog društva

U posljednjih deset godina, političke elite u našoj zemlji horski su radile na devalvaciji značenja i uloge organizacija civilnog društva kao tzv. "plaćeničkih struktura". Rezultati istraživanja sugerisu da je došlo do promjene u percepciji organizacija civilnog društva u očima građana. Trebalo je proći deset godina da i samo civilno društvo u Bosni i Hercegovini ostvari izuzetno veliki napredak u stvaranju kapaciteta i direktno izvrši snažan i organizovan pritisak na vlast. Od potpuno neorganizovane i marginalne grupe zagovornika civilnog društva do mreže od više stotina uvezanih organizacija civilnog društva koje su uspjele izgraditi zajednički stav kroz *"Građansku platformu za izbore 2006. godine"* i dobiti podršku 506.000 stanovnika u ključnim socijalnim pitanjima prošlo je svega deset godina. Organizacije civilnog društva - obzirom na ukupno političko stanje u zemlji, političku snagu ne-demokratskih političkih stranaka, velikim uticajem grupa proisteklih iz rata i grupa koje zastupaju "nacionalne interese", postigle su snažan utjecaj u svijesti građana naše zemlje i zadobile njihovo povjerenje. Međutim, i pored toga što je civilno društvo uspjelo potpisati *Sporazum o saradnji sa Vijećem ministara BiH* i što je u velikom broju općina potpisan sporazum o saradnji lokalnih vlasti i lokalnih nevladinih organizacija, od kojih neke poduzimaju napore da uspostave kapacitete koji će omogućiti sistemski pristup procesu planiranja, kreiranja i implementacije javnih politika, efikasnost civilnog društva u uticanju na javnu politiku je veoma ograničenog dometa, bez konkretnih i u stvarnom životu vidljivih rezultata čak i u socio-ekonomskim oblastima koje su zastupljene u GROZD-ovoj *"Građanskoj platformi za izbore 2006. godine"*. Razlog nepostojanja vidljivih rezultata nije samo u činjenici da je potrebno da prođe određeno vrijeme od momenta planiranja do evaluacije javne politike, već u činjenici da su snage koje sputavaju učešće civilnog društva takođe napredovale u stvaranju okruženja koje sputava učešće civilnog društva u uticanju na javnu politiku. Ove snage su izrasle do takvog nivoa da su ozbiljno ugrozile kompletnu političku stabilnost i dovele u pitanje funkcionisanje demokratije u Bosni i Hercegovini uopšte.

Umjesto zaključka:

- Isključene i marginalne društvene grupe u našoj zemlji su: *etničke "manjine" konstitutivnih naroda, siromašni i žene*, kako u društvu tako i u organizacijama civilnog društva;
- Vlast ne uspijeva uspostaviti komunikaciju sa građanima ali ni građani nemaju snage i utjecaja da svoje egzistencijalne probleme nametnu kao ključna pitanja političkih platformi;
- Trebalo je proći deset godina da organizacije civilnog društva u Bosni i Hercegovini ostvare značajan napredak u izgradnji vlastitih kapaciteta, da kroz pokret GROZD izvrše snažan i organizovan pritisak na vlast;
- Iako su vladajuće političke elite vršile difamaciju organizacija civilnog društva na javnoj sceni, one su na drugom mjestu po povjerenju građana;
- Građani su veoma malo informisani o radu nevladinih organizacija;
- Iako postoji značajna razlika u interesu građana za akcije u zajednici između ruralnih i urbanih područja, teritorijalna distribucija organizacija ide u prilog urbanim područjima;
- Građani više djeluju kroz samoinicijativne nego kroz organizovane oblike - političke stranke, sindikate ili nevladine organizacije;

- Organizacije civilnog društva nemaju razvijenu infrastrukturu znanje i sposobnost za prihvatanje većeg broja članova i volontera i njihovo aktivno uključivanje u svoje projekte i programe rada;
- Još uvijek ne postoji veliki interes u potrebi diferencije između organizacija koje pružaju usluge i organizacija koje se bave kampanjama ili nekim drugim promotivnim aktivnostima;
- Vijeće ministara BiH je na javnoj sceni priznalo organizacije civilnog društva i potpisalo *"Sporazum o saradnji između Vijeća ministara i nevladinog sektora u BiH"*.

Šta možemo uraditi?

1. Izgradnja svijesti o pripadnosti sektoru

Lideri organizacija civilnog društva prilično su zabrinuti zbog trenda relativnog smanjenja iznosa donatorskih sredstava za nevladin sektor iz inostranih izvora, i sve većim stepenom njegove finansijske ovisnosti od domaćih izvora kao i nedovoljnog razumjevanja i svijesti najšire javnosti o značaju i ulozi nevladinog sektora u zaštiti individualnih prava i sloboda i promociji građanskog angažmana u društvu. Rast zabrinutosti ne korespondira sa rastom interesa za sektorsko posmatranje ovog problema već se svi nastoje prilagoditi nadolazećim trendovima i snalaziti u okviru vlastitih sposobnosti. Nedostatak svijesti o potrebi zajedničkog angažmana ostaje izvan dosega interesa lidera u organizacijama civilnog društva. Tako za sektor ostaje otvoreno pitanje:

- zaštita urušavanja lokalnih organizacija civilnog društva koje počivaju na malim iznosima i velikim volonterskim angažmanom članova ovih organizacija, promociji darivanja u dobrotvorne svrhe koje građani naše zemlje daju izvan organizacija i ohrabrivanje građanskih inicijativa u zajednicama;
- podizanje svijesti o razumijevanju javnosti o mjestu i ulozi, značaju i doprinosu nevladinog sektora u našem društvu;
- sagledavanje i analiza nekih od najznačajnijih društvenih pitanja i problema, kao što je pitanje socijalne pravde, zajedničkih standarda u pružanju usluga građanima, porezne politike za nevladin sektor i značaja volonterskog rada, kao i pitanje odnosa nevladinog sektora prema druga dva sektora u društvu: vladi i biznisu.

Ovo nisu pitanja koja ulaze u red projektnog pristupa već je za njih potreban snažan i sinhronizovan glas organizacija civilnog društva. Iz tih razloga, veoma je bitno da u narednom periodu izgradimo snažan osjećaj pripadnosti sektoru i da zajednički pokušamo rješavati ova pitanja. *Odbor za civilno društvo*, koji je nedavno formiran, mogao bi preuzeti ovu, za civilno društvo veoma važnu, ulogu u danima ispred nas.

2. Izgradnja institucija neophodnih za saradnju nevladinog sektora i vlade

Potpisivanjem "Sporazuma o saradnji između Vijeća ministara BiH i nevladinog sektora u BiH" stvorene su pretpostavke da se otvori jedan novi pristup u izgradnji odnosa i saradnje između vlade i nevladinog sektora u našoj zemlji. To je ujedno šansa da se na organiziran način, zajednički pristupi izgradnji institucija koje su neophodne za razvoj civilnog društva u našoj zemlji. U prvom redu riječ je formiranju *Odbora za civilno društvo* u kojem bi bili "predstavljani svi sektori organizacija civilnog društva u našoj zemlji i *Savjeta za civilno društvo Vijeća ministara BiH*. U isto vrijeme Vijeće ministara BiH bi trebalo u najskorije vrijeme pristupiti formiranju i početku rada Ureda za saradnju sa nevladinim organizacijama. Izgradnjom ovih institucija vlada bi pokazala minimum odgovornosti za razvoj civilnog društva u našoj zemlji i novi pristup odnosima i saradnji sa organizacijama civilnog društva. Na ovaj način mi ćemo biti u mogućnosti da razvijamo najdirektniju komunikaciju i saradnju kao i rješavamo nagomilane probleme, kako od interesa za organizacije koje pružaju usluge građanima, tako i organizacije koje sve više imaju interesa da učestvuju u kreiranju javnih politika u našoj zemlji. Ovo nije projektno pitanje ove ili one organizacije koja bi trebala imati ekskluzivitet u komunikaciji već jednako i na isti način pristup svih pod jednakim uslovima.

Takođe treba istaći da je neophodno da domaće organizacije civilnog društva, u saradnju sa vladom, ozbiljno pristupe preispitivanju svoga odnosa i komunikacija sa međunarodnim organizacijama civilnog društva koje su angažovane u našoj zemlji, kao što je UNDP, OSCE, Evropska komisija i dr. Zašto je ovo neophodno? Najveći broj državnih institucija je

spreman da bez komentara prihvata različite prijedloge partnerstva i usluga ovih organizacija dok je u isto vrijeme njihov odnos prema domaćim organizacijama sveden na minimum. Nije samo u pitanju novac koji donose međunarodne organizacije već i nedostatak spremnosti vladinih institucija da se, u toj saradnji, sve više oslanjaju na domaće organizacije. Ima se dojam nedostatka svijesti o "vlasništvu" nad rezultatima koji postižu, kako domaće tako i međunarodne organizacije. Jednostavno, vladine institucije i ljudi u njima sve ovo shvataju kao svojevrsan "pritisak" i "uzurpaciju" njihovog prava da, kada su osvojile vlast, tokom mandata mogu raditi šta žele. Njima nije jasno da niko nije toliko i bezprizivno pozvan i sposoban da samostalno i bez učešća građana radi šta želi tokom izbornog mandata.

3. Izrada Strategije za stvaranje poticajnog okruženja za razvoj civilnog društva u BiH

Drugi korak uspostavljanja saradnje između vlade i nevladinog sektora kroz izgradnju institucija je donošenje *"Strategije za stvaranje poticajnog okruženja za razvoj civilnog društva u BiH"*. Ovo bi bio dokument na kojem bi zajednički radile ove institucije i organizacije civilnog društva sa Vijećem ministara BiH i koju bi, nakon rasprave, usvojilo Vijeće ministara BiH kao svoj dokument. To bi stvorilo pretpostavku da se na godišnjoj bazi donose programi rada koji su usmjereni na realizaciju ciljeva postavljenih u Strategiji. Mi bi tek tada i po prvi put imali mogućnost da počnemo zajednički raditi na otklanjanju jednog po jednog problema koji bi utjecao na izgradnju povoljnog ambijenta za razvoj civilnog društva. Sve dotle dok organizacije civilnog društva, na javnoj sceni, ne učine vladu jednako odgovornom za razvoj civilnog društva u našoj zemlji mi nećemo napraviti značajniji pomak u ovom području. U isto vrijeme treba istaći da su ovo sve pitanja i problemi koji će se postaviti kao problem našoj zemlji na putu evropskih integracija. Mi želimo da se ovaj proces shvati kao interes domaćih aktera koji su zainteresovani da to rade u interesu i za dobrobit građana a ne naših obaveza na putu prema Briselu.

4. Donošenje Kodeksa dobre prakse za finansiranje programa i projekata nevladinog sektora

Jedan od najvećih problema sa kojima se suočavaju organizacije civilnog društva u našoj zemlji i vlade različitih nivoa je ste nedostatak transparentnog sistema alokacije sredstava iz javnih izvora za programe i projekte nevladinih organizacija pod jednakim uslovima. Bez potrebe posebne argumentacije mišljenja sam da je neophodno da se na nivou Vijeća ministara BiH usvoji Kodeks dobre prakse – set obavezujućih principa i pravila za sve niže nivoe vlasti koje dodjeljuju sredstva za organizacije civilnog društva. Ovo je prvi korak koji će omogućiti, da niži nivovi vlasti pristupe izgradnji jasnih i transparentnih pravila i procedura za korištenje sredstava iz javnih izvora. Nama će trebati duži period vremena da, složene organizacije naše zemlje, posebno Federacije BiH, usvoje jednake i transparentne standarde alokacije sredstava, njihovo trošenje i izvještavanje. Ovo je takođe neophodno zbog domaćih organizacija civilnog društva koje će se "takmičiti" da pod jednakim uslovima pružaju usluge građanima za koje vlade naše zemlje neće biti zainteresirane. Postojeći sistem finansiranja je potpuno netransparentan i nije prilagođen organizacijama civilnog društva već različitim nivoima vlasti koji na ovaj način "kupuju" solidarnost organizacija civilnog društva sa svojim politikama na lokalnom, kantonalnom, entitetskom ili državnom nivou. Postojeći sistem finansiranja će morati biti promijenjen i zbog zahtjeva Evropske komisije koji će se pojaviti u jednom trenutku našeg puta ka Briselu. Mišljenja sam da bi ovo trebali raditi zbog nas a ne zahtijeva Brisela.

Nedostatak jasnih pravila i procedura koje obezbjeđuju jednak pristup sredstvima iz javnih preduzeća ili privatnog sektora je evidentan. Vlade će u narednom periodu trebati, kao sastavni dio Strategije stvaranja poticajnog okruženja za razvoj civilnog društva, olakšati i stimulisati, kroz poreske olakšice, izdvajanje sredstava iz javnih preduzeća i privatnog biznisa.

5. Donošenje zakona o nevladinim organizacijama koje rade za opću dobrobit

Organizacije civilnog društva i vlada bi u budućnosti trebale pristupiti izradi određenih standarda koji će uspostavljati razliku između organizacija koje direktno pružaju usluge građanima od organizacija koje se bave promocijom, analizom javnih politika ili javnim zagovaranjem. Ovo je neophodno raditi radi toga što će se na taj način otvoriti prostor za standardizaciju i razvijanje profesionalizma u pružanju usluga koje će država u narednom periodu prenositi na takve organizacije.

6. Politika socijalne uključenosti u evropskoj perspektivi BiH

Nevladine organizacije su te koje rade sa marginalizovanim grupama, dok vlade samo rade za njih, što je jedan od razloga zašto politike Evropske unije promovišu javno učestvovanje organizovanog civilnog društva. Regionalna politika Evropske unije zahtijeva uspostavljanje konsultativnih tijela koja su u vezi sa različitim temama. Njihovo članstvo treba biti bazirano na principu partnerstva, tako da uključuje predstavnike javnih institucija, radničke sindikate, privatni i NVO sektor. Kreiranje partnerstva, socijalnog dijaloga i drugih formi participacije civilnog društva na svim nivoima je promovisano, povećavajući potencijal nevladinih organizacija da postanu aktivni učesnici procesa odlučivanja.

Kao što je rečeno ranije, EC podržava uključivanje nevladinih organizacija u pružanje socijalnih usluga. U BiH, nevladne organizacije pružaju širok spektar usluga. Tokom perioda tranzicije, pružaoci usluga su veoma ovisili o međunarodnim donatorima, primajući malo domaće podrške za ove usluge. Da bi uspešno funkcionisali, neophodno je da pružaoci usluga budu u mogućnosti da naplate svoje usluge, a da ne budu oporezovani kao izvršioci profitabilnih poslova, te da budu u mogućnosti takmičiti se za vladine ugovore.

Evropska komisija ohrabruje učešće civilnog društva i partnerstvo sa drugim sektorima. Iako nije direktno spomenut u Amsterdamskom sporazumu, doprinos organizacija civilnog društva naglašen je u aneksu kroz deklaraciju br. 38, koja navodi da "Evropska unija prepoznaje važan doprinos od strane aktivnosti dobrovoljnih usluga u razvoju socijalne solidarnosti. Zajednica će ohrabriti evropsku dimenziju dobrovoljnih organizacija, sa posebnim naglaskom na razmjenu informacija i iskustava, kao i na učestvovanje mladih i starih u volonterskom radu."

Evropska komisija koristi Forume evropske politike kao metod za ohrabrivanje intersektoralnih konsultacija. Ovi forumi, između ostalih, uključuju nevladne organizacije, socijalne partnere, članove državnih vlada, zaposlenike, regionalne i lokalne vlasti i istraživačke institute iz zemalja Evropske unije. Angažovanost nevladinih organizacija u konsultacijama o politici služi promociji intersektoralnih pružanja usluga u Evropi, što se pokazalo isplativim.

Osim što promoviše konsultacije, EC ohrabruje projekte bazirane na partnerstvu kroz činjenicu da partnerstva vidi kao kriterij za finansiranje, što će voditi ka direktnim prilikama za nove izvore finansiranja u BiH (npr., kroz EU programe za zajednice i strukturalne fondove). Preduslov se bazira na potrebi da se razviju metodologije koje usmjeravaju ka različitim snagama dva sektora. U regionima gdje postoji opće nepovjerenje prema NVO sektoru od strane javnog sektora i obratno, ovo je metoda koja ih može natjerati da prepoznaju specifični doprinos koji svako od njih može dati.

Ovo su neki od mogućih prijedloga koji će otvoriti prostor za veće uključivanje marginaliziranih skupina u našoj zemlji ili način na koji će marginaliziranim grupama biti pružena adekvatna usluga od strane države na koju oni imaju pravo. Prema tome, nama predstoji veliki posao i zajednički angažman vlade i organizacija civilnog društva da u budućnosti sve više budu oslonjene jedni na druge. To u isto vrijeme ne znači da organizacije civilnog društva mogu izgubiti svoje pravo na neovisnost ili neovisno komentarisanje javnih politika koje donosi vlada. Na taj način će se:

- povećati vjerodostojnost i legitimitet organizacija civilnog društva i lidera širom zemlje;
- profesionalno, podićemo standarde i unaprijediti odgovornost među institucijama civilnog društva, organizacijama, liderima, akademskoj zajednici i vladinim institucijama koje se bave civilnim društvom;
- konačno ćemo povećati nivo znanja građana u razumijevanju nevladinog sektora u BiH kroz proces promišljanja i ocjene snage i stvarnog uticaja civilnog društva;
- osnažiti članove (aktere) civilnog društva kroz promociju i širenje dijaloga, udruživanje i umrežavanje (povezivanje) različitih članova civilnog društva;
- ojačati unutrašnji kapacitete domaćih (lokalnih) organizacija civilnog društva kroz "vlasništvo" nad ovom inicijativom i preuzimanje odgovornosti za njenu potpunu realizaciju.

Studija slučaja

Finansiranje NVO od strane vladinih institucija

Ana Abdelbasit
IBHI BiH

1. Svrha

Ovo poglavlje obuhvata rezultate istraživanja provedenog od 11. oktobra do 16. novembra 2007. godine s namjerom da se upotpune određeni parametri finansijske podrške udruženjima građana/nevladinim organizacijama (UG/NVO) od strane vladinih institucija. Svrha je obezbijediti dodatne informacije za kreiranje i promociju inovativnih modela za unapređenje socijalne uključenosti putem kvantifikacije trenutnog stanja i trendova u saradnji državnih, javnih, privatnih i nevladinih aktera. Podaci prikupljeni od strane 100 institucija ne omogućavaju donošenje vjerodostojnih statističkih zaključaka za državne, entitetske, kantonalne i općinske nivoe. Međutim, pružaju generalni uvid u ukupna davanja od strane relevantnih vladinih institucija za neprofitni sektor.

2. Sažetak glavnih rezultata

- Vladine institucije koje su učestvovalе u istraživanju (100 od ukupno 214) planiraju ukupno dodijeliti 52.544.019,52 KM udruženjima građana (UG) / nevladinim organizacijama (NVO) do kraja 2007. godine. Od toga je 29.382.505,43 KM namijenjeno UG/NVO-ima; 17.914.087,42 KM sportskim organizacijama; te 5.328.267,67 KM boračko-invalidskim organizacijama i drugim srodnim organizacijama.
- 29,0% institucija koje su učestvovalе u istraživanju dodjeljuje sredstva putem javnih poziva; 32,0% ne upražnjava proceduru objavljivanja javnih poziva (većina raspoređuje sredstva prilikom pripreme godišnjeg budžeta); 15,0% objavljuje javne pozive za dio sredstava.
- Od institucija koje su učestvovalе, 84,0% zahtijevaju podnošenje izvještaja od strane UG/NVO-a.
- 55,0% institucija koje su učestvovalе sprovodi analizu programskih i/ili finansijskih rezultata.
- Određen broj vladinih institucija je istakla važnost saradnje sa neprofitnim sektorom, posebno u cilju ublažavanja posljedica socijalnog isključivanja.

3. Uzorak i stope odgovora

Ukupna populacija sadržava ukupno 280 vladinih institucija: što obuhvata sve općine/opštine u BiH, sva kantonalna, entitetska i državna ministarstva te Distrikt Brčko. Ciljnu populaciju istraživanja sačinjavaju 214 vladinih institucija sa različitih administrativnih nivoa, koje su od mogućeg značaja po pitanju odvajanja sredstava za nepro-

fitne organizacije (UG/NVO; sportske organizacije; boračko-invalidske i druge srodne organizacije). Ciljna populacija je izabrana prema sadržajnom kriteriju, odnosno izabrana su sva ministarstva čije nadležnosti uključuju:

- Rad,
- Socijalnu politiku/zaštitu,
- Zdravstvo,
- Obrazovanje,
- Okoliš,
- Civilne poslove,
- Ruralni razvoj/poljoprivredu.

Stratifikacija: uzorak je podijeljen na 16 stratumu kako bi se uzele u obzir različite osnove za raspodjelu sredstava. Zbog nedovoljnog odziva unutar stratumu, nije moguće pripremiti procjenu davanja na nivou države, entiteta, kantona i općina, već samo analizirati ukupne sume davanja. Šesnaest stratumu i stope odgovora su prikazani u narednoj tabeli:

Tabela 3.1: Broj vladinih institucija uključenih u istraživanje i stope odgovora po stratumu

Administrativni nivo	Broj uključenih institucija	Stopa odgovora po stratumu	Administrativni nivo	Broj uključenih institucija	Stopa odgovora po stratumu
Ministarstva BiH	2	50,0%	Tuzlanski kanton	7	14,3%
Ministarstva FBiH	7	57,1%	Zeničko-dobojski kanton	6	50,0%
Ministarstva RS	9	44,4%	Bosansko-podrinjski kanton	5	40,0%
Općine FBiH	79	57,0%	Srednjobosanski kanton	5	40,0%
Općine RS	62	48,4%	Hercegovačko-neretvanski kanton	7	57,1%
Općina Brčko	1	0,0%	Zapadno-hercegovački kanton	4	0,0%
Unsko-sanski kanton	5	20,0%	Kanton Sarajevo	6	33,3%
Posavski kanton	4	0,0%	Kanton 10	5	20,0%

Ukupno su zabilježeni sljedeći rezultati:

- Broj institucija uključenih u istraživanje: 214
- Ukupna stopa odgovora (prosjeak): 46,7%

4. Metodologija

Institucijama je upućen pismeni dopis objašnjenja svrhe istraživanja sa molbom da odgovore na 5 pitanja:

1. Koliki je iznos sredstava dodijeljen od strane vaše institucije udruženjima građana/nevladinim organizacijama u 2007. godini, uključujući i eventualne iznose koji još nisu realizirani a za koje postoji razumna vjerovatnoća da će biti realizirani do kraja godine?
2. Koji dio od ukupnog iznosa je usmjeren sportskim društvima, koji udruženjima fokusiranim na boračko-invalidsku zaštitu a koji ostalim tipovima udruženja/nevladinih organizacija?
3. Da li je dodjela sredstava praćena tenderskom procedurom sa ciljem odabira najadekvatnijih projekata/nevladinih organizacija?
4. Da li su organizacije primaoci sredstava obavezane da po završetku perioda finansiranja dostave **formalizirane projektne** finansijske i narativne izvještaje?

5. Da li je u ovoj godini predviđena (programska i finansijska) analiza rezultata rada podržanih organizacija te da li je ova analiza (ako je predviđena) uvedena tek ove godine?

Ukoliko u roku od 4 sedmice nije dostavljen odgovor, institucije su kontaktirane telefonom, te im je dostavljena pismena urgencija.

5. Finansiranje udruženja građana/NVO-a u 2007.g.

Određeni broj institucija je uz planirani iznos sredstava za 2007. godinu, dostavilo i realizirani iznos do perioda istraživanja. Zbog ne-jednoobraznih podataka o realiziranom iznosu, za obračun sredstava, korišten je **planirani iznos** za 2007. godinu.

Tabela 5.1: Sredstva namijenjena neprofitnom sektoru

Administrativni nivo	Ukupno (KM)	UG/NVO (KM)	Sportske org. (KM)	Boračko-invalidske org. i sl. (KM)
Ministarstva BiH	2.222.000,00	1.372.000,00	850.000,00	0,00 ¹
	2.222.000,00	1.372.000,00	850.000,00	0,00
Ministarstva FBiH	12.187.200,00	10.687.200,00	1.500.000,00	0,00
Ministarstva RS	1.770.400,00	1.756.400,00	6.000,00	8.000,00
	13.957.600,00	12.443.600,00	1.506.000,00	8.000,00
Općine FBiH	12.860.882,26	6.094.528,53	4.532.753,42	2.314.441,31
Općine RS	18.975.109,26	6.745.948,90	9.725.334,00	2.503.826,36
Općina Brčko	0,00	0,00	0,00	0,00
	31.835.991,52	12.840.477,43	14.258.087,42	4.818.267,67
Unsko-sanski kanton	218.000,00	218.000,00	0,00	0,00
Posavski kanton	0,00	0,00	0,00	0,00
Tuzlanski kanton	60.000,00	60.000,00	0,00	0,00
Zeničko-dobojski kanton	2.012.000,00	510.000,00	1.000.000,00	502.000,00
Bosansko-podrinjski kanton	69.828,00	69.828,00	0,00	0,00
Srednjobosanski kanton	0,00	0,00	0,00	0,00
Hercegovačko-neretvanski kanton	992.000,00	695.000,00	297.000,00	0,00
Zapadno-hercegovački kanton	0,00	0,00	0,00	0,00
Kanton Sarajevo	1.167.600,00	1.164.600,00	3.000,00	0,00
Kanton 10	9.000,00	9.000,00	0,00	0,00
	4.528.428,00	2.726.428,00	1.300.000,00	502.000,00
	52.544.019,52	29.382.505,43	17.914.087,42	5.328.267,67

6. Procedure dodjele sredstava

Ukupno 29,0% od 100 institucija koje su dostavile odgovore raspoređuje sredstva na osnovu javnog poziva, od toga su većina općine. Od institucija koje su se izjasnile da ne raspoređuju sredstva putem javnog poziva, 43,8% (ukupno 14) raspoređuje sredstva na osnovu pojedinačnih zahtjeva i dostave programa prilikom pripreme budžeta;

1 Zbog nedovoljne stope odgovora, svi iznosi = "0,00 KM" ne označavaju nedostatak izdvajanja sredstava, već nedostatak odgovora od ukupnog ciljnog uzorka.

12,5% (ukupno 4) ne vrši proces raspodjele na osnovu javnog poziva zbog malog iznosa sredstava; dok 43,8% (14 institucija) nije dostavilo obrazloženje. 15,0% institucija djelomično raspoređuje sredstva putem javnog poziva, i to sredstva koja su većinom namijenjena projektima.

Tabela 6.1: Procedura korištena za raspodjelu sredstava

Administrativni nivo	Javni poziv	Nema tenderske procedure	Djelomično – javni poziv/budžet	Planira uvesti od 2008.g.	Nema izdvajanja	Nedostaju podaci
Ministarstva BiH	1	0	0	0	0	0
Entitetska Ministarstva	1	3	1	0	1	1
Kantonalna Ministarstva	4	5	1	0	5	1
Općine	23	24	13	5	1	9
Total – N; % (N=100)	29,0	32,0	15,0	5,0	7,0	11,0

7. Izvještavanje od strane neprofitnih organizacija

Većina institucija koje su dostavile odgovore zahtijevaju od udruženja građana/NVO-a da podnesu izvještaj o radu (84,0%). Od ukupnog broja institucija koje zahtijevaju izvještaj, 54,8% (ukupno 46, od čega 35 općina) se izjasnilo da traži dostavljanje formalnog narativnog i finansijskog izvještaja; 3,6% (3 institucije) neformalne izvještaje; dok 34,5% (ukupno 29, od čega 22 općine) zahtijeva isključivo finansijski izvještaj o utrošenim sredstvima. 7,1% (6 općina) se izjasnilo da samo za određene vrste aktivnosti zahtijevaju izvještaj (za projekte ili aktivnosti humanitarnih organizacija). Većina institucija traži izvještaje nakon realizacije projekta/programa ili nakon isteka fiskalne godine, dok neznatni broj, uz godišnje izvještaje, zahtijeva mjesečno i kvartalno izvještavanje. Redovno podnošenje izvještaja je u većini slučajeva **uslov za dodjelu sredstava** u narednoj fiskalnoj godini. Nekolicina institucija se izjasnila da nisu zadovoljne kapacitetima udruženja građana/NVO-a za pripremu sveobuhvatnih izvještaja.

Tabela 7.1: Postojanje procedure izvještavanja od strane UG/NVO-a

Administrativni nivo	Da	Ne	Planira uvesti od 2008.g.	Nema izdvajanja	Nedostaju podaci
Ministarstva BiH	1	0	0	0	0
Entitetska Ministarstva	6	0	0	1	1
Kantonalna Ministarstva	11	0	0	5	0
Općine	66	1	1	1	6
Total – N; % (N=100)	84,0	1,0	1,0	7,0	7,0

8. Programska i finansijska analiza od strane vladinih institucija

Nešto više od pola institucija koje su učestvovalе u istraživanju (55,0%) se izjasnilo da vrši određenu vrstu analize programskih i/ili finansijskih rezultata. U određenim slučajevima, analiza je zakonom predviđena. Od institucija koje ne vrše analizu, 1 općina ju ne sprovodi zbog malog iznosa dodijeljenih sredstava. Određen broj institucija

je izjavilo da ne može vršiti analizu, ili ne može obuhvatiti sva udruženja građana/NVO-e u sklopu analize, zbog: 1) nedostatka kadrova; 2) razvodnjivosti plasmana sredstava; 3) nedostatka kapaciteta za provođenje analize.

Tabela 8.1: Da li se vrši analiza od strane vladinih institucija?

Administrativni nivo	Da	Ne	Djelomično	Nema izdvajanja	Nedostaju podaci
Ministarstva BiH	1	0	0	0	0
Entitetska Ministarstva	3	1	0	1	3
Kantonalna Ministarstva	8	1	1	5	1
Općine	43	8	6	1	17
Total – N; % (N=100)	55,0	10,0	7,0	7,0	21,0

4 institucija je izjavilo da analize planira uvesti od 2007. godine, dok je 25 institucija izjavilo da analize vrši od ranije (17 institucija ne vrši analizu; za 54 nedostaju podaci).

Socijalna isključenost kao posljedica etničkih migracija: Osvrt na dimenzije socijalne isključenosti raseljenih i povratnika u BiH

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Uvod

Život ljudi odvija se u dvojakom socijalnom svijetu. Interpersonalni odnosi, koji se zasnivaju na razumijevanju, ostvaruju se u tzv. životnom okruženju. Ono je satkano od našeg socijalnog porijekla, naših ranijih i sadašnjih pripadnosti grupama. "To je svakodnevni iskustveni horizont pojedinca koji se podrazumijeva i kojeg najčešće nismo svjesni".¹ Čovjek istovremeno ostvaruje interakcije i u sistemskom okruženju, koje čine brojne institucije ekonomskog, političkog, obrazovnog ili, recimo, naučnog sistema. U ovom okruženju interakcije se zasnivaju na racionalnom promišljanju, usmjerenom ka ostvarenju interesa i postizanju uspjeha.

Ma koliko djelovali podvojeno, životno i sistemsko okruženje međusobno su zavisni. Oni prožimaju život ljudi, koji funkcionišu u različitim socijalnim mrežama. Socijalne mreže su realni, empirijski opisivi, socijalni odnosi između pojedinaca. Zavisno od konstelacije tih mreža, pojedinci su na različite načine uvezani u komunikaciju i tu pronalaze nekad više, nekad manje podrške. Zato su socijalne mreže presudne za normalno funkcionisanje ljudi.

Prostor u kome se mreže formiraju i gdje se susreću dva uzajamno zavisna svijeta (sistemsko i životno okruženje) jeste prostor lokalne zajednice. Ovdje su ljudi smješteni u određene funkcionalne i strukturalne odnose kojima se prilagođavaju i istovremeno mogu pokušati da ih kreiraju.

Šta se dešava, kada pojedinci ili porodice, uslijed drastičnih društvenih poremećaja bivaju nasilno "istrgnuti" iz lokalne zajednice u kojoj su godinama funkcionisali u uvriježenim socijalnim krugovima?

Drastičan vid društvene destrukcije je rat. Jedna od posljedica rata u BiH u periodu od aprila 1992. do decembra 1995. godine, su etničke migracije, uslijed kojih i danas šestinu bosanskohercegovačkog stanovništva čine raseljene osobe i povratnici. Oni po mnogim karakteristikama pripadaju kategoriji socijalno isključenih. Realna situacija raseljenih i povratničkih porodica prevazilazi njihove sposobnosti da se same konsoliduju i reupostave adekvatne socijalne interakcije. Zato su im neophodni različiti vidovi socijalne podrške. Njihovo socijalno uključivanje je složen društveni problem, u čijem rješavanju presudnu ulogu imaju lokalne zajednice u kojima su nastanjeni.

Budući da uzroci problema raseljenih i povratnika leže u opštim i specifičnim društvenim okolnostima, ali su i lične prirode, neophodno je primjenjivati i svestran pristup u njihovom rješavanju. Socijalni rad u zajednici obezbjeđuje takav pristup. Njegova posebna vrijednost je u tome što omogućava povezivanje institucionalnih i vaninstitucionalnih aktivnosti, te mobilise građane, nevladine organizacije, formalne i neformalne strukture zajednice u cilju uspješnog korištenja raspoloživih resursa zajednice (materijalnih, političkih, kulturnih, moralnih i dr.).

I Demografske posljedice etničkih migracija u BiH

Prema popisu iz 1991. godine, stanovništvo Bosne i Hercegovine činilo je oko 4,4 miliona ljudi. Tokom ratnih sukoba i neposredno nakon toga, u Bosni i Hercegovini je pokrenuto oko 2,2 miliona lica, što je predstavljalo više od 50%

1 Herman Bulinger, Jirgen Novak, Mrežni socijalni rad, Banja Luka, 2004.

ukupnog stanovništva. Od tog broja, oko 1,2 miliona ljudi potražilo je izbjegličku zaštitu u više od stotinu zemalja, a oko milion ljudi raseljeno je unutar Bosne i Hercegovine.²

Od 1991. godine u Bosni i Hercegovini nije vršen zvaničan popis stanovništva. Migracijske turbulencije u periodu rata od 1991. do 1995. godine, ali i u poratnom periodu, uticale su demografski bilans. Danas se procjenjuje da u Bosni i Hercegovini živi manje od 3,5 miliona stanovnika, a da oko pola miliona državljana BiH boravi izvan zemlje.³

Izbjeglištvo je jedna od posljedica nasilnog pomjeranja stanovništva u Bosni i Hercegovini. Svaka migracija, racionalna ili emocionalna, subjektivna ili objektivna, svjesna ili nesvjesna, u osnovi je traumatsko iskustvo. O tome najbolje govore riječi jednog od brojnih bosanskohercegovačkih izbjeglica: "Ovdje nismo, a tamo nas nema."

Posljedica unutardržavnih migracija su raseljena lica, koja još uvijek imaju problem integracije u lokalnim zajednicama raseljenja ili povratka. Pravce raseljavanja u BiH u vrijeme sukoba karakteriše pomjeranje stanovništva određene etničke pripadnosti prema područjima u kojima je većinsko stanovništvo iste nacionalne pripadnosti.

Prvi, službeni popis raseljenih osoba u BiH, koji su provela resorna entitetska ministarstva za pitanja raseljenih lica u koordinaciji sa UNHCR-om, izvršen je krajem 2000. godine. Prema rezultatima popisa u BiH bilo nastanjeno 534.918 raseljenih lica, odnosno 176.480 porodica. Od tog broja u Republici Srpskoj je bilo registrovano 46% raseljenih lica, a u Federaciji BiH 54%. Pošto u narednih pet godina nije vršeno ažurno statističko praćenje promjena, ukazala se potreba za reregistracijom raseljenih osoba u BiH. Ona je provedena pod koordinacijom resornog državnog ministarstva od strane Ministarstva za raseljena lica i izbjeglice RS, Ministarstva za raseljene osobe Federacije BiH i Brčko Distrikta 2004. godine. Pokazalo se da je u odnosu na 2000. godinu broj raseljenih u Republici Srpskoj sveden na trećinu, a u Federaciji BiH na jednu petinu. U Bosni i Hercegovini trenutno živi 40.607 raseljenih porodica, odnosno 123.882 lica. Od tog broja u Republici Srpskoj je nastanjeno 55% (67.712), a u Federaciji BiH 45%, ili 56.170 raseljenih. Istovremeno zvanična UNHCR-ova statistika bilježi preko pola miliona povratka unutar BiH, od čega se iz Federacije BiH na prostor Republike Srpske vratilo 205.622 lica (36%), a sa prostora Republike Srpske u Federaciju BiH 350.092 (61%).

Usporedba ovih podataka može navesti na zaključak da su u međuvremenu mnoga raseljena lica svoj status riješila upravo povratkom na prijeratne adrese. Pravi uvid može dati temeljno preispitivanje da li su registrovani povrati, iskazani brojem vraćenih stambenih jedinica ili izdatih ličnih dokumenata, podudarni sa mjestom stvarnog nastanjenja tih lica.

II NASTANAK NVO SEKTORA U BiH

U zbrinjavanju raseljenih, a kasnije i povratnika, najznačajniji doprinos je imao UNHCR, koji je u periodu rata djelovao u sferi tzv. hitnih humanitarnih operacija, čiji je osnovni cilj bio da se distribucijom hrane, odjeće, medicinskih i higijenskih sredstava pomogne civilnom stanovništvu. U postkonfliktnom periodu UNHCR djeluje u oblasti pravne pomoći, ali i u socijalnoj sferi, a poseban doprinos daje u otvaranju procesa povratka. Pored UNHCR-, i druge UN-ove i međunarodne organizacije su svojim djelovanjem nastojale da otklone ili ublaže brojne probleme (post)konfliktnog društva. Tokom 1993. godine javljaju se prve domaće nevladine organizacije na prostoru Federacije BiH, a kasnije i na prostoru Republike Srpske. Istraživanje Ureda za međunarodni razvoj Vlade Velike Britanije (DFID), zasnovano na telefonskoj anketi NVO-a u BiH koja je realizovana od juna do septembra 2004. godine,⁴ pokazalo je da je većina NVO-a (38%) prvi put registrovana u periodu nakon rata (1996-2000), a preko trećine (36%) u naredne četiri godine. Mnoge od njih nastale su pod uticajem ili čak na inicijativu međunarodnih NVO, koje su u BiH bile prisutne tokom rata, a posebno u periodu od 1996-2000. Formiranje domaćeg nevladinog sektora pod uticajem međunarodnog faktora, umnogome je doprinijelo nepovoljnoj relaciji između nevladinog i državnog sektora. Pogotovo što su glavne aktivnosti domaćeg NVO sektora u početku bile usmjerene

2 Mario Nenadić i grupa autora, Usporedna analiza pristupa pravima izbjeglica i raseljenih osoba, Ministarstvo za ljudska prava i izbjeglice BiH, Sarajevo 2005

3 Ibid.

4 Zapošljavanje, pružanje socijalnih usluga i nevladin sektor: status i perspektive za BiH, analiza i implikacije za politike, Nezavisni biro za humanitarna pitanja BiH, 2002.

na pitanja ljudskih prava, demokratizacije društva i druga pitanja iz domena političkog djelovanja. Ipak,⁵ podaci koji govore da se većina domaćih NVO (40%) registrovala u periodu 2001–2004, ukazuju na osamostaljivanje i razvoj domaćih NVO. Takođe se proširio dijapazon djelovanja nevladinog sektora. Prevladavanje predrasude da "nevladin" ne znači i "antivladin", ostvario je put uzajamne saradnje, što je ključ uspješnog zadovoljavanja mnogobrojnih ljudskih potreba, pa tako i problema raseljenih i povratnika. Unutar nevladinog sektora građani se bez kontrole i neposrednog uticaja države, povezuju na jedan nov i različit način u namjeri da riješe određene probleme. Budući da su problemi socijalne isključenosti raseljenih i povratnika i dalje na listi društvenih prioriteta, u interesu je države da podrži ovakve inicijative.

Procjenjuje se da u BiH djeluje 4.629 nevladinih organizacija.⁶ Među njima su i one koje se bave pravima i položajem izbjeglica, raseljenih osoba i povratnika. Specifičnost udruženja koja se bave problemima raseljenih i povratnika je u tome što njihovo članstvo pretežno čine lica upravo iz ove populacije, pa su samim tim i oni opterećeni brojnim problemima koji su karakteristični za one koje predstavljaju. Utoliko su njihovi potencijali za pružanjem konkretnih vidova pomoći i usluga ograničeni. S druge strane, njihova prednost je u tome što, "pritisnuti istim mukama", na najbolji način mogu artikulirati potrebe i interese populacije koju zastupaju. Tom prednošću se i koriste, te medijskom zastupljenošću i svojevrsnim političkim pritiskom istrajavaju u zahtjevima za pronalaženje rješenja. U procesu otklanjanja faktora socijalne isključenosti raseljenih i povratnika značajnu ulogu mogu imati različite nevladine organizacije koje djeluju u oblasti zdravstvene zaštite, kulture i rekreacije, ekonomskih i socijalnih usluga i u građansko-pravnom sektoru. One dopunjavaju dio obaveza javnih ustanova. Pored toga što pružaju efikasne i kvalitetne usluge, nevladine organizacije razvijaju svijest predstavnika vlasti o potrebi socijalnog uključivanja marginalizovanih grupa stanovništva. Lokalne zajednice, u kojima su nastanjene raseljene osobe i povratnici opterećeni nizom socijalnih problema, su najpogodnije područje djelovanja ovih NVO-a, ali i relevantnih subjekata javnog sektora.

III DIMENZIJE SOCIJALNE ISKLJUČENOSTI RASELJENIH LICA I POVRTNIKA

Nesporno je da povratnici i raseljeni, kao dvije prepoznatljive kategorije stanovništva, svjedoče o posljedicama unutardržavnih migracija. Trinaest godina nakon potpisivanja mirovnog sporazuma, šestinu bosanskohercegovačkog stanovništva čine raseljene osobe i povratnici. To govori o obimu društvenog problema. O njegovoj složenosti govori podatak da je najveći dio ove populacije upućen na pomoć i podršku lokalne, ali i šire društvene zajednice. Raseljene osobe, koje su se odlučile na nastanjenje u mjestima raseljenja, susreću se sa problemom integracije u tim mjestima, baš kao i povratnici, koji su se opredijelili za život u predratnim lokalnim zajednicama.

Biti integrisan znači uspostaviti kvalitetne socijalne interakcije. Raseljeni i povratnici teže ka (re)uspostavljanju različitih socijalnih mreža: od primarnih, kao što su porodična, rodbinska, susjedska ili prijateljska, preko sekundarnih koje, pojednostavljeno gledano, čine različite socijalne institucije, do tercijarnih koje su neka vrsta posredne instance između primarnih i sekundarnih mreža. Analiza, u kojoj je pojedinac "focus point" socijalne mreže, može ukazati na akutne ili hronične probleme socijalnog funkcionisanja i na stepen socijalne uključenosti. Ona upućuje na problematične komunikativne relacije, kao i na one koje su od krucijalnog značaja za psihosocijalnu stabilnost pojedinca. Na osnovu toga mogu se kreirati adekvatni vidovi socijalne podrške i reuspostavljanje "pokidanih" socijalnih relacija ili jačanje funkcionalnih veza u nedostatku nekih drugih.

Reuspostavljanje socijalnih mreža otežano je kod ljudi koji se nalaze u teškim životnim situacijama. U slučaju ratnih migracija u BiH ove mreže su nasilno pokidane. Raseljene osobe, nakon dugo vremena (uglavnom od rođenja) provedenog u jednoj vrsti zajednice, pokušavaju da se integrišu u lokalnoj zajednici u kojoj su se nastanili u poslijeratnom periodu. U sličnoj poziciji su i povratnici, koji su se vratili u predratna mjesta življenja. Za raseljena lica i povratnike u BiH, proces (re)integracije je dugotrajan i bolan, a u suštini integrativnog procesa je ponovno uspostavljanje socijalnih mreža.

U traganju za što boljim razumijevanjem socijalne integracije raseljenih lica i povratnika, zapravo treba preispitati aspekte njihove socijalne isključenosti. Socijalna isključenost je proces kojim se određene grupe, na osnovu nji-

5 Ibid

6 Ibid

hovog siromaštva, niskog obrazovanja ili neadekvatnih socijalnih vještina, guraju na margine društva i onemogućavaju da učestvuju u društvenim procesima. Ovo ih dodatno udaljava od zapošljavanja, prihoda i prilika za obrazovanje, te onemogućava njihovo stupanje u socijalne veze. Ovakve grupe imaju mali uticaj u odlučivanju i male mogućnosti da poboljšaju svoj životni standard.⁷

Različite okolnosti mogu dovesti do socijalne isključenosti. Često je uzrokuje kumulacija nepovoljnih životnih okolnosti koje su međusobno uslovljene, kao što su niska primanja, loša pozicija na tržištu radne snage, nedostatak vještina i znanja, uskraćenost zdravstvene zaštite, obrazovanja i sl. Isključenost je takođe u vezi sa pristupom građanskim pravima. U tom smislu, isključenost podrazumijeva neuspješnu integrisanost u neki (ili više) od socijalnih sistema: demokratsko-pravni, radno-tržišni, sistem socijalnih prinadležnosti i sistem lokalne samouprave.

Osjećaj pripadnosti zajednici, ili pak osjećaj isključenosti, zavisi od participacije u ovim sistemima. U tom slučaju, biti socijalno uključen značilo bi da svi članovi društva, pa i raseljeni i povratnici, imaju jednak položaj u demokratskom sistemu, ravnopravan pristup zaposlenju i ekonomskim dobrima, mogućnost korištenja naknada ili socijalnih usluga koje obezbjeđuje država. Oni takođe treba da imaju kvalitetne interpersonalne interakcije, što podrazumijeva održavanje porodičnih, rodbinskih prijateljskih ili susjedskih veza.

Manifestacije isključenosti su mnogostruke. U istraživanju isključenosti raseljenih lica i povratnika treba uzeti u obzir i materijalne i participativne pokazatelje isključenosti. Dakle, treba imati na umu da neravnomjerna distribucija materijalnih dobara može biti važan osnov socijalne isključenosti, jer neko ko je depriviran u distribucijskom (materijalnom) pogledu često jeste siromašan, slabo obrazovan i nezaposlen. No to još uvijek ne znači da su time iscrpljene sve dimenzije, niti obuhvaćeni svi uzroci njegove isključenosti. Otuda se mora uzeti u obzir i relacijska dimenzija, odnosno brojnost i intenzitet socijalnih relacija. Tek u kombinaciji distribucijskih (materijalnih) i relacijskih (sociopsiholoških) aspekata može se doći do spoznaje o stepenu socijalne isključenosti raseljenih lica i povratnika u BiH.

Efikasne mjere za ublažavanje ili otklanjanje faktora socijalne isključenosti raseljenih i povratnika, pretpostavljaju kvalitetno sagledavanje realnih i konkretnih problema ove populacije. Oni su u tijesnoj vezi i sa specifičnim socio-demografskim karakteristikama pojedinih lokalnih zajednica u kojima su nastanjeni i koje takođe treba sagledati i analizirati. Zato su relevantna istraživanja, obrada podataka i deskripcija rezultata osnov za preduzimanje konkretnih akcija. Na planu identifikacije potreba raseljenih i povratnika, ali i problema njihovih lokalnih zajednica, velik doprinos mogu dati nevladine organizacije. Jedan takav primjer je sveobuhvatno istraživanje⁸ NVO ARA provedeno 2006. godine na području opštine Bijeljina. Tokom istraživanja na terenu aktivno su učestvovali pripadnici raseljenih osoba i povratnika, ali i ostali građani, udruženja, lokalne ustanove i službe, koje se bave problemima raseljenih i povratnika, te pitanjima socijalne zaštite. Njihov aktivan odnos trebalo je da dodatno rasvijetli problem integracije navedenih socijalnih grupa i barem djelimično ukaže na moguće načine njihovog rješavanje. Akcenat je bio na preuzimanju obaveza lokalne zajednice prema onim kategorijama stanovništva koje se nalaze u stanju socijalnih potreba u cilju podizanja kvaliteta njihovog života i animiranja raseljenih lica i povratnika da koriste sopstvene potencijale. Anketa je poslužila kao izvor informacija o problemima raseljenih lica i povratnika u lokalnoj zajednici. Koncipirana je na osnovu prethodne teorijske obrade ovog problema, na osnovu dostupne dokumentacione građe i na bazi desetogodišnjeg praćenja problema kroz praktičan rad sa ovom kategorijom stanovništva.

Polazište za formiranje naučno relevantnog uzorka bio je ukupan broj registrovanih raseljenih lica na području opštine i broj povratnika, koji su evidentirani prema vraćenim stambenim jednicama. Uzorkom je bilo obuhvaćeno ukupno 300 ispitanika (po 150 nosilaca domaćinstava iz kategorije raseljenih i povratnika). Prilikom anketiranja uzimani su podaci i za članove domaćinstva, te je na taj način anketiranjem bilo obuhvaćeno 978 lica, od kojih 520 u populaciji raseljenih i 458 u populaciji povratnika.

U nastavku su korišteni neki od zaključaka ovog istraživanja, koji ukazuju na dimenzije socijalne isključenosti raseljenih i povratnika.

7 Žarko Papić i grupa autora, "Socijalna isključenost u BiH", IBHI BiH i UNDP, Sarajevo, 2007.

8 Istraživanje "Integracija raseljenih lica i povratnika u lokalnoj zajednici" realizovano od strane NVO ARA u sklopu projekta "Integracija starih lica/povratnika u lokalnoj zajednici"

1. DISTRIBUCIJSKE/MATERIJALNE DIMENZIJE SOCIJALNE ISKLJUČENOSTI

1.1. Radni angažman i prihodi

Generalno loše ekonomske prilike u BiH odražavaju se na mogućnost zaposlenja cjelokupnog stanovništva. Populacija raseljenih i povratnika je dodatno pogođena, budući da je izložena dugotrajnoj nezaposlenosti. Pomenuto istraživanje⁹ pokazalo je da su nesigurni vidovi zaposlenja, kao što su povremeni ili privremeni poslovi, skoro podjednako zastupljeni kod obje kategorije. Više od polovine nezaposlenih ili privremeno radno angažovanih raseljenih lica i povratnika stalni radni odnos čeka preko deset godina. Tokom cijelog perioda raseljeništa, ili povratka, nisu mogli u lokalnoj zajednici doći do stalnog radnog odnosa. Ni povratnici, ni raseljeni nemaju mogućnost pokretanja privatnog biznisa. Nezaposlena lica i penzioneri, s obzirom na izuzetno mala mjesečna primanja, spadaju u kategoriju najugroženijih.

Povratnici pokušavaju da se oslone na sopstvene resurse. Pod tim se, prije svega, misli na činjenicu da imaju njive i okućnice, čijom obradom obezbjeđuju dodatne izvore prihoda. Za mnoge od njih zemljoradnja je i osnovni izvor prihoda. U poređenju sa predratnom situacijom, povratnici ranija stalna zaposlenja pokušavaju "kompenzirati" poljoprivrednom proizvodnjom. Raseljeno stanovništvo rijetko ima ovu alternativu. Njihovo zemljište u predratnim mjestima prebivališta nedostupno je zbog udaljenosti, a negdje prepreku predstavlja opasnost od mina, fizička nesposobnost ili neposjedovanja mehanizacije.

U redovnim mjesečnim primanjima raseljenih domaćinstava prevladavaju prihodi od penzija, invalidnina i doteacije po osnovu socijalne i dječje zaštite. Kod povratnika je slična situacija, uz opasku da je nešto veći udio prihoda od poljoprivredne djelatnosti. Kad se uključe stalni i povremeni prihodi svih članova domaćinstva, ukupna mjesečna primanja raseljenih i povratničkih domaćinstava najčešće su nedovoljna za optimalno funkcionisanje porodice. Prema rezultatima provedenog istraživanja, tek petina raseljenih i povratničkih domaćinstava imala je mjesečne prihode iznad 400 KM. Puno više je bilo onih čija su mjesečna primanja ispod 200 KM (59% raseljenih domaćinstava i 48% povratničkih). S obzirom na visinu mjesečnih prihoda, većina živi ispod linije siromaštva ili na samoj granici. Procijenjeno je da je u Bosni i Hercegovini takvih 19,5% u odnosu na ukupnu populaciju.¹⁰ Prema tome, u populaciji raseljenih i povratnika procenat siromašnih je duplo veći u odnosu na procentualnu zastupljenost siromašnih u ukupnoj populaciji. U prilog ovoj tvrdnji govori i podatak da je na osnovu potpunjenih zahtjeva za utvrđivanje statusa raseljenih osoba 2005. godine u ovoj populaciji evidentirano 59% porodica čije se izdržavanje zasniva na penzijama, invalidninama, socijalnoj pomoći ili nadoknadama po osnovu prava porodice poginulog borca.

1.2. Obrazovni status

Iako se problem radnog angažmana može pripisati ukupno nepovoljnoj ekonomskoj situaciji, uzroke ovakvog stanja treba potražiti i u analizi objektivnih mogućnosti raseljenih lica i povratnika. Dio odgovora treba potražiti u obrazovnoj i kvalifikacionoj strukturi ove populacije.

Već pomenuto istraživanje, kojim je bilo obuhvaćeno 300 domaćinstava (po 150 raseljenih i povratničkih), bavilo se i pitanjem obrazovne i kvalifikacione strukture 978 ispitanika.

Izuzmu li se iz ukupnog broja anketiranih predškolska djeca i učenici, u obje grupe ispitanika učešće lica sa višom i visokom stručnom spremom je oko 2%. U povratničkoj populaciji evidentiran je veći broj onih bez ikakvih kvalifikacija (43%), što je posljedica činjenice da se na povratak uglavnom odlučuju starije osobe i osobe vezane za svoja poljoprivredna gazdinstva.

Podaci o kvalifikacionoj strukturi, pokazali su zanimljivu sliku. Naime, u 300 anketiranih domaćinstava evidentirano je skoro 100 različitih zanimanja. Faktički, svaka treća kuća imala je osobu drugačije kvalifikacije. Na prvi pogled moglo se zaključiti da se za ovako široku kvalifikacionu ponudu mogu obezbijediti radna mjesta na tržištu radne snage.

Međutim, malo dublja analiza "lepeze zanimanja" pokazala je nepovoljnu kvalifikacionu sliku. U strukturi radno sposobnih lica, sa 52% participiraju osobe radničkih zanimanja, domaćice i zemljoradnici.

Ovi pokazatelji su kompatibilni sa pokazateljima koji su dobijeni prilikom reregistracije raseljenih osoba 2005. godine. Naime, u populaciji raseljenih u BiH 93% su osobe bez kvalifikacija, nekvalifikovani, polukvalifikovani i kvalifi-

⁹ Ibid

¹⁰ Podaci iz Srednjoročne razvojne strategije BiH 2004-2007, Vijeće Ministara BiH, Vlada FBiH, Vlada RS, 2004.

kovani radnici, lica sa nižom stručnom spremom i tek petina onih sa srednjom stručnom spremom i visokokvalifikovani radnici. Kad su u pitanju zanimanja, 45% raseljenih su domaćice, poljoprivrednici i radnici.

Jasno je da su za lica bez adekvatnih kvalifikacija reducirne mogućnosti radnog angažmana. Nepovoljna obrazovna i kvalifikaciona struktura negativno utiče na mogućnost zaposlenja raseljenih lica i povratnika, budući da na tržištu radne snage raste potražnja za visokoobrazovanim i visokostručnim kadrovima.

Prekvalifikacije, dokvalifikacije i dodatno školovanje mogu biti put za rješenje problema. Međutim, s obzirom na starosnu dob i materijalne prilike raseljenih i povratnika, neke druge mjere ekonomskog oporavka, kao što su donacije, mikrokrediti za pokretanje poljoprivredne proizvodnje, ili obavljanje zanatskih i uslužnih djelatnosti mogu biti svrsishodnije. One su u fokusu nadležnih entitetskih ministarstava prilikom implementacije programa održivog povratka. Na ovom planu velik doprinos daju i nevladine organizacije, koje razumijevši probleme (re)integracije i socijalnog uključivanja, realizuju u pojedinim područjima konkretne projektne aktivnosti. Primjer ovakvog pristupa je recimo djelovanje Centra za razvoj i podršku (CRP), lokalne organizacija sa sjedištem u Tuzli, čiji je ključni programski cilj poboljšanje u sferi socijalnog i ekonomskog razvoja u BiH. Trenutno u saradnji sa međunarodnom organizacijom Mercy Corps Tuzla implementira projekat, "Komplementarna podrška povratku osoba smještenih u kolektivnim oblicima zbrinjavanja u Bosni i Hercegovini", finansiran od strane Ambasade Kraljevine Holandije.

Cilj projekta je pružanje neophodne prateće podrške projektu rekonstrukcije stambenog fonda za korisnike kolektivnog i alternativnog smještaja – CEB, koji realizuje Ministarstvo za ljudska prava i izbjeglice BiH. Mercy Corps za korisnike CEB projekta obezbjeđuje osnovnu tehničku infrastrukturu, dok CRP radi na poboljšanju socijalno-ekonomske situacije porodica trenutno smještenih u kolektivnim oblicima zbrinjavanja, nakon povratka u mjesto prijeratnog boravka.

CRP razvija tijesnu saradnju sa državnim, entitetskim i opštinskim nadležnim službama, te vrši terenske posjete korisnicima CEB projekta u mjestima trenutnog boravka, gdje obavlja razgovor sa korisnicima s ciljem prepoznavanja i razumijevanja situacije u kojoj se nalaze, što je i ključni elemenat pri metodologiji implementacije projekta.

Tokom posjeta porodicama, CRP prikuplja što je moguće više informacija koje pomažu u kreiranju detaljnog socio-ekonomskog profila svake korisničke porodice. Nakon obavljenih razgovora i analize prikupljenih podataka, CRP pristupa izradi akcijskog plana koji je prilagođen svakoj pojedinačnoj porodici. Porodice su podijeljene u dvije kategorije: one koje mogu prihvatiti neku vrstu ekonomske pomoći i one kojima je potrebna socijalna pomoć od institucija nadležnih za rješavanje problema socijalno ugroženih kategorija.

Za korisničke porodice koje mogu prihvatiti ekonomski paket pomoći CRP osoblje, zajedno sa svakim korisnikom, definiše vrstu ekonomske pomoći i organizuje realizaciju pomoći. Za korisničke porodice kojima je potrebna socijalna pomoć, CRP se fokusira na povezivanje sa socijalnim službama, službama zdravstvene zaštite, nevladinim organizacijama, koje su spremne pomoći porodicama pri reintegriranju u mjestu povratka i svim ostalim službama koje mogu pomoći potrebama korisničkih porodica.

1.3. Stambeni uslovi

Stambeni fond Bosne i Hercegovine 1991. godine činilo je 1.207.693 stambenih jedinica u 6.823 naselja. Prosječna stambena površina bila je 60,45 m² po domaćinstvu. Ratna razaranja dovela su do destrukcije stambenih jedinica, te je djelimično ili potpuno uništeno više od trećine stambenih objekta.¹¹

Stambeni problemi raseljenih lica proističu iz činjenice da je u 82% slučajeva njihova imovina u predratnim mjestima boravka uništena ili do te mjere oštećena da je neuslovna za stanovanje. Ovaj podatak je izveden na osnovu izjava raseljenih lica prilikom reregistracije iz 2005. godine. Većina raseljenih porodica nema riješeno stambeno pitanje. U prihvatnim centrima, individualnom i kolektivnom alternativnom smještaju još uvijek živi više od trećine raseljenih porodica. Ostali su podstanari ili žive kod rodbine i prijatelja. Neki od njih su, prodajom nekretnina u predratnom mjestu prebivališta, uspjeli da obezbijede vlastiti stambeni prostor. Međutim, uglavnom se radi o nedovršenim objektima, koji jedva da ispunjavaju minimalne standarde. Velik broj raseljenih je prodajom ili zamjenom stanova ili kuća na predrat-

11 Mario Nenadić i grupa autora, Usporedna analiza pristupa pravima izbjeglica i raseljenih osoba, Ministarstvo za ljudska prava i izbjeglice BiH, Sarajevo 2005

nim lokacijama riješilo stambeno pitanje, pa su po tom osnovu mnogi i izgubili status raseljenih. Time su ostali izvan prava korištenja drugih vidova potpore proisteklih iz zakonskih propisa koja se odnose na raseljena lica, premda se može pretpostaviti da su mnogi od njih socijalno isključeni po drugim osnovama. Na žalost, oni se nalaze "u sjeni" velikog broja ljudi, koji još uvijek imaju status raseljenih. Povratnicima su kroz proces implementacije imovinskih zakona vraćene stambene jedinice, te borave u vlastitim kućama/stanovima. Proces obnove se odvija sporo, a njegova osnovna karakteristika je da se daje prioritet povratku. Raseljene porodice, koje se opredjeljuju za ostanak u sadašnjim mjestima raseljenja, imaju veoma sužene mogućnosti.

Doprinos međunarodne zajednice u obnovi i rekonstrukciji stambenih jedinica posljednjih godina bio je veliki. Početkom 2006. godine stepen obnovljenosti stambenog fonda u BiH dostigao je procenat od gotovo 60%, sa oko 260.000 obnovljenih stambenih jedinica. Više od dvije trećine rekonstruisano je donatorskim sredstvima. Najvići stepen obnovljenosti stambenog fonda bio je u FBiH (66,70%), zatim u Brčko Distriktu BiH (46,30%), a najniži u RS sa stopom obnovljenosti od oko 40%.¹²

Prema podacima Državne komisije za izbjeglice i raseljena lica iz oktobra 2007. godine, 44.000 porodica je podnijelo zahtjev za obnovu i rekonstrukciju. Za obnovu preostalog broja porušenih stambenih jedinica treba izdvojiti 600 miliona KM, a za održivi povratak preko milijardu KM. U cilju rješavanja ovih problema u pripremi je Akcioni plan za utvrđivanje Strategije za realizaciju Aneksa 7. Dejtonskog mirovnog sporazuma do 2011. godine. U izradi ove Strategije bi trebalo da učestvuju, osim predstavnika nadležnih državnih i entitetskih organa i predstavnici nevladinog sektora. Aktivno učešće predstavnika nevladinog sektora kroz rad trinaest radnih podgrupa pokazuje da se u pripremi ovako važnog dokumenta uvažava iskustvo i snaga NVO korpusa.

Raseljeni u sadašnjim stambenim jedinicama oskudijevaju u različitim stambenim pogodnostima, kao što su vodosnabdijevanje, redovno snabdijevanje strujom, centralno grijanje, kupatilo, telefonska linija. Te pogodnosti pogotovo ne postoje u objektima koje su vlasti obezbijedile za potrebe privremenog smještaja. U tom pogledu u nešto povoljnijoj situaciji su povratnici, ako ništa zbog činjenice da su nastanjeni u vlastitim objektima. U odnosu na predratni period, i jedni i drugi su u većini slučajeva ostali bez dodatnih objekata, kao što su vikendice, poslovni prostor, garaže, pomoćne dvorišne zgrade i sl. Domaćinstva su im loše opremljena, mnogi su ostali bez automobila, poljoprivrednih mašina, sprava i alata za privređivanje. I raseljena i povratnička domaćinstva danas su puno lošije opremljena kućanskim aparatima, kao što su frižideri, zamrzivači, televizori, mašine za pranje veša i suša. U 90% slučajeva ovi aparati su stari i dotrajali, a porodice nemaju sredstva za kupovinu novih.¹³

1.4 Diskriminacija po spolu

U svijetu, kao i u Bosni i Hercegovini, žene izbjeglice čine nešto više od ukupne populacije izbjeglih i interno raseljenih osoba. Ova razlika se, kao i za domicilno stanovništvo, povećava sa godinama, tako da muškarci čine manju skupinu izbjeglih i raseljenih osoba starijih od 60 godina. (UNHCR, 2005 Statistical Yearbook – Bosnia and Herzegovina i UNHCR, 2006 Global Trends: Refugees, Asylum-seekers, Returnees, Internally Displaced and Stateless Persons).

Progane i izbjegle žene predstavljaju veliku, raznoliku i osjetljivu grupu u populaciji žrtava rata. Traumatična iskustva prije i za vrijeme njihova prisilnog napuštanja domova, nagomilani stresovi zbog stalnog produžavanja boravka u izbjegličkim kampovima i vrlo nesigurne budućnosti imaju pogubni uticaj na psihološko i mentalno zdravlje žena. Mnoge su se od njih, istovremeno kada je iscrpljena zadnja materijalna i socijalna pomoć i kada su izgubljeni posljednji psihološki oslonci, povukle u pasivnost, rezignaciju i depresiju. (Infoteka "Kruh i ruže" 1993)

Bez zaštite svojih domova, države, etničke-nacionalne grupe i često članova porodice, žene se nalaze u posebno ranjivoj situaciji za vrijeme izbjeglištva. Suočene su sa dugim i napornim putovanjima tokom zbijegova, uznemiravanje ili ignorisanje od strane lokalnih vlasti, kao i često seksualno uznemiravanje i nasilje čak i nakon što se nađu na navodno sigurnim mjestima. Žene se istovremeno suočavaju sa izazovom različitih uloga: pružaju brigu za djecu i stare koji su sa

¹² Ibid

¹³ Istraživanje "Integracija raseljenih lica i povratnika u lokalnoj zajednici" realizovano 2005. godine od strane NVO ARA u sklopu projekta "Integracija starih lica/povratnika u lokalnoj zajednici"

njima u zbijegovima, istovremeno su učiteljice, zarađuju za porodicu i trebaju pružati i fizičku zaštitu za svoje porodice. (UNHCR 2004 Kate Mastram & Marilyn Achrimon "Zaštita izbeglica: vodič kroz međunarodno izbegličko pravo")

Žene u izbjeglištvu su često pod posebnim pritiskom očekivanja svoje etničke/nacionalne skupine jer se od njih očekuje da budu nositeljice tradicije izgubljene izbjeglištvom. Kao nositeljice simbolike nacije traži se da posebno i više nego kod kuće, ističu svoju etničku/nacionalnu pripadnost. Ovo često znači da obrazovana žena koja je imala radno mjesto i kvalitetna primanja kod kuće u izbjeglištvu treba da se posveti isključivo "tradicionalnim ženskim poslovima": održavanja domaćinstva i brige za stare i djecu. (Nira Yuval-Davis 1997 "Gender and Nation" Sage)

Izbjeglištvo na poseban način pogađa i muškarce koji su sa svojim porodicama napustili mjesta konflikta ili nasilja. Smatra se da se i pored teških uslova i novih izazova na koje nailaze žene, one mnogo bolje snalaze od muškaraca. Muškarci gube svoje tradicionalne uloge hranitelja porodice i zaštitnika, često ih prati osjećaj krivice zbog napuštanja ognjišta i nisu spremni raditi poslove za koje su prekvalifikovani tek da bi zaradili za svoje porodice. Osjećaju se izolovano od svojih uobičajenih grupa unutar kojih su ostvarivali socijalne mreže, povlače se i često zapadaju u depresiju i suicidalne misli.

(Judith Zur "Violent Memories" 2000 The Perseus Books Group & "Individual and Group Reactions to Violence" 1995 Refugee Studies Programme)

2. RELACIJSKE/PARTICIPATIVNE DIMENZIJE SOCIJALNE ISKLJUČENOSTI

2.1. Društvene veze i primarna socijalna mreža

Analiza mikrosocijalne mreže raseljenih lica i povratnika obuhvata saznanja o njihovim porodičnim, rodbinskim, susjedskim i prijateljskim interakcijama. Kod obje grupe došlo je do raspada predratne mikrosocijalne mreže.

Ipak, unutar "okrnjenih" povratničkih porodica prevladavaju harmonični odnosi, dok su u porodicama raseljenih češći sukobi, uzrokovani ekonomskim problemima. To je u direktnoj vezi sa činjenicom da imaju neriješen jedan od osnovnih egzistencijalnih problema - smještaj.¹⁴

Rodbinska i susjedska mreža raseljenih je oslabljena uslijed odlaska članova rodbine i susjeda u druga mjesta raseljenja ili u inostranstvo. Kod povratnika je rodbinska i susjedska solidarnost više izražena, jer se uglavnom organizovano vraćaju tamo gdje se vratila većina njihovih predratnih rodnika i susjeda. "Pritisnuti" istim povratničkim mukama, oni se uzajamno pomažu, češće posjećuju i neposredno razmjenjuju zajedničke probleme.

Porodične i rodbinske veze raseljenih lica su pokidane ili otežane zbog udaljenosti koja je uzrokovana ograničenim smještajnim kapacitetima i traganjem za povoljnijim uslovima života, dok je kod povratnika više izražen princip porodično-rodbinske kompaktnosti.

Nedostatak pune podrške okruženja, a ponekad i otpor domicilnog stanovništva, otežava izgradnju mikrosocijalne mreže. Zato ne čudi da raseljeni nove prijateljske odnose grade pretežno sa osobama koje su se zajedno sa njima raselile u sadašnje lokalne zajednice, a povratnici sa osobama koje su se vratile.¹⁵ Ovo je indikativno, pošto se krug odabira prijatelja podudara, ne samo sa socijalnim statusom, nego i sa nacionalnim sastavom. Na to ukazuje i podatak da se prijateljske veze sa domicilnim stanovništvom češće razvijaju kod raseljenih osoba, budući da se usmjeravaju ka pripadnicima iste (i većinske) nacionalne grupe u lokalnoj zajednici. Međutim, to je nedovoljno da bi se moglo govoriti o potpunoj socijalnoj participaciji.

2.2. Političko sudjelovanje

Politička rješenja i odluke, na prostoru bivše Jugoslavije često su usmjeravali stvarnost na način da su sudbine ljudi, grupa, pa i nacija prolazile golgotu neprimjerenu ljudskom poimanju. U BiH teško je sresti pojedinca koji će reći da je kriv za početak i trajanje rata, iako su svi, na ovaj ili onaj način, bili njegovi sudionici. Krivica se pripisuje nekoj višoj (političkoj) sili. Pojedinci su se zbog svog neznanja, inertnosti ili možda nesvjesnih poriva, lako prepuštali kolektivnim osjećanjima i vrijednostima. A te (kolektivne) vrijednosti umnogome je određivala aktuelna politička klima. Zato ne čudi što je i odnos prema ljudima iz neposrednog okruženja dobroano determinisan politički obojenom svijesću o pripadnosti

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Ibid.

različitim grupacijama. Ovo umnogome smeta uspostavljanju normalnih svakodnevnih interakcija ljudi. Samim tim otežava i njihovu socijalnu uključenost.

Populacija raseljenih i povratnika pokazuje podjednako rezervisan stav prema politici, budući da politička rješenja često ne uvažavaju realne probleme socijalno isključenih grupa. Njihova politička participacija svedena je na redovno i povremeno učešće na izborima. Malo je onih koji posežu za političkim i društvenim angažmanom, koji bi radikalno mijenjao njihovu poziciju. Iako su akteri društvenih zbivanja, u kojima su njihovi problemi u vrhu neriješenih, raseljeni i povratnici imaju pasivan odnos. Oni teško komuniciraju sa institucijama koje donose odluke i koje raspolažu resursima. To im umanjuje mogućnost da učestvuju u formulisanju politike i mjera, koje bi bile prilagođene njihovim potrebama.

S druge strane, nadležne institucije i organizacije se ponašaju kao agenti države (politike), a ne kao agensi promjena. Umjesto konkretnih vidova pomoći, koji ublažavaju ili eliminišu egzistencijalne probleme "ovdje i sada", pomoć je sinhronizovana sa političkim opredjeljenjima. Stoga se zanemaruju realni egzistencijalni problemi i ne radi se na promjeni sadašnje životne situacije.

Djelovanje NVO sektora u političkoj ili javnoj sferi može se dvojako posmatrati. Udruženja raseljenih i povratnika, s jedne strane, treba da daju poticaj populaciji za čije interese rade, da aktivnije sudjeluje u izbornom procesu, kako bi uticali na političke orijentacije koje idu u pravcu efikasnijeg rješavanja njihovog položaja. S druge strane, preko udruženja se artikuliraju interesi raseljenih i povratnika. U tom smislu NVO-i vrše monitoring (kontrolu javne politike) i zagovaranje (lobiranje za opcije javnih politika, koje one preferiraju ili protiv onih sa kojim se ne slažu).

Ovdje je značajno pitanje u kojoj mjeri organizacije civilnog društva mogu uticati na javne politike i kakav je njihov odnos prema državi. Taj odnos se može kretati od rivalstva i takmičenja, preko ugovaranja i posredovanja, do kooperacije i saradnje. Nevladine organizacije, koje zastupaju interese raseljenih i povratnika mogu biti maksimalno 'distancirane' od vlade ili pak 'povezane' s njom u cilju ostvarivanja zajedničkih ciljeva. Prema tome, neke od njih pokušavaju uticati na pitanja od javnog interesa, a da su pritom potpuno izolovane iz formalnih procesa dizajniranja javnih politika i upućene su isključivo na ono što one same mogu postići. Druga krajnost su NVO-i koji nude rješenja u potpunoj saglasnosti sa vladinim argumentima da one jednostavno pritišću na 'otvorena vrata'. Kad organizacije civilnog društva uđu sa vladom ili donatorima u ugovorne sporazume za pružanje usluga, trebalo bi da izbjegniju opasnost da uvažavaju prije njihove interese, nego li interese korisnika.

2.3. Socijalna distanca i socijalni identitet

Socijalna distanca odnosi se na stepen bliskosti u socijalnim odnosima, koje neka osoba prihvata s pripadnicima drugih socijalnih skupina. Na području bivše Jugoslavije bilo je malo istraživanja koja su se bavila ovim problemom. Rezultati istraživanja, koja su se odnosila na ispitivanje socijalne distance prema pojedinim narodima, često su se interpretirali kao zadovoljavajući. Zanemarivana je činjenica da je 10-15% ispitanika izražavalo izrazitu socijalnu distancu, što je ukazivalo na postojanje problema u međunacionalnim odnosima (prema Šiber 1998.). Događaji koji su se odigrali na ovim prostorima iznijeli su u prvi plan do tada ignorisane činjenice.

Istraživanje socijalne distance daje relevantne informacije koje imaju posebno značenje u multikulturalnim društvima, budući da govore koliko su njegovi članovi, kao pripadnici pojedinih nacionalnih, religijskih ili kulturalnih skupina vezani za svoju skupinu, te koliko su tolerantni jedni prema drugima. Takvi podaci mogu ukazati na važne promjene koje se odvijaju u društvu i mogu biti polazište za predviđanje neželjenih događaja. Takođe ukazuju na trenutno stanje međunacionalnih odnosa i njihov uticaj na socijalnu uključenost.

Socijalni identitet je veoma važan faktor socijalnog funkcionisanja. Život u pojedinim društvenim grupama razvija osjećaj pripadnosti, što doprinosi pozitivnom samopoimanju. Ljudi, kao članovi grupe, razvijaju pozitivan socijalni identitet, pošto to pogoduje njihovom psihičkom zdravlju, sigurnosti, osjećaju vlastite vrijednosti i samopoštovanja, osjećanju pripadanja društvu i sl. Nacionalni identitet, kao dio socijalnog identiteta, može bitno uticati na druge društvene pojave. On se temelji na osjećaju pripadnosti nacionalnoj zajednici. U višenacionalnim zajednicama ova vrsta identiteta može značajno uticati na proces socijalnog uključivanja. Socijalni identitet raseljenih i povratnika "ograničen" je, uslijed

izraženog nacionalnog i vjerskog identiteta. Osjećaj pripadnosti nacionalnoj i vjerskoj zajednici dominantan je. On potiskuje osjećaj pripadnosti neposrednom okruženju (lokalnoj zajednici), ali i širem društvenom okruženju (državi).

S obzirom na to, raseljene osobe su u prednosti, jer žive u lokalnim zajednicama u kojima je domicilno (većinsko) stanovništvo iste nacionalne pripadnosti. To povoljno utiče na njihov osjećaj pripadnosti lokalnoj zajednici. Dakle, faktor izraženog nacionalnog i vjerskog identiteta povoljnije utiče na socijalno uključivanje raseljenih u odnosu na povratnike. Analogno tome, nacionalna, a time i socijalna distanca, raseljenih prema povratnicima je izražena.

Povratnici, nastanjeni u okruženju gdje dominira stanovništvo druge nacionalne pripadnosti, teže participiraju u životu lokalne zajednice. Njihovi iskazi¹⁶, u vezi sa stepenom bliskosti sa pripadnicima većinskog naroda izražavaju fleksibilan stav. Oni pokazuju spremnost da prihvate realnu situaciju suživota. Veliko je pitanje da li je taj osjećaj u skladu sa faktičkim stanjem ili je izraz željene projekcije. Iskustvo ukazuje na primjere koji ne idu u prilog tome da manjinska grupacija u lokalnoj zajednici ima potpuno ravnopravan tretman u javnom životu.

Kad je u pitanju suživot, danas se sve manje navodi strah kao razlog koji sprečava suživot.¹⁷ Ipak i dalje opcija suživota nije opšteprihvaćena. Očito da se stavovi i ponašanja ljudi ne formiraju samo na temelju realnih okolnosti, nego i na predrasudama, ideološkim zabudama ili iracionalnom poimanju stvarnosti. Jer, naspram iskaza o nemogućnosti suživota stoji realnost u kojoj sve češće povratnici, domicili i raseljeni žive zajedno, ili barem jedni pored drugih. Uporno neprihvatanje realnih okolnosti (i ljudi iz neposrednog okruženja) sužava socijalne interakcije, baš kao što povezivanje isključivo po nacionalnoj, političkoj ili vjerskoj osnovi reducira vidove socijalne participacije.

2.4. Anomija

Problemi raseljenih traju više od jedne decenije. U tom dugom vremenskom periodu, njihov položaj se nije značajnije mijenjao nabolje. Oni žive u neizvjesnosti u pogledu konačnog rješenja pitanja smještaja, a time i mjesta življenja. Povratnici su, od dolaska u svoje predratne sredine, riješili taj vitalan problem trajnim nastanjenjem u sadašnjim lokalnim zajednicama. To je uporište iz koga sa interesovanjem i nadom razmišljaju o budućnosti. Ohrabreni prvim značajnim korakom - useljenjem u svoje domove, oni sa više optimizma gledaju na buduća zbivanja. Voljni su da lično doprinesu promjenama. Većina smatra da sopstvenim djelovanjem može doprinijeti poboljšanju uslova života. Izlaz vide u svom radnom angažmanu, uz izvjesnu pomoć društva.

Većina raseljenih ne vjeruje da može lično doprinijeti promjenama. Smatraju da pojedinac ne može učiniti ništa, pomirili su se s tim da ih niko ni za šta ne pita, izgubili su volju zbog gubitka člana porodice, obeshrabruje ih što država nije stvorila odgovarajuće uslove ili su se "predali" zbog starosti i bolesti. To upućuje na "sindrom naučene bespomoćnosti". Samim tim, njihova percepcija budućnosti "obojena" je skepsom i pesimizmom, pa većina misli da se u narednom periodu ništa neće značajno promijeniti ili da će živjeti još gore. Očito da lokalna zajednica i šire društveno okruženje ne potiču njihove potencijale i ne čine dovoljno u pravcu njihovog socijalnog uključivanja.

Upravo u ovom području djelovanja presudnu ulogu mogu imati nevladine organizacije, posvećene psihosocijalnom radu. One mogu doprinijeti otklanjanju anomalije kroz osnaživanje raseljenih i povratnika, kao i njihovih porodica. Takođe mogu uspješno razvijati koncept samopomoći i razvijanja grupa za pomoć. Aktivan odnos pojedinca i porodice podrazumijeva proces osnaživanja kroz koji će raseljeni i povratnici, kao i njihove porodice i grupe, povećati sopstvene personalne, socijalno-ekonomske i političke snage i time uticati na poboljšanje sopstvenih životnih okolnosti. Raseljeni i povratnici treba da postanu aktivni učesnici promjena, a ne pasivni primaoci pomoći. Osnaživanje se zasniva na objektivnoj procjeni porodičnih snaga, na jačanju i korištenju porodičnih kapaciteta, posebno u kontaktima sa eksternim društvenim institucijama. Krajnji cilj je da se porodica transformiše od bespomoćnih i nesigurnih zajednica do snažnih samofunkcionišućih centara, sposobnih da preuzmu kontrolu nad okolnostima i podignu kvalitet života.

U kontekstu razmatranja problema socijalne isključenosti raseljenih i povratnika, grupe za uzajamnu pomoć ili samopomoć mogu imati izuzetan značaj. Oni bi u grupama mogli dobiti uzajamnu podršku, a pripadnost grupi povećala

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Prema izjavama datim u zahtjevima za registraciju 2005. godine, 7% raseljenih navodi strah kao razlog što se ne vraćaju u predratna mjesta, dok ostali navode neke druge razloge (smještaj, zaposlenje, školovanje).

bi njihovo samopouzdanje, te pomogla da se prevaziđe izolacija. Inicijative za stvaranje ovakvih grupa, identifikacija postojećih i njihova promocija može biti jedan od strateških pravaca nevladinih organizacija. U tom slučaju aktivisti NVO-i imaju ulogu "resurs konsultanta" koji povezuju klijente sa resursima što vodi poboljšanju njihovog samopouzdanja i rješavanju problema.

Nevladine organizacije mogu uspješno primjenjivati socijalni grupni rad sa manjim skupinama povratnika ili raseljenih, koji žive na užem lokalitetu (susjedstvo). Kroz grupni socijalni rad može se postići visok stepen individualnog osnaživanja, jačanja susjedske solidarnosti i pokretanja aktivnosti ekonomske samoodrživosti. Pripadnici grupe bi izmijenili ulogu u socijalnom okruženju, odnosno iz uloge žrtve bi prešli u ulogu samosvjesnog kreatora sopstvene sudbine. Lokalne nevladine organizacije, koje realizuju različite psihosocijalne aktivnosti, mogle bi dati doprinos u afirmisanju socijalnog grupnog rada. Uostalom, i začetak socijalnog grupnog rada vezuje se za nastanak i razvoj različitih dobrovoljnih udruženja.

* * *

Problemi socijalne isključenosti raseljenih i povratnika uzrokovani su nemogućnošću ostvarenja ekonomskih i socijalnih prava, relevantnih za dostojan i svrsishodan život. Ako se ljudsko bogatstvo može mjeriti brojem stvari kojih možemo da se odrekemo, ipak je izvjesno da ima onih bez kojih bi sam život bio doveden u pitanje. Čega bi se još mogli odreći ljudi koji nemaju kuću, zaposlenje, socijalne prinadležnosti, željene interpersonalne relacije? Obim problema (broj socijalno isključenih), dužina trajanja (preko deset godina) i socioekonomski položaj raseljenih i povratnika zahtijevaju adekvatna rješenja.

U borbi protiv socijalne isključenosti primjenjuju se različiti pristupi. Akcenat je nekad na ostvarivanju socijalnih prava, a nekad na zapošljavanju, koje se smatra glavnim mehanizmom za socijalno uključivanje. U prvom pristupu insistira se na stvaranju jednakih šansi i pristupa tržištu rada, obrazovanju, zdravstvenoj zaštiti, pravnoj zaštiti, odlučivanju i učešću u svim društvenim sferama. Drugi pristup svodi se uglavnom na participaciju na tržištu rada, budući da se smatra da je zaposlenje glavni faktor socijalne integracije, a nezaposlenost (posebno dugotrajna) presudan faktor isključenosti. Dakle, pojam isključenosti se nekad svodi na pitanje (ne)dostupnosti zaposlenju, a po drugim gledištima ovaj pojam obuhvata i pokriva sve veći broj socijalnih sfera i akcentira reuspostavljanje pokidanih socijalnih veza. Socijalno isključene grupe i pojedinci mogu biti i oni koji se dobrovoljno odlučuju na povlačenje. Ipak, ovdje prevashodno mislimo na raseljene i povratnike, koji žele da participiraju u aktivnostima građanskog društva, ali im to onemogućavaju različiti faktori izvan njihove kontrole.

IV MOGUĆNOSTI SOCIJALNOG RADA U ZAJEDNICI

Kad se govori o socijalnoj uključenosti pojedinaca ili čitavih socijalnih grupa, pogrešno je polazište po kom je za "neprilagođenost" odgovoran isključivo pojedinac, odnosno socijalna grupa. U tom slučaju a priori se pretpostavlja da je sredina uvijek takva da se svaki "normalan" član može integrisati. Jednostrano poimanje "prilagođavanja" je neosnovano. Na osnovu psiholoških spoznaja i zakonitosti ne mogu se objašnjavati fenomeni koji su po svojoj suštini društveni. Prilagođavanjem se mogu objasniti psihološki, ali ne i društveni aspekti pojave kakva je socijalna isključenost.

Potencijali raseljenih i povratnika su reducirani, a uslijed dugogodišnjeg "trpljenja" nepovoljnih životnih okolnosti teško da mogu biti samoinicirani. Društvena zajednica, sa pripadajućim normama i institucijama, takođe snosi odgovornost. U tom smislu značajan je ekonomski, pravni i politički okvir. Ekonomski faktori presudno utiču na mogućnost zaposlenja, obezbjeđenje stambenih uslova i kreiranje slobodnog vremena; aktuelno zakonodavstvo može afirmisati ili sputavati ostvarenje prava iz oblasti zdravstvene, socijalne ili zaštite ljudskih prava; političke prilike značajne su za proces suživota i pomirenja. Međutim, globalni društveni okvir i strateška opredjeljenja nerijetko su veoma "udaljena" od stvarnih ljudskih potreba. Izlaz treba tražiti u organizovanju zajednice, što podrazumijeva da se njeni raspoloživi resursi ukrste sa potrebama onih koji se suočavaju sa ekonomskim i socijalnim problemima.

Gdje i kako se ovakav pristup može najbolje primijeniti?

Presudnu ulogu u procesu socijalnog uključivanja ima lokalna zajednica. U tom "prirodnom" ambijentu, u kome žive raseljeni i povratnici, socijalni rad u zajednici, kao kompleksan metodološki pristup, može efikasno odgovoriti na mnogostruke dimenzije socijalne isključenosti.

Nepovoljna okolnost je to što se od lokalnih zajednica prije očekuje sprovođenje datih politika, nego li samoorganizovanje zasnovano na potrebama stanovništva. Zato se organizacija zajednice više poistovjećuje sa političkom organizacijom i strukturama, nego sa uređenjem ekonomskih, kulturnih ili socijalnih odnosa i procesa u zajednici. Insistiranje na etničkim i političkim razlikama može potisnuti u drugi plan realne probleme u lokalnim zajednicama. Ambijent etničke podijeljenosti ne pogoduje borbi za socijalnu uključenost svih stanovnika. Otudjenje ljudi se produžava, a dijapazon ljudskih interakcija sužava. Pripadnici različitih etničkih grupa se socijalno isključuju u odnosu na pripadnike drugih etniciteta. Etnička distanca ide ka svojevrsnoj zatvorenosti, koja ostavlja skučen prostor za socijalno uključivanje pojedinca i vodi ka njihovom otudjenju iz regularnih društvenih procesa.

Uprkos tome, na nivou lokalne zajednice mogu se činiti bitni pomaci. Prije svega, stalno treba insistirati na tome da država ima "dužnost da brine" o socijalnom uključivanju svih članova društva u političke, ekonomske i društvene tokove. Polazni zadatak lokalne zajednice jeste utvrđivanje njenih ciljeva i u tom kontekstu identifikovanje problema. Zatim slijedi utvrđivanje prioriteta. Budući da velik dio stanovništva lokalnih zajednica u BiH čine raseljena lica i povratnici, rješavanje njihovih socijalnih problema je na listi prioriteta. Na nivou lokalne zajednice treba izvršiti sveobuhvatnu analizu problema i utvrditi moguće pravce akcije. Shodno tome, lokalna zajednica treba da ustanovi raspoložive izvore, mogućnosti, sredstva i način rješavanja problema socijalnog uključivanja raseljenih i povratnika. Ovo je polazište za planiranje akcija i donošenje posebnih planova i programa. Konkretno akcije na nivou lokalne zajednice podrazumijevaju korištenje raspoloživih resursa (materijalnih, političkih, moralnih, kulturnih), mobilizaciju građana, **dobrovoljnih organizacija**, relevantnih formalnih i neformalnih struktura zajednice u cilju ostvarivanja uspješne integracije raseljenih osoba i povratnika. Stalno praćenje aktivnosti, evaluacija i revizija planova sastavni su dio obaveza lokalne zajednice, kao i uspješno organizovanje zajednice kroz procese dogovaranja, saradnje, koordinacije i informisanja javnosti.

Raseljenim licima i povratnicima treba dati mogućnost i sredstva za potpuno učestvovanje u ekonomskom, društvenom i kulturnom životu i za postignuće optimalnog standarda življenja. Podrazumijeva se i njihovog učestvovanje u donošenju odluka, značajnih za svakodnevni život i pristup resursima lokalne zajednice. U lokalnoj zajednici treba im obezbijediti pristup zaposlenju i ostvarenje adekvatnih prihoda i sredstava za dostojanstven život, stvarati mogućnosti cjeloživotnog obrazovanja, obezbijediti adekvatan smještaj, ojačati porodičnu solidarnost i mikrosocijalne mreže, osigurati jednak pristup zdravstvenim, kulturnim, rekreativnim i pravnim uslugama, te unaprijediti pružanje socijalnih usluga.

Naravno, pitanje je u kojoj mjeri lokalne zajednice to mogu realizovati. Očigledno je da su i njihove mogućnosti ograničene, budući da je uslijed velikih ratnih potresa, nasilnih migracija i etničkih suprotnosti još uvijek prisutna dezorganizacija lokalnih zajednica. Promjene treba da idu ka individualnim potrebama korisnika, proširenju usluga socijalnog rada i širenju mreže aktera socijalnog sistema. Partnerstvo sa korisnicima je okosnica tog pristupa. Raseljene osobe i povratnici treba da budu subjekti podrške koju im zajednica pruža, dakle, uključeni u rješavanje sopstvenih problema. To znači uvažavanje stvarnih potreba korisnika i animiranje potencijala kojim raspolažu. U lokalnim zajednicama treba primjenjivati pristup orijentisan ka klijentu, podršku i usluge uskladiti sa realnim potrebama, razvijati partnerstvo javnog i nevladinog sektora, vršiti stalno planiranje i evaluaciju, podizati javnu svest o potrebama i problemima raseljenih i povratnika.

Sve to je, zapravo, sastavni dio socijalnog rada u zajednici, čija je osnovna vrijednost kompleksan pristup u rješavanju socijalnih problema, pa tako i socijalnog uključivanja raseljenih i povratnika.

V ZAKLJUČAK

Kao što je u uvodnom dijelu navedeno socijalni rad u (lokalnoj) zajednici, ne samo da efikasno koristi raspoložive resurse zajednice, nego otvara prostor za povezivanje javnog i nevladinog sektora. Ova saradnja je značajna za predupređenje i otklanjanje uzroka socijalne isključenosti uopšte, a raseljenih lica i povratnika posebno. S jedne strane,

brojni socijalni problemi ove populacije i njihova raznolikost, a sa druge, nedovoljne mogućnosti države, ukazuju na to da naponi javnog sektora moraju biti nadopunjeni inicijativama i aktivnostima nevladinih organizacija. Dobrovoljno organizovanje građana i učinak nevladinih organizacija su jedno od nužnih rješenja, a saradnja vladinog i nevladinog sektora neminovnost. U slučaju nevladinog i javnog sektora veoma je bitna razlika između stanja u kome ova dva sistema funkcionišu jedan pored drugoga, paralelno, vodeći zasebne politike i ostvarujući različite ciljeve, nasuprot stanju u kome su uspostavljeni odnosi uzajamne saradnje, podrške i razumijevanja. Različiti principi rada javnog i nevladinog sektora ne isključuju mogućnost međusobne saradnje. Štaviše, ova saradnja je uslov za što kvalitetnije zadovoljavanje potreba građana. Proces povezivanja vladinog i nevladinog sektora, ali i svih raspoloživih resursa (uključujući i potencijale raseljenih/povratnika i njihovih primarnih grupa) iziskuje strpljenje, umješnost i istrajnost.

Budući da je lokalna zajednica prirodni ambijent u kom se susreću građanin i država, logično je da se upravo u lokalnoj zajednici najbolje može ostvariti saradnja (dobrovoljno udruženih) građana i države/javnih ustanova. U lokalnim zajednicama, gdje se nevladine organizacije bave socijalnim problemima, treba uvažiti ovu činjenicu. Ukoliko se radi o specifičnim problemima, kakvi su problemi raseljenih i povratnika, nevladine organizacije mogu doprinijeti socijalnom uključivanju u sferi ekonomske, političke, građanske, socijalne ili kulturne participacije. One mogu imati značajnu ulogu u monitoringu (kontrola javne politike), zagovaranju (lobiranje za opcije koje one preferiraju ili protiv onih sa kojim se ne slažu), izgradnji kapaciteta (obezbjeđenje podrške zajednici ili drugim organizacijama civilnog društva) i pružanju usluga marginalizovanim grupama. Mnoge nevladine organizacije su dobro osposobljene da pružaju psihosocijalne, zdravstvene ili obrazovne usluge. Katkada mogu imati ključnu ulogu, naročito u slučajevima kad imaju dobro uspostavljene odnose na nivou zajednice. Zato se na lokalnom nivou može povjeriti **značajnija uloga sektoru civilnog društva**, koji će poticati socijalno uključivanje pružanjem usluga u segmentima gdje država nije dovoljno aktivna. Čineći to, subjekti će na lokalnom nivou mijenjati shvatanja, smanjivati predrasude, pa i preuzimati centralnu ulogu u kreiranju i proizvodnji pozitivnih promjena.

Studija slučaja

Socijalno uključivanje povratnika u lokalnoj zajednici

mr Jagoda Petrović
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Opština je osnovna lokalna zajednica u kojoj se zadovoljavaju potrebe građana u oblasti socijalne zaštite, pa tako i raseljenih lica i povratnika. U rješavanju problema njihove socijalne isključenosti značajna je primjena mjera iz oblasti proširenih prava socijalne zaštite. Šta kada takve mogućnosti ne postoje, a socijalno ugrožena lica nisu "kласični" klijenti centra za socijalni rad? Da li u tom slučaju nevladine organizacije mogu organizovati pružanje pomoći iz segmenta proširenih prava kao što su kućna njega i pomoć, pomoć oko ekonomskog angažovanja i održavanja porodice, pomoć oko ostvarivanja ličnih, ekonomskih i socijalnih prava, savjetovanje, posredovanje u korištenju usluga ustanova i službi u lokalnoj zajednici, povremena pomoć u namirnicama, odjeći, obući, ogrjevu, pomoć u socijalnoj, kulturnoj i uopšte integraciji isključenih grupa?

Afirmativan primjer je realizacija projekta "Reintegracije starih lica-povratnika" u mjesnoj zajednici Janja na području opštine Bijeljina, koji ilustruje kapacitet NVO u povezivanju relevantnih subjekata lokalne zajednice u cilju socijalnog uključivanja povratnika, što je realizovano kroz odgovarajuće faze socijalnog rada u lokalnoj zajednici.

1. FAZA - Praćenje i identifikacija socijalnih potreba povratnika u mjesnoj zajednici

Procjena stvarnih potreba i problema povratničke populacije na području opštine Bijeljina bila je početni korak. Najveći dio povratnika (oko 8.000) bio je koncentrisan na području MZ Janja, a preko 40% su bila lica u starosnoj dobi iznad 60 godina. U predratnom periodu stanovništvo ove mjesne zajednice isključivo se bavilo ratarskom proizvodnjom. S obzirom na materijalno stanje i kvalifikacije nisu postojale pretpostavke za ostvarenje prihoda po nekom drugom osnovu. Ovo je identifikovano kao ključni faktor socijalne isključenosti. Budući da se radilo o osobama, koje u odnosu na većinsko stanovništvo pripadaju manjinskoj nacionalnoj skupini, njihov pristup lokalnim ustanovama i institucijama bio je reduciran, ne samo zbog nezainteresovanosti lokalne zajednice, nego i zbog nedostatka njihovog samopouzdanja.

2. FAZA - Utvrđivanje resursa i načina rješavanja problema

U ovoj fazi trebalo je identifikovati pojedince, javne ustanove i organizacije, koje bi mogle dati doprinos u rješavanju problema. Uspostavljena je saradnja sa Centrom za socijalni rad, Opštinskim odsjekom Ministarstva za izbeglice i raseljena lica, odjeljenjem za ljudska prava i reintegraciju pri resornom entitetskom Ministarstvu, opštinskim odjeljenjem za pitanja raseljenih lica i povratnika, predstavnicima mjesne zajednice, medicinskim centrom, lokalnim sredstvima informisanja. Važno mjesto u procjeni raspoloživih resursa imali su sami klijenti. Njihovi poten-

cijali ogledali su se u relativno dobrom zdravstvenom stanju, entuzijazmu zbog povratka u svoje kuće i na svoj posjed, posjedovanju poljoprivrednih parcela, dobrim međususedskim odnosima.

3. FAZA - Definisanje ciljeva

Krajnji cilj projekta bio je socijalno uključivanje povratnika u lokalnu zajednicu, unutar kog su klasifikovani ciljevi usmjereni ka zajednici i ciljevi usmjereni ka klijentima. Ciljevi usmjereni ka lokalnoj zajednici trebalo je da rezultiraju promjenom stavova i ponašanja svih relevantnih subjekata u odnosu na probleme povratničke populacije. Stoga je trebalo raditi na umrežavanju identifikovanih resursa na nivou lokalne zajednice, obezbijediti zajedničko učešće u konkretnim akcijama, vršiti stalnu razmjenu informacija. Ciljevi usmjereni ka klijentu vodili su ka njihovom ravnopravnom uključivanju u rješavanje problema, kroz individualno osnaživanje, uspostavljanje mikrosocijalne mreže i ekonomsku samoodrživost.

4. FAZA - Planiranje akcija i aktivnosti

Projektni tim NVO ARA (socijalni radnik/koordinator, pravnik, psiholog i medicinski radnik) sačinio je planove aktivnosti. Plan aktivnosti usmjeren ka osnaživanju klijenata obuhvatao je direktan tretman, zasnovan na svakodnevnom kontaktima sa korisnicima. Nakon utvrđivanje individualnih socijalnih anamneza, planiran je grupni socijalni rad sa korisnicima, kod kojih se ustanovljeni srodni problemi. Svrha grupnog socijalnog rada bila je, ne samo osnaživanje korisnika, nego i formiranje funkcionalne mikrosocijalne mreže, mreže susjedske solidarnosti.

5. FAZA - Realizacija aktivnosti

U početnoj fazi rada radilo se na uspostavljanju odnosa uzajamnog povjerenja, čemu je doprinijela distribucija pomoći u odjeći, obući, ogrjevu. Zdravstveno stanje korisnika redovno je praćeno, kroz ljekarske preglede i adekvatan medicinski tretman.

Intenzivno se radilo na promjeni pravnog položaja klijenata (zastupanje klijenata prilikom ostvarivanja njihovih imovinskih prava, sticanja prava na zdravstvenu zaštitu, koncipiranje zahtjeva za pomoć u održivom povratku).

Socijalni radnik je dva puta mjesečno organizovao rad sa korisničkim grupama. Na prvim sastancima sa razmatrani su zajednički problemi, a kasnije i moguće perspektive. Nastavak poljoprivredne proizvodnje za sve njih značio je sigurne izvore prihoda, ali i svojevrstu okupacionu terapiju, koja bi pomogla osmišljavanju svakodnevnice. Vremenom je stvorena jaka međususedska solidarnost, te su grupe ojačale do snažnih neformalnih mikro-zajednica.

Sve vrijeme je rađeno na "uvezivanju" relevantnih lokalnih aktera. Već kod izbora korisnika konsultovani su predstavnici mjesne zajednice, opštinskog odsjeka za raseljena lica, udruženja povratnika i opštinskog odjeljenja za pitanja raseljenih i povratnika. Dogovor oko prijedloga liste korisnika, bio je prilika da nevladina organizacija prezentira svoj projekat integracije povratnika, da iznese ciljeve i plan realizacije. Dobijena je saglasnost i podrška, te je postignut konsenzus oko prioriteta i podjele obaveza.

Na osnovu iskazane volje povratnika i u međuvremenu razvijenog odnosa međususedske solidarnosti formirano je pet neformalnih grupa sa po deset članova.

Posredstvom NVO ARA, SDC je donirao jedan motokultivator, a kroz program održivog povratka resornog entitetskog Ministarstva donirana su još četiri motokultivatora i dva platenika. Jedan od uslova za dodjelu donacije bio je potpisivanje ugovora od strane pripadnika solidarnih grupa u kome se nosilac grupe obavezuje da će za potrebe ostalih članova vrši obradu poljoprivrednih parcela. Na ovaj način omogućeno je obnavljanje poljoprivredne

proizvodnje za **50 povratničkih domaćinstava**, čime su stvoreni preduslovi za ekonomsku održivost oko **170 povratnika**. Članovi solidarnih skupina vrše i "povrat zajednici" izdvajajući dio poljoprivrednih proizvoda nepokretnim, starim i bolesnim osobama.

6. FAZA - Evaluacija

Kod svih korisnika došlo je do promjene životne situacije. Za nepokretna i teško oboljela lica obezbjeđena je redovna vaninstitucionalna briga. Kroz individualni i grupni socijalni rad korisnici su osnaženi i postali su aktivni sudionici promjena, te su u saradnji sa NVO i drugim učesnicima podrške postigli samoodrživost.

Ostvarena je saradnja sa lokalnim ustanovama i organizacijama, koje su u skladu sa svojim nadležnostima preuzele dio obaveza.

Centar za socijalni rad prihvatio je lokalnu NVO kao ravnopravnog partnera u rješavanju problema socijalnog uključivanja povratnika.

Nadležno odjeljenje resornog Ministarstva prihvatilo je model lokalne NVO, kao jedan od mogućih pristupa u programu održivog povratka.

Aktivno učešće lokalnih organizacija i ustanova doprinijelo je drugačijem pogledu na probleme povratnika u lokalnoj zajednici, što je pomoglo promjeni stavova i ponašanja okruženja. Na ovo je uticala i medijska promocija toka i rezultata projektnih aktivnosti

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Ovaj primjer pokazuje da nevladina organizacija može biti inicijator i ključni nosilac u povezivanju aktera javnog i nevladinog sektora na području lokalne zajednice. U osnovi ove saradnje je rješavanje konkretnih problema sa jasno postavljenim planovima, ciljevima i zajedničkim učestvovanjem u pojedinim aktivnostima. Povezivanje ova dva sektora, ali i svih raspoloživih resursa (uključujući i potencijale korisnika i primarnih grupa), mora teći uz uvažavanje svih učesnika i respektovanje osobenosti i mogućnosti svakog aktera.

Inkluzivno obrazovanje u BiH

Radmila Rangelov-Jusović
Centar za obrazovne inicijative Step by Step

1. Uvod

“Svim osobama – djeci, mladeži i odraslima – mora se jamčiti korištenje odgojnoobrazovnih mogućnosti u zadovoljavanju temeljnih potreba za učenjem. Te potrebe obuhvataju i primarna oruđa za učenje (kao što su pismenost, usmeno izražavanje, računanje i rješavanje problema) i primarni sadržaj učenja (kao što su znanje, vještine, vrijednosti i stavovi), koji su čovjeku potrebni za preživljavanje, puni razvoj njegovih sposobnosti, dostojanstven život i rad, aktivno sudjelovanje u razvoju, poboljšanje kvalitete života, donošenje znalačkih odluka i nastavak učenja.”¹

Tokom posljednje decenije, pitanje ostvarivanja temeljnog prava na *kvalitetno* obrazovanje, odnosno investiranje u razvoj ljudskih resursa uopšte, postaje sve značajnije, ako ne i ključno razvojno pitanje koje dobija snažan zamah u raspravama, dokumentima i praksi u cijelom svijetu. Isto tako, sve više raste svijest o tome da ostvarivanje prava na obrazovanja postaje i pitanje opstanka te da će se bogatstvo jedne zemlje u budućnosti mjeriti stepenom obrazovanja svih njenih građana.

Na žalost, broj djece koje su isključene iz obrazovnog sistema, i dalje se mjeri milionima, a broj odraslih koji ne mogu da ostvare ovo pravo koči i dovodi u pitanje sve oblasti razvoja: ekonomski, kulturni i socijalni. Pravo na obrazovanje utiče na ostvarivanje svih ostalih prava, pa njegovo neostvarivanje neizbježno vodi ka produbljivanju jaza između bogatih i siromašnih, ruralnih i urbanih područja, između zemalja i regija.

“Iako je posvećenost univerzalnom pravu na pristup obrazovanju esencijalno, poboljšavanje i održavanje kvaliteta je jednako važno kako bi se osigurali efikasni rezultati učenja.”²

Pravo na obrazovanje, koje počinje od samog rođenja i traje sve do kraja života, ne podrazumijeva samo formalni, fizički pristup različitim obrazovnim institucijama, već i osiguravanje kvaliteta koji dovodi do rezultata i efekata neophodnih za ostvarivanje kvalitetnog života pojedinca, učešće u društvenom i ekonomskom životu te razvoj društva u cjelini. Jedna od temeljnih karakteristika kvalitetnih škola jeste inkluzivna orijentacija koja podrazumijeva “borbu protiv diskriminatorskih stavova, stvaranje zajednica koje su otvorene i prihvatajuće za sve, stvaranje inkluzivnog društva i doseganje cilja “obrazovanja za sve”. Kvalitetne, inkluzivne škole ... poboljšavaju efikasnost i efektivnost sistema u cjelini.”³

- 1 World Declaration on Education For All: Meeting Basic Learning Needs; World Conference on Education for All, Jomtien, Thailand, March 1990.; <http://www.un-documents.net/jomtien.htm>
- 2 Dakar Framework for Action, Education for All: Meeting our Collective Commitments; The World Education Forum, 26-28 April 2000, Dakar, Senegal; <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0012/001211/121147e.pdf>
- 3 The Salamanca Statement and Framework for Action on Special Needs Education; World Conference on Special Needs Education: Access and quality; Salamanca, Spain, 10 June 1994.; <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0009/000984/098427eo.pdf>

"Obrazovni sistem mora biti inkluzivan, aktivno djelujući kako bi privukao i obuhvatio djecu koja nisu uključena u sistem, i reagujući fleksibilno na uslove i potrebe učenika...."⁴

Veoma često se pitanje ostvarivanja prava na obrazovanje, ali i dostizanje željenih rezultata, povezuje sa bogatstvom jedne zemlje i/ili procentom ulaganja u obrazovanje. Ne sporeći značaj i potrebu za ulaganjem finansijskih sredstava, komparativna istraživanja i eksterna evaluacija rezultata obrazovanja (npr. PISA) pokazala su da djeca u jednom broju razvijenih zemalja ne dosežu minimum ili optimum standarda neophodnih za uspješno uključivanje u više razine obrazovanja, kao i moderna kretanja u ekonomiji. Sa druge strane, jedan broj zemalja u razvoju počinje da se izdvaja u pogledu izuzetno visokih rezultata u obrazovanju, što otvara pitanje i drugih faktora koji utiču na efekte obrazovnog sistema.

Obrazovni sistem je izrazito složen sistem, koji zahtijeva dobru koordinaciju i visok kvalitet mnoštva elemenata. Na ostvarivanje željenih ciljeva i rezultata utiče kvalitet obrazovnog procesa, koji je direktno povezan sa kompetencijama nastavnika i njihovim cjeloživotnim učenjem. Takođe je važna sposobnost škole i sistema u cjelini da bude fleksibilan i prilagodi se potrebama svakog djeteta i porodice, uvaži kulturološke i druge različitosti i kreira inkluzivnu sredinu; aktivno uključi porodice i zajednicu i dr. Stoga se pitanje socijalne inkluzije ne može gledati kao izdvojen fenomen, niti se problemi u ovoj oblasti mogu rješavati izdvojeno iz cjeline obrazovnog sistema.

U težnji EU da *"postane najkonkurentnije i najdinamičnije gospodarstvo na svijetu, zasnovano na znanju..."⁵*, pravo na kvalitetno obrazovanje, dobilo je novu dimenziju. Omogućavanje ostvarivanja ovog, kao i drugih prava, zahtijeva jedinstven, koordiniran i sveobuhvatan angažman vladinih i nevladinih organizacija i institucija, biznisa i privatnog sektora, ne samo iz oblasti obrazovanja i obrazovne politike, nego i sektora socijalne i zdravstvene zaštite, i drugih sektora na razini jedne zemlje, ali i globalno.

2. Obrazovni sistem u Bosni i Hercegovini – trenutno stanje

a. Gdje je mjesto pitanja socijalne uključenosti u oblasti obrazovanja u BiH?

Ostvarivanje prava na kvalitetno obrazovanje, svakako je jedno od pitanja od presudnog značaja za budućnost naše zemlje ali i za suočavanja sa aktuelnim, gorućim prioritetima vezanim za smanjivanje siromaštva, te održiv socijalni i ekonomski razvoj. Statistike jasno pokazuju da najveći postotak nezaposlenih, a uzročno-posljedično i siromašnih u Bosni i Hercegovini, čine ljudi bez formalnog ili sa veoma niskim nivoom obrazovanja te, na žalost, porodice sa troje i više djece. Tako na hiljade djece u Bosni i Hercegovini živi ispod granice siromaštva, ili tek nešto iznad nje. Podatak da i danas između 4 i 8% djece⁶ (odnosno više od 64% romske djece) ne upisuju i/ili ne završavaju osnovnu školu, govori o tome da će se, ukoliko se ne poduzmu hitne akcije, postotak siromašnih u budućnosti povećavati, prije nego smanjivati a Bosna i Hercegovina će se, kao zemlja, suočiti sa pitanjem ekonomskog opstanka.

Pored navedenih podataka, mnoštvo je primjera koji ilustruju stanje u oblasti ostvarivanja prava na obrazovanje i socijalne inkluzije u Bosni i Hercegovini: između 85 i 95% djece ranog uzrasta nema pristup nikakvom obliku predškolskog odgoja i obrazovanja, romska djeca su izložena različitim formama diskriminacije, segregacija djece na osnovu nacionalne pripadnosti je realnost već više od decenije, udžbenici i drugi materijali za učenje potiču raslojavanje i antagonizam ili, u najmanju ruku, ne podstiču uvažavanje različitosti; probleme mnogo djece i ne znamo jer su "nevidljiva", odnosno o njima ne postoje relevantni podaci, nemaju dokumente, zdravstveno osiguranje i dr.

Uprkos ovako dramatičnoj situaciji, navedeni problemi i načini njihovog rješavanja gotovo da i nisu na dnevnom redu institucija BH vlasti, pa čak ni ministarstava za obrazovanje, pedagoških zavoda i drugih obrazovnih institucija. Mnogi se neće složiti sa ovom konstatacijom, tvrdeći kako je, u postojećim uslovima učinjeno mnogo. Naime, činjenica je da je tokom proteklih godina, posebno od 2002. godine pa na ovamo, učinjeno niz formalnih koraka kako bi se osigurala socijalna i obra-

4 Dakar Framework for Action, Education for All: Meeting our Collective Commitments; The World Education Forum, 26-28 April 2000, Dakar, Senegal; <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0012/001211/121147e.pdf>

5 The European Council; Presidency Conclusions, 23 and 24 March 2000, Lisbon, Portugal; http://www.consilium.europa.eu/ueDocs/cms_Data/docs/pressData/en/ec/00100-r1.en0.htm

6 UNDP, Izvještaj o humanom razvoju, 2003 <http://www.undp.ba>

zovna inkluzija u našoj zemlji, donesen je i potpisan niz zakonskih i podzakonskih akata te reformskih dokumenata kojima se garantuje pravo sve djece na pristup kvalitetnom obrazovanju. Ovo pravo regulisano je i Članom II.3. Ustava BiH koji glasi: *„Sva lica na teritoriji Bosne i Hercegovine uživaju ljudska prava i slobode...;što uključuje: ... pravo na obrazovanje”*.

Neosporno je da postoji formalna zakonska regulativa kojom se: „osigurava pravo svakom djetetu **na besplatno** obavezno osnovno obrazovanje”⁸, uvedena je još jedna godina obaveznog osnovnog obrazovanja, kako bi se obuhvatilo što veći broj djece predškolskog uzrasta, zakonski je regulisana inkluzija djece sa poteškoćama u razvoju u redovno obrazovanje⁹, obrazovne potrebe djece pripadnika manjinskih grupa regulisane su Zakonom o zaštiti prava pripadnika nacionalnih manjina¹⁰ pa onda i Akcionim planom¹¹, itd. Bosna i Hercegovina je potpisnica mnogih međunarodnih konvencija, deklaracija, strategija i drugih dokumenata kojima se promovira pristup, jednaka prava, uvažavanje i nediskriminacija.

Tvrditi da se obezbjeđivanjem navedenih, formalnih pretpostavki rješavaju gotovo svi problemi te da su time stvoreni neophodni preduslovi za osiguravanje prava na obrazovanje svakom djetetu, pa samim time i riješena osnovna pitanja vezana za socijalnu inkluziju, veća je opasnost od priznanja da nismo daleko odmakli u navedenim procesima.

Implementacija navedenih zakonskih i podzakonskih akata, potpisanih planova i strategija, najčešće izostaje ili se završava povremenim akcijama, kratkoročnim, površnim i paušalnim rješenjima, čime se stvara samo privid djelovanja, a pažnja se preusmjerava sa suštinskih na formalne probleme.

Na primjer, u vrijeme otpočinjanja nove školske godine, kada se mnogo roditelja zapita kako će izaći na kraj sa kupovinom udžbenika, odjeće, obuča, pribora i drugih potrepština vezanih za upis u školu ili prelazak u viši razred, obrazovne vlasti otvaraju debate vezane za uvođenje školskih uniformi ili težinu đачke torbe. Podjela besplatnih udžbenika, koja najčešće kasni ili se ne realizuje za sve ugrožene grupe, često je jedina akcija koju poduzimaju obrazovane vlasti u nastojanju da osiguraju jednak pristup formalnom obrazovanju i to isključivo u nižim razinama obrazovanja.

Na taj način se, ionako ograničena, sredstva, vrijeme i energija nepovratno troše. Poduzete akcije ne proizvode željene efekte, što dovodi do defetizma, zamora i obeshrabrenja, a protivnicima promjena daje nove argumente. Izostaje i relevantna evaluacija i analiza poduzetih aktivnosti, pa se slična situacija ponavlja iz godine u godinu.

Najugroženije, manjinske i marginalizovane grupe, često ni na koji način ne participiraju u ovakvim i sličnim akcijama koje se čine „za njih” i „u njihovo ime”. Tome doprinosi i činjenica da pripadnici ovih grupa teško ostvaruju pristup školama i drugim institucijama, nemaju priliku da se upoznaju sa svojim pravima niti načinima njihovog ostvarivanja.

Kada je riječ o ostvarivanju zakonom osiguranog prava djeteta na obrazovanje, važno je naglasiti da obrazovne vlasti i institucije nemaju nikakvu formalnu odgovornost, niti postoje propisane procedure i sankcije u slučajevima njihovog neispunjavanja. Sa druge strane, propisane su i provode se procedure vezane za novčano kažnjavanje roditelja koji (najčešće zbog siromaštva ili/udaljenosti, odnosno nedostatka prevoza), ne šalju djecu u školu. Nije zabilježen slučaj da je škola odgovarala zbog odbijanja (ili u najmanju ruku obeshrabrivanja) da upiše romsko dijete ili dijete sa poteškoćama u razvoju, a primjeri diskriminacije i segregacije nikada nisu sankcionisani.

Nedostatak kritičke analize stanja i oštrijih reakcija na probleme sa kojima se susreću naša djeca i porodice, osim glasova koji se čuju iz različitih udruženja i NVO sektora uopšte, proizilazi i iz nejasne ideje o tome koje su obaveze društva, obrazovnog sistema, odnosno škola u provođenju ovog prava u život. Naime, među porodicama, u zajednici, organima vlasti na različitim nivoima, pa i u školama još uvijek postoji duboko uvjerenje da je naš obrazovni sistem „dobar”, da nisu potrebne nikakve značajnije promjene, a da je problem negdje drugdje. Postoji uvjerenje da je uloga škole odavno definisana, da je njena funkcija da upiše a zatim podučava i ocjenjuje djecu, a na roditeljima da obazbijede da djeca dolaze u školu, napišu zadaću, imaju potrebne knjige i pribor, nauče lekciju i sl. Uključivanje manjinskih, marginalizovanih i drugih ugroženih grupa u obrazovni sistem i pružanje pomoći djeci i porodicama, još uvijek ovisi o volji i inicijativi pojedinaca, i tretira se kao „vanredni napor” i „dobra volja” škole, a ne kao njena obaveza.

7 Ustavni sud BiH; http://www.ccbh.ba/public/down/USTAV_BOSNE_I_HERCEGOVINE_bos.pdf

8 Okvirni zakon o osnovnom i srednjem obrazovanju u Bosni i Hercegovini, član 16, *Službeni glasnik Bosne i Hercegovine br. 18/2003*

9 Okvirni zakon o osnovnom i srednjem obrazovanju u Bosni i Hercegovini, član 16, *Službeni glasnik Bosne i Hercegovine br. 18/2003*

10 Službeni glasnik BiH br. 12/2003

11 Ministarstvo ljudskih prava Bosne i Hercegovine; Plan akcije o obrazovnim potrebama Roma i pripadnika ostalih nacionalnih manjina u Bosni i Hercegovini, 2004,

Škola i zajednica moraju djelovati proaktivno, osiguravajući dodatne napore i stvarajući fleksibilan sistem koji se prilagođava potrebama svakog djeteta i porodice, a ne obratno. Situacija u kojoj jedan broj djece ne upisuje i/ili ne završava školu/razred zato što nemaju adekvatne uslove, ne vladaju jezikom većine, nisu procjenjivana u skladu sa njihovim mogućnostima i sl., nedopustiva je i u budućnosti vodi ka daljem raslojavanju društva i stvaranju nepremostivih razlika.

Kvalitetno obrazovanje uključuje i ukidanje gender stereotipa o muškarcima i ženama kojima su preplavljeni udžbenici u BiH. Djevojčice i dječaci imaju pravo da kroz svoje obrazovanje grade viziju svoje budućnosti i karijera neopterećeni tradicionalnim podjelama na "muške i ženske" teme i poslove. Kvalitetno obrazovanje, kakvom težimo u reformskim procesima, upravo socijalnu inkluziju tretira jednim od svojih temeljnih principa i, gradeći na sličnostima više nego na razlikama, osigurava da svako dijete postane sretan i produktivan građanin, osposobljen za cjeloživotno učenje. Kvalitetno obrazovanje uključuje i ukidanje gender stereotipa o muškarcima i ženama kojima su preplavljeni udžbenici u BiH. Djevojčice i dječaci imaju pravo da kroz svoje obrazovanje grade viziju svoje budućnosti i karijera neopterećeni tradicionalnim podjelama na "muške i ženske" teme i poslove.

b. Legislativa naspram stvarnosti

Uporedimo li samo neke članove Okvirnog zakona o opštem osnovnom i srednjem obrazovanju u Bosni i Hercegovini sa aktuelnim statističkim podacima dobićemo jasniju sliku o diskrepanci između zakonske regulative i njene implementacije u praksi.

Okvirni zakon o osnovnom i opštem srednjem obrazovanju u Bosni i Hercegovini kaže:

Član 4.

Svako dijete ima jednako pravo pristupa i jednake mogućnosti učešća u odgovarajućem obrazovanju, bez diskriminacije na bilo kojoj osnovi.

Jednak pristup i jednake mogućnosti podrazumijevaju osiguranje jednakih uslova i prilika za sve, za početak i nastavak daljeg obrazovanja.

Član 35.

Škola ne smije vršiti diskriminaciju u pristupu djece obrazovanju ili njihovom učešću u obrazovnom procesu, na osnovu rase, boje, spola, jezika, religije, političkog ili drugog mišljenja, nacionalnog ili socijalnog porijekla, na osnovu toga što su djeca s posebnim potrebama, ili na bilo kojoj drugoj osnovi.

U smislu stava 1. ovog člana, nadležni organi vlasti i institucije, zajedno sa školama, posebno su odgovorni za osiguranje funkcionalnog smještaja i prateće infrastrukture za nesmetan pristup i učešće u obrazovnom procesu djeci s posebnim potrebama, mladima i odraslima.

Član 36.

Škola promovira jednake šanse za sve svoje učenike, nastavnike i ostale zaposlenike, uvažavajući i promovirajući istovremeno i pravo na različitosti među njima. U tom cilju nadležne obrazovne vlasti i škola utvrđuju i provode vlastite programe koji podržavaju i njeguju različite kulture, jezike i vjeroispovijesti svojih učenika i zaposlenika.

U Bosni i Hercegovini:

Svega **5 – 6%** djece predškolskog uzrasta ima pristup organizovanim oblicima predškolskog obrazovanja

Između **4 i 8%** djece nije upisalo osnovno obrazovanje, a taj broj se povećava.

Više od **64%** djece pripadnika romske nacionalne manjine NE pohađa školu

U **54** "škole pod jednim krovom" vrši se segregacija i/ili diskriminacija djece po nacionalnom osnovu.

Značajno je veći broj **djevojčica/ žena** koje NE upisuju i/ili ne završavaju osnovnu školu kao i više nivoe obrazovanja.

Niti u jednoj školi ne postoji **bilingvalna nastava** niti fakultativna nastava na jeziku neke od nacionalnih manjina.

c. Ugrožene grupe i ključni problemi

Sa kakvim se poteškoćama susreću naša djeca i porodice? O kojim, socijalno isključenim grupama govorimo i kako se ogleda ta isključenost u oblasti obrazovanja?

Najčešće pominjana grupa koja se dovodi u vezu sa socijalnom isključenosti su djeca pripadnici romske nacionalne manjine, najbrojnije u Bosni i Hercegovini. Uzroci veoma malog postotka djece koja upisuju i završavaju obavezno a posebno više nivoa obrazovanja, ne mogu se tražiti u jednom ili dva problema. Nezaposlenost, siromaštvo, nizak stepen formalnog obrazovanja roditelja, loši uslovi za život djece samo su jedna strana medalje. Nabrojane poteškoće su uzročno-posljedično povezane i sa sistemskom diskriminacijom i opresijom (pravo na jezik, izučavanje kulture i dr), socijalnom izolacijom i segregacijom, niskim očekivanjima i sl, koje su utemeljene na postojećim stereotipima i predrasudama.

Problemi sa kojima se suočava određen postotak djece i porodica, takođe su složeni i međusobno povezani, pa je teško govoriti o jednoznačnim kategorijama. Tako na primjer, djeca sa poteškoćama u razvoju, osim zdravstvenih poteškoća, često nemaju fizički pristup neophodnim uslugama, nije obezbijeđen prevoz do škole ili druge obrazovne institucije pa žive u izolaciji; djeca u izbjegličkim i drugim kampovima žive u veoma lošim uslovima, ispod granice siromaštva, a ponekad nemaju jednog ili oba roditelja, izloženi su stalnim traumama i sl.

U ponuđenoj tabeli napravljen je pregled samo nekih od kategorija socijalno isključenih grupa, te navedeni neki od uzroka koji utiču na socijalnu isključenost u oblasti obrazovanja.

<p>Manjinske grupe:</p> <p>Pripadnici nacionalnih manjina</p> <p>"Relativne manjine"</p>	<p>Nepostojanje bilingvalnih ili fakultativnih programa za učenje maternjeg jezika; neosposobljenost škola i nastavnika da se prilagode različitim potrebama i kreiraju kulturološko osjetljivo okruženje koje reflektuje uvažavanje različitosti.</p> <p>Udžbenici, materijali za učenje i okruženje za učenje potiču predrasude i stereotipije u odnosu na pripadnike različitih etničkih i vjerskih grupa i/ili ne reflektuju i ne njeguje uvažavanje različitosti, a posebno ponos pripadnosti svojoj zemlji.</p> <p>Segregacija djece (bilo u drugu zgradu, posebnu učionicu, drugu smjenu, ulaz u školu ali i unutar učionice – u zadnju klupu i sl.), po osnovi nacionalne i/ili religijske pripadnosti; klima koja, u najmanju ruku, ne sankcionira diskriminaciju, rasističke, nacionalističke i druge ispađe i dr.</p> <p>Nama alternativnih programa za djecu koja ne pohađaju vjeronauku ili nema nastave vjeronauka za djecu, pripadnike manjinske grupe .</p>
<p>Siromaštvo</p>	<p>Najveći postotak siromašne djece nema pristup predškolskim programima koji osiguravaju jednak start svakom djetetu u daljem obrazovanju;</p> <p>Škola NIJE besplatna. Pomoć porodicama je neadekvatna (nedovoljna za sve potrebe, veoma ugrožene porodice ne potpadaju pod postavljene kriterije za dodjelu pomoći) i nepravovremena (kasni i po nekoliko mjeseci, a škola istovremeno zahtijeva da djeca npr. imaju udžbenike ili ne mogu pohađati školu sl.).</p> <p>Porodice često nemaju sredstava ni da registruju djecu, a pravo na besplatno zdravstveno obrazovanje ne ostvaruje ogroman postotak djece</p> <p>Nije obezbijeđen prevoz do škole čak i kada za to postoji zakonska obaveza.</p> <p>Pred djecu iz siromašnih porodica (često, prema statističkim podacima, porodica gdje su roditelji sa niskim nivoom obrazovanja) postavljaju se u školi niska očekivanja u pogledu rezultata i uspjeha, a nema ni posebnih programa kojima se sistemski i planski nastoji premistiti nedostatak uslova za učenje kod kuće i sl.</p>

Gender	Kao i u drugim oblastima, pitanje preciznih i relevantnih podataka vezanih za obrazovanje djevojčica i rodnu ravnopravnost, uglavnom nema. Prema pokazateljima OSCE-a 48 % žena i 25 % muškaraca u seoskim područjima BiH nepismeno je i nema završeno osnovno obrazovanje. U urbanim sredinama bez završene osnovne škole je 7,8 % muškaraca i 22,25 % žena. Još uvijek nema primjera afirmativne akcije kada je u pitanju upisivanje i završavanje viših nivoa obrazovanja od strane djevojčica (posebno iz siromašnih i manjinskih porodica). Programi, materijali za učenje i udžbenici i dalje sadrže mnoštvo primjera poticanja stereotipa.
Djeca sa posebnim potrebama	Inkluzija djece sa poteškoćama u razvoju uvedena je i u školama koje ne zadovoljavaju optimalne pretpostavke – nastavno osoblje nije adekvatno educirano, fizički prostor ne omogućava pristup i/ili kvalitetnu nastavu, nema adekvatne stručne pomoći, asistenata, programa za rad i podrške roditeljima i sl. U pojedinim školama, djeca sa poteškoćama u razvoju su i dalje segregirana u posebna odjeljenja pa i zgrade, nedostaje rješenje fizičkog pristupa, učila i dr.
Marginalizovana djeca (zlostavljana djeca, djeca oboljela od HIV AIDS, djeca u izbjegličkim kampovima i dr.)	Najčešći problem povezan je sa neadekvatnom koordinacijom različitih institucija, posebno obrazovnih, zdravstvenih i institucija socijalne zaštite, kao i nemogućnošću da se mnogi problemi rješavaju na državnom nivou. Ne samo javnost, nego i nastavno osoblje i roditelji, nisu adekvatno informisani i educirani o različitim problemima sa kojima se susreću mnoga djeca i porodice, pa, su posljedično ova djeca izložena različitim oblicima diskriminacije, segregacije, socijalne izolacije, etiketiranja i sl, što dodatno otežava pružanje pomoći i ostvarivanje prava na obrazovanje.
Djeca koja su prerasla uzrast za redovno pohađanje osnovne škole Odrasli	Mada imaju zakonsko pravo na školovanje, organizovanje dodatne, vanredne nastave i polaganje razreda za djecu starosti 15 do 18 godina koja nisu upisala ili završila osnovnu školu, uslovljeno je finasijskim sredstvima i često stavljeno "na volju" školama. Veoma je malo organizovanih programa opismenjavanja i obrazovanja odraslih, kao i prekvalificiranja i stručnog usavršavanja, čime bi se osigurali preduslovi za njihovo zapošljavanje ili poboljšanje kvaliteta života te, posljedično, smanjilo siromaštvo.

3. Uloga nevladinog sektora u oblasti socijalne inkluzije u obrazovanju

Ulogu civilnog društva, odnosno još konkretnije nevladinih organizacija (NVO) u poratnom periodu u Bosni i Hercegovini, gotovo da nije moguće realno izmjeriti. Organizovanje i rad u najtežim uslovima razorene, politički i ekonomski ekstremno kompleksne zemlje, u kojoj je socijalna isključenost bila više pravilo nego izuzetak, u uslovima u kojima je dugoročno planiranje bilo gotovo nemoguće a potrebe nepregledne, dovelo je do toga da se ponekad činilo da nismo daleko odmakli i da još uvijek nije dovoljno urađeno.

Oblasti djelovanja vladinog i nevladinog sektora su se veoma često preplitale, a u određenim slučajevima NVO su preuzimale i još uvijek preuzimaju i neke odgovornosti koje su obaveza vladinih institucija na različitim nivoima.

Oblasti djelovanja NVO

Neosporno je da je jedna od ključnih uloga civilnog društva i nevladinog sektora bila i još uvijek je, ukazivanje na **postojanje problema**. Mnogi od njih ne bi bili identifikovani kao problemi, ili uopšte ne bi bili uočeni bez djelovanja NVO, koje su dale "glas" mnogim marginalizovanim i ugroženim grupama - djeci sa poteškoćama u razvoju i njihovim porodicama, manjinskim grupama, izbjeglicama, djeci bez roditeljskog staranja, oboljeloj djeci... NVO su prve ukazale

na to da naš obrazovni sistem nije inkluzivan, vršeći pritisak na škole i obrazovne vlasti da ostvare zagarantovana prava svakog pojedinca, a posebno djece, na obrazovanje.

NVO sektor je izvršio i značajan uticaj u pogledu **senzibilizacije javnosti**, a posebno medija, njihovoj edukaciji i pojašnjavanju uzroka i posljedica određenih pojava. Naime, socijalna izolovanost, stereotipno i jednostrano prikazivanje određenih grupa, podgrijavanje predrasuda, neke su od najvećih prepreka u ostvarivanju različitih prava, pa i prava na obrazovanje. Sa druge strane, preispitivanje uvjerenja i vrijednosnog sistema i njihova promjena, najsloženiji su i najdu-goročniji procesi koji zahtijevaju mnogo vještine i posvećenosti, mnogo vremena i konzistentnosti.

Isto tako, potrebno je ponuditi nove **modele i primjere dobre prakse**. NVO su **razvile i implementirale**, prateći efekte i rezultate u konkretnim uslovima, različiti načine da se osigura socijalna uključenost na različitim nivoima obrazovanja, kako unutar formalnog, obrazovnog sistema, tako i razvijanjem različitih oblika neformalnog obrazovanja u zajednicama.

NVO su **pokretači, zagovornici pa i učesnici u izradi** novih zakonskih i podzakonskih akata, strategija i drugih dokumenata (Okvirni zakon o predškolskom odgoju i obrazovanju; zakonsko regulisanje pitanja inkluzije djece sa poteškoćama u razvoju u redovno obrazovanje, i dr...) kojima se osigurava zakonski okvir za ostvarivanje prava određenih grupa.

Analize i istraživanja trenutnog stanja, potreba i položaja različitih ugroženih i socijalno isključenih grupa, naj-češće su rađene od strane NVO sektora (npr. stanje u pogledu prava djece na obrazovanje, položaj romske djece u obra-zovanom sistemu, pitanje gendera i rodne ravnopravnosti, i mnoga druga)... Ove analize bile su često jedini pokazatelji stanja a podaci prikupljani ovakvim i sličnim istraživanjima, nerijetko i jedini relevantni podaci, s obzirom da opštinske i drugi, viši, nivoi vlasti, veoma često ne raspolažu preciznim podacima vezanim za ugrožene i socijalno isključene grupe.

Osim NVO koje se bave prvenstveno zastupanjem, zagovaranjem i borbom za ostvarivanje prava na obrazo-vanje, tokom godina profilirao se i jedan broj specijalizovanih, stručnih nevladinih i neprofitnih organizacija, koje nude različite vrste **profesionalnih usluga**, za čije pružanje su, tradicionalno, bile isključivo odgovorne državne institucije i organizacije.

Ove organizacije okupljaju stručnjake za pojedina područja i, zahvaljujući povezanosti sa različitim međuna-rodnim mrežama, većoj fleksibilnosti i prilagođavanju promjenama, nude visoko sofisticirane usluge, kompatibilne sa sličnim u mnogo bogatijim i razvijenijim zemljama. Ovo se odnosi posebno na razvijanje i realizaciju različitih, specifič-nih **programa obuke za nastavnike i druge profesionalce** iz oblasti obrazovanja i srodnih sektora koji se odnose na inkluzivno obrazovanje u širem smislu, razvijanje ili adaptiranje **kurikuluma** koji su socijalno osjetljivi, integrisani i usmjereni na ishode, univerzitetskih kurseva za različita područja savremenog obrazovnog sistema, implementaciju novih **obrazovnih modela**, realizaciju **istraživanja**, izdavaštvo i sl.

a. Poteškoće sa kojima se suočavaju NVO

Poteškoće i prepreke sa kojima se svakodnevno suočavaju NVO priozilaze iz niza faktora: izuzetne složenosti konteksta u kojima djeluju, nedostatka kontinuiranih i dugoročnih projekata i izvora finansiranja, koji su jedini garant održivih promjena posebno u sektoru obrazovanja, pa sve do neuređenosti određenih segmenata zakonske regulative kojima bi se uredio rad i/ili određene aktivnosti NVO.

Kao i u drugim područjima, rad NVO u oblasti obrazovanja a posebno u borbi za ostvarivanje dječijih i ljudskih prava, izuzetno otežava segmentiranost sistema, koja rezultira neujednačenom legislativom i praksom, koji se realizuju kroz 13 ministarstava obrazovanja. Pitanje socijalne uključenosti mora se rješavati na državnom nivou, jer pravo na obra-zovanje nadilazi granice kantona i entiteta, pa i same države.

Saradnja sa NVO najčešće počinje i završava davanjem odobrenja za realizaciju projekata, odnosno potpisiva-njem različitih sporazuma o saradnji. Ovi projekti reflektuju nastojanja NVO da razviju i pilotiraju različite modele, koji bi kasnije trebali biti ugrađeni u formalni sistem i podržani od strane organa vlasti. Nije, međutim, rijedak slučaj, da aktiv-nosti i nakon početne uspostave modela, nastave ostvarivati NVO, umjesto VO. Briga o djeci sa poteškoćama u razvoju, prevoz djece, pomoć socijalno najugroženijim porodicama i djeci i sl., samo su neki od takvih primjera. Ovakva situacija dodatno iscrpljuje NVO i opterećuje njihove, ionako limitirane ljudske i materijalne resurse.

Stručno usavršavanje i obuka nastavnika i drugih profesionalaca, kao što smo već napomenuli, realizuje se najčešće uz podršku i u organizaciju NVO. Prema rezultatima istraživanja provedenog na uzorku od 2200 nastavnika osnovnih škola u Bosni i Hercegovini, više od 70% obuke za nastavnike koji su imali neku formu stručnog usavršavanja, realizovale su nevladine organizacije.¹² Oko 50% nastavnika još uvijek nije imalo obuku koja bi im pomogla u realizaciji reformskih ciljeva, odnosno ispunjavanju zakonskih obaveza (inkluzija, devetogodišnje osnovno obrazovanje i dr.)

Slična je situacija i u drugim područjima pa je sigurno da će, dugoročno gledano, NVO imati veoma značajnu ulogu na polju stručnog usavršavanja i cjeloživotnog učenja. Sadašnja legislativa i praksa, međutim, ne omogućavaju da se postojeći, razvijeni resursi bolje iskoriste i stave u funkciju unutar formalnog sistema, te da se podrži razvijanje novih resursa. Različiti programi obuke razvijeni od strane NVO, nisu akreditovani, jer za to ne postoji zakonski okvir. Ne postoje potrebni standardi vezani za rad nastavnika, niti je precizno definisana i regulisana praksa vezana za način realizacije, praćenja i finansiranja kontinuiranog stručnog usavršavanja, dokvalifikacije, prekvalifikacije, napredovanja i sl. Postojeći obrazovni sistem je i dalje centralizovan (mada unutar manjih teritorijalnih područja), i organizovan tako da nastoji osigurati i zadržati kontrolu nad svim segmentima djelovanja u odgoju i obrazovanju, uprkos činjenici da sistem niti ima kapaciteta, niti profesionalnih resursa da odgovori na sve veće potrebe sistema, škola, nastavnika, a posebno djece i porodica.

Rezultati obimnih istraživanja i ozbiljne analize koje izrađuju NVO, često se ne uzimaju u obzir pri izradi strategija i politika, a već provjereni modeli i primjeri izvrsne prakse ne vide se kao potencijal i mogućnost, već često kao konkurencija sistemu.

Zainteresovanost i inicijativa pojedinih nastavnika, škola i lokalnih zajednica za uključivanje u različite aktivnosti i projekte koje realizuju NVO, ne prati uvijek podrška obrazovnih i drugih, viših nivoa vlasti, ili je ona samo formalna i deklarativna. To dovodi do neujednačenosti u obrazovnom sistemu u kojem imamo primjere izvanredne prakse i postignutih rezultata, posvećenost kvalitetu i principima društvene pravde, do škola koje su primjer kršenja dječijih i ljudskih prava.

Nepravедno bi, međutim, bilo reći da primjera izvanredne saradnje sa obrazovnim i drugim, mahom lokalnim, vlastima na pojedinim područjima nema niti je bilo. Na žalost, ovakva praksa se često prekida (jer je time i uslovljena) kadrovskim promjenama, a politički uticaji i interesi uglavnom nadilaze brigu za dobrobiti djece i porodica. Troši se vrijeme i resursi, a potrebe i problemi sve više rastu.

4. Umjesto zaključka ili koje su mogućnosti za efikasnije djelovanje

Ostvarivanje prava na obrazovanje, mora postati jedan od ultimativnih ciljeva na nivou cijele Bosne i Hercegovine. To je pitanje koje ne zadiru u dnevno-politička zbivanja, nego je univerzalno i od suštinskog značaja za ostvarivanje dugoročnih ciljeva i temelj ekonomskog i svakog drugog razvoja. Naglasimo još jednom, da pravo na obrazovanje ne podrazumijeva samo pristup obrazovnim institucijama, nego u sebi sadrži i pravo na kvalitetno obrazovanje koje dovodi do željenih efekata i razvijanja punih potencijala svakog pojedinca.

Pitanje socijalne pravde i uključenosti ne može se rješavati parcijalno, niti izdvojeno iz sistema u cjelini. U kontekstu škola (a to se može primijeniti i na sva druga područja), važno je raditi na tome da one razviju **inkluzivnu kulturu**, odnosno sigurnu, podsticajnu zajednicu, koja prihvata i sarađuje, u kojoj se svako uvažava, i koja je temelj za najviša ostvarenja svih članova zajednice; **inkluzivnu politiku** koja podrazumijeva jasne strategije za promjene i aktivnosti koje povećavaju sposobnost škole da odgovori na različitosti među učenicima; **inkluzivnu praksu** koja se oslanja na različitosti kao na bogatstvo, radi na principima individualizacije, diferencijacije, i koja podstiče učenike da sarađuju i aktivno učestvuju u svim aspektima svog obrazovanja.¹³

Izgradnja inkluzivne zajednice, izmjena sistema vrijednosti i dosezanje zacrtanih ciljeva i politika u praksi, zahtjeva mobilizaciju svih postojećih resursa.

12 Istraživanje potreba nastavnika za daljim stručnim usavršavanjem, COI Step by Step i UNICEF, 2006

13 Inclusive education Centre for Studies on Inclusive Education, UK, <http://inclusion.uwe.ac.uk/csie/csiehome.htm>

Unutar i međusektorska saradnja treba se ogledati u:

- Ujednačavanju vizije, misije i ciljeva obrazovnog sistema u pogledu socijalne inkluzije; profesionalni konsenzus o pitanjima kvalitetnog, inkluzivnog obrazovanja i razvijanje standarda;
- Kreiranju strategija i planova akcije na partnerskim osnovama, uz participaciju svih zainteresovanih a posebno manjinskih, marginalizovanih i drugih isključenih grupa;
- Planiranju budžeta i utrošku sredstava u skladu sa zajednički postavljenim prioritetima i već oprobanoj praksi koju realizuju NVO i VO; uključivanje usluga NVO u sistem finansiranja; praćenje efikasnosti utroška sredstava (cost-effectiveness);
- Formalno uključivanje razvijenih kapaciteta NVO u segmentu analize stanja, realizacije različitih istraživanja, obuke nastavnika i drugih profesionalaca i sl.;
- Uključivanje NVO mreže u proces davanje relevantnih informacija i edukaciju javnosti, zajednica, roditelja i drugih zainteresovanih o njihovim pravima i načinima realizacije prava, ciljevima i aktivnostima;
- Kontinuiranom dijalogu i procesu praćenja, evaluacije i unapređivanja djelovanja i efekata u segmentu socijalne uključenosti u sektoru obrazovanja;
- Boljoj uzajamnoj saradnji i stvaranju koalicija i mreža NVO za zagovaranje na nivou države;
- Radu na sopstvenom usavršavanju i profiliranju u određenim, specijalističkim područjima;
- Multidisciplinarnom pristupu problemu prava na obrazovanje, i udruživanje NVO i VO iz različitih sektora.

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Studija slučaja

Unapređenje pristupa u obrazovanju djece Roma

Mirsada Bajramović
Zemlja djece

Među Romima u Bosni i Hercegovini je i dalje prisutno veliko siromaštvo, nezaposlenost, beskućništvo i nedovoljan pristup obrazovnim, socijalnim i zdravstvenim službama. Istraživanja organizacije Zemlja djece su pokazala da većina romske djece nije u mogućnosti da pohađa nastavu zbog ekstremno teških uslova života, koji ih sprečavaju da sebi priušte potrebne udžbenike i školski pribor. Ovi faktori, zajedno sa diskriminirajućim odnosom i predrasudom prema Romima u školi, kao i obavezni administrativni i ostali troškovi školovanja, u velikoj mjeri su ograničili Romima mogućnost redovnog obrazovanja, i pored volje mnogih roditelja da svoju djecu upišu u školu. "Djeci treba svašta kad idu u školu, lijepa odjeća i obuća, da nisu prljavi i poderani, da imaju sebi da kupe sendvič, torbu, knjige i sveske, a ja to nemam" – izjava je devetogodišnje djevojčice koja nije uključena u redovan obrazovni sistem.

S ciljem postizanja sistemskih promjena kojim će se romskoj djeci omogućava jednak pristup obrazovanju, "Zemlja djece" od 2005. godine implementira projekat **"Unapređivanje pristupa obrazovanju djece Roma"**. Ovaj program je fokusiran na razvijanje modela za pružanje direktnih usluga, rad s pilot grupama, koje će se postepeno integrisati u obrazovni proces. Specifičnost ovoga projekta je što obuhvata i djecu koja žive i rade na ulici. Radi se o najranjivijoj kategoriji djece koja su vaspitno, obrazovno, higijenski i zdravstveno zapuštena a nerijetko i žrtve zlostavljanja i ekonomskog iskorištavanja od strane zajednice ili porodice. Aktivnosti se realizuju u Tuzlanskom tinejdžerskom centru "Telex" i to kroz :

- edukativno savjetodavni rad sa djecom,
- savjetodavni rad sa porodicama, i
- zastupanje u lokalnoj zajednici.

Edukativno savjetodavni rad sa djecom je organizovan po principu baznog opismenjavanja, pripremne nastave sa predškolskom djecom, pomoći u savladavanju školskog gradiva, instruktivnoj nastavi za vanredno polaganje razreda osnovne škole i vokacionoj obuci.

Kroz tromjesečne kurseve **baznog opismenjavanja** do sada je prošlo 37 korisnika uzrasta od 6-15 godina starosti od čega je 33 djece uključeno u redovan obrazovni proces.

Uz našu podršku kroz pripremnu nastavu 16 djece je pripremljeno i upisano u školu i pokazalo jako dobre rezultate na testu znanja. Kako bi bez razlike u odnosu na drugu djecu započeli svoje školovanje za njih su, uz pomoć lokalnih trgovačkih centara, svake godine obezbjeđene školske torbe i pribor. A da bi se prevazišao problem nedostatka školskih udžbenika "Zemlja djece" je 2005. godine podnijela inicijativu za obezbjeđivanje finansijskih sredstava u budžetu Tuzlanskog kantona za nabavku udžbenika za djecu Rome i socijalno ugrožene, koja je od strane Vlade ovog kantona i prihvaćena. Na osnovu toga, Ministarstvo obrazovanja svake godine besplatno distribuira udžbenike na području kantona ovim kategorijama djece.

Pomoć u savladavanju školskog gradiva za djecu koja pohađaju školu je veoma važan segment rada koji ne samo da direktno pruža pomoć djeci nego i doprinosi jačanju veza sa školama i nastavnim osobljem. Za 26 korisnika uzrasta od 6-19 godina se pruža pomoć iz različitih nastavnih predmeta. Uspostavljena je intezivna saradnja

sa školama iz kojih djeca dolaze, te se zajedno sa nastavnim osobljem prati uspjeh djece i sagledavaju potrebe za dopunskom nastavom. Kao rezultat, niti jedno dijete nije prekinulo školovanje a 24 korisnika su popravili uspjeh iz svih predmeta. Treba istaći da je u aktivnostima dopunske nastave uključeno 7 mladih volontera iz Telex-a koji na osnovu svoje sklonosti za određene oblasti pružaju pomoć ovoj djeci.

Posebno značajan rad u okviru ovoga projekta je rad sa djecom i mladima od 10-17 godina starosti, koja su prekinula školovanje ili u isto nikada nisu bila uključena, kroz organizovanje **instruktivne nastave i pripremanja za vanredno polaganje razreda osnovne škole**. Nažalost, sve do 2005. godine, po važećem kantonalnom Zakonu o osnovnom obrazovanju i odgoju, vanredno polaganje razreda osnovne škole je bilo komercijalno a veoma visoke troškove snosili su sami polagači. Stoga je naša organizacija pokrenula inicijativu za izmjenu i dopunu kantonalnog Zakona, koja je usvojena i na osnovu iste je vanredno polaganje razreda osnovne škole postalo besplatno za svu djecu. Vanredno polaganje se na početku realizovalo uz podršku dvije osnovne škole (Poljice i Kiseljak) a danas je saradnja proširena i na još 3 osnovne škole u Tuzli. Osoblje škola pruža svesrdnu podršku ovoj našoj aktivnosti što uključuje pripremu potrebne dokumentacije, izradu plana i programa polaganja, formiranje ispitnih komisija i samo obavljanje vanrednih ispita. Zemlja djece je trenutno jedina organizacija koja na organizovan način pruža ovaj vid pomoći djeci i mladima na području Tuzlanskog kantona. Do sada je 15 korisnika završilo po dva ili više razreda a 4 korisnika su uspješno završila osnovnu školu. U vanredno polaganje razreda osnovne škole su uključeni i roditelji naših korisnika koji će poslije završene osnovne škole biti uključeni u program obuke za praktična zanimanja. Zahvaljujući rezultatima ovoga veoma značajnog segmenta rada Ministarstvo za obrazovanje TK je dalo punu podršku istom i stavilo na raspolaganje kapacitete škola za ove namjene. Takođe su na naš zahtjev dali suglasnost da se izjednači status ove djece sa djecom koja redovno pohađaju nastavu a u vezi ostvarivanja prava na besplatne udžbenike i zdravstvenu zaštitu. U realizaciju ove aktivnosti osim naših volontera uključeni su i studenti pedagoškog smjera sa Univerziteta u Tuzli sa kojima je uspostavljena dugoročna saradnja.

Program obuke za praktična zanimanja za starije korisnike je započeo u 2006. godini i namijenjen je prije svega kategoriji mladih i roditelja bez završene škole ili onih koji su završili samo osnovnu školu. Ova aktivnost se odvija u partnerstvu sa Građevinsko-geodetskom školom i Mješovitom srednjom školom u Tuzli u kojima naši korisnici nakon petomjesečne obuke stižu zvanja za praktična zanimanja molera, keramičara, frizera, krojača i sl. Naše Udruženje je obezbjedilo potreban potrošni materijal, prevoz i obrok za vrijeme nastave i angažovalo stručni kadar škole, a škole su ustupile prostor i opremu bez naknade. Kantonalno ministarstvo obrazovanja je izdalo saglasnost kojim je verifikovalo ovaj vid sticanja praktičnih znanja. Do sada je 27 korisnika prošlo kroz program obuke i steklo znanja i vještine za obavljanje zanata frizera i molera a trenutno njih 25 stiže znanja za keramičare i krojače. Uz pomoć startnih paketa alata svi korisnici iz prvog ciklusa obuke već primjenjuju stečena znanja u svojim naseljima ili kao pomoćni radnici u privatnom sektoru čime obezbjeđuju egzistenciju za sebe i svoje porodice. I ova aktivnost ima komponentu održivosti s obzirom da nam je cilj da se u 2009. godini potpuno integriše u obrazovni sistem.

Da se strategija ove organizacije zasniva na dugoročnoj strategiji koja teži ka sistemskom rješavanju problema djece i mladih govore i mnoge naše inicijative za izmjene i dopune pozitivnih pravnih propisa s ciljem uklanjanja finansijskih i administrativnih barijera u obrazovanju Romske djece i djece koja dolaze iz socijalno ugroženih porodica. U okviru implementacije ovoga projekta uspjeli smo dugoročno, sistemski osigurati pravo na besplatno vanredno polaganje razreda osnovne škole, pravo na besplatne udžbenike, prevoz do škole i organizovanje "Ljetne škole uz volontersko učešće studenata". Nažalost, još uvijek je prisutan problem toplog obroka i školskog pribora za ove učenike. Pred nama je zadatak da i ove prepreke uspješno prevaziđemo, što je u interesu cijele društvene zajednice.

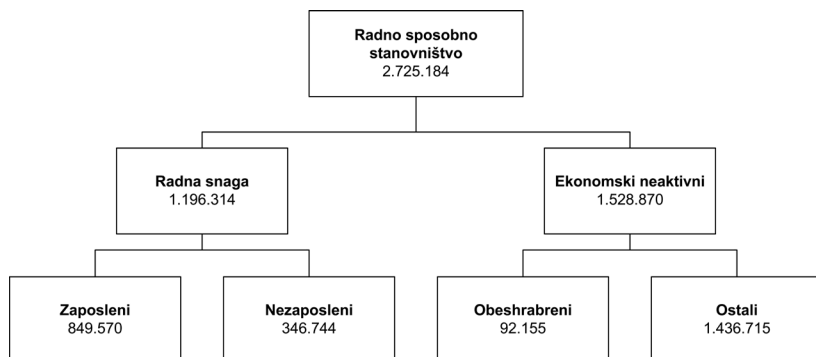
Ekonomija, organizacije civilnog društva i socijalna uključenost

Davorin Pavelić

Uvod

Veza između socijalne uključenosti i ekonomije se uglavnom svodi na analizu sposobnosti / mogućnosti pojedinca da učestvuje u ekonomskom životu zajednice. Pošto u većini slučajeva jedini ekonomski resurs koji pojedinci posjeduju jeste njihov rad, nivo uključenosti u ekonomski život zajednice se može mjeriti mogućnošću zapošljavanja. Pored toga, veza socijalne uključenosti i ekonomije se može analizirati i sa aspekta dostatnosti prihoda koje pojedinac ostvari svojom ekonomskom aktivnosti za zadovoljenje osnovnih potreba i uključivanje u socijalne aktivnosti društva. Veliki broj uposlenih, pogotovo onih koji su zaposleni u neformalnom sektoru, imaju nedostatne prihode.

Broj pojedinaca koji nisu uključeni ili kojima je onemogućeno uključjenje u ekonomski život u Bosni i Hercegovini je izrazito velik. Posljednja istraživanja¹ ukazuju na veliki broj radno sposobnog stanovništva koje nije ekonomski aktivno, tj. nisu uposleni niti traže aktivno uposlenje.



Slika 1. Ekonomska aktivnost radno sposobnog stanovništva²

Od preko 2.7 miliona radno sposobnog stanovništva samo 43.8% je ekonomski aktivno. Od ukupnog broja ekonomski aktivnog stanovništva, 29% je nezaposleno. Pored toga, među onima koji su zaposleni veliki broj su zaposleni u neformalnom sektoru na niskoplaćenim poslovima, bez osnovnih beneficija i zagarantiranih radničkih prava.

¹ Anketa o radnoj snazi 2006. i Anketa o radnoj snazi 2007. - prethodni podaci; Agencija za statistiku Bosne i Hercegovine.

² Izvor podataka: Anketa o radnoj snazi 2007. - prethodni podaci; Agencija za statistiku Bosne i Hercegovine.

Bez obzira na ILO-ovu definiciju nezaposlene osobe, možemo ustvrditi da je preko 50% radno sposobnog stanovništva u Bosni i Hercegovini isključeno iz ekonomskih tokova bilo kroz ekonomsku neaktivnost uzrokovanu obeshra-brenošću, bilo nemogućnošću pronalazjenja zaposlenja ili radom u neformalnom sektoru.

Određene kategorije populacije su više pogođene socijalnom isključenosti iz ekonomskih tokova. Žene i mladi su dvije kategorije koje su značajno više pogođene problemom nezaposlenosti i ekonomske neaktivnosti u poređenju sa drugim kategorijama stanovništva.

Drugi značajan problem socijalne isključenosti iz ekonomskih tokova je dugoročna nezaposlenost. Prema podacima iz Ankete o radnoj snazi, 87.1% od ukupnog broja nezaposlenih su dugoročno nezaposleni, odnosno nezaposleni duže od godinu dana.

Uzroke ovakve situacije možemo tražiti u općenito lošoj ekonomskoj situaciji i niskoj potražnji radne snage, ekonomskom rastu koji iako značajan nije dostatan za značajniju promjenu loše situacije na tržištu rada, rigidnostima na tržištu rada i dualitetu na tržištu rada (formalni i neformalni sektor), neefikasnom radu institucija tržišta rada, itd.

Institucionalni i zakonski okvir

Institucionalni i zakonski okvir je fragmentiran i reflektira administrativni ustroj Bosne i Hercegovine. Ova fragmentacija rezultira se nejedinstvenim ekonomskim prostorom na području Bosne i Hercegovine. Kada je u pitanju tržište rada, može se reći da u Bosni i Hercegovini, kako institucionalno tako i što se tiče zakonskog okvira, postoje minimalno tri odvojena tržišta rada. Ovakva fragmentacija ekonomskog prostora rezultira kompleksnijim i skupljim uvjetima poslovanja te negativnim uticajem na dinamiku tržišta rada.

Prema do sada urađenim analizama zakonskog okvira tržišta rada, u poređenju sa drugim zemljama Bosna i Hercegovina spada među one sa najvećim indeksom koji se odnosi na visinu troškova vezanih za zapošljavanje.

Postojeći zakonski okvir i rigidnost formalnog tržišta rada uveliko doprinose stalnom rastu neformalnog sektora, unutar kojeg se ujedno i generira najveći broj novih radnih mjesta. Ovo stvara snažan dualizam na tržištu rada i snažnu podjelu na formalno i neformalno tržište rada te istovremeno svjedoči da je formalno tržište rada nefleksibilno.

Pored toga, slaba provedba i nepoštivanje zakonske regulative od strane poslodavaca dovodi do toga da i oni radnici koji su formalno registrirani i prijavljeni kao zaposleni nisu u mogućnosti ostvarivati neka od svoji osnovnih prava (pravo na zdravstvenu zaštitu i druge oblike socijalne sigurnosti). Nepoštivanje odredbi zakonske regulative nije samo prisutno među poduzećima koja su u privatnom vlasništvu nego je rasprostranjeno i u većini poduzeća koja su u većinskom državnom vlasništvu.

Institucije koje su odgovorne za upravljanjem tržištem rada nemaju koherentne i jasno definirane politike zapošljavanja i tržišta rada. Zbog toga većina mjera vladinih institucija su uglavnom reakcija na negativne događaje na tržištu rada koje više liče na "gašenje požara" nego na aktivno upravljanje tržištem rada.

Svaki od entiteta, kao i svaki od kantona u Federaciji Bosne i Hercegovine, ima Službe za zapošljavanje. Mandat, organizacija, finansiranje i rad entitetskih i kantonalnih Službi za zapošljavanje su definirani entitetskim zakonima o zapošljavanju³.

Organizacija i djelovanje Službi za zapošljavanje u FBiH i u RS značajno se razlikuju. Dok je u RS organizacija Službi za zapošljavanje više centralizirana⁴, u FBiH, Agencija za zapošljavanje Federacije Bosne i Hercegovine ima vrlo malo ovlasti i kontrole nad djelovanjem i aktivnostima 10 kantonalnih Zavoda za zapošljavanje⁵.

3 Zakon o posredovanju u zapošljavanju i socijalnom osiguranju nezaposlenih Federacije Bosne i Hercegovine;

4 6 regionalnih Biroa za zapošljavanje i 63 opštinska/općinska Biroa za zapošljavanje koji su samo implementatori odluka, mjera i aktivnosti definiranih od strane sjedišta/glavne Agencije za zapošljavanje

5 Nadležnosti kantonalnih Zavoda za zapošljavanje: (i) uspostava prava i privilegije registriranih nezaposlenih osoba, (ii) implementaciju profesionalnih programa orijentacije, obuke i prekvalifikacije nezaposlenih osoba i njihovo zapošljavanje, (iii) prikupljanje podataka o nezaposlenim osobama i podnošenje istih Agenciji za zapošljavanje FBiH, (iv) izdavanje radnih dozvola strancima i osobama bez državljanstva nakon odobrenja Agencije za zapošljavanje FBiH

Osnovne funkcije Službi za zapošljavanje su: (i) registriranje nezaposlenih i ocjena ispunjenosti kriterija za primanje zakonom definirane pomoći i beneficija u slučaju nezaposlenosti, (ii) pružanje socijalne i materijale sigurnosti nezaposlenim, (iii) posredovanje na tržištu rada, (iv) prikupljanje podataka i analiziranje situacije na tržištu rada i (v) dizajniranje i implementacija aktivnih mjera na tržištu rada.

Zavodi za zapošljavanje u oba entiteta imaju nedovoljno osoblja te se većina njihovih aktivnosti svodi na registraciju nezaposlenih i pružanje socijalne sigurnosti nezaposlenim koji su ispunili uvjete za primanje pomoći i beneficija definiranih zakonom. Aktivnosti u posredovanju pri zapošljavanju, profesionalnoj orijentaciji, treningu i prekvalifikaciji nezaposlenih su ili nepostojeće ili izuzetno limitirane u smislu broja i obuhvata.

Nedostatan broj osoblja nije jedini faktor koji limitira Zavode za zapošljavanje da urade više od jednostavnog registriranja nezaposlenih. Službe za zapošljavanje također rade u neodgovarajućim prostorima i nemaju odgovarajuću opremu za rad sa nezaposlenim. Također, mali broj osoblja je obučen i sposoban da pored registriranja nezaposlenih, nezaposlenima pruži druge oblike usluga.

Loša situacija na tržištu rada, fragmentiran institucionalni i pravni okvir, potpuno odsustvo politika zapošljavanja kao i neefikasne institucije stvaraju potrebu i otvaraju prostor za djelovanje organizacija civilnog društva.

Organizacije civilnog društva i ekonomija

Što mogu uraditi organizacije civilnog društva (OCD) na omogućavanju uključivanja velikog broja isključenih pojedinaca u ekonomske tokove u Bosni i Hercegovini?

Analiza uloge OCD-a u ekonomiji u Bosni i Hercegovini se može svesti na analizu vrsta i obima aktivnosti kojima one na direktan ili indirektan način pomažu ili omogućavaju ekonomski neaktivnim i isključenim pojedincima ili određenim skupinama pojedinaca uključivanje u ekonomske tokove.

U sljedećem koraku analiza ide u dva smjera. Prvi smjer se odnosi na analizu aktivnosti implementiranih od strane OCD-a a koje direktno pomažu pojedincima ili specifičnim skupinama unutar nezaposlene populacije da pronađu ili dobiju zaposlenje. Drugi smjer se odnosi na analizu aktivnosti OCD-a koje stvaraju preduvjete za snažniji ekonomski rast te na taj način indirektno stvaranje više mogućnosti za zapošljavanje onih koji su isključeni iz ekonomskih tokova.

U analizi rada postojećih OCD-a u Bosni i Hercegovini prvenstveno smo zainteresirani za aktivnosti organizacije koje uspostavljaju nedostajuću razvojnu infrastrukturu (info-centri, inkubatori, centri za edukaciju i obuku, itd.), interesne organizacije kao što su sindikati i udruge poslodavaca, organizacije koje se bave istraživanjima i analizama razvojnih politika (*think tanks*), organizacije koje lobiraju za određene razvojne prioritete, budžetske prioritete, reforme, itd.

Za većinu nevladinih organizacija, pogotovo onih čije su aktivnosti fokusirane na uspostavu razvojne infrastrukture i analizu razvojnih politika, je karakteristično da uglavnom djeluju kao ekspoziture ili "produžene ruke" međunarodnih organizacija koje su glavni financijeri aktivnosti ovih organizacija ali ujedno i oni koji određuju fokus djelovanja OCD.

Nerazvijeni odnosi između organizacija civilnog društva i vladinih organizacija i institucija, nedovoljna potpora nevladinom sektoru od strane vladinih institucija, nejasni kriteriji načina dodjeljivanja ionako limitiranih iznosa namijenjenih nevladinom sektoru su dovele do toga da veoma mali broj OCD ima razvijenu potrebnu infrastrukturu i dostatne financijske i ljudske resurse za ozbiljnije djelovanje i značajniji uticaj na bosanskohercegovačko društvo.

Prema različitim procjenama u BiH je ukupno registrirano od 8000⁶ do 9095⁷ organizacija. Od tog broja je aktivno od 4692⁸ do 1500⁹. Bez obzira na izvor, broj "profesionalnih NVO" je značajno manji od broja aktivnih organizacija.

6 Analiza civilnog društva u BiH; USAID, BiH; 25.6.2004. godine.

7 Kvalitativna studija 3: Zapošljavanje, pružanje socijalnih usluga i nevladin (NVO) sektor; Status i perspektive za Bosnu i Hercegovinu, analiza i implikacije za politiku, Nezavisni biro za humanitarna pitanja BiH/Birks, Sinclair and Associates, 2005. Dostupno na <http://www.ibhibih.org/>

8 IBHI BiH/BSAL izvor

9 USAID izvor

Direktna potpora pojedincima

Nevladine organizacije su implementirale ili dalje implementiraju veliki broj projekata koji direktno pomažu pojedincima da pronađu zaposlenje, riješe problem nezaposlenosti putem samozapošljavanja ili povećavaju šanse pojedinaca za dobijanje zaposlenja kroz povećanje njihovih vještina i sposobnosti.

Veliki broj projekata je usmjeren na samozapošljavanje i pokretanje malih poduzeća. Putem ovih projekata korisnici obično dobijaju informacije, obuku i tehničku pomoć u procesu osmišljavanja i pokretanja poslovnog poduhvata. Neki od projekata pored tehničke pomoći pružaju i određenu financijsku potporu korisnicima koji pokreću poduzeće.

Nevladine organizacije, uglavnom uz financijsku i tehničku potporu međunarodnih organizacija, ulaze u područja gdje vladine institucije i organizacije nisu uspjele osigurati potrebnu razvojnu infrastrukturu, pomoć i usluge pojedincima. Jedan od primjera takvih aktivnosti su uspostava poslovnih centara i poslovnih inkubatora. Ove institucije i organizacije pružaju širok spektar usluga poduzetnicima, kojima povećavaju vjerojatnoću preživljavanja novonastalih poduzeća.

Mikrokreditne organizacije su jedna od "priča uspješnica" (success stories) i koje su, prema podacima Svjetske banke u deset godina i kroz distribuciju oko 380.000 mikrokredita kreirale ili pomogle kreiranju 200.000 radnih mjesta u Bosni i Hercegovini. Kao i u slučaju drugih projekata, aktivnosti mikrokreditnih organizacija su također bile fokusirane na određene ciljne skupine. Rezultat takovog pristupa je da predstavljaju 50% korisnika kredita mikrokreditnih organizacija.

Određeni broj nevladinih organizacija je pokrenuo i implementirao programe vezane za sticanje radnog iskustva koji su prvenstveno bili namijenjeni mladim nezaposlenima.

Veoma mali broj nevladinih organizacija se pokušao uključiti u aktivnosti vezane za pružanje informacija nezaposlenima o tržištu rada, povećanje sposobnosti zapošljavanja nezaposlenih pojedinaca i aktivnosti vezane za posredovanje u zapošljavanju nezaposlenih. Jedan od razloga je i nedorečen zakonski okvir koji predstavlja prepreku aktivnijem uključanju nevladinog sektora u ove aktivnosti.

NVO i razvojne politike

Uloga nevladinog sektora u analizi, izradi i nadzoru implementacije razvojnih politika iako nije zanemariva, nije niti dostatna za ozbiljniji utjecaj na razvojne procese u bosanskohercegovačkom društvu.

U većini slučajeva aktivnosti ovih organizacija su financirane od strane međunarodnih organizacija koje su ujedno i određivale teme, način i pristup analizama, izradama i nadzoru implementacije razvojnih politika. Trenutno u Bosni i Hercegovini postoji desetak nevladinih organizacija koje posjeduju određene kapacitete za analizu, izradu i nadzor implementacije razvojnih politika.

Međutim, ne ulazeći u ocjenu efikasnosti implementacije projekata organizacija civilnog društva vezanih za razvojne politike ili lobiranje za određene razvojne ciljeve, neosporna je činjenica da se ekonomska problematika nije uspjela nametnuti kao najznačajnija tema u bosanskohercegovačkom društvu a posebno ne među političkim elitama. Krivnju za takvo stanje djelomice snose i nerazvijene i neaktivne organizacije civilnog društva.

Bez obzira na značajne napore međunarodnih organizacija da razviju sposobnosti organizacija civilnog društva za zastupanje i lobiranje, ovi kapaciteti su i dalje nerazvijeni. Postoji veoma mali broj OCD koje se uopće bave zastupanjem interesa i lobiranjem, a ako i postoje primjeri lobiranja, u većini slučajeva se radi o manje značajnim problemima te je očit nedostatak strategijske orijentacije i dobro pripremljenog pristupa lobiranju za točno određen problem.

Posebno je izražena slabost sindikata i udruga poslodavaca koje bi trebale biti značajni agenti promjene. Tijekom 2003. godine, Konfederacija sindikata Bosne i Hercegovine, uz suradnju sa ekspertima i drugim OCD, je izradila prijedlog strategije zapošljavanja u Bosni i Hercegovini i ponudila dokument Vijeću ministara Bosne i Hercegovine na razmatranje. Inicijativa nije proizvela nikakav rezultat niti se Vijeće ministara Bosni i Hercegovine ikada očitovalo povodom ovog dokumenta.

Interesne organizacije civilnog društva

Interesne organizacije kao što su sindikati i udruge poslodavaca su ključni faktori u socio-ekonomskom dijalogu u ekonomski razvijenim društvima. Postojeće administrativne, političke i etničke podjele u bosanskohercegovačkom društvu su se reflektirale i na organiziranje i uspostavu interesnih organizacija. Sindikati i udruge poslodavaca su podijeljene sukladno administrativnim jedinicama unutar BiH, a u većini slučajeva i po etničkom principu. Većina ovih organizacija nema dostatne resurse i kapacitete za aktivnije i ozbiljnije uključivanje u analize, rasprave i donošenje odluka o razvojnim politikama u Bosni i Hercegovini. U dosta slučajeva zbog malobrojnog i razjedinjenog članstva ove organizacije nemaju dostatan legitimitet ili im političke strukture odbijaju priznati legitimitet.

Socio-ekonomsko vijeće nije uspostavljeno na nivou Bosne i Hercegovine nego su uspostavljena dva socio-ekonomska vijeća na entitetskom nivou. Nesređeni odnosi između interesnih organizacija se često koriste od strane političkih struktura koje na kraju manipulacijama određuju partnere sa kojima će pregovarati unutar Socio-ekonomskog vijeća.

Diskusije unutar Socio-ekonomskog vijeća su se do sada uglavnom svodile na kolektivno pregovaranje, koje se suštinski svodi na pregovaranje o kolektivnom ugovoru između vlade i sindikata zaposlenika u vladinim institucijama i organizacijama. U većini slučajeva uloga privatnog sektora u procesu pregovaranja sa socijalnim partnerima je minorna.

Namjesto da Socio-ekonomsko vijeće bude jezgro i izvor aktivnosti, mjera i politika koje će omogućiti ubrzan ekonomski rast, ono se pretvorilo u svoju suprotnost i izvor prepreka većem ekonomskom rastu i zapošljavanju u Bosni i Hercegovini.

Postojeće zakonske odredbe i odredbe vezane za kolektivne ugovore te način na koji se provode pregovori o općem kolektivnom ugovoru, način definiranja plaća i beneficija zaposlenih radnika su značajan izvor rigidnosti na tržištu rada i značajna prepreka većoj mobilnosti radne snage. Trenutni zakonski okvir štiti radna mjesta već zaposlenih, ujedno onemogućavajući ulazak na tržište rada ženama i mladim.

Umjesto zaključka

Zbog neefikasnosti vladinih institucija i organizacija u kreiranju i implementiranju razvojnih politika, odsustva sustava potpore nezaposlenima i veoma niskog obima i kvalitete usluga koje vladine institucije i organizacije pružaju nezaposlenima, postoji ogromna potreba i otvoren prostor za puno veću uključenost organizacija civilnog društva.

Snažnije uključivanje organizacija civilnog društva je potrebno kako u dijelu istraživanja, izrade i nadzora implementacije razvojnih politika koje bi dovele do većeg uključivanja populacije u ekonomske tokove, tako i u dijelu pružanja direktnih usluga i pomoći nezaposlenim pojedincima.

Posebno bi bilo značajno da se organizacije civilnog društva uključe u procese identificiranja ključnih problema na tržištu rada i da na strukturiran način pristupe zastupanju interesa i lobiranju za određene razvojne politike i ciljeve koji bi rezultirali sa većom uključenosti populacije u ekonomske tokove.

Institucije sektora rada i zapošljavanja troše desetine miliona konvertibilnih maraka na razne oblike pasivnih i aktivnih mjera tržišta rada. Većina implementiranih mjera nikada nije evaluirana sa aspekta uspješnosti i rezultata koje su proizvele. Ovo je samo jedan od primjera gdje organizacije civilnog društva mogu odigrati značajnu nadzornu ulogu nad provođenjem politika zapošljavanja i trošenja značajnih sredstava poreznih obveznika.

Zbog nepostojanja direktnih usluga savjetovanja, posredovanja u zapošljavanju, dodatne edukacije, obuke i prekvalifikacije nezaposlenih, organizacije civilnog društva imaju dovoljno prostora za implementiranje ovih aktivnosti i zadovoljenje potreba koje nisu pokrivene aktivnostima institucija i organizacija javnog sektora.

Nažalost, iako su vladine organizacije i institucije zbog svoje neefikasnosti stvorile potrebe i prostor za snažniju uključenost organizacija civilnog društva, kapaciteti organizacija civilnog društva su i dalje nezadovoljavajući i njihovo preuzimanje uloge javnog sektora u području ekonomije i socijalne uključenosti ne bi dovelo do značajnije promjene postojećeg stanja.

Interesne organizacije koje su u drugim zemljama nezamjenljivi partneri javnom sektoru i vladinim institucijama u socio-ekonomskom dijalogu, usprkos značajnim finansijskim sredstvima i tehničkoj pomoći pruženoj od strane međunarodnih organizacija, su još uvijek daleko od pozicije u kojoj mogu igrati ulogu ravnopravnih partnera vladinim institucijama.

Studija slučaja

Mapiranje aktera u oblasti zapošljavanja mladih

Jan Zlatan Kulenović

Omladinska informativna agencija

Uvod

Nalaženje posla, posebno prvog zaposlenja, kao i kreiranje vlastitog biznisa su veliki izazovi za mlade ove zemlje, ali i za različite državne institucije, zavode za zapošljavanje, poslovni sektor, regionalne i lokalne razvojne agencije, obrazovne institucije, nevladine organizacije, omladinska i studentska udruženja, međunarodne organizacije u BiH i dr. Upravo sve nabrojane institucije, 578 osoba, njihovih predstavnika, iz 85 općina/opština, Omladinska informativna agencija BiH (OIA) pitala je za mišljenje o značaju, potrebama i mogućnostima zapošljavanja mladih i razvoja preduzetništva/poduzetništva u BiH. Ti susreti, regionalni dijalozi kako smo ih nazvali, održani su u 15 BH gradova u periodu decembar/prosinac 2005. – mart/ožujak 2006¹. Taj proces uključivanja različitih aktera oko teme zapošljavanja mladih dio je projekta kojeg je podržao USAID kao nastavak konferencije "Mladi BiH, stvarajmo svoju budućnost!" organizirane u povodu obilježavanja 10. godišnjice Dejtonskog mirovnog sporazuma, u Sarajevu 12.11.2005. godine.

Prikupljanje podataka i analiza stanja

OIA BiH, kao vodeća nevladina i vanstranačka organizacija na razini BiH koja se bavi razvojem politike prema mladima, u prvim mjesecima pripreme projekta uradila je široki desk review, pregled različitih dokumenata, statističkih podataka, te utvrdila mapu aktera u oblasti zapošljavanja mladih. Među nalazima našli su se podaci 45% mladih nezaposleno² (od 15 do 19 godina: 64,6%; od 20 do 24 godine: 39,3%), da je nezaposlenost – jedan od 3 glavna razloga za odlazak mladih (preko 100.000 otišlo nakon Daytona, 77% mladih želi da napusti BiH), da je stopa nezaposlenosti kod mladih (18 – 25 godina) 2,5 puta veća nego kod grupe od 25 do 49 god, da je od svih nezaposlenih oko 36% su mladi, da od svih mladih nezaposlenih, preko 90% čine oni sa nižim obrazovnim kvalifikacijama (SSS, KV, NKV), te svega 2% onih sa diplomom, zatim da 55% mladih nezainteresirano za pokretanje biznisa, a još 30% je obeshrabreno (zbog manjka početnog kapitala, prevelike birokracije, korupcije i dr.), a to košta državu, dok u oblasti obrazovanja stopa upisa u srednje škole je 72,6%, što je niže nego u drugim zemljama u regionu, BiH je 39. u Europi po reformi visokog obrazovanja, 3% stanovništva ima diplomu dok je EU prosjek 15%, ne postoji Zakon o visokom obrazovanju na nivou države, a 80% mladih nezadovoljno je obrazovnim sistemom. Međutim, jedan od bitnih nalaza bio je i taj da postoji veliki broj institucija i aktera koji se bave ili bi se trebali baviti razvojem politika

1 Regionalni dijalozi: Zenica (21.12.2005.), Istočno Sarajevo (23.12.2005.), Travnik (18.01.2006.), Livno (19.01.), Trebinje (24.01.), Široki Brijeg (25.01.), Mostar (26.01.), Goražde (9.02.), Brčko (15.02.), Tuzla (16.02.), Zvornik (17.02.), Banja Luka (23.02.), Mrkonjić Grad (2.03.), Bihać (3.03.) i Sarajevo (15.03.2006.)

2 Prema "strogoj" definiciji nezaposlenih ILO-a – osobe koje nemaju posla, a koje su dostupne za posao u naredne dvije sedmice i koje su tražile posao u zadnje četiri sedmice.

zapošljavanja mladih, no ili to ne rade ili nisu međusobno povezani. Da bismo još detaljnije dobili sliku stvarnoga stanja, ali i iz prve ruke vidjeli kapacitete, resurse, praksu, povezanost aktera te čuli i njihove sugestije, prijedloge ideje organizirali smo slijedeću aktivnost...

Regionalni susreti i dijalози

Kako već u uvodu stoji održano je 15 regionalnih dijaloga sa skoro 600 učesnika iz 85 lokalnih zajednica koji su predstavljali različite sektore, institucije, aktere u ovoj oblasti. Na osnovu mape aktera na te susrete pozvano je više od 1.200 osoba. Susreti su bili moderirani skupovi u trajanju dva i pol do tri sata, sastavljeni od dva dijela: prvo, prezentacije analize stanja u oblasti zapošljavanja mladih, a zatim od interaktivnog dijela kroz anonimno napisane kartice sa idejama o ovoj temi (šta uraditi, na šta staviti akcent), te raspravu između aktera koja je zatim slijedila. Namjerno je na sredini organizirana i pauza radi neformalne komunikacije i upoznavanja učesnika. Pored toga što su se čule zanimljive ideje, otkrile i praktične aktivnosti pojedinih aktera, te detaljnije izanalizirali problemi, posebno je uočena potreba za dijalogom odnosno manjak komunikacije između svih "stakeholdera". Za neke je to bio prvi put čak da su sjeli zajedno i razgovarali o politici zapošljavanja mladih, mada dolaze iz istoga grada ili regije!

Proizvodi, rezultati i naučene lekcije

Osnovni i direktni proizvod ovoga procesa dijaloga jeste resursni materijal, odnosno **priručnik** koji predstavlja "nalaze i izazove", tj. otvorena pitanja u oblasti zapošljavanja mladih i razvoja poduzetništva/preduzetništva kod mladih u BiH. Pregled mjera i akcija za zapošljavanje mladih i razvoj poduzetništva/preduzetništva kod mladih je posebno poglavlje koje je potkrijepljeno sa primjerima dobre prakse u BiH. Ovdje se nude ideje, prijedlozi, sugestije šta uraditi u ovoj oblasti, ali i primjeri onih koji su bili uspješni, kreativni i poduzetni. Na kraju je sistematizirana kontakt lista "t-KO JE t-KO", odnosno dat pregled velikog broja aktera u ovoj oblasti u BiH, njihovih mislija i nadležnosti sa pripadnim kontaktima. Kompletan priručnik postavljen je na web stranicu USAID-a, a bit će dostupan u posebnoj verziji i on-line na web portalu za mlade www.mladi.info do kraja 2007. godine.

Drugi proizvod regionalnih dijaloga je video materijal odnosno snimljeno je 40 petominutnih emisija sa primjerima dobre prakse koji su emitirani na BHT-u u proljeće 2006. godine.

Međutim, puno su važniji dalji rezultati, odnosno oni koji su koristili priručnik, pa su tako na osnovu priručnika (dakle svih dijaloga i projekta) organizirani i posebni treninzi (npr. dio treninga za načelnike privrednih djelatnosti 30 općina partnera talijanskog konzorcija CISP u 2006. godini), zatim dio ekspozea Premijera Kantona Sarajevo Samira Silajdžića sadržavao je dijelove Priručnika, priručnik je korišten i za neka druga istraživanja u ovoj oblasti i programiranje drugih projekata kako lokalnih vlasti tako i organizacija civilnoga društva. Također, dio medija, novinara mogao je na jednom mjestu naći aktere o ovoj temi i puno lakše obraditi temu u svojim prilozima. U ovoj godini dio priručnika je otkupila i Agencija za rad i zapošljavanje Bosne i Hercegovine i poslala svojim entitetskim i kantonalnim zavodima za zapošljavanje. Tek njihovo korištenje, kao i utemeljene veze i poznanstva 600 učesnika dijaloga bit će pravi efekat ovoga projekta, odnosno vježbe inicirane i vođene od strane jedne lokalne organizacije civilnoga društva.

Na osnovu ovoga da se zaključiti da je uspješan socijalni dijalog onaj koji je inkluzivan i uključuje sve zainteresirane strane i aktere, koji je interaktivan, inovativan, zatim dobro potkrijepljen argumentima (podacima, činjenicama, statistikama, analizama) i na kraju dokumentiran u formu koja se može dalje koristiti, odnosno koja je sistematizirana, lako čitljiva, jasna i najvažnije dostupna svim drugim akterima iz neke oblasti. Socijalni dijalog nije na kraju i sam sebi svrha i završetak, već početak i preduvjet za dalji razvoj politika i mjera u nekoj oblasti i prvi korak koji osigurava da se stvori povjerenje između aktera i utaba put za dalji zajednički rad. Sasvim sigurno da uloga nevladinih organizacija u tranzicijskom društvu predstavlja bitnu kariku u stvaranju takvog socijalnog dijaloga i posebnih javnih politika utemeljenih na činjenicama i potrebama građana.

Zdravstvo i socijalna uključenost

dr Irfanka Pašagić
Tuzlanska Amica

I

Raznolikost zakona na području Bosne i Hercegovine rezultira različitim nivoima ostvarivanja zdravstvene zaštite u različitim područjima.

Činjenica je da na prostoru BiH ne postoji zajednički zakon kojim bi bila regulisana osnovna zdravstvena zaštita stanovništva, već su sve nadležnosti iz ove oblasti prenesene na nivo entiteta i Distrikta Brčko.

Svakako je najbolja situacija na prostoru Distrikta Brčko. Osiguranici ne plaćaju participaciju, a osim liječenja na području Distrikta, to mogu činiti na prostoru čitave BiH ali i u inostranstvu. U Federaciji BiH zdravstvo je decentralizirano, nadležnosti su podijeljene između Federacije i kantona, a odgovornosti između Federacije, kantona i općina, s tim što je većina nadležnosti pozicionirana na kantonalnom nivou. U Republici Srpskoj sva odgovornost je na entitetskom nivou.

Iako postoje potpisani ugovori za korištenje zdravstvene zaštite između entiteta, vrlo su male mogućnosti za korištenje ovoga prava, tako da su osiguranici prisiljeni da koriste usluge u strogo određenim ustanovama, što često stvara probleme, pogotovu kod potreba za bolničkim tretmanom.

Iako je reforma zdravstva, koja je počela neposredno nakon rata i koja je podržana i značajnim sredstvima iz inostranstva, obuhvatila i uvođenje institucije porodičnog ljekara ista je još i danas nedostupna velikom broju stanovnika, što je naročito evidentno u ruralnim sredinama.

I dalje u Bosni i Hercegovini stotine hiljada ljudi ne ostvaruje pravo niti na osnovnu zdravstvenu zaštitu¹. Među njima je i veliki broj djece.

Visoka stopa nezaposlenosti² je jedan od vodećih uzroka nedostupnosti zdravstvene zaštite za sve stanovnike BiH, ali je neadekvatna informisanost i nekorištenje postojećih prava iz domena zdravstvene zaštite također evidentna. Nekvalitetna socijalna politika, ali i veliki broj osoba u stanju socijalne potrebe u procesu tranzicije u kome se Bosna i Hercegovina nalazi su također značajan faktor nemogućnosti pristupa zdravstvenim ustanovama za sve.

Nekvalitetna distribucija ustanova zdravstvene zaštite onemogućava velikom broju stanovnika pristup kvalitetnoj zdravstvenoj zaštiti, zbog udaljenosti i dodatnih troškova koje iziskuje putovanje ili čak i nedostatak javnog prevoza do zdravstvene ustanove što za mnoge, pogotovu one najsiromašnije, stvara nesavladivu prepreku. Posebne teškoće susrećemo kod povratničke populacije, u mjestima gdje je infrastruktura još uvijek veliki problem, tako da čak i one rijetke porodice koje imaju zdravstvenu zaštitu teško ostvaruju svoja prava. Veliki broj prognanika, povratnika i interno raseljenih lica izgubili su pravo na zdravstvenu zaštitu zbog promjena mjesta boravka i nepoznavanja rokova u kojima su mogli ostvariti pravo na zdravstveno osiguranje.

1 Prema podacima *Izveštaja o humanom razvoju – Socijalna uključenost u BiH* (IBHI BiH/UNDP, 2007) broj osoba u BiH nepokrivenih zdravstvenim osiguranjem je procijenjen na 758000.

2 Prema podacima Agencije za statistiku BiH za august 2007. godine (posljednji dostupni podaci) trenutno je u BiH nezaposleno 521720 osoba pri čemu je tendencija nezaposlenosti u porastu (za 1,0 indeksni poen veći nego u augustu 2006. godine).

Dostupnost lijekova, naročito kvalitetnih, je također neadekvatna. Esencijalne liste lijekova su različite u različitim dijelovima BiH, kao i dostupnost istih. To posebno pogađa grupe siromašnih, među kojima su i osobe treće dobi, koje predstavljaju i najveće potrošače lijekova dovodeći do višestruke socijalne isključenosti.

Iako socijalna isključenost i siromaštvo predstavljaju dva različita pojma, vjerojatno nigdje, kao u sektoru zdravlja, nisu tako usko povezani. Možemo čak uslovno govoriti o siromaštvu zbog bolesti, što se često dešava u slučaju hroničnih bolesti ili invaliditeta i siromaštvu koje dovodi do bolesti, što potvrđuje njihovu uzajamnost.

Zdravstveno stanje stanovništva se ne može posmatrati izolirano od sveukupne društvene situacije. Ono je u Bosni i Hercegovini usložnjeno direktnim ili indirektnim posljedicama rata. Nestabilna politička situacija uzrokuje permanentnu krizu koja značajno utiče na sve sfere života, posebno na stanje psihičkog zdravlja populacije. Ne smije se zaboraviti da su i danas, više od dvanaest godina nakon rata, preživjeli i žrtve u strahu jer su mnogi zločinci slobodni, masovne grobnice se svaki dan otvaraju, ne postoji skoro nijedna porodica u izbjegličkoj ili povratničkoj populaciji koja nema nestale članove porodice. Nije poznato koliko su psihičke traume uticale na porast psihosomatskih bolesti, zbog ograničenog broja kvalitetnih istraživanja³.

Evidentno je da je zloupotreba psihofarmaka dobila skoro epidemijske razmjere, naročito među mladima. Značajan broj nevladinih organizacija pokušava, naročito u oblasti primarne prevencije, dati doprinos smanjenju ove pošasti⁴.

Svjedoci smo razmjera širenja bolesti ovisnosti koje zahvaćaju sve mlađe uzraste. Na sreću, prevalencija od HIV/a je još uvijek niska.

Svakodnevno smo suočeni sa apelima za pomoć za liječenje oboljelih u inostranstvu, od kojih su mnogi djeca. Nedopustivo je da bilo gdje, a posebno u zemlji koja je izgubila tako mnogo mladih, ne postoje uvjeti da se svakom da pravo na život. Formirani Federalni fond solidarnosti⁵ još uvijek nema kvalitetno razrađene kriterije i ne pokriva sve troškove, tako da je u većini slučajeva nevladin sektor nezamjenjiv u traženju fondova i ustanova u inostranstvu koje bi prihvatile oboljelog.

II

Ovako teška zdravstvena situacija u Bosni i Hercegovini bi bila daleko teža da osim javnog i civilni sektor ne igra značajnu ulogu u poboljšanju zdravlja zajednice i smanjenju socijalne isključenosti.

Veliki broj organizacija i udruženja na području Bosne i Hercegovine nastao je zbog specifičnosti uzrokovanim ratom, zbog povećanih potrebe za novim vidovima pomoći, ali i kao pokušaj otklanjanja nedostataka pri pružanju usluga i pomoći postojećih institucija.

Tokom godina, zahvaljujući bržoj i kvalitetnijoj dostupnosti informacija i edukaciji, uz podršku inostranih institucija, organizacija i pojedinaca, civilni sektor je značajno ojačao svoje kapacitete i postao neophodna karika u svim sferama društva.

Uloga civilnog društva u kriznim situacijama, kada je potrebno brzo reagovanje, brzo mobilisanje većeg broja ljudi, brza edukacija i brza akcija je nešto čemu smo svi svjedoci i bez čega bi posljedice ratnih stradanja bile daleko veće.

Pružanje neposredne medicinske pomoći, donacije u lijekovima i medicinskoj opremi znatno su olakšale teškoće kroz koje je naša zemlja prošla. I pored nesumnjivih pozitivnih doprinosa zanimljivo je da je danas prihvaćanje civilnog sektora na teritoriji BiH vrlo različito, od prihvaćanja kao ravnopravnog partnera od strane lokalnih vlasti (kao što je slučaj npr. u Tuzli) do potpunog ignorisanja ili čak negiranja uloge i potrebe postojanja organizacija i udruženja civilnog društva. Ipak, dok su u početku skoro isključivo zavisile od inostranih donacija, danas, skoro u svim sredinama državni organi (naročito na nivou lokalnih zajednica) počinju izdvajati sredstva za rad civilnog sektora, uključujući i pružanje određenih zdravstvenih usluga i zaključivanje partnerskih ugovora sa institucijama vlasti - pogotovu na nižim nivoima.

3 Kao pozitivan primjer može se navesti istraživanje: *Psihološke posljedice traume rata na stanovništvo u razvoju u Bosni i Hercegovini*, Vera Daneš i Vesna Horvat, 2005.

4 Kao primjer vidi: <http://www.narkone.org>

5 Za više informacija vidi: <http://for.com.ba/Solidarnost/solidarnost.htm>

Nemjerljiva je uloga civilnog sektora u animiranju građana u procesu donošenja odluka vezanih za zdravlje stanovnika, jačanju svijesti o zdravlju kao osnovnom ljudskom pravu te informiranje o pravima pacijenata o stanju i najboljim načinima liječenja, kao i:

- Zdravstvenom prosvjećivanju
- Poboljšanju higijenskih uslova i navika
- Promociji zdravih stilova života
- Ekološko osvješćivanje i poboljšanje uslova stanovanja
- Smanjenje stigmatizacije bolesnih i invalidnih
- Edukacije o bolestima ovisnosti i slično
- Promoviranje multidisciplinarnih, integralnih modela pomoći
- Inovativnim modelima pomoći

Uloga nevladinog sektora u zdravstvu nije precizirana niti postoje neki zakonski akti koji to regulišu. I pored toga, nevladin sektor značajno doprinosi zdravlju stanovništva kroz različite aktivnosti, uglavnom baziranim na iskustvima i potrebama uočenim na terenu. Evidentno je da vrlo mali broj organizacija danas nudi zdravstvene usluge kao izoliranu već kao integralni segment u multidisciplinarnoj pomoći ugroženim grupama stanovništva.

Nedvojbeno je da zbog svoje fleksibilnosti, nevladin sektor više obraća pažnju na različite aspekte socijalne isključenosti i pokušava pronaći modele sveobuhvatne akcije, dok institucije sistema rješavanju problema pristupaju parcijalno, svako iz svoga domena.

Svjedoci smo da se svakodnevno osnivaju nova udruženja oboljelih ili liječenih od određenih bolesti kao što su leukoze, rak dojke, kronova bolest, ulcerozni kolitis i slično. Ova udruženja značajno doprinose kvalitetnijem informisanju o određenoj bolesti, promovisanju zdravih stilova života, njihovim članovima su dostupnije informacije o novim lijekovima ili tehnologijama liječenja, značajno psihološki utiču na oboljele i njihove porodice. Istovremeno, svojim djelovanjem utiču na podizanje svijesti stanovništva i ranijem otkrivanju bolesti, kao i smanjenju stigmatizacije oboljelih.

III

Činjenice koje ukazuju na nedostatke postojeće zdravstvene zaštite i iskustva u dosadašnjem radu civilnog sektora ukazuju na potrebu redefinisavanja pozicije nevladinog sektora, ali i postojećeg sistema zdravstvene zaštite.

Postoje određene grupe socijalno isključenih koje bez integralnog, mješovitog pristupa imaju malu šansu da u dogledno vrijeme budu kvalitetno integrisane u društvena zbivanja i odlučivanja. Naročito je bitna saradnja nevladinog i vladinog sektora po pitanju integracije socijalne i zdravstvene, ali i obrazovne i drugih vidova podrške i pomoći.

Civilni sektor može, zbog svoje fleksibilnosti i inovativnosti pokriti određene segmente koji javni sektor po svojoj organizacijskoj strukturi ne može.

Integralni, multidisciplinarni pristup tretmanu je veoma razvijen u nevladinom sektoru, i pokazao je značajne rezultate u dosadašnjem pristupu rješavanju višestruko socijalno isključenih osoba. Osim evidentne efektivnosti, evidentno je da je pomoć brža, dostupnija, prilagođena individualnim potrebama a i finansijski je prilagodljiva.

Zdravstvena zaštita kao jedan od uzroka socijalnog isključenja: karakteristične grupe

Romska populacija

Romska populacija predstavlja jednu od socijalno najisključenijih kategorija u svim aspektima, uključujući i zdravlje⁶. Stigmatizacija i predrasude koje su decenijama prisutne na ovom prostoru sigurno su jedan od faktora zašto i romska populacija sama sebe često isključuje iz zajednice u kojoj živi.

6 Za detaljniju elaboraciju ove ocjene vidi Strategiju za rješavanje problema Roma (Vijeće Ministara BiH, Sl. Glasnik BiH, Broj 67/05)

Čitav je niz faktora koji utiču na stanje njihovog zdravlja i dostupnosti zdravstvenoj zaštiti.

Samo siromaštvo ove populacije ima značajan uticaj – često krajnje neuslovan smještaj, loša i neredovna ishrana, loše higijenske navike, okruženje u kome žive, a često i posao kojim se bave. Nedostupnost zdravstvene zaštite, osim nemogućnosti preventivnog djelovanja, često onemogućava i saniranje zdravstvenih posljedica koje iz ovoga proizlaze.

Situacija se unekoliko popravila nakon rata, zahvaljujući prije svega nevladinom sektoru, kako romskim udruženjima tako i drugim organizacijama i udruženjima koje su prepoznale socijalnu isključenost ove populacije i direktnim djelovanjem, kreiranjem projekata namijenjenih poboljšanju položaja Roma u društvu, ali i indirektnim uticajem na sve nivoje vlasti sa ciljem promjene legistative i prakse. Nažalost, sveukupna situacija je i dalje dramatična⁷.

I dalje je evidentno da je posebno težak položaj ženske Romske populacije, koja vrlo rano stupa u vanbračne zajednice, i dalje je abortus često jedini način kontrole rađanja, evidentirana je i trgovina ženama, dok se nasilje u porodici u velikom broju slučajeva smatra normalnim.

Činjenica je da na prostoru Bosne i Hercegovine ima veliki broj Romskih nevladinih organizacija, ali je primjetno da je koordinacija među njima neadekvatna i često dolazi do preklapanja aktivnosti. Većina projekata se i dalje finansira zahvaljujući inostranim donacijama, ali je evidentno da se u ovom sektoru situacija mijenja i da se i lokalne vlasti uključuju u podršku ovim projektima.

Jedan od glavnih razloga za zdravstvenu isključenost romske populacije jeste svakako dugogodišnji život na marginama društva, koji je rezultirao nekvalitetnim stilom življenja, ali i doveo do nepovjerenja u institucije sistema. Sam stil življenja često je uzrok povećanog obolijevanja Roma. Poznato je da Romi i dalje na našim prostorima imaju najveći natalitet, ali i najkraći životni vijek. Tradicionalno loše ili nikakvo obrazovanje, onemogućava im zapošljavanje, ali i kvalitetan pristup informacijama, što dalje usložnjava dostupnost zdravstvenim ustanovama. Poznato je da veliki broj djece legalno ne postoji, nisu upisani u matične knjige rođenih, tako da čak i u onim slučajevima gdje postoji mogućnost zdravstvenog osiguranja po nekom osnovu, oni ga nemaju.

Evidentno je da bilo koje parcijalno rješenje neće dovesti do socijalnog uključivanja ove populacije ili grupe u društvenu zajednicu. Pitanje Roma ne smije biti samo problem romskih organizacija, već čitave zajednice u jednom integralnom, multidisciplinarnom pristupu koji će omogućiti Romima ravnopravno učešće u zajednici

Osobe sa psihičkim poremećajima

Osobe sa psihičkim poremećajima uslovljenim ratom

Po nekim podacima na području Bosne i Hercegovine postoji više od milion osoba sa simptomima posttraumatskog stresnog poremećaja, od kojih mnogi su Hroničnim posttraumatskim stresnim poremećajem. Među njima je najveći broj bivših logoraša, demobiliziranih boraca, seksualno zlostavljanih žena i djevojaka. Ako se zna da su nedostatak inicijative i nemogućnost percepcije budućnosti, kao i promjene u ponašanju prateći simptomi ovog poremećaja, onda sama psihološka pomoć, koja je dostupna samo manjem broju onih kojima je potrebna, neće doprinijeti njihovom kvalitetnom uključivanju u društvenu zajednicu. Opšte je poznato da u postkonfliktnim društvima nezaposlenost predstavlja jedan od vodećih problema, a jedan od uzroka jeste i to što oboljeli od hroničnog PTSP-a veoma teško kreiraju neki novi način privređivanja i vrlo često se sami isključuju iz bilo kakvih društvenih aktivnosti.

Osim toga, poznato je prenošenje simptoma traumatizacije na sljedeću generaciju, te je vrlo bitno pronaći načine i da se djeca koja potiču iz porodica sa oboljelim na vrijeme uključe u određene aktivnosti koje bi im pomogle da se nose sa situacijom u porodici.

Hronični duševni bolesnici jesu jedna od najisključenijih grupa za koju se često još uvijek vodi polemika da li pripadaju zdravstvenom ili socijalnom sektoru. Možemo se upitati i šta je sa njihovim pravom na rad i zabavu i obrazovanje i...?

Prognanici, interno raseljena lica i povratnici

Prognanici, interno raseljena lica i povratnici također predstavljaju ratom kreirane grupe socijalno isključenih. Adekvatni i ažurni podaci o zdravstvenom stanju ovih osoba nisu dostupni. Zbog uslovljenosti imovinskim zakonima, ali

⁷ Izvještaj o humanom razvoju – Socijalna uključenost u BiH (IBHI-BIH/UNDP, 2007), strana 112

i školovanja djece, veliki broj osoba živi u jednom mjestu, a zvanično je registrovan u drugom. Na taj način mnogi od njih gube određena prava, uključujući i pravo na zdravstvenu zaštitu u mjestu stanovanja. Činjenica je da u povratničkoj populaciji ima najviše siromašnih, onih koji iz različitih razloga, uključujući i visoku traumatizaciju, nisu uspjeli da osiguraju egzistenciju ili se izbere za donacije koje bi im obezbijedile mogućnost preuzimanja kontrole nad vlastitim životom i kreiranjem vlastite budućnosti. Istovremeno, u povratničkim mjestima je infrastruktura često potpuno uništena, tako da nerijetko žive bez pitke vode, a još uvijek su ovisni od humanitarne pomoći. U ovoj populaciji prisutne su i česte depresivne reakcije.

Osobe treće dobi

Starije osobe su grupa u kojoj se nalazi veliki broj socijalno isključenih iz većeg broja razloga⁸. Iako formalno veliki broj osoba treće dobi ima pravo na zdravstveno osiguranje, veliki broj medicinskih usluga i lijekova koji se ne nalaze na esencijalnim listama i dalje iziskuju dodatna materijalna sredstva, koja oni obično nemaju, ili da bi kupili lijekove moraju sebi uskratiti kvalitetniju ishranu, što onda samo pogoršava njihovo zdravstveno stanje.

Nisu samo zdravstveni problemi vezani za generacije treće dobi sa kojima se svakodnevno susrećemo. Svaki dan je sve veći broj starijih osoba koji žive same, slabije su pokretne, ne mogu sami obavljati higijenske potrebe i slično. U prijašnjem sistemu gotovo je bilo pravilo da brigu o starima preuzimaju djeca, dok sada, prvenstveno zbog velikih migracionih promjena, starije osobe su praktično prepuštene brizi društvene zajednice, koja je svakako nedostatna. Potpuni osjećaj bespomoćnosti i izgubljenosti nerijetko susrećemo kod ove populacije. U ovakvoj konstelaciji, izolovano rješavanje samo zdravstvenih ili bilo kojih drugih potreba, bez multidisciplinarnog pristupa, sa omogućavanjem kreativnog, dostojanstvenog i društveno korisnog života, ne bi značajno izmijenio kvalitet njihovog života, niti bi umanjio njihovu mnogostruko uzrokovanu isključenost.

Osobe sa invaliditetom

U većini zemalja Evrope imaju daleko povoljnije uslove za kvalitetan život i adekvatno svojim preostalim sposobnostima uključenju u društvenu zajednicu, zahvaljujući dobro koordiniranim aktivnostima javnog i civilnog sektora. Na žalost, u Bosni Hercegovini, i pored velikih pomaka u oblasti uključivanja ove populacije, dosta je još onih koji su onemogućeni da zauzmu mjesto u društvu koje im pripada. Nevladin sektor ima značajnu ulogu u poboljšanju statusa ove populacije. Iako je problem ove populacije bio prisutan i prije, posebno je aktualiziran nakon rata, a formiranjem mnogobrojnih nevladinih organizacija i udruženja invalida njihov položaj u zajednici je poboljšán, a doneseni su i neki zakoni koji regulišu prava osoba sa invaliditetom, ali ne svih⁹. Jedan od velikih propusta u današnjoj pomoći osobama sa invaliditetom jeste što se više obraća pažnja kako materijalno pomoći osobama sa invaliditetom, a manje kako im pomoći da kvalitetno i korisno upotrijebe svoje preostale sposobnosti i da ih što više unaprijede.

Djeca sa posebnim potrebama

Djeca sa posebnim potrebama značajnu pomoć dobijaju od nevladinog sektora, ali i dalje svi neophodni vidovi pomoći nisu dostupni velikom broju ove djece. Naročito nedostupna i nedostatna pomoć je u ruralnim sredinama, gdje većina ove djece nema pristup niti jednom vidu pomoći. Nevladin sektor je učinio dosta na uključivanju ove grupe, ali vrlo malo je učinjeno na koordinaciji aktivnosti između vladinog i nevladinog sektora, kao i na adekvatnoj prostornoj dostupnosti¹⁰. U ruralnim sredinama i dalje je prisutna stigmatizacija djece sa posebnim potrebama, tako da i u slučajevima gdje postoje neki programi za uključivanje ove grupe to se ne dešava radi isključenosti od strane roditelja. Posebno je izražena nedostupnost kvalitetnih i visokospecijaliziranih ustanova siromašnoj djeci za potreban medicinski tretman koja uz druge forme socijalnog isključivanje marginalizaciju ponekad čine ekstremnom. Određene koordinirane akcije

8 Za detalje vidi *Izveštaj o humanom razvoju – Socijalna uključenost u BiH* (IBHI BiH/UNDP, 2007), Leaken indikator 1a, strana 186.

9 Studija politike u oblasti invalidnosti, Direkcija za ekonomsko planiranje, Ministarstvo rada i socijalne politike FBiH, Ministarstvo zdravlja i socijalne zaštite RS, Nezavisni biro za humanitarna pitanja BiH, 2007

10 Kao pozitivan izuzetak može se navesti Centar za djecu i omladinu sa posebnim potrebama "Los Rosales" Mostar.

obrazovnog i nevladinog sektora pokazale su značaj integrativnog pristupa u zajednici, a sigurno bi uspjeh bio i veći uključivanjem drugih relevantnih institucija i organizacija civilnog društva.

Ženska populacija u ruralnim sredinama

Veoma je velika razlika u ruralnim i urbanim sredinama, posebno za poziciju žene u društvenoj zajednici. Opšte siromaštvo, udaljenost zdravstvenih i obrazovnih institucija posebno u povratničkim porodicama, često dovodi do ranog prekida obrazovanja djece i mladih, naročito ženske populacije. Primjetan je trend ranog zasnivanja vlastite porodice, u drastičnijim slučajevima u uzrastu od 14 ili 15 godina. Ponekad je prisutna pojava da se i muškarci rano žene, ali ne u tako drastičnom obliku. Bez ikakvog znanja o zdravstvenoj zaštiti i planiranju porodice, često ubrzo dobijaju djecu, često uz porod bez stručne pomoći (pogotovu ako nemaju zdravstvenu zaštitu, jer u tom slučaju moraju da plate troškove bolničkog liječenja).

I dalje, u ruralnim sredinama abortus je često jedino sredstvo kontrole rađanja, vrlo je rijetko korištenje kontracepcije a kontrole kod ginekologa su još uvijek za velikih broj žena sa sela luksuz ili sramota.

Zbog preranog stupanja u brak česti su problemi u braku i napuštanje vanbračne zajednice. Ako je u takvoj zajednici rođeno dijete, ono nerijetko također ima veliku šansu da bude društveno marginalizirano¹¹.

Zbog neadekvatne ili bez ikakve naobrazbe, žene na selu nemaju mogućnost nikakvog zaposlenja i uglavnom su ovisne o muškarcu. Zbog toga se često dešava da se u vrlo kratkom vremenu žena udaje više puta, zbog čega najviše trpe djeca, koja, zbog materijalne nesigurnosti uglavnom ostaju sa ocem, a žena nema pravo niti na kakvu materijalnu nadoknadu.

Teško je očekivati da se položaj žene na selu popravi bez vrlo ozbiljne analize stanja, identificiranje ugroženih područja (kao što je područje sjeveroistočne Bosne) i napravi zajednička koordinirana akcija, u protivnom nastaviti će se ekonomska i druga ovisnost seoske žene i periferna uloga u društvenoj zajednici kojoj pripada i čiji treba da bude ravnopravan član (ne zaboraviti da je jedan od ciljeva Milenijumske deklaracije i zaštita žene u reproduktivnoj fazi)

Umjesto zaključka

- Etabliranje civilnog sektora kao "glasa naroda" te prihvatanje organizacija civilnog društva od strane političara i šire društvene zajednice, ne kao alternative vlasti već kao njenog suplementa sposobnog da nudi inovativna rješenja ključno je za smanjenje socijalne isključenosti.
- Jedan od glavnih ciljeva civilnog društva i razvoja lokalne zajednice jeste integrisani pristup zadovoljenju osnovnih ljudskih potreba, uključujući i pravo na zdravlje i zdravu okolinu, posebno ugroženih građana. U suprotnom: možete siromašnom djetetu obezbijediti idealnu zdravstvenu zaštitu, ali ako nema cipele u kojima bi otišao do ljekara, ili pare da plati autobusnu kartu do bolnice, teško da će ozdraviti.
- Poseban značaj nevladinog sektora se ogleda u vanrednim situacijama, i na nevladin sektor se mora ozbiljno računati u svim urgentnim ili kriznim situacijama. Brze promjene aktivnosti, lakša dostupnost edukacije i formiranje timova prema potrebama, često mimo uobičajenih šema, doprinose efikasnosti djelovanja. Uključivanje volontera je daleko zastupljenije u nevladinom sektoru, što pojeftinjuje troškove a ujedno smanjuje broj potrebnih profesionalaca.
- Civilni sektor jeste i u narednom periodu će biti značajan faktor u očuvanju zdravlja zajednice.
- Obzirom da je uloga civilnog sektora uvijek u cilju poboljšanja života u zajednici i smanjenja socijalne isključenosti bilo pojedinca ili grupa, neophodno je u narednom periodu pokušati uticati na javni sektor da ubrza reforme zdravstva, kako bi dostupnost institucije porodičnog ljekara bila dostupnija sto većem broju stanovnika Bosne i Hercegovine.
- Civilni sektor mora insistirati na donošenju zakona o zdravstvenoj zaštiti na nivou države.

¹¹ Freakonomics, Steven D. Levitt, Stephen J. Dubner, HarperCollins Publishing, 2005

- Vrlo bitno je uključivanje i povezivanje različitih aktera (javni, nevladin, privatni sektor), kako bi se izbjeglo nepotrebno trošenje resursa, bez adekvatnih rezultata rada.
- Također je bitno insistirati na definisanju mjesta i uloge nevladinog sektora i udruženja u sektoru zdravlja, a samim tim integraciju u sistem djelovanja u zajednici, što bi trebalo rezultirati i kvalitetnijom finansijskom podrškom civilnom sektoru od lokalnih vlasti.
- Jedan od bitnih segmenata djelovanja civilnog sektora jeste i edukacija drugih i vlastita edukacija kako bi išla u korak sa najsavremenijim saznanjima i svoja znanja prenosila i primjenjivala u zajednici
- Nije samo sistem zdravstvene zaštite bitan, bitan je i stil života i okruženje u kome živimo.
- Potreba za integrisanim pristupom u rješavanju mnogostrukih zdravstvenih i drugih potreba je nešto gdje zajedničko djelovanje vladinog i nevladinog sektora pruža garanciju uspjeha.
- Pored odijevanja, stanovanja, prehrane, dobrobit zajednice se ogleda i kroz dobro zdravlje, socijalnu sigurnost i kvalitetno obrazovanje;
- Jasno sagledavanje potreba društvene zajednice, definisanje obaveza i odgovornosti institucija i civilnog sektora, koordiniran pristup smanjenju faktora i uzroka koji dovode do socijalne isključenosti pojedinca, porodice ili grupe, može značajno doprinijeti kvalitetu cijele društvene zajednice i njenom razvoju.

Studija slučaja

Zdravstvena zaštita starih osoba: Kućna njega

Jadranka Duraković
Crveni križ Tuzlanskog kantona

Organizacija Crvenog križa na području cijele BiH već 11 godina implementira program brige o starim licima popularno nazvan "Program kućne njege". Program se sa različitim intenzitetom i pristupom implementira i danas. Osnovni problemi koji utiču na neefikasnost u implementaciji projekta odnose se na neadekvatnu informisanost i koordinaciju aktivnosti između porodice, mjesne zajednice, socijalnih i zdravstvenih institucija, institucija za socijalno zbrinjavanje starih i nevladinih organizacija.

Zbog toga CK TK već tri godine radi na izradi, primjeni i integraciji mješovitog modela brige za stare osobe kojim će se problemi starih lica rješavati na sveobuhvatan način, u socijalnom i zdravstvenom smislu, uz konkretnu primjenu uređenih procedura u mreži socijalnih i zdravstvenih službi i nevladinog sektora.

Ovaj model se kao pilot projekat implementira u šest mjesnih zajednica u općinama Gračanica, Lukavac, Kalesija i u Domu penzionera u Tuzli. Model je baziran na vaninstitucionalnim oblicima zdravstvene njege i brige o starim osobama s jedne strane i korištenju kapaciteta obrazovnih institucija i resursa institucija za socijalno zbrinjavanje starih osoba kakav je Dom penzionera u Tuzli, s druge strane. Sve aktivnosti koje se provode u pomenutim općinama i institucijama poslužile su kao osnova za izradu procedura za pomoć starim licima.

Procedurama su jasno definisane uloge i odgovornosti svih subjekata u mreži koju čine zdravstveni radnici, socijalni radnici, volonteri CK, predstavnici MZ. Primjena procedura omogućila je kvalitetnije, efikasnije i jeftinije usluge starim licima iz oblasti socijalne i zdravstvene zaštite. Posebno je poboljšan sistem pružanja zdravstvene zaštite i mnogim starim osobama obezbjeđen je pristup zdravstvenim uslugama koje bez podrške mreže ne bi mogli ostvariti. Ovo je značajno i sa aspekta različitih propisa i modaliteta djelovanja zdravstvenih i socijalnih institucija. Socijalne službe imaju daleko veća ograničenja u svom djelovanju od zdravstvenih institucija. Čak su i određena zakonska rješenja predvidjela finansijsku podršku za bolesne osobe koje trebaju pomoć trećih lica, bez obzira na njihov socijalni status.

Zajedničkim radom omogućava se pravilan izbor starih lica u lokalnim zajednicama (kakve su npr. mjesne zajednice ili gradske četvrti) kojima je stvarno potrebna pomoć u ostvarivanju nekog od oblika zdravstvene zaštite. Model je omogućio i efikasniju koordinaciju rada svih aktera u procesu uključivanja novih korisnika koji su zbog narušenog zdravlja došli u poziciju da im je neophodna pomoć.

Kratak opis projektnih aktivnosti

U pilot općinama formirani su timovi za pomoć starim licima koji, za sada, djeluju pri općinskim organizacijama CK, a čine ih predstavnici: Centra za socijalni rad, doma zdravlja, mjesne zajednice, općinske uprave i Crvenog križa. U rad Tima povremeno i u skladu sa potrebama uključuju se i predstavnici obrazovnih institucija. Odabrani volonteri CK koji su prethodno završili obuku, u saradnji sa mjesnim zajednicama izvršili su istraživanja i izbor starih lica u mjesnim zajednicama a prema utvrđenim kriterijima. Kriteriji za izbor starih osoba urađen je na bazi do sada

Tokom implementacije projekta u 6 mjesnih zajednica općina Gračanica, Lukavac i Kalesija u prvoj fazi 36 volontera obišlo je 326 starih osoba. Nakon konsultacija u Timu za pomoć starim licima u općini Gračanica izabrano je 12, u Kalesiji 28 i u Lukavcu 18 starih lica koja se spadaju u najugroženiju grupu (samohrane, teže hronično oboljele, teže pokretne i nepokretne osobe). Za ova lica urađeni su individualni planovi i dogovorene aktivnosti svakog od aktera u implementaciji projekta. Trenutno se te aktivnosti implementiraju na terenu. Očekuje se poboljšanje zdravlja i kvaliteta života svakog od odabranih korisnika.

U Domu penzionera u Tuzli, CK TK oformio je Višenamjenski dnevni centar za korisnike usluga Doma penzionera i za stare osobe sa područja općine Tuzla. Pored društvenih aktivnosti koje se organizuju u okviru dnevnog centra (čitanje dnevne štampe, slušanje muzike, okupacijske terapije, proslave rođendana, vjerskih i drugih praznika) u centru se organizuje praktična nastava za studente Edukacijsko-rehabilitacijskog fakulteta i učenike Medicinske škole (gerijatrijski i fizioterapeutski smjer).

Značajno je na kraju napomenuti da su sve četiri općine i finansijski podržale ovaj projekat, kao i Ministarstvo za rad i socijalnu politiku TK. Ova podrška je nedovoljna, ali je dobar signal spremnosti lokalnih i kantonalnih vlasti da podrže ove i slične aktivnosti. Kako bi zdravstvena zaštita i socijalna briga o starim licima bila efikasna, mora se bazirati na integralnom pristupu, koji pretpostavlja zajedničko djelovanje svih aktera čije aktivnosti utiču na kvalitet života starih lica i stvaranje uslova za uključivanje lokalnih zajednica u ovaj proces. Ovakav, inovativan pristup rješavanju prioriteta pojedinih grupa građana, zahtijeva i kvalitetnu finansijsku podršku i izgradnju mehanizma finansiranja kroz oblike koji će omogućiti koordinirano investiranje u oblasti socijalne politike i obezbjediti bolji pristup uslugama i procesu donošenja odluka u oblasti socijalne i zdravstvene zaštite od strane isključenih grupa građana (u ovom slučaju starih osoba).

Socijalna zaštita i socijalna isključenost: *Razvoj integralne socijalne zaštite u BiH*

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Uvod

Socijalna zaštita u Bosni i Hercegovini za veliki broj građana predstavlja izvor egzistencije i oblast koja je prepoznatljiva u društvu po pomaganju najugroženijim da premoste teškoće u kojima su se našli pod uticajem brojnih socio-ekonomskih faktora iz okruženja ili vlastitim nečinjenjem i vlastitom odgovornošću. Tokom rata i u prvim poslijeratnim godinama preko 70% stanovništva koristilo je neki vid zaštite među kojima su najvažniji: humanitarna pomoć, novčana pomoć, psihosocijalna pomoć, zbrinjavanje itd.

Danas, sistem socijalne zaštite (kako se razumije u međunarodnim određenjima) u oba entiteta BiH, pruža različite usluge i pomaže u preživljavanju i zadovoljavanju egzistencijalnih potreba za više stotina hiljada stanovnika koji pripadaju različitim sistemima socijalnog sektora. To su socijalna zaštita, penzijsko-invalidski sistem, boračko-invalidska zaštita, zaštita nezaposlenih, zaštita izbjeglica i raseljenih lica, dječja zaštita (zaštita porodica sa djecom) i zdravstveno osiguranje za pojedine kategorije stanovnika. Za ove namjene u BiH se troši oko 16% BDP.

Istraživanja koja su rađena o životnom standardu, siromaštvu i nezaposlenosti pokazuju da su potrebe značajno veće i da su izdvajanja najniža u odnosu na naše okruženje.

Mjera u kojoj postojeća sredstva omogućavaju efikasan sistem koji poboljšava socijalnu situaciju u BiH bremeni izuzetno teškim, kompleksnim i dugoročnim socijalnim problemima, posljedicama rata, tranzicije i sprečava socijalnu isključenost njenih korisnika, predmet je interesovanja više analiza čiji rezultati ukazuju na potrebu kompletne reforme sistema i njenu potpunu prilagođenost novijim ulogama i zadacima sistema socijalne zaštite. Nedostatak stratezijskih usmjerenja u socijalnoj politici uopšte, kao i kratkoročnost uticaja mnogih programa u socijalnoj zaštiti koji nisu doživjeli svoju održivost ili nisu imali razvojnu komponentu, stalno usporavaju reformske procese i zadržavaju postojeće stanje.

Nužno je napomenuti da se socijalna zaštita u BiH razumije uže od međunarodnog poimanja i da ona obuhvata "Organizovanu djelatnost koja je usmjerena na osiguranje socijalne sigurnosti građana i njihovih porodica u stanju socijalne potrebe",¹ odnosno "Organizovanu djelatnost usmjerenu na suzbijanje uzroka i posljedica stanja socijalne potrebe u svim oblastima društvenog života i rada i pružanje pomoći građanima i porodicama kada se nađu u takvom stanju".² Novija definisanja socijalnu zaštitu usmjeravaju ka poboljšanju socijalnog statusa građana na ličnom, porodičnom i širem socijalnom planu i doživljavaju je kao snagu koja jača društvenu koheziju i njeguje nezavisnost i sposobnost ljudi da pomognu sami sebi. Nove okolnosti društvenog razvoja, novi socijalni problemi i potrebe, od socijalne zaštite zahtijevaju da odgovori na aktuelne potrebe građana i da podržava ranjive i marginalizovane pojedince i grupe kojima je neophodna organizovana pomoć zajednice i države, kao i građana koji nisu u stanju da učešćem u ekonomskoj aktivnosti obezbijede svoju egzistenciju i egzistenciju svoje porodice. Zato se u novijim kontekstima poimanja uloge socijalne zaštite automatski vezuje za prevazilaženje socijalne isključenosti, jer su njeni korisnici u najvećem riziku da nemaju pristup društvenim dobrima, da su siromašni, da su pogođeni višestrukim životnim nesrećama i da to dugo traje, što im uskraćuje radni, ekonomski i socio-kulturni prostor društva ili jedne države i stavlja ih na marginu.

1 Zakon o osnovama socijalne zaštite, civilnih žrtava rata i zaštite porodice sa djecom, Sl. novine FBiH broj 36/99

2 Zakon o socijalnoj zaštiti, Sl. glasnik RS broj 5/93

Razvijajući i implementirajući Srednjoročnu razvojnu strategiju čiji su temelji Strategija borbe protiv siromaštva, BiH je započela sa planskim dugoročnim pristupom u donošenju i provođenju niza mjera i aktivnosti koje treba da dovedu do promjena i na planu socijalne zaštite. Jedna od tih mjera jeste i donošenje strategije socijalne uključenosti koja će pomoći savladavanju osnovnih socijalnih problema i poboljšanju socijalnog statusa građana na ličnom, porodičnom i širem socijalnom planu. Nesporno je da socijalna zaštita predstavlja izuzetno važnu oblast za socijalno uključivanje i da je nosilac u najvećem broju aktivnosti kojim se prevenira socijalna isključenost. Međutim, ona je samo jedan segment među društvenim akterima koji su podjednako odgovorni za potpuniji život pojedinaca i društvenih grupa.

Socijalna isključenost i siromaštvo

Socijalna isključenost u teoriji se razumije kao umjereno trajna, višestruko uzrokovana i višedimenzionalna uskraćenost pojedinca.³ To podrazumijeva:

- Da isključeni ne učestvuju u raspodjeli društvenih institucionalizovanih dobara kao što su obrazovanje, zaposlenost, pristup zdravstvenim i socijalnim uslugama, emocionalna razmjena;
- Neučestvovanje u raspodjeli društvenih dobara ima obilježje trajnog stanja i izlaz iz tog stanja nije lako dostupan i ostvariv;
- Neučestvovanje u raspodjeli društvenih dobara nije uvijek posljedica života i rada samih isključenih osoba, njihove nesposobnosti i nedostataka već je uzrokovana strukturalnim faktorima kao što su nejednake obrazovne mogućnosti, generacijsko reprodukovano siromaštvo itd.;
- Da jedna uskraćenost produkuje i druge životne nesreće i dovodi do višestruke isključenosti (gubitak posla dovodi do materijalne ugroženosti, gubljenja kruga prijatelja i emocionalnih oslonaca, izvora informacija, mogućnosti samopotvrđivanja itd.).

Tri su ključna povezana prostora uskraćenosti u socijalnoj isključenosti. To je radni prostor (nezaposlenost i mogućnost zapošljavanja, time i stvaranja dohotka), ekonomski prostor (siromaštvo u svjetlu nedostatka prihoda za osnovne životne potrebe) i sociokulturni prostor (socijalna izolovanost, odbacivanje, ponižavanje, nedostatak mreže društvene i porodične podrške). Socijalno isključene osobe su upravo one osobe koje se nalaze u presjeku sva tri ova prostora. Njihova kombinacija produbljuje pogođenost i otežava izlazak iz takvog stanja, povećavajući rizik još većeg potonuća i ulaska u začarani krug isključenosti.



Slika 1. Prostori uskraćenosti i socijalne isključenosti

3 Teo Matković, Socijalna isključenost u Hrvatskoj-empirijska analiza, UNDP, 2006, Zagreb

Gledano očima socijalne zaštite, siromaštvo predstavlja jedan od najvećih uzročnika socijalne isključenosti s jedne strane, odnosno socijalna isključenost produkuje i povećava siromaštvo. Srednjoročna razvojna strategija BiH 2004-2007 siromaštvo definiše kao višedimenzionalan fenomen koji, pored nedovoljnih prihoda za zadovoljenje životnih potreba, podrazumijeva i nemogućnost zapošljavanja, neodgovarajuće stambene uslove, neadekvatan pristup socijalnoj zaštiti, zdravstvenim, obrazovnim i komunalnim uslugama. Ovakvo poimanje siromaštva uzima u obzir objektivnu dimenziju koja podrazumijeva nedostatak prihoda i nemogućnost pristupa uslugama, ali i subjektivnu dimenziju koja podrazumijeva nedostatak uslova za razvoj i reprodukciju fizičkih i psihičkih sposobnosti za život, kao što je osjećaj neslobode, nepripadanja i sputanosti, nedostatka dostojanstva i samouvažavanja, a što karakteriše i socijalnu isključenost. Osnovna terminološka određenja siromaštva su:

- Apsolutno siromaštvo (siromaštvo na rubu opstanka ili generalna linija siromaštva) označava apsolutni minimalni životni standard utemeljen na tačno utvrđenoj potrošačkoj korpi prehrambenih proizvoda (za koje se ocjenjuje da zadovoljava minimalne potrebe za očuvanje zdravlja) uvećanu za neke druge troškove poput stanovanja i odjeće.
- Linija ekstremnog siromaštva se određuje na osnovu minimuma neophodnih kalorija i hranljivih materija koje se preračunavaju u novčanu protivrijednost.
- Relativno siromaštvo (relativna granica siromaštva) utvrđuje siromaštvo prema nacionalnom životnom standardu, jer se bez obzira na apsolutne potrebe, ljudi mogu smatrati siromašnim ako je njihov standard znatno niži od standarda drugih osoba u jednoj zemlji.

Raspoloživi statistički podaci i analize o godišnjim potrošnjama i korisnicima u socijalnom sektoru ne govore da u Bosni i Hercegovini postoji ekstremno siromaštvo. Apsolutno siromašnih u BiH je oko 19,5 % stanovništva, a oko 30% je na ivici siromaštva. Siromašni su heterogena grupacija kojoj najčešće pripadaju: klasični korisnici socijalne zaštite, djeca, osobe sa niskim obrazovanjem, starije osobe, osobe sa invaliditetom, raseljene osobe i povratnici, nezaposleni, dijelovi ruralnog stanovništva, Romi. Najčešće socijalno isključene osobe su: siromašni, stariji, mladi, povratnici u područja manjinskog povratka, osobe sa invaliditetom, marginalizovane grupe koje karakteriše visoka stigmatizacija (zaraženi od HIV-a, seksualne manjine, sadašnji i nekadašnji ovisnici o drogama). Vidno je da su u većini slučajeva socijalno isključene osobe i siromašne osobe koje pored siromaštva koje se mjeri dohotkom, imaju problem pristupa tržištu rada, kvalitetnom i cjeloživotnom obrazovanju, zdravstvenoj zaštiti, kulturnim sadržajima, informacijama i učestvovanju u donošenju odluka. Njihov rizik da mogu biti isključeni u najmanje jednoj od dimenzija ili prostora je daleko veći ako postoji međusobna interakcija i djelovanje više komponenti socijalne isključenosti, čime se stvara spirala višestruke deprivacije.

Karakteristično za siromaštvo, kao i za socijalnu isključenost, je njihovo reprodukovanje u začaranom krugu. Djeca su dio populacije koju siromaštvo najviše pogađa i kod kojih se najbolje može upoznati taj proces. Dijete iz siromašne porodice ima roditelje sa nižim stepenom obrazovanja, jer 60% siromašnih živi u domaćinstvima u kojima odrasli imaju samo osnovno obrazovanje. Niži nivo obrazovanja ih dovodi u rizik da tri puta lakše dođu u kategoriju siromašnih i socijalno isključenih. Osobe sa samo osnovnim obrazovanjem ne mogu se zaposliti ili se zapošljavaju na loše plaćenim poslovima, ostvaruju mala primanja sa kojima ne mogu zadovoljiti osnovne potrebe. Predškolske ustanove su pristupačne za manji broj djece. U Bosni i Hercegovini samo oko 9% djece obuhvaćeno je ovim vidom zbrinjavanja i vaspitanja. To su uglavnom djeca zaposlenih roditelja srednjeg, višeg i visokog obrazovanja, a radničke i nezaposlene porodice više koriste porodične resurse za čuvanje djece, vaspitanje i pripremu za školu zbog nedostatka sredstava za plaćanje boravka u predškolskim ustanovama. Djeca iz siromašnih porodica u startu, prije školovanja, imaju dva krupna rizika ili situacije koje usporavaju razvoj, dovode ih u slabiju startnu poziciju i mogućnost socijalnog isključivanja. To su obrazovanje roditelja i njihovi resursi za vaspitanje djece i pristup predškolskim ustanovama. Osnovno školovanje po zvaničnoj politici je besplatno, ali troškovi koje porodica ima za nabavku knjiga i školskog pribora, odjeće, obuće, drugih aktivnosti za sticanje znanja (kursevi jezika, upotreba računara, bavljenje sportom, putovanja, odmori) kod siromašnih porodica ne mogu biti pokriveni iz postojećih prihoda. Djeca iz siromašnih porodica imaju manje mogućnosti da nastave školovanje i ako ne steknu veći nivo obrazovanja teže pronalaze posao i to uglavnom dobiju slabije plaćene poslove, te tako dolaze u situaciju svojih roditelja i reprodukuju siromaštvo, odnosno vrlo su ranjivi i lako odlaze u prostore uskraćenosti što ih vodi socijalnoj isključenosti.



Slika 2. Začarani krug siromaštva

U BiH prisutan je i fenomen novog siromaštva. On je vezan za građane koji su prije rata uživali visok životni standard, ali zbog rata i njegovih posljedica, te posljedica tranzicije se sada nalaze malo iznad ili ispod linije siromaštva. Situacija kod ovih građana je značajno složenija i izuzetno rizična za socijalnu isključenost zbog gubljenja materijalnih i društvenih pozicija koje im je donosio visok životni standard i prekida socijalnih veza u ranijem mjestu življenja, porodičnom okruženju, radnim sredinama i lokalnim zajednicama.

Socijalna zaštita i socijalna isključenost

Socijalna zaštita u BiH definisana je entitetskim zakonima (Zakon o socijalnoj zaštiti Republike Srpske i Zakon o osnovama socijalne zaštite, civilnih žrtava rata i zaštite porodice sa djecom Federacije Bosne i Hercegovine). Oba zakona su više puta mijenjana i dopunjavana. U Federaciji Bosni i Hercegovini navedeni zakon je krovni i on se bavi osnovama socijalne zaštite, uređuje zaštitu civilnih žrtava rata i zaštitu osoba sa invaliditetom, a svaki kanton je donio svoj zakon koji je dalje razradio sistem prava i zaštite osnovnih korisnika ovog sistema.

Pored ovih osnovnih zakona kojima se ustanovljava i definiše sistem socijalne zaštite, postoji niz drugih zakona koji određuju pojedine segmente socijalne zaštite. U prvom redu to su zakoni u sistemu penzijsko-invalidskog osiguranja, rada i zapošljavanja, dječije zaštite, porodične zaštite, krivične zaštite i zdravstvene zaštite.

Zakone prate drugi podzakonski akti kao što su pravilnici, uputstva, uredbe, odluke itd. koji pojašnjavaju pojedine odredbe zakona i bliže regulišu prava, uslove, korisnike procedure i nosioce ovog sistema.

U jednom broju opština oba entiteta donesene su odluke kojima su uvedena druga i proširena prava kojima se značajno proširuje sistem, naročito u domenu socijalnih usluga, čime se značajno poboljšava obim i kvalitet socijalne zaštite i sistemski ugrađuje iskustvo stečeno kroz niz programa reforme socijalne zaštite u BiH.

Važno je, upravo iz pozicije socijalne zaštite i socijalne isključenosti, naglasiti da u BiH pravni okvir za zakone daje Ustav BiH koji je sastavni dio Opšteg okvirnog sporazuma za mir i koji sadrži i međunarodni instrumentarij za zaštitu ljudskih prava od 17 akata koji imaju direktnu primjenu i prioritet nad svim ostalim zakonima. Pored toga, BiH kao nasljednica SFRJ je potpisnica niza deklaracija, konvencija, paktova za čiju primjenu ih obavezuju potpisani ugovori. Socijalna prava, kao sastavni dio ljudskih prava, zastupljena su u ovim instrumentima i postoji obaveza njihovih ostvarivanja. Zakonodavstvo sistema socijalne zaštite u BiH karakteriše:

- Potpuna zakonodavna decentralizacija, bez zajedničkih osnova i garantovanja minimuma prava obavezujućih za sve sisteme;
- Velika podijeljenost sistema i nepostojanje jedinstvenih standarda i principa u definisanju i ostvarivanju prava koja imaju zajedničku svrhu, a u nekim slučajevima i isključenost socijalnih kriterijuma u ustanovljavanju socijalnih prava;
- Velike razlike u pristupima, visinama i obimu prava korisnika zasnovane na statusnim razlikama, a ne stanjima potrebe;
- Nejednaka distribucija sredstava po pojedinim sektorima zasnovana na nejednakom pristupu u zakonodavstvu;
- Zastarjelost pojedinih zakonskih rješenja i njihova neusklađenost sa evropskim standardima i međunarodnim dokumentima koji su u temeljima zakonodavstva BiH;
- Preferiranje naslijeđenih stereotipa u pristupima zakonodavnih rješenja i nedovoljna inovativnost.

Iz karakteristika zakonodavnog sistema proističu i mnoge karakteristike socijalne zaštite BiH, a najosnovnije su:

- Nejasna opredijeljenost glavnih političkih snaga i aktera u zemlji za model socijalne politike koji će se primjenjivati, a time i mjesta i uloge sistema socijalne zaštite;
- Podijeljeno upravljanje sistemom između entiteta i izostanak odgovornosti i učešća države u definisanju politika;
- Decentralizacija sistema između entiteta, kantona i opština sa nedovoljno definisanim odgovornostima nosilaca sistema i načinima koordinacije;
- Rasparčanost sistema po različitim sektorima (rad, boračko-invalidska zaštita, socijalna zaštita, penzijsko-invalidsko osiguranje, zaštita porodica sa djecom), koji međusobno nedovoljno sarađuju i koordiniraju svoje mjere i aktivnosti;
- Neustanovljen sistem socijalne sigurnosti za siromašne i nedefinisana socijalna pomoć kao dio socijalne sigurnosti kojom se obezbjeđuje preživljavanje radno nesposobnih;
- Dominacija filozofije i prakse pružanja pomoći i koncentrisanost na finansijsku pomoć i institucionalizaciju, nedostatak prevencije, složene administrativne procedure i isključenost korisnika u planiranju i donošenju odluka;
- Oslonjenost na medicinski model i nedovoljna primjena socijalnog modela kojim se podstiče integracija u društvenu sredinu, život u porodici, izgradnja trajnijih međuljudskih odnosa, a putem službi podrške i brige;
- Nizak nivo konsultovanja i učešća socijalnih partnera u osmišljavanju i primjenjivanju mjera i izostanak sveobuhvatnog civilnog dijaloga među različitim subjektima koji učestvuju u sistemu;
- Organizovanost institucija socijalne zaštite po principima javnih službi sa dominantnim administrativnim i upravnim procedurama, zatvorenosti, nefleksibilnošću i slabom povezanošću sa drugim sistemima, sektorima i strukturama društva;
- Neujednačena razvijenost pojedinih područja što produkuje nejednak pristup pravima i sredstvima;
- Polarizacija među korisnicima i preferiranje pojedinih "zaslužnih" kroz distribuciju sredstava i utemeljenje visina prava;
- Stihijsko i nedovoljno artikulirano učešće civilnog sektora i nerazrađeni standardi i mehanizmi za praćenje kompetentnosti i kvaliteta pruženih usluga i razvoja partnerstva javnog i civilnog sektora;
- Zanemarljivo prisustvo i učešće privatnog sektora u cjelokupnom sistemu;
- Nedovoljan razvoj usluga koje podržavaju život u zajednici i slab razvoj integralne socijalne zaštite na lokalnom nivou;
- Zanemarivanje i ne obraćanje pažnje na ravnopravnost polova kao jedne od osnovnih vrijednosti sistema, a rodnoj dimenziji kao faktoru rizika u siromaštvu i isključenosti.

Ove i mnoge druge karakteristike uticale su da je sistem socijalne zaštite i sam socijalno isključen, jer se uvijek nalazi na margini svih političkih i društvenih interesovanja i doživljava kao izrazito neproduktivan državni trošak koji

nema socijalni kapital i koji je uvijek na udaru restriktivnih ekonomskih mjera koje ne uvažavaju stanje i potrebe korisnika ovog sistema. Ljudski potencijal sistema socijalne zaštite nije uspio da stvori i nametne nacionalnu strategiju u socijalnom području, da razvije široki konsultativni proces sa svim akterima i zainteresuje javnu svijest i svijest korisnika o nizu aktuelnih socijalnih pitanja. Ova vrsta socijalne isključenosti sistema vrlo negativno se odražava na položaj korisnika i obim i kvalitetet dobijene pomoći i usluga i produkuje potrebu za radikalnom promjenom politike za razvijanje istinski uključivog sistema socijalne zaštite u BiH.

Prva mjera koju treba da nosi uključiva socijalna politika jeste osiguranje svima minimuma sredstava za život putem rada i/ili sistema socijalne zaštite. Plate koje proizilaze iz rada trebaju osigurati život u skladu sa ljudskim dostojanstvom, a posebnu pažnju treba obratiti na minimalne naknade u pojedinim sistemima socijalne zaštite koje trebaju da osiguravaju život izvan siromaštva. Sadašnje naknade ne omogućavaju ni preživljavanje svojih korisnika i visoko su selektovane tako da su dostupne samo najsromašnijim ili pojedinim statusnim skupinama. Kako su korisnici penzija u visokom riziku od siromaštva zbog visine svojih prihoda, postoji potreba za uvođenjem određenih oblika socijalne pomoći za ukupno najugroženije pensionere.

Nova politika mora polaziti od ciljeva koji promovišu socijalnu koheziju kao što su: garantovanje adekvatnog nivoa socijalne zaštite, obezbjeđivanje zaštite najranjivijih društvenih grupa, promocija jednakih mogućnosti građana, podsticanje radne vještine i odgovornosti sa vlastito stanje svakog pojedinca i porodice, zapošljavanje i kontinuirano cjeloživotno sticanje vještina rada, sprečavanje i zabrana socijalnog isključivanja i diskriminacije. Ona se mora temeljiti na ljudskim pravima i individualnim potrebama korisnika, na partnerstvu sa korisnikom i njegovom punom angažovanju u osnaživanju vlastitih kapaciteta i zadovoljavanju potreba na način da se mijenja fokus sa socijalne pomoći na sveukupnu procjenu stanja i potreba i iznalaska najcjelishodnijih mjera uz korištenje svih resursa zajednice (kapaciteti porodice i najbližeg okruženja, radne sredine, različiti oblici organizovanja i udruživanja građana i svih segmenata civilnog društva). Mjere treba da su dio resursa zajednice kao što su pomoć i njega u kući, različiti vidovi hraniteljstva, stručna pomoć u porodici, razni dnevni oblici brige, organizovano stanovanje, savjetovališta itd., a da se institucionalne mjere koriste kada se iscrpe sve druge mogućnosti.

U razvoju nove uključive socijalne zaštite mora se povesti računa i o njenoj geografskoj ciljanosti, posebno kad je u pitanju politika za smanjenje siromaštva. Pojedina područja su više stradala u ratu, manje su razvijena, pretrpila su velike migracije, naseljena su povratnicima ili manjinskim etničkim grupama, izložena su demografskim promjenama ili su na različite druge načine izolovana i imaju ograničene pristupe resursima. Obično u ovim područjima su veće i socijalne potrebe kao posljedica veće i višestruke socijalne isključenosti. Zbog toga geografska ciljanost kao mjerilo mora biti ugrađena ne samo u ekonomske i dohodovne mjere, nego i u socijalne mjere.

U primjeni nove politike pristup uključivanja mora da prednjači u reformi socijalnih službi u kojima jačaju službe privatnog i civilnog sektora, a javne službe se otvaraju prema zajednici, korisniku i svim akterima razvijajući vještine koordinacije, iniciranja, planiranja, praćenja i socijalnog rada u zajednici. Službe drugih sistema socijalnog sektora (rada, penzijsko-invalidskog osiguranja, zdravstva) trebaju da budu obuhvaćene reformom u kojoj će se što više promovisati partnerstvo i aktivna politika učestvovanja u odnosu na finansijsku pomoć.

Danas veliki broj građana potražuje socijalne pomoći i pomoći u njezi. Ustanovljavanje njihovih prava se često temelji na pripadnosti specifičnoj grupi ili stečenom statusu. Nedostaju istraženi i dokumentovani podaci o potrebama najugroženijih kategorija stanovništva, tako da se dešava da pomoć nije pristupačna upravo onima kojima najviše treba. Reforma mora donijeti pristup zasnovan na potrebi, a ne na statusu, što omogućava jednaka prava svim korisnicima kojima je takva pomoć potrebna.

Reformisana i integrisana socijalna zaštita mora uvažiti dokumentovane podatke o većem riziku siromaštva kod žena, većoj stopi nezaposlenosti žena, nižim prosječnim zaradama žena u odnosu na muškarce, većim problemima jednoroditeljskih porodica u kojima je najčešće jedini roditelj žena, težine života u samačkim staračkim domaćinstvima, većem učešću žena u starijoj populaciji i značajno većem porodičnom nasilju nad ženama. Adekvatan odgovor na ove činjenice jeste razvoj službi i usluga koje su u funkciji podrške osobama ženskog pola i stvaranja jednakih mogućnosti, sprečavanja

diskriminacije i promovisanju mjera koje omogućavaju usklađivanje porodičnih i profesionalnih obaveza što se direktno reflektuje na poboljšanje roditeljskih i porodičnih funkcija.

Novi socijalni menadžment u upravljanju socijalnim resursima uveliko je u primjeni u zemljama Evropske unije. Naše socijalne službe moraju povećati svoju efikasnost i ubrzati promjene kroz novi način rada i ugovaranja usluga, te ustanovljavanja i primjene standarda u radu. Jedan od uslova zato jeste poboljšanje informisanosti građana o različitim programima socijalne zaštite kako bi pravo na izbor imalo efekta.

Razvoj statistike, baze podataka i pokazatelja siromaštva i drugih socijalnih problema, te socijalne isključenost, preduslov je za uspostavljanje aktuelnog, ažuriranog i dokumentovanog ozbiljnog rada bilo kojeg sektora u društvu. Socijalna zaštita u BiH nije razvila svoju statistiku, nema jedinstvene baze podataka, nema istraživačkih institucija i projekata i bez toga adekvatno ne može odgovarati na potrebe. Zato mora što prije razviti svoje instrumente i prilagoditi postojeće statistike kako bi bile pouzdane i aktuelne.

Socijalna isključenost korisnika socijalne zaštite

Osobe i grupe koje su u povećanom riziku siromaštva i socijalne isključenosti su u najvećem broju korisnici socijalne zaštite. To su osobe bez ili sa niskim primanjima (nesposobni za rad bez porodične podrške, starije osobe sa niskim penzijama, nezaposleni, jednoroditeljske porodice, samohrane majke, porodice sa više djece), ranjive etničke manjine (manjinski povratnici i Romi), interno raseljene osobe i izbjeglice, osobe sa posebnim potrebama (osobe sa invaliditetom, osobe sa problemima u mentalnom zdravlju, bolesne osobe), djeca (djeca koja su bez roditeljskog staranja, ugrožena porodičnom situacijom ili žrtve nasilja u porodici, kao i mladi ljudi koji su bili smješteni u ustanovama socijalne zaštite) i druge grupe koje su manje brojne, ali su suočene sa izazovima ekstremnog siromaštva (beskućnici, bivši ovisnici, bivši kažnjenici itd.). U posljednje vrijeme pojavljuju se i osobe koje su izložene prezaduživanju i lihvarskim kreditima zbog čega su u visokom riziku da se suoče sa siromaštvom ili socijalnom isključivanju.

Djeca, kao najranjivija kategorija, po različitim osnovama u velikom broju su korisnici socijalne zaštite. Procjenjuje se da više od 180.000 djece u Bosni i Hercegovini samo u sistemu socijalne zaštite zbog različitih rizika mogu biti ili su socijalno isključene osobe. Najčešći rizici su porodična situacija, napuštanje škole, siromaštvo, bolest i invalidnost, prestupništvo i drugi vidovi socijalne ugroženosti.

Među odraslim osobama prioritetni korisnici su materijalno neobezbjeđene osobe i osobe sa invaliditetom. Sistem socijalne pomoći za materijalno neobezbjeđene nalazi se u socijalnoj zaštiti, oblasti rada i zapošljavanja i boračko invalidskoj zaštiti. Socijalna pomoć (razne vrste naknada) je namijenjena za podmirivanje osnovnih životnih potreba onih osoba koje same ili uz pomoć članova porodice ne mogu zadovoljiti svoje potrebe. Samo u socijalnoj zaštiti ovako se tretira socijalna pomoć, dok u ostalim sistemima ona je statusnog karaktera i ostvaruje se po osnovu prava iz osiguranja ili priznatog statusa (veteran, invalid ili sl.). Iznosi pomoći su različiti, a u zavisnosti od sistema u kojem se ostvaruju. U socijalnoj zaštiti oni su kreću od 41,00 KM u Republici Srpskoj do nekoliko stotina KM u Sarajevskom kantonu. Elaboracija pitanja socijalne pomoći i značaja za socijalnu uključenost zahtjeva mnogo više analiza, podataka i preporuka, što nije moguće obuhvatiti ovim radom. Najkraće, u ovoj oblasti nužno je uspostaviti potpuno novi, racionalniji i djelotvorniji sistem usmjeren prema socijalno najugroženijim građanima, a koji nije baziran na socijalnom osiguranju. Treba maksimalno pojednostaviti sistem socijalne pomoći, ujednačiti kriterijume, poboljšati pristup i ostvariti bolju ciljanost pomoći, te izbjeći kumuliranje i preklapanje naknada. Treba definisati i status radno sposobnih osoba koje su bez prihoda po osnovu osiguranja, ali u tijesnoj saradnji sa učestvovanjem u programima radne aktivacije s ciljem njihovog bržeg zapošljavanja i socijalne integracije. Zato je potrebna bolja uvezanost svih elemenata sistema socijalne zaštite i socijalne sigurnosti.

Osobe sa invaliditetom predstavljaju visoko rizičnu grupaciju u socijalnoj isključenosti, a i najbrojnija su kategorija korisnika u socijalnoj zaštiti. Prema analizama Svjetske banke invalidnost ili posebna potreba povećava vjerovatnoću od pada u stanje siromaštva za 18%. Rizik socijalne isključenosti proističe iz okolnosti da osobe sa invaliditetom imaju veće potrebe za zdravstvenim uslugama i zdravstvenim službama, da imaju ograničen pristup obrazovanju i niži stepen pismenosti, da im je vrlo ograničen pristup zapošljavanju, da su im uslovi stanovanja loši i neprilagođeni stanju i da

zbog fizičkih i socijalnih barijera nemaju pristup različitim sadržajima kulturnog, ekonomskog, obrazovnog, socijalnog, infrastrukturnog i drugih sektora.

BiH ima izuzetno veliki broj invalida, što je posljedica rata, povećanog obolijevanja, siromaštva, saobraćaja itd. I u ovoj oblasti nema pouzdanih evidencija i procjenjuje se da više od 130.000 građana ima neki stepen invalidnosti. Velike probleme predstavlja i nepostojanje jedinstvenih kriterijuma za procjenu invalidnosti, kao i diskriminacija koja je prisutna u tretiranju invalidnosti u odnosu na uzrok nastanka. Osobe čija je invalidnost posljedica rata imaju mnogo veću i izdašniju podršku institucija sistema i koriste najveći dio sredstava socijalne zaštite, što je dodatni element socijalne isključenosti.

Od ostalih korisnika socijalne zaštite u najvećem riziku socijalne isključenosti su Romi i raseljene osobe ili manjinski povratnici. Romska populacija pored tradicionalnih razloga koji produkuju isključenost zbog načina života, odnosa društva, u najvećem broju slučajeva je nepismena i siromašna, bez odgovarajućih dokumenta i registracije, bez zaposlenja.

Raseljene osobe u velikom broju participiraju među siromašnim. Svaka treća raseljena osoba je siromašna. Pored siromaštva imaju i dodatne probleme vezane za psihosocijalnu adaptaciju i integraciju u sredinu, rješavanje stambenih pitanja, probleme zbog razdvajanja porodica i gubljenja prijateljskih veza itd, što je često uzrok siromaštva i dovodi ih u stanje socijalne isključenosti. U socijalnoj zaštiti raseljene osobe uživaju prava kao i sve druge socijalno ugrožene osobe, s tim što rizik raseljenosti dodatno usložnjava potrebe.

Gender aspekti socijalne isključenosti

Jedan od osnovnih standarda ostvarivanja ljudskih prava i osnovnih sloboda, a time i socijalne uključenosti jeste primjena principa jednakost i ravnopravnost žene i muškarca u svim oblastima života i rada. Značajan napredak u našoj zemlji u promociji i provedbi politike ravnopravnosti polova postignut je donošenjem Zakona o ravnopravnosti polova, sa kojim su stvorene osnove za uspostavljanje pravnih i institucionalnih mehanizama u ovoj oblasti. Ravnopravnost polova je proces koji se ne može nametnuti samo zakonom, on je u najvećem dijelu produkovan socijalnim i kulturnim ambijentom jedne sredine. Naša sredina gaji stereotipe kada je u pitanju razumijevanje uloge žene u društvu i njene participacije u društvenim aktivnostima van kuće. To u startu produkuje rizik socijalne isključenosti zbog pola. Kada se tome dodaju drugi rizici isključenosti poput siromaštva, invalidnosti, nezaposlenosti, pripadnosti etničkim zajednicama, nasilja, stvaraju se uslovi za višestruku isključenost. Zbog toga društvo mora da predviđa veliki broj mjera za poboljšanje opšteg društvenog položaja žena i za podizanje svijesti o potrebi poštovanja ženskih ljudskih prava. U mjerama, posebno mjesto treba da imaju one koje su usmjerene na žene pripadnice nacionalnih manjinama, žene sa invaliditetom, žene žrtve porodičnog i drugog nasilja i trgovine ljudima, samohrane majke itd. Radi se upravo o skupinama koje su u najvećem broju i socijalno isključene.

U ovoj oblasti posebnu važnost imaju aktivnosti koje doprinose vidljivosti neravnopravnosti među polovima, odnosno vidljivosti socijalne isključenosti. Jedna od tih aktivnosti su službene statistike koje tek počinju da se vode po polu i u narednim godinama moći će da se koriste njihovi podaci.

Doprinos civilnog sektora u prevazilaženju socijalne isključenosti iz pozicije socijalne zaštite

Socijalna isključenost upozorava, zabrinjava i obavezuje na široku društvenu akciju. Više je aktera čija uključenost je neophodna u formiranju i provođenju politika socijalnog uključivanja. To su isključene grupe, svi nivoi vlasti i pružaoci usluga iz javnog sektora, socijalni partneri, civilno društvo i svi građani. U slučajevima ovako širokog učešća nužno je razviti strukture i osigurati njihovu koordinaciju za uključujuće politike i organizovati učešće i partnerstvo svih. Civilno društvo je izuzetno važan partner koji u sistemu socijalne zaštite može ključno potpomoci ili čak iznijeti promjene kojima će se obezbijediti ostvarivanje ciljeva reforme.

Sadašnja uloga civilnog društva u sistemu socijalne zaštite BiH je najvećim dijelom sporadična, dopunjavajuća i ne posebno izražena i vrednovana, osim u slučaju porodice kao osnovnog segmenta života svakog čovjeka. Socijalna zaštita u domenu njege i izdržavanja je u potpunosti oslonjena na porodičnu solidarnost posebno starih, osoba sa invaliditetom i nekih kategorija djece.

Kroz različite oblike udruživanja i organizovanja građana pod imenom nevladinih organizacija ili udruženja u socijalnoj zaštiti djeluje oko 1200 organizacija. Njihova je djelatnost vrlo raznolika i pokriva sva područja socijalnih usluga. Najbrojnije organizacije su udruženja korisnika, posebno osoba sa invaliditetom, što je i dio ranije tradicije prenešene iz bivše države. Manji je broj organizacija koje se bave novim socijalnim problemima. Većina novoosnovanih organizacija svoj rad i održivost gradila je međunarodnim donacijama i projektima koje su podržavale inostrane organizacije i fondacije. Između nevladinih organizacija i institucija vlasti dugo godina odvijala se ograničena i sporadična komunikacija i saradnja. U socijalnoj zaštiti godinama je postojalo rivalstvo između javnih institucija i nevladinih organizacija koje se pothranjivalo iz oba sektora. Nевladine organizacije sebe smatraju inovativnijim, fleksibilnijim, opremljenijim i spremnijim da reaguju na aktuelnu socijalnu situaciju, a javne institucije smatraju da su stručnije, profesionalnije, postojanije u ovoj oblasti. Zbog tog rivalstva proteklo je mnogo godina minimalne saradnje koja je mogla unaprijediti sistem socijalne zaštite. Posljednjih godina mijenja se shvatanje i kod jednih i drugih i uspostavljaju različiti mehanizmi koji dovode do konsultacija, saradnje i partnerstva. Mnoge nevladine organizacije su sada izuzetno angažovane u izradi novih politika i zakona i lobiraju za njihovo usvajanje s jedne strane, odnosno na osmišljavanju, planiranju i isporuci socijalnih usluga za različite potrebe korisnika, s druge strane. Zahvaljujući njihovom angažmanu značajno su unaprijeđeni pojedini sistemi zaštite i rada sa osobama sa invaliditetom, starim osobama, djecom, a posebno žrtvama porodičnog nasilja i trgovine ljudima. Ulazak i rad nevladinog sektora u socijalnoj zaštiti pomagao je da se mijenjaju pristupi, mnogo više aktiviraju i uključuju korisnici, da se traga za resursima zajednice i da se sve više primjenjuju međunarodni standardi i savremene metode rada, a što je sastavni dio politike uključivanja i prevazilaženja socijalne isključenosti. Djelovanje nekih organizacija ima karakter socijalnog dijaloga, jer su postale partneri vladi u donošenju politika (koordinacioni odbori osoba sa invaliditetom).

Posljednjih godina u nekim sredinama u BiH, u kojima je proces reformi socijalne zaštite značajno napredovao, uspostavlja se mješoviti sistem socijalnih usluga. On podrazumijeva partnerstvo vladinog, nevladinog i privatnog sektora u obezbjeđenju i pružanju socijalnih usluga. Kapaciteti ova tri sektora se međusobno dopunjavaju čime se poboljšava raznolikost i kvalitet usluga, osigurava veća pristupačnost korisnika uslugama i njihovo uključivanje u planiranje, donošenje odluka i pružanje usluga. Kao posljedica mješovitog sistema značajno je unaprijeđeno zbrinjavanje u zajednici i povećana odgovornost lokalnih zajednica za zadovoljavanje potreba svojih socijalno ugroženih građana.

U promovisanju socijalne uključenosti mogućnosti nevladinog sektora su izuzetno velike kroz podsticanje senzibilizacije javnosti, društvene solidarnosti i filantropije. Kampanje koje može provesti ovaj sektor, kao i angažovanje i rad volontera, mogu potpomoći prepoznavanje problema u javnosti, podsticati veću porodičnu i društvenu solidarnost sa isključenim i obezbjeđivati različite mjere i aktivnosti kojima će se značajno podići svijest i artikulirati mogućnosti isključenih grupa u smislu samopomoći.

Partnerstvo vladinog i nevladinog sektora u socijalnoj zaštiti predstavlja sastavni dio politike socijalnog uključivanja. Rad u partnerstvu omogućava udruživanje resursa zajednice, poboljšanje pristupa informacijama, sprečavanje dupliranja i povećanje pristupačnosti i obuhvata osoba koje imaju potrebu za socijalnim uslugama, odgovor na specifične potrebe u lokalnoj zajednici, veće i odgovornije angažovanje lokalne zajednice i promovisanje socijalne kohezije kroz razvijanje povjerenja i saradnje.

Integralna socijalna zaštita: Šansa i potreba

Reforma sistema socijalne zaštite u BiH kao sastavni dio politike socijalnog uključivanja mora da uključi slijedeće principe: poštovanje i nedjeljivost ljudskih prava, najbolji interes korisnika, dostupnost usluga korisnicima, najmanje restriktivno okruženje, participaciju, uključenost, odgovornost i samostalnost korisnika i kontinuitet zaštite sa mogućnosti

izbora usluga. Ona mora da doprinese unapređenju zaštite najsiromašnijih građana, stvaranju šansi za izlazak iz siromaštva, unapređenju kvaliteta života socijalno isključenih i povratak u društveno aktivan život, a putem stvaranja mreže raznovrsnih, dostupnih usluga u zajednici u skladu sa potrebama i najboljim interesima korisnika. Na taj način razvije se integralna socijalna zaštita u kojoj socijalni akteri (vladin, nevladin i privatni sektor) koriste postojeće i razvijaju nove resurse na najefikasniji način.

U središtu okvira socijalne uključenosti u socijalnoj zaštiti nalaze se sve navedene premise: kvalitetan i potrebama prilagođen sistem mreža socijalne sigurnosti, osiguravanje socijalne pomoći za najugroženije, podrška države onima koji svojim radom i učešćem u ekonomskim procesima ne mogu obezbijediti sigurnost, usluge razvijene na potrebama, uključenost marginalizovanih i isključenih korisnika itd.

Prioritetne aktivnosti u stvaranju uključive ili integralne socijalne zaštite u Bosni i Hercegovini su:

- Reforma sistema finansiranja i strukture prava na naknade i pomoći;
- Osiguranje značajno većeg učešća socijalnih usluga u odnosu na novčana davanja;
- Uvođenje aktivnih mjera kojima se olakšava reintegracija na tržište rada i smanjuje ovisnost o socijalnim naknadama, posebno među korisnicima gdje postoji preostala radna sposobnost;
- Osnaživanje lokalne zajednice u praćenju i prepoznavanju socijalnih potreba svojih građana i planiranja odgovarajućih mjera i usluga objedinjavanjem svih izvora, te partnerskim radom;
- Razvijanju strategija za pojedine specifične grupe korisnika koje su najvećem riziku siromaštva i socijalne isključenosti.

Studija slučaja

Centar za djecu i omladinu sa posebnim potrebama "Los Rosales" Mostar

Jasna Rebac
Los Rosales, Mostar

Od ideje do gradnje

U vrijeme definitivne podijeljenosti grada Mostara, strahovitih ratnih razaranja, velikog broja žrtava, ogromnog broja prognanih po svijetu, raseljenih i bez doma u vlastitom gradu, osiromašenih i nezaposlenih bilo je više nego hrabro, izuzetno humano i krajnje demokratski prepoznati, procijeniti i aplicirati potrebu gradnje centra za pružanje usluga djeci i mladim sa posebnim potrebama u HNK.

U to vrijeme trebalo je pozitivne energije i senzibiliziranosti toliko puno da se i nositelji lokalne vlasti Grada Mostara podstakne na zajedničkom putu ostvarenja cilja – stvaranja boljih uslova za djecu sa posebnim potrebama bez obzira na vrijeme nastanka i porijeklo tih poteškoća. San entuzijasta polako se pretvarao u stvarnost.

Centar "Los Rosales" izgrađen je zahvaljujući donaciji Vlade Kraljevine Španije. Implementacija je tekla preko Agencije za međunarodnu saradnju (AECI) za jugoistok Balkana, a preko NVO "Inžinjeri i arhitekti bez granica" počev od 1996. godine. U gradnju i opremu od tada do danas utrošeno je više od 4.000.000,00 KM.

Geneza razvoja (kroz etape)

Počelo se kao Projekat, ali je dobar rad dao dobre rezultate. Sistem je to sve više prepoznavao, prihvatao, a zakonodavstvo definisalo. To ne znači da je sve i postignuto.

Prva faza je bila samo Specijalna osnovna škola. Po evropskim standardima, i projektima iz Španije, 1996. godine započeli su građevinski radovi uz permanentni nadzor prijatelja iz Španije (građevinskih stručnjaka i stručnjaka u radu sa djecom sa posebnim potrebama). Škola je započela svoj rad već 1997. godine sa 42 učenika sa posebnim potrebama različitih poteškoća (laka i umjerena mentalna retardacija, Down-sy, cerebralna paraliza, autizam, hiperaktivnost, slušno oštećeni, kombinirane smetnje...) sa timom od 16 zaposlenika. Već na samom početku se procijenilo da to neće zadovoljiti potrebe djece i mladih sa posebnim potrebama u HNK. Zadaća je bila stvarati uslove za postepenu integraciju u zajednicu pod ravnopravnim uslovima kao i svi drugi (da dobiju osnovnu rehabilitaciju, da se socijaliziraju, da savladaju socijalne vještine, da se uče samostalnošću u svakodnevnom životu, da se kvalitetno obrazuju prema vlastitim sposobnostima, da se radno osposobljavaju...). Razvojna inicijativa jedinstvena u to vrijeme u HNK razvijala se na partnerskoj osnovi civilnog sektora (domaćeg i stranog) i vladinih institucija. No, svako vrijeme nosi svoje dobre i loše osobine. Novac iz donacija lako se prihvatao, sve se potpisivalo bez strategije o prihvatanju ta-

kvih ustanova za izdržavanje od strane nadležnih vladinih institucija. Pravna regulativa bila je potpuno neprimjerena u to vrijeme.

Učešće u ovom Projektu uzeli su predstavnici:

- Vlada Kraljevine Španije (AECL – tehnički ured za jugoistok Balkana);
- Grad Mostar;
- Ministarstvo obrazovanja, nauke, kulture i sporta HNK;
- Ministarstvo zdravlja, rada i socijalne zaštite HNK;
- Udruženje "Sunce";
- Cooperazione Italiana;
- "Inžinjeri i arhitekti bez granica";
- Roditelji;
- Stručnjaci zainteresirani za rad sa osobama s posebnim potrebama;
- Volonteri NVO.

Projekat se razvijao zahvaljujući pojedincima i grupama u stranim i domaćim NVO-ima čija je misija bila je-dinstvena: pružiti jednake šanse i jednake mogućnosti za sve, ravnopravno prema vlastitim sposobnostima koristeći preostale kapacitete.

"Los Rosales" sve svoje aktivnosti je oslanjao (potvrdilo se kao dobar izbor) na dva principa:

- a) princip poštivanja ljudskih prava – poštivanja prava djece;
- b) princip socijalne uključenosti.

"Los Rosales" mijenja naziv u registru i iz škole prerasta u Centar. Grade se objekti vrtića, četiri radno-rehabilitacijske radionice i rezidentnog smještaja. Objekti se opremaju, a stručni kadar obučava (25 zaposlenih) i ekipira sa ciljem stvaranja boljih i humanijih uslova za djecu i mlade sa posebnim potrebama u HNK i smanjenju siromaštva.

Centar danas

Centar "Los Rosales" ima danas segmente koji rade na zavidnom nivou:

- vrtić "Kolibri";
- osnovna škola;
- rezidentni smještaj "Liman" koji pruža uslove trajnog porodičnog smještaja za 12 osoba zajedno sa SOS mamom i tatom. Ove godine zahvaljujući Projektu Provincije Cadiz iz Španije angažiran je i jedan asistent.
- radionice za :
 - drvo "Maslačak";
 - keramiku "Amfora";
 - tekstil i tkanje "Duga";
 - cvijeće "Oaza".

Cijeli Centar ima trenutno 150 korisnika uzrasta od 3 do 49 godina starosti i broj varira u toku godine. Korisnici su različitih vjera, nacija, socijalnog porijekla, mjesta stanovanja u HNK, poteškoća. Bez obzira na sve različitosti Centar danas širom otvara vrata njegovim korisnicima. Mjerilo ulaska u Centar samo je potreba svakog pojedinca. Dnevno se prevoze autobusom Centra njih 42, u pratnji roditelja javnim prevozom uz nadoknadu troškova putuje njih 15 a ostali dolaze individualno. Svi korisnici imaju obezbijeđen obrok u Centru, zaštitnu odjeću, pribor za rad, materijal za rad i sve to besplatno za njihove porodice. Sa njima radi stručni tim od 32 zaposlenika, 5 volontera i 2 asistenta multietničkog sastava.

Aktivnosti u Centru vode se sa ciljem obezbijedenja socijalnih usluga pojedincima i grupama poput individualnog i grupnog tretmana, savjetovališta, radne okupacije, zaštićenog zapošljavanja, socijalne rehabilitacije, resocijalizacije, profesionalne orijentacije, zaštićenog stanovanja, integracije...

Centar ima velikih problema koji nisu samo finansijske prirode. Obrazovanje i socijalna zaštita su u nadležnosti HNK. Pravna regulativa ne postoji ni na državnom nivou koja reguliše ovakve Centre. Daleko bi bilo kvalitetnije na državnom nivou uraditi pravnu regulativu koja bi smetnje, ovakve vrste, uklonila. Obezbjedeње održivosti Centra "Los Rosales", bez obzira na značajna unapređenja i postignuća u radu, kao neprofitne institucije je upitno.

Civilni sektor Centru "Los Rosales" pruža značajnu podršku. Prije pet godina bili smo pred zatvaranjem. Tada se uključuju "Lebenshilfe", "Žene za Evropu", SPI CGIL, a najviše AECI koji u tom periodu pružaju značajnu podršku održivosti Centra "Los Rosales" kroz projekte. Ipak, sistemska rješenja su jedina prava dugoročna rješenja za ovaj Centar.

U oblasti socijalne zaštite u HNK desili su se u međuvremenu značajni napreci. Ponuđena su zakonski moguća rješenja obezbijedeња socijalnih usluga kroz dnevno zbrinjavanje djece i mladih sa posebnim potrebama, pristupačnog i prilagođenog transporta, rehabilitacijskih postupaka... To ne znači i realnost i da je to provedeno u praksi. Mladi i djeca sa posebnim potrebama još uvijek se u HNK etiketiraju, drugačije gledaju i samo su "teret" lokalnoj zajednici.

Statusna i finansijska pozicija Centra

Registracija Centra "Los Rosales" kao javne ustanove u registrijskom sudu HNK, akt br. 02-023-7-3/98, nije riješila i pitanje finansiranja. Jedno je ko je osnivač, a sasvim drugo ko finansijer. Nepostojanje zakona o socijalnoj zaštiti djece, majki i porodica sa djecom, hroničan nedostatak novca u budžetima Grada Mostara i HNK, nezainteresovanost nositelja lokalne vlasti, marginalizacija djece i mladih sa posebnim potrebama (puno toga još) naveli su tim Centra da drugačije radi. Održavani su kontakti sa svim medijima (imali smo sreću da ih pridobijemo kao partnere). Brojne tribine, okrugli stolovi i konferencije (učesnici iz HNK ali i iz cijele BiH, Tuzla, Trebinje, Banja Luka, Zenica, Sarajevo, Široki Brijeg...) završavale su konkretnim zaključcima i zahtjevima. Printali smo organizovano i dijelili te Zaključke zastupnicima, vijećnicima skupština svih nivoa vlasti, političkim partijama, klubovima vijećnika... Tu su roditelji, djeca i mladi sa posebnim potrebama dali ogroman doprinos. Obilazili smo vladine i nevladine institucije i organizacije, banke i privatna preduzeća. Rezultat je došao sporije ali je bio znatan. Postali smo prepoznatljivi (nisu nas poistovjećivali sa drugim Centrima u HNK) i specifični u svojim uslugama.

Koledž Ujedinjenog Svijeta, Altruist, studenti muzike iz cijelog svijeta su uključili svoje volontere. Od 2001. godine do danas, uloženo je stotine sati volonterskog rada, što je moramo priznati još uvijek rijetkost.

Menadžment Centra se izbio za prilike da se obrati Gradskom vijeću Grada Mostara, premijeru Vlade HNK, ministrima svih ministarstava, stručnjacima, roditeljima, građanima HNK. Visoki predstavnik u BiH tri puta je posjetio Centar kao i ambasadori različitih država u BiH, konzuli...

Civilni sektor je prepoznao težak momenat. Počele su stizati različite ponude za projekte. "Zgrabili" smo ih. Odgovorno, kvalitetno, timski, stručno i pošteno, dokazali smo da radimo pravi posao. Stigli smo na pola puta. Dobili smo brojna priznanja i istovremeno zagovarali i lobirali za sistemsko rješenje za Centar. Predstavnici HNK i Grada Mostara su uz Centar za djecu i omladinu sa posebnim potrebama "Los Rosales" dodali i ***institucija od posebnog značaja za HNK i Grad Mostar***. Uz dopunjavanje adekvatne dokumentacije, status Centra "Los Rosales" postao je pravno uređeniji (akt br. UF/1-362/98), usluge su prihvaćene i određene šiframa, a finansiranje započelo (istina minorno) iz Budžeta Grada Mostara i HNK. Koračali smo dalje i podizali nivo usluga. Na primjeru Centra "Los Rosales" je mjerljivo da se rad isplati, te da dobar rezultat neće izostati ako se udruže vladine, nevladine organizacije, privatnici, stručnjaci, roditelji, građani. Finansije nisu bile odlučujuće. Mnogo je važnija dobra organizacija posla, jasna strategija, timski rad te podizanje znanja, vještina i sposobnosti. Prihvatili smo partnerstvo sa Udruženjem "Ružičnjak – Los Rosales" (Udruženje osoba sa posebnim potrebama starijih od 18 godina sa misijom samozastupanja).

Definitivno, opstanak Centra "Los Rosales" više nikada neće biti doveden u pitanje. On ima svoje mjesto u Budžetima Grada Mostara i HNK, ali i brojne projekte kojima nivo usluga unapređuje a ostvarivanje cilja čini dostižnim i mogućim.

Čim spomenete Centar "Los Rosales" svi će vam znati reći čime se bavimo i gdje se Centar nalazi u Mostaru. Ovaj primjer dobre prakse možda može poslužiti kao model do dobrog rezultata.

Obuka i podizanje nivoa svijesti

Permanentna je obuka štićenika Centra "Los Rosales", njihovih roditelja, zaposlenika, te građana lokalne zajednice kroz različite projekte: "Budimo partneri", "Svijest o osobama sa invaliditetom", "Koja su moja prava", "Pravo na informaciju", "Cjeloživotno učenje", "Okupaciona terapija", "Zapošljavanje osoba sa invaliditetom", "Situacije nastanka invaliditeta", "Kampanje i lobiranja"...

Cilj je:

- Promocija pristupa stabilnom i kvalitetnom zapošljavanju za žene i muškarce sa posebnim potrebama;
- Uticati na razvoj politike pomirenja, zaposlenja i porodičnog života;
- Integracija i zapošljavanje koristeći se prilikama društvene ekonomije;
- Osposobljavanje za pravljenje sitnih predmeta (nakita, keramičkih ukrasnih predmeta, sitnih drvenih predmeta, tkanja, pravljenja slika, ikebana, cvjetnih aranžmana ...);
- Doprinosti smanjenju siromaštva kroz socijalnu inkluziju stvaranjem okvira za cjeloživotno učenje i mogućnost treninga.

Resursi Centra su: radni prostor i igralište sa dvorištem površine 2241 m², kompletna oprema muzičkog, logopedskog, psihološkog, pedagoškog kabineta, učionica, radionica, vrtića, rezidentnog smještaja, fiskulturne sale i radnog prostora socijalnog radnika.

2001. godine ostalo se bez sredstava za normalno funkcionisanje Centra. Cijeli socijalni segment bio je doveden u pitanje. Tako se ovaj Projekat našao pred raspadom, a Centar "Los Rosales" pred zatvaranjem.

Sredstvima Vlade Kraljevine Španije ponuđen je Sporazum za prelazni period od 3 godine za pružanje finansijske podrške sve do preuzimanja Centra od strane vladinih institucija. Sporazum je potpisan 30.08.2004. godine pod uslovom da 90% sredstava prve godine finansiraju Španci, a 10 % lokalna zajednica. Druge godine taj omjer je trebao biti po 50% obje strane. Treće godine 20% je bila obaveza finansiranja Španaca, a 80% lokalne zajednice. Od 01.01.2008. godine lokalna zajednica je potpisivanjem pomenutog Sporazuma prihvatila obavezu da prema Godišnjem programu rada Centra finansira njegovu održivost. Svi dosadašnji naponi su dali dobre rezultate i smanjili rizik nivoa pružanja usluga korisnicima Centra "Los Rosales".

Šta dalje?

Kako bi obezbijedili održivost alternativnih vidova usluga i službi podrške, država, lokalna zajednica, roditelji i NVO-i bi trebali partnerski imati značajnu ulogu u projektima kakav je bio i ovaj u Centru "Los Rosales". Istekom pomenutog Sporazuma prestat će značajna finansijska podrška. Očekuje se partnerstvo u odnosu i pristupu javnih institucija, vlasti i Centra kroz provođenje programa i usluga koje će obezbijediti samoodrživost Centra "Los Rosales". Ubuduće, Centar bi se trebao finansirati iz Budžeta Grada Mostara i Ministarstva zdravlja, rada i socijalne zaštite HNK u socijalnom segmentu, Budžetskim sredstvima Ministarstva obrazovanja, nauke, kulture i sporta HNK 100% obrazovni segment, a predškolski odgoj iz Budžeta Grada Mostara kao i materijalni troškovi osnovne škole. "Hoće li to tako i biti?", pitanje je na koje ćemo vrlo brzo dobiti odgovor. Do tada ostaje naša stalna neizvjesnost, zebnja i strah. Dosadašnja praksa nas upozorava!

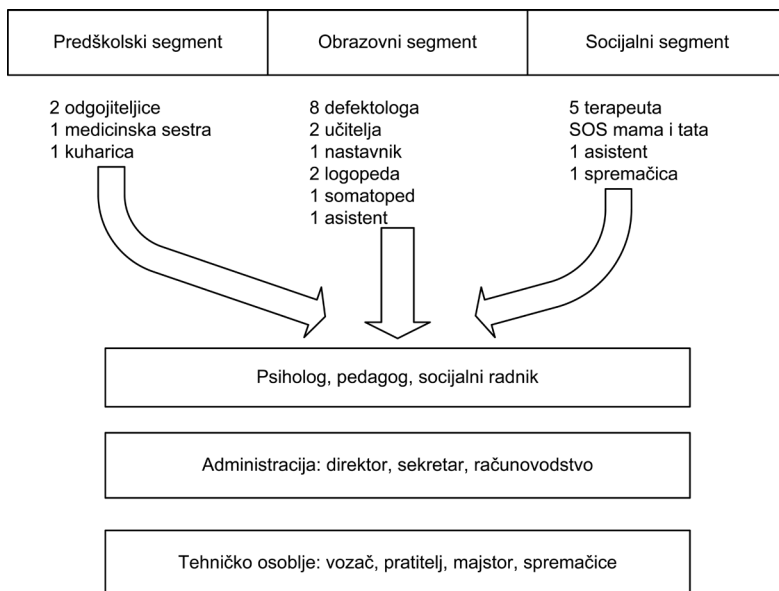
Moguće rješenje

Da se prihvati zvanično novi model uspostave i unapređenja kvalitetnih partnerskih odnosa između vladinih institucija, roditelja i Centra "Los Rosales", osmišljavanjem zajedničkih projekata koji će omogućiti još bolje usluge i samoodrživost Centra.

Stanje u HNK, nezaposlenost, siromaštvo, politička podijeljenost, kriminal i korupcija, nemogućnost participacije porodica, te socijalna isključenost osjetljivih grupa nisu dobre pretpostavke za bolju budućnost Centra "Los Rosales". S toga je i stavljen poseban naglasak na ulogu civilnog sektora, jer je i do sada njegov značaj za Centar "Los Rosales" nenadoknadiv. Brojne su usluge za djecu i mlade sa posebnim potrebama još samo nedostupne iako

postoje pravne pretpostavke za njihovo korištenje. Razloge ne treba ponavljati. To objašnjava koliko je civilni sektor značajan.

CENTAR "LOS ROSALES"



Civilno društvo od participacije do partnerstva i socijalnog uključivanja

Ranka Ninković-Papić
IBHI BiH

1. O čemu se radi?

1.1. Da li civilno društvo u BiH znači partnerstvo i socijalno uključivanje?

“Civilno društvo” je termin čija se definicija u našem okruženju najčešće ne daje (a postoje mnoge), već se njegovo značenje podrazumijeva, a najčešće različito.

Civilno društvo, u svojoj suštini, znači participaciju građana, njihovo uključivanje, demokratizaciju svakodnevnog života, a ne samo glasanje na izborima.

Oblici koji bi trebali to da omoguće su demokratski izbori; vladavina prava; odgovorne i transparentne vlasti; nezavisni mediji i organizacije civilnog društva (NVO-i) koje tek u opisanom ambijentu mogu biti uticajne i djelotvorne.¹

Dakle, civilno društvo se ne može reducirati na nevladine organizacije (NVO-i) ma koliko one bile raznovrsne i značajne.

Takođe, NVO-i su samo dobar organizacioni oblik uključivanja građana u društvena zbivanja (izvan, dalje i bolje od klasičnog političkog predstavnništva). Stoga se, prateći suštinu civilnog društva, može postaviti i pitanje – da li su građani uključeni u društveni život, da li su subjekt ili objekt političkih elita, institucija vlasti i zavisnih medija (direktno ili indirektno)?

1.2. Na koji način civilno društvo u BiH može biti faktor socijalnog uključivanja?

Socijalno uključivanje ne odnosi se samo na socijalna pitanja, već na uključivanje u proces odlučivanja o svim društvenim pitanjima. Dakle, socijalno uključivanje je uključivanje u društvo. Naravno, socijalno ugroženi su u fokusu jer su najisključeniji, ali nisu jedini.

Socijalna isključenost znači malu mogućnost pristupa pravu odlučivanja, te tako određene grupe ljudi ne mogu da utiču na odluke koje se direktno tiču njihovog svakodnevnog života, tj. oni su marginalizovani. To je isključenost.

Isključenost je, najčešće, uzrokovana siromaštvom, nedostatkom obrazovanja, diskriminacijom po polnoj, rasnoj, etničkoj ili drugoj osnovi.

Krug se tako i “zatvara” - isključenošću i životom na margini. Naime, time što te grupe, zbog neuključenosti, ne mogu ni otvoriti mogućnosti za zaposlenje, zaradu i obrazovanje i time uticati na sopstveni život.

U postojećoj realnosti Bosne i Hercegovine (odsustvo drugih aspekata civilnog društva) NVO-i jesu začetak socijalnog uključivanja građana u opštem, društvenom smislu, i posebno njihovog uključivanja u rješavanje socijalnih pitanja.

Međutim, da bi se uloga NVO-a u socijalnom uključivanju ojačala važno je imati u vidu raspoloživi kapacitet NVO sektora u BiH.

1 U “Procjeni razvoja demokratije u BiH” (FOD BiH, Sarajevo, 2006) pod civilnim društvom i političkom participacijom podrazumijevaju se mediji, politička participacija, pristupačnost vlasti i decentralizacija.

2. Potencijal NVO sektora u BiH²

2.1. Razvoj NVO-a početkom 90-tih godina pratila je neadekvatna definicija i nedostatak jasne uloge NVO-a u BiH. Zbog činjenice da nije bilo iskustva u modelu rada, kontekstu i akcijama NVO-a u samom početku one su bile konstituisane kao humanitarne organizacije a kasnije su se pojavile druge sa drugačijim interesima, kontekstom rada, modelom djelovanja i idejama i aktivnostima.

Prva lokalna NVO, u modernom smislu riječi, pojavila se 1993.godine. Mnoge su izrastale iz projekata koje su započinjale međunarodne organizacije sa ciljem da nastave određene aktivnosti ili su izrasle iz inicijative lokalnog osoblja tih organizacija.

Broj NVO-a se znatno povećao poslije 1995.godine, u početku prije svega međunarodnih NVO-a. Prema nedavnom istraživanju,³ većina međunarodnih NVO-a (43%) je registrovana po prvi put u periodu 1996 – 2000, dok je najveći broj lokalnih NVO-a registrovan po prvi put u periodu 2001– 2004. (40%).

2.2. Ukupan broj registrovanih NVO-a u BiH je 9095, ali je samo polovina njih aktivna, tj. 4629.⁴ U poređenju sa drugim zemljama, taj se broj ne treba zanemariti. Obzirom na registrovane NVO-e u BiH, na jednu NVO spada 417 građana, u Velikoj Britaniji 426 građana, a u Mađarskoj 250 građana. Naravno, slika je loša ako uzmemo u obzir samo aktivne NVO-e. U tom slučaju, na jedan NVO spada 820 građana.

Procijenjeni ukupan prihod nevladinog sektora u BiH čini 4,5% BDP-a, dok se potrošnja nevladinog sektora kreće do 2,4% BDP-a. Sada dolazimo do stvarno interesantnog poređenja, učešća NVO sektora u našem BPD-u. To iznosi skoro 1/5 učešća BiH industrije u BPD-u (industrija učestvuje sa 18% i nije daleko od učešća poljoprivrede u BPD-u, što iznosi 40%). Prema tome, ekonomska moć i značaj NVO sektora su ogromni.

Broj zaposlenih sa punim radnim vremenom u NVO sektoru je 26.668 (uzimajući u obzir i zaposlene na pola radnog vremena), tj. 2,3% aktivne radne snage. Ako tome dodamo volontere sa punim radnim vremenom – 63.129, što čini 5,36% aktivnog radnog građanstva – onda možemo steći pravu sliku: 7,66% aktivnog radnog građanstva radi u nevladinom sektoru, ili za platu ili na volonterskoj osnovi. Dohodak u BDP-u samo od volontera iznosi 3,2%. U poređenju sa međunarodnim standardima, ovi brojevi su dosta visoki. Analize zaposlenosti (za platu ili na volonterskoj osnovi) u 24 zemlje, pokazuju da je prosjek 7,30%, od 20,6% u Holandiji do 0,6% u Meksiku. U poređenju s tim, 43.405 građana u BiH su zaposleni u sektoru transporta i komunikacija.

NVO-i u BiH pružaju usluge 29% građana BiH. I to nije samo slučaj za usluge; to takođe ilustruje transfere donatorskih sredstava korisnicima. Ovo je u vezi sa informacijom da 60% NVO-a operiše na nivou lokalne zajednice što je slično situaciji u Velikoj Britaniji, gdje 70% NVO-a operiše na ovom nivou.

2.3. Čini se da ovi brojevi potvrđuju značaj NVO sektora u BiH i pružaju vlastima BiH novu i realnu sliku nevladinog sektora i civilnog društva. Drugim riječima, NVO sektor više se ne može podcjenjivati i stavljati na margine socijalnog razvoja. Njegov značaj zahtijeva definisanje politike razvoja NVO sektora. Takođe pokazuje da socijalna politika može da se osloni na NVO sektor. U posljednjih deset godina, razvoj NVO sektora u BiH je finansiran zahvaljujući međunarodnoj podršci, direktno od strane donatora ili preko međunarodnih NVO-a.

Razvoj partnerstva između nevladinog sektora i vladinog sektora u BiH je posebno važan jer sa opadanjem međunarodnih donacija lokalne nevladine organizacije će imati ozbiljne probleme po pitanju održivosti.

2.4. Interesantna je i podjela aktivnosti među lokalnim nevladinim organizacijama (broj NVO-a angažovanih u određenim oblastima prema NACE klasifikaciji). (Statistička klasifikacija ekonomskih aktivnosti u EU).⁵

2 Vidi: IBHI BiH studija "Integritet u rekonstrukciji - Korupcija, efikasnost i održivost u post-ratnim zemljama", Sarajevo 2007., str. 54-59

3 Vidi više: DFID, IBHI BiH, BSAL "Kvalitativna studija 3 – Zapošljavanje, pružanje socijalnih usluga i nevladin (NVO) sektor: Status i perspektive za BiH. Analiza i implikacije za politike", maj, 2005.

4 DFID, IBHI BiH, BSAL, ibid

5 Vidi: DFID, IBHI BiH, BSAL, ibid

Tabela: Broj nevladinih organizacija prema NACE klasifikaciji, prema podacima Zavoda za statistiku FBiH, RS i Brčko Distrikta.

NACE ŠIFRA	NACE OPIS	FBiH	RS*	BiH
85.3	Aktivnosti socijalnog rada (sa ili bez smještaja), koje ne poduzima vladin ili privatni sektor	961	93	1054
91.11	Poslovne organizacije i organizacije poslodavaca	157	25	182
91.12	Profesionalne organizacije	220	179	399
91.20	Sindikati	1270	25	1295
91.31	Vjerske organizacije	138	10	148
91.32	Političke organizacije	722	39	761
91.33	Druge organizacije članice. To uključuje: - Aktivnosti organizacija direktno povezanih sa nekom političkom strankom koja unapređuje neki javni cilj putem javne edukacije, političkog uticaja, prikupljanja fonda itd. - Posebne interesne grupe, kao što su putni klubovi, automobilska udruženja i udruženja potrošača - Udruženja za svrhu socijalnog druženja, kao što je rotari klub, lože itd. - Udruženja mladih, studentska udruženja, klubovi, bratstva itd. - Udruženja za unapređenje kulturnih ili rekreativnih aktivnosti ili hobija (osim sportova i igara) - Udruženja za zaštitu životinja	2039	1381	3420
92.62	Druge sportske aktivnosti	1151	685	1836
UKUPNO		6658	2437	9095

* Uključuje 121 organizaciju registrovanu u Brčkom.

Ovisnost o stranim donacijama može se vidjeti iz sljedećih podataka⁶.

Rangirani izvori prihoda

Izvori prihoda	% od pomenutog
1. Članarine	27%
2. Vladine donacije	21%
3. Međunarodne donacije	21%
4. Domaće donacije	18%
5. Ugovorene usluge	9%
6. Opštinski fondovi	2%
7. Ostalo	2%

6 Vidi: DFID, IBHI BiH, BSAL, ibid

3. Od participacije do partnerstva - put ka uključivanju

3.1. Participacija i partnerstvo - oblici uključivanja u proces odlučivanja

Participacija je učešće, i znači biti uključen u proces konsultacija bez učešća u odlučivanju, dakle imati djelomičan uticaj. Primjer za to su konsultacije sa NVO-ima u pripremi Srednjoročne razvojne strategije / SRS / BiH 2004-2007.

Partnerstvo je uključenost u proces pripremanja odluka i odlučivanje, dakle uticaj nije limitiran. Primjer za to su Ekonomsko socijalna vijeća sa ravnopravnom uključenošću Vlade, Poslodavaca i Sindikata).

Od participacije ka partnerstvu, znači jačanje uključivanja u proces odlučivanja onih na čije živote te odluke direktno utiču.

3.2. Funkcije participacije

Uobičajeno se funkcije participacije definišu na sljedeći način:⁷

- Unapređuje kvalitet i važnost;
- Povećava efikasnost;
- Osnaživanje;
- Zakonitost;
- Samopouzdanje;
- Učenje kroz aktivnost.

Stoga, participacija je ljudsko pravo i dio ljudskog blagostanja. Takođe, participacija je dugoročan proces, što uključuje i podjelu rada i saradnju baziranu na jednakosti i uzajamnom poštovanju. Može se reći da ima cijenu, ali da se i isplati.

3.3. Od participacije ka partnerstvu - kako?

Uključenost znači jednaka (de jure) prava i (de facto) jednake mogućnosti za sve. To je princip po kojem svi učestvuju, imaju beneficije, doprinose, odlučuju i postaju jednaki akteri u razvoju. To onda vodi ka partnerstvu.

Partnerstvo uključuje podršku, savjetodavni proces i zajedničku odgovornost. Međutim, česta pojava u stvarnosti je da organizacije uglavnom podržavaju određenu inicijativu i aktivnost, a trebale bi biti podrška i partneri sa jednakim pravima. Isto tako, ako neka organizacija često učestvuje u procesu konsultacija i donošenja odluka bez stvarnog uticaja, i ponekad u prevelikoj mjeri ovisi o drugim članovima sa većim uticajem, onda to nikako ne znači jednaka prava i jednake mogućnosti za sve u savjetodavnom procesu. Stvarna uključenost u takav proces znači da neka organizacija kao partner donosi odluke i učestvuje u cijelom procesu kao član nekog savjetodavnog odbora. Partnerstvo funkcioniše na principu zajedničke odgovornosti. Stoga, učesnik je jednak partner i tako se tretira. Pošto je prisutan na osnovu svog prava, od početka procesa ima mogućnost za jednaka prava, kriterije i raspodjelu resursa.

3.4. Funkcije i beneficije partnerstva

Važni faktori razvoja partnerstva su izgradnja povjerenja među partnerima, zajednička vizija i dovoljno vremena.

Partnerstvo funkcioniše kroz prepoznavanje i prihvatanje činjenice da su moguće nesuglasice, kao i uočavanje potrebe za povećanjem kapaciteta svih partnera za rad u partnerstvu. Akteri partnerstva imaju definisane uloge i jasnu podjelu odgovornosti u samom procesu, a fokus je uvijek na željenim rezultatima.

Takav proces podrazumijeva transparentan princip rada, odn. omogućen otvoren pristup informacijama svih partnera.

Udruživanjem resursa organizacija koje rade u partnerstvu uvećava se kapital koji je na raspolaganju bilo kojem od partnera; može se postići bolja ekonomičnost, i raditi na način – dobiti više za manje. To je jedna od beneficija partnerstva.

Jedan od principa saradnje između Vijeća ministara BiH i nevladinog sektora u BiH glasi: *"Partnerski rad u pravcu zajedničkih ciljeva ima dodatnu vrijednost. Gradićemo partnerski odnos kojim ćemo unaprijediti razvoj politika i intenzivirati kreiranje i pružanje usluga građanima"*. Sporazum je nastao kao izraz potrebe nevladinih organizacija i Vijeća ministara BiH da izgrade institucionalni okvir međusobne saradnje.⁸

Šta su još beneficije partnerstva?

To svakako jeste stvaranje klime za inovacije. Osim udruženih resursa, povoljniji uslovi se stvaraju putem poboljšanog pristupa informacijama postignutog kroz umrežavanje i omogućavanja boljeg okruženja u kojem je onda rizik manji i podijeljen među partnerima.

Takođe, svaki partner treba da se osigura da pokriva različite segmente, kao i da se promovišu aktivnosti koje su uzajamno komplementarne. Ovo će nesumnjivo spriječiti dupliranje u svakom obliku. Pristup partnerstva ima potencijal da razvije osjećaj za odgovornost unutar zajednice.

3.5. Upravljanje partnerstvom

Akteri i struktura partnerstva, kao i nivo na kome se formira, zavise od cilja i vrste aktivnosti. Partnerstvo na lokalnom nivou/opštine – Opština, Centar za socijalni rad (CSR), NVO-i, korisnici je horizontalno partnerstvo, a partnerstvo na višim nivoima je vertikalno partnerstvo – primjer su Savjetodavne grupe za socijalnu politiku (SPAG-ovi).

Horizontalno i vertikalno partnerstvo zajedno stvaraju uslove za pristup od nižeg ka višem nivou i uključivanje svih aktera i korisnika u razvoj politika i njihovu primjenu.

Imajući u vidu prethodno pomenute faktore razvoja partnerstva, upravljanje partnerstvom ima fokus na partnerstvo kao proces i na rezultate koje ono zahtijeva, a nakon toga prepoznavanje i stvaranje najadekvatnije strukture koja proizlazi iz procesa/aktivnosti. Akcenat je na korisniku/klijentu i postizanju rezultata, a ne na unutrašnjoj strukturi organizacije.

Takav način upravljanja je razvojni i uključuje plan kao sredstvo, a strategija ima pristup od nižih struktura prema višim. Dakle, prioritet uspješnih partnerstava treba biti aktivnost i odnosi koji su važniji od strukture.

4. Partnerstvo u praksi

4.1. Švicarski Program podrške nevladinim organizacijama u Bosni i Hercegovini⁹

Projekat je započet u 2004. godini i do sada je podržao 53 projekta implementirana od strane 29 nevladinih organizacija na teritoriji 29 bosanskohercegovačkih opština. Projekat je finansijski podržan od strane Švicarske Agencije za razvoj i saradnju (SDC) a izvršna agencija projekta je Nezavisni biro za humanitarna pitanja (IBHI BiH). Cilj projekta je *profesionalizacija domaćih NVO-a i uloge vladinih institucija u opštinskim sistemima socijalne zaštite u cilju osiguranja adekvatne socijalne i zdravstvene brige za korisnike*. Metodološki, cilj projekta se teži postići fokusiranjem na oblasti:

- jačanje saradnje između nevladinih organizacija i javnih institucija;
- jačanje organizacione strukture partnerskih organizacija, obezbjeđenjem stručne podrške;
- razmjene iskustava i ekspertize između partnerskih organizacija.

Finansijski podaci o implementaciji projekata na zanimljiv način ilustruju kapacitete i organizacione pristupe u osiguranju potrebnih sredstava. Naime, Program je baziran na principu dijeljenog učešća u finansiranju obezbjeđenjem do 50% potrebnih sredstava dok su organizacije u obavezi osigurati preostalu polovinu iz drugih izvora, uključujući i vlastiti doprinos. Obzirom na dostupnost ostalih donatora, te ograničenja Programa u mogućnosti apliciranja do određenog apsolutnog iznosa, efektivni udio SDC sredstava u finansiranju projekata u toku dosadašnje implementacije Programa iznosi 31,79%.

8 Vidi: Sporazum o saradnji između Vijeća ministara BiH i nevladinog sektora u BiH, usvojen 26.04.2007. na 8. sjednici Vijeća ministara Bosne i Hercegovine, Sarajevo

9 Informacija IBHI BiH projektnog tima "Švicarski Program podrške nevladinim organizacijama u Bosni i Hercegovini"

U najvećem broju slučajeva, kapaciteti organizacija za pružanje usluga su daleko iznad nivoa sredstava raspoloživih od strane pojedinačnih donatora te u skoro svim projektima u finansiranju učestvuje veći broj donatora (prosječan broj donatora je 4,1 a najveći broj donatora zabilježen u finansiranju jednog projekta je 7).

Također, longitudinalna analiza finansiranja projekata ukazuje na spor ali stabilan prelaz sa međunarodnih na nacionalne izvore. Početni odnos od 55,87% sredstava iz međunarodnih naspram 44,13% sredstava iz domaćih izvora u 2004. godini, promijenjen je na 49,96% iz međunarodnih i 50,04% iz domaćih izvora u 2007. godini. Iako navedeni odnosi ilustruju i dalje jaku zavisnost NVO-a od stranih izvora finansiranja, evidentan je trend snažnije eksploatacije domaćih izvora koji je rezultovao većinski domaćim finansiranjem projekata u 2007. godini.

4.2. DFID Projekat Reformisanje sistema i struktura režima centralne i lokalne socijalne politike u Bosni i Hercegovini¹⁰

Projekat je implementiran od maja 2001- maja 2005 godine u pilot opštinama Gornji Vakuf-Uskoplje i Zenica u Federaciji Bosne i Hercegovine (FBiH), te Banja Luka i Trebinje u Republici Srpskoj (RS).¹¹

Cilj partnerstva je bio da se ojačaju režimi socijalne politike, kao i angažovanost i odanost svih zainteresovanih strana na svim nivoima: država BiH; entitet; kanton (u FBiH); opština; centri za socijalni rad; i civilno društvo.

Ovaj cilj je trebalo dosegnuti kroz promociju efektivnih i efikasnih socijalnih politika, koje su fiskalno održive i inovativne i doprinose smanjenju siromaštva, nejednakosti i socijalne isključenosti. Cilj Programa je bio da se ovo dosegne kroz: poboljšanje planiranja socijalne politike, menadžment socijalne dobrobiti i administrativne kapacitete na nivou entitetskih institucija; jačanje opštinskog menadžmenta za socijalnu politiku (u FBiH – kantonalnog) i pružanja usluga socijalne službe, te razvijanje partnerstva projekata u zajednici između civilnog društva i opština u četiri pilot regije. Na ovaj način bi bili stvoreni uslovi za poboljšanje socijalne politike na nivou BiH.

Opštinski Upravni odbori projekta (UOP-i) su podržali, savjetovali i rukovodili aktivnostima Projekta i obezbijedili su aktivno učešće svih aktera na opštinskom nivou. Pregledali su i dali preporuke za pitanja menadžmenta projekta koja su bila bitna za opštinu, obezbijedili smjernice DFID timu o opštinskim faktorima koji se tiču Projekta, te su promovisali zajedničke radne inicijative unutar opštine i sa opštinom. Njihov rad je podržan od strane osoblja za planiranje razvoja opštine.

Odbori su se sastojali od predstavnika Kantonalnih ministarstava u pilot regijama u FBiH; Opština iz pilot regija; Centara za socijalni rad (CSR) iz pilot regija; korisnika, nevladinih organizacija i drugih javnih institucija u socijalnom sektoru.

Na nivou entiteta, Grupe za koordinaciju projekta su uspostavljene da nadgledaju pitanja menadžmenta projekta, da promoviraju zajednički rad, da diskutuju o preporukama entitetskih foruma, praktiraju uticaj politike prema potrebama, planiraju diseminaciju naučenih lekcija, učestvuju u pregledu projekta, te da planiraju budući razvoj nakon završetka Projekta. Oni su u drugoj fazi Projekta transformisani u Savjetodavne grupe za socijalnu politiku (SPAG-ovi).

Horizontalno partnerstvo je razvijeno ne samo između lokalnih aktera i tima projekta nego, što je još važnije, između različitih organizacija aktivnih na polju socijalne zaštite u opštinama (vidi Aneks 1).

Vertikalno partnerstvo je postignuto kroz SPAG-ove (Savjetodavne grupe za socijalnu politiku) na entitetskom nivou u FBiH i RS. SPAG-ovi su bili konsultativne savjetodavne grupe postavljene u skladu sa međunarodnom dobrom praksom. Njihovi članovi su bili predstavnici pilot opština, kantona u FBiH, odnosno Centri za socijalni rad, opštinski administrator i predstavnici odgovornih ministarstava. Predsjedavajući SPAG-ova su bili ministri iz FBiH i RS zaduženi za socijalnu politiku.

SPAG-ovi su se odmah fokusirali na zakone, finansije i usluge socijalne zaštite, promovisali su reforme koje nisu samo bile negativno vođene finansijskim ograničenjima nego koje su se fokusirale na poboljšanje po pitanju jednakosti,

10 Projekat "Reformisanje sistema i struktura režima centralne i lokalne socijalne politike u Bosni i Hercegovini", podržan od strane Odjela za međunarodni razvoj (DFID) vlade Ujedinjenog Kraljevstva.

11 Vidi više u IBHI BiH studija "Integritet u rekonstrukciji - Korupcija, efikasnost i održivost u post-ratnim zemljama", Sarajevo 2007., str. 85-99

ciljanja, prirodi i efektivnosti troškova i pravaca socijalne politike. Oni su poštovali ustavnu strukturu BiH i fokusirali se na efikasnost i komunikaciju među institucijama oba entiteta i svih kantona. SPAG-ovi su bili čvrsto bazirani na participativnim i konsultativnim procesima partnerstva, gdje su se odluke donosile konsenzusom i širokim članstvom učesnika u socijalnoj politici. Koristeći lekcije naučene u pilot opštinama, oni su pružili informacije u diskusijama sa međunarodnom zajednicom po pitanjima vezanim za socijalnu politiku, propagirali efektivne i efikasne principe socijalne politike i procese socijalne politike, kreirali mješavinu pomoći u obliku servisa koji su pluralistički raspodjeljeni, te ponovo ojačali sistem socijalne zaštite baziran na klijentu, kao i paket politika.

Iskustva SPAG-ova su bila osnova da se u okviru UNICEF Projekta "Podrška reformi sistema dječije zaštite u BiH" formiraju CPPAG-ovi u FBiH i RS (Savjetodavne grupe za politike dječije zaštite), koje su veoma dobro funkcionisale u periodu 2005–2007 a planira se podrška njihovom funkcionisanju u narednom periodu.¹²

DFID Projekat "Podrška razvoju politike za smanjenje siromaštva u BiH" koji implementira DEP i LSE Konzorcij, a imajući u vidu prethodna pozitivna iskustva, razradio je dalje koncept SPAG-ova u FBiH, RS i Brčko Distriktu koji su formirani odlukama vlada. Njihova će aktivnost, u velikoj mjeri, biti usmjerena na učešće u pripremi Razvojne strategije BiH 2008–2013 i Strategije socijalnog uključivanja (vidi Aneксе 2, 3 i 4).

Rezultati faze implementacije u DFID Projektu **"Reformisanje sistema i struktura režima centralne i lokalne socijalne politike u Bosni i Hercegovini"** bili su razvoj **Opštinskih planova razvoja socijalne zaštite (OPRSZ) i Projekata aktivnosti u zajednici (PAZ)** na lokalnom nivou. Pomoć Projektu je bila usmjerena ka postizanju rukovođenja promjenama i podržavanju ključnih aktera u kreiranju i razvoju planova na lokalnom nivou.

Kao rezultat ove ključne komponente, OPRSZ za period 2003–2005 i 2005–2008 su jednoglasno usvojeni od strane opštinskih skupština u sve četiri opštine projekta. Oni su pripremljeni od strane radnih grupa lokalnih zainteresiranih strana, uključujući centre za socijalni rad, lokalne nevladine organizacije i opštinske administratore, te usvojeni kao prijedlog od strane UOP-a.

Za razliku od dokumenata za strategiju smanjenja siromaštva (PRSP, kasnije Srednjoročna razvojna strategija /SRS/ 2004–2007) koji su naglašavali ekonomski rast, OPRSZ-i su se fokusirali na društveni sektor, a naročito na menadžment socijalnih politika i njihovu reformu na lokalnom nivou. Cilj planova je bio da: promovišu planiranje socijalne politike, razviju i sprovedu partnerstvo na nivou zajednice, promovišu i razviju efikasne i održive metode i forme podrške korisnicima koji započinju sa svojim potrebama, da se fokusiraju na korisnika, podignu nivo transparentnosti lokalne vlade i informišu lokalne zajednice i profesionalce na polju socijalne zaštite sa ciljem podizanja svijesti, te da poboljšaju lokalnu samoupravu i sprovođenje procesa reforme. Na osnovu ovih planova za reformu implementacije, naročito onih koji se tiču socijalne zaštite u opštinama, zainteresovane strane su preporučile izmjene zakona i politika na entitetskom nivou i u FBiH i u RS-u.

Važno je naglasiti da su se lokalni/opštinski budžeti za socijalnu zaštitu povećali za 1 milion KM (350 000 funti) kroz specifične budžetske linije za PAZ-ove. Osim toga, razvile su se mreže partnerstava sa većom ulogom NVO-a i javnih institucija, te ekspanzijom obezbjeđivanja privatnog sektora, uključujući privatna obdaništa i doprinose socijalnoj zaštiti, i u vrsti i u finansiranju. Ove mreže i povećana svijest o potrebama specifičnih marginaliziranih grupa su elementi koji su se zadržali i nakon perioda implementacije Projekta.

PAZ-ovi su posebno finansirani od strane DFID-ovog projekta socijalne politike. Kroz proces javnog takmičenja, selekciju od strane komiteta koji se sastoji od lokalnih članova i monitoring od strane Upravnog odbora projekta, PAZ-ovi su podržali i razvili partnerstvo, inovaciju i održivost.

12 UNICEF Projekat "Podrška reformi sistema dječije zaštite u BiH" implementira IBHI BiH i realizuje se u 9 opština (Bugojno, Gradiška, Kakanj, Vareš, Teslić, Breza, Donji Vakuf, Prnjavor i Srbac). Nakon usvajanja dokumenata (opštinska Vijeća / Skupštine) razvoja dječije zaštite (Dvogodišnji plan razvoja dječije zaštite 2004–2005 i Akcioni planovi promovisanja reforme sistema dječije zaštite 2006–2007), opštinski Upravni odbori (OUO) nastavljaju raditi u pet starih ciljanih opština (Bugojno, Gradiška, Kakanj, Teslić i Vareš). OUO-i prate realizaciju Akcionih planova promovisanja reforme sistema dječije zaštite (2006.–2007.) u starim opštinama i vrše monitoring aktivnosti vezanih za ovaj plan. U novim opštinama (Breza, Donji Vakuf, Prnjavor i Srbac) od strane OUO-a, osnovanih u tim opštinama, u pripremi su Akcioni planovi socijalne uključenosti u sistem dječije zaštite (2008.–2009.) i Akcioni planovi monitoringa upisa djece u osnovne škole (2007–2008).

Partnerstvo između vladinog i nevladinog sektora je obezbijedeno kroz uslove tendera. Prijedlozi za PAZ-ove su razmatrani samo ako su uključivali partnerstvo sa javnim institucijama uključenim u socijalnu zaštitu (centri za socijalni rad, škole, itd.) i nevladinim organizacijama sa definisanom zajedničkom strukturom implementacije i menadžmenta.

PAZ-ovi su obezbijedili inovacije i održivost kroz podsticanje aktivnog učešća korisnika u dizajniranju i implementaciji aktivnosti. Kroz ovakav pristup baziran na klijentu, lokalne zainteresovane strane su se sve više angažovale u finansiranju PAZ-ova tokom trajanja projekta. Od tri kruga PAZ-ova, Projekat (DFID) je u cjelosti finansirao prvi krug; drugi krug je zajednički finansiran od strane opštine/grada i Projekta (50%-50%), a u trećem krugu opština/grad je finansirala 64% od ukupnog budžeta za sve PAZ-ove. Na kraju projekta (maj 2005.g.), opštine/grad su u cjelosti preuzele finansiranje PAZ-ova. Do četvrte godine, sve četiri opštine su u potpunosti preuzele finansiranje svojih aktivnosti kroz opštinske budžete.

Sljedeći podaci prikazuju značaj PAZ-ova za korisnike i reformu. Ukupno za sve pilot opštine/gradove, iznosi su sljedeći:

- Ukupan budžet za 109 PAZ-ova iznosi 2.751.762 KM. Projekat je učestvovao sa 1.746.760 KM (63,5%), a opštine/gradovi sa 1.005.002 KM (36,5%);
- U njihovoj implementaciji, učestvovalo je 277 organizacija/aktera (sa nešto preklapanja), uključujući 150 nevladinih organizacija, 107 javnih institucija i 20 privatnih poduzetnika;
- Broj direktnih korisnika tokom trogodišnjeg perioda (imajući na umu da su kriteriji specifični prema regionima) iznosio je 20.703.

Nakon završetka projekta "Reformisanje sistema i struktura režima centralne i lokalne socijalne politike u Bosni i Hercegovini" u maju 2005, PAZ-ovi su se održali i nastavili aktivnosti kroz 4 i 5 krug (2006. i 2007.) u sve četiri pomenute opštine. Njihove aktivnosti se finansiraju iz opštinskih budžeta u ovim opštinama. Stoga, rezultat takvog kontinuiranog rada na razvoju partnerstva i inovacija u opštinama je održivost i vlasništvo.

5. Naučene lekcije

Prema Finalnom evaluacionom izvještaju o participaciji¹³, ključni elementi projekta koji su održani su: znanje, iskustvo, mreže, duh partnerstva i svijest o potrebama marginaliziranih ljudi. Neke usluge, uključujući savjetovanje, su zadržane u skladu sa organizacionim kapacitetima. Kreirane su nove mreže koje pružaju podršku i danas. Kako je socijalna zaštita postajala sve bolja i bolja, bilo je sve više i više konsultacija na polju procesa razvoja politike i programa i sve je više indirektnih korisnika (npr. porodica).

S druge strane, neke zainteresovane strane su smatrale da opštine nisu uključene u PAZ aktivnosti u mjeri u kojoj bi trebale biti. Dobrovoljni rad ostaje problem, imajući u vidu finansijska ograničenja, a postavlja se i pitanje ekspertize i finansiranja da bi se održale aktivnosti projekta.

U sklopu BiH konteksta, takvo partnerstvo je ključno u izgradnji kapaciteta lokalnih organizacija i u prevazilaženju izazova nametnutih visokim stepenom siromaštva, nezaposlenosti, ovisnosti i socijalne isključenosti. Ovakav pristup bi mogao imati širi regionalni značaj i mogao bi se primijeniti na Balkanu i u zemljama Jugoistočne Evrope kao bolji model međunarodne podrške. Zbog toga bi donatori trebali održati ovakav pristup implementaciji projekata, čime se naglašava partnerstvo između stranih i lokalnih organizacija za implementaciju, kao i doprinosi lokalnih zainteresovanih strana.

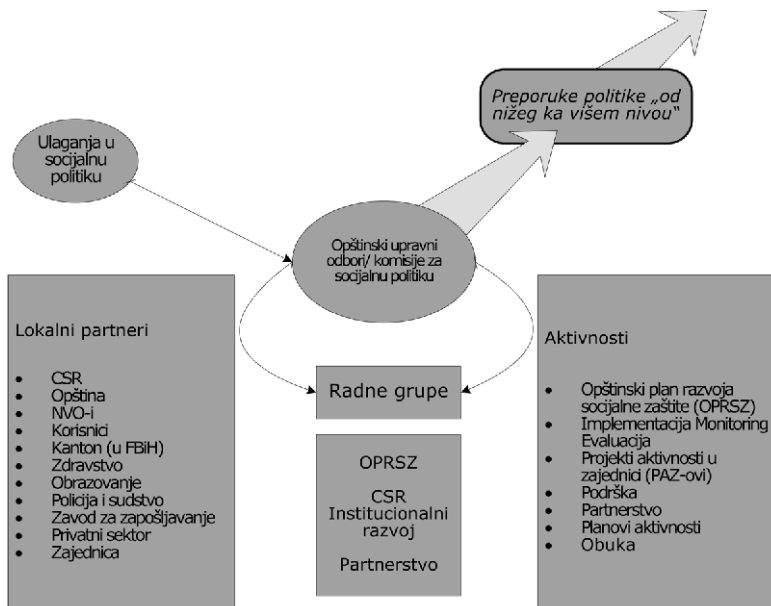
13 Finalni izvještaj o evaluaciji uticaja projekta zasnovanog na učešću, 26. april, 2005.

http://www.birks-sinclair.com/Bosnia279Docs/279%20FPIER%20Main_final.pdf

Aneks 1

Primjer horizontalnog partnerstva

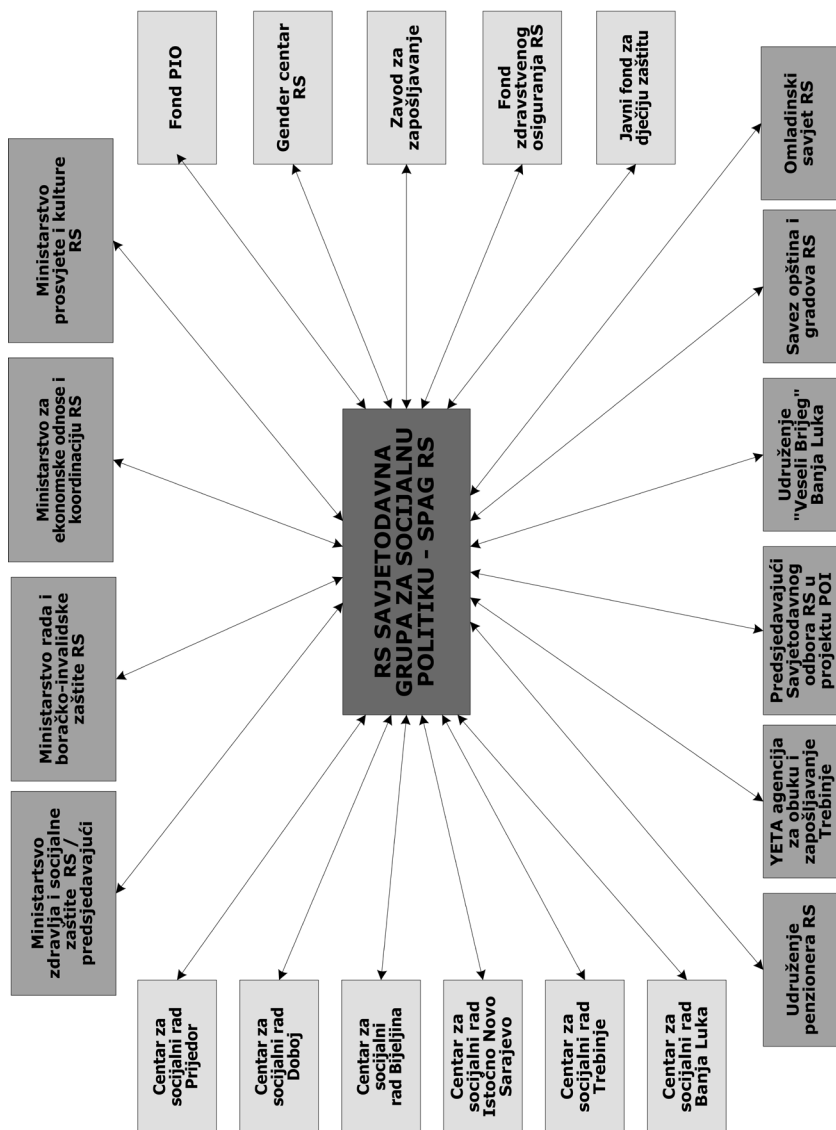
Iskustvo DFID Projekta "Reformisanje sistema i struktura režima centralne i lokalne socijalne politike u Bosni i Hercegovini",
IBHI BiH/BSAL



Aneks 3

Primjer vertikalnog partnerstva

Šema strukture Savjetodavne grupe za socijalnu politiku Republike Srpske (SPAG RS) službeno konstituisane 22. oktobra 2007. godine (DFID Projekat "Podrška razvoju politike za smanjenje siromaštva u BiH", DEP/LSE Konzorcij)

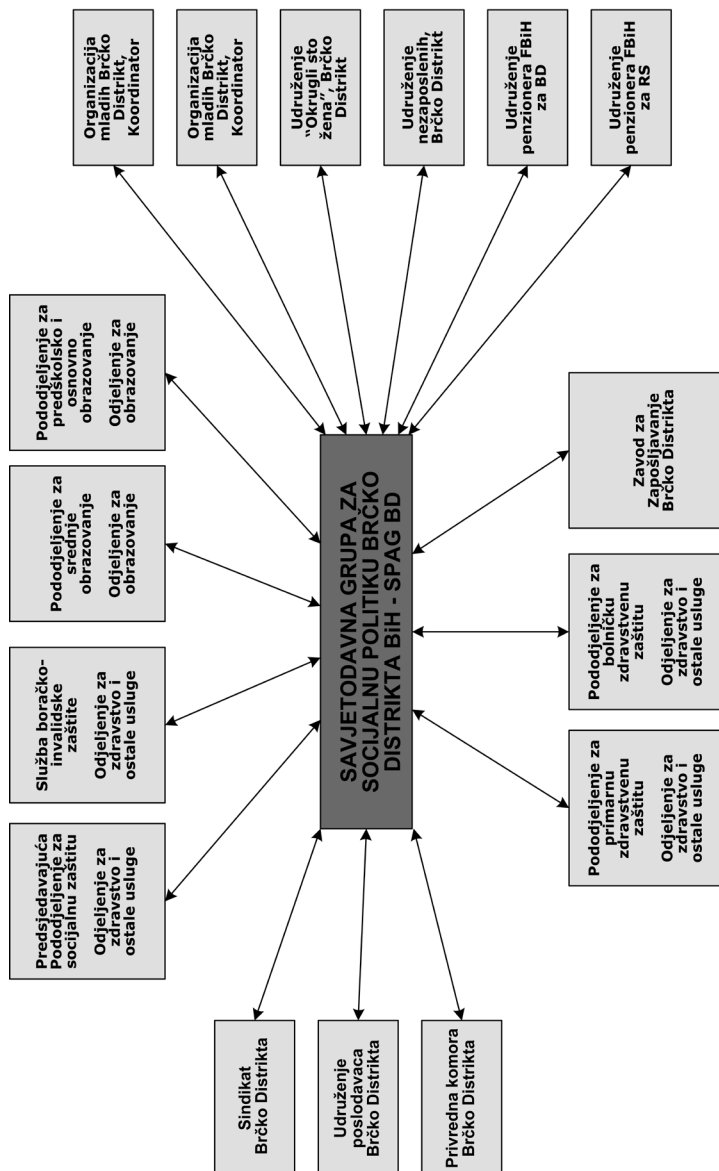


Aneks 4

Primjer vertikalnog partnerstva

Šema strukture Savjetodavne grupe za socijalnu politiku Brčko Distrikta BiH (SPAG BD) službeno konstituisane 12. juna 2007. godine

(DFID Projekat "Podrška razvoju politike za smanjenje siromaštva u BiH", DEP/LSE Konzorcij)



Studija slučaja

Međusektoralna saradnja u borbi protiv nasilja u porodici

Jasmina Mujezinović
Fondacija lokalne demokratije

Misija *Fondacije lokalne demokratije* je stvoriti društvo bez nasilja i društvo jednakih mogućnosti.

Ciljevi :

- Promocija i zaštita ljudskih prava na svim nivoima društvenog i javnog života;
- Unaprijeđenje položaja žena i djece kroz prevenciju i zaštitu od nasilja u porodici i borba protiv nasilja na osnovu spola;
- Promocija i zaštita dječijih prava posebno sa aspekta nasilja u porodici, manipulaciji djece i njihovo iskorištavanje u bilo kojem nedozvoljenom obliku;
- Promocija zdravog življenja.

Sistemska rješenja, multidisciplinarni pristup u radu, saradnja sa drugim nevladinim organizacijama i institucijama , su odrednice naših aktivnosti.

Problem i njegovo rješavanje

Nasilje u porodici se zbiva u svim društvenim slojevima, a osnovno mu je obilježje da se javlja iza zatvorenih vrata i intervencije drugih. Podaci pokazuju da se u 80% slučajeva nasilje dešava u braku i da su osobe izložene nasilju i zlostavljanju ženskog spola. Nasilje, kao jedan od uzroka koji dovodi do trajnog poremećaja bračnih i porodičnih odnosa, je evidentan i rastući problem u Kantonu Sarajevo i cijeloj BiH. Ova činjenica se može poduprijeti podacima kojima raspolažu nevladine organizacije (podaci iz Sigurne kuće – sklonište za žene i djecu žrtve nasilja u porodici i Sklonište za djevojke žrtve nasilja – incest, trgovina ljudima, ...) kao i zvaničnim podacima koji dolaze iz centara za socijalni rad i policije. Dokaz da je nasilje u porastu je i podatak koji dolazi iz Službi socijalne zaštite općina Kantona Sarajevo i koji govori da je broj evidentiranih slučajeva nasilja u 2006. godini u odnosu na 2005. godinu povećan za 65%.

Kad je nasilje u porodici u pitanju u BiH, problem se ogleda u nesistematskom i nejedinstvenom pristupu i djelovanju različitih aktera, kako vladinih tako i nevladinih u prevenciji, borbi i zaštiti .

Dugogodišnjim radom na ovom polju, Fondacija lokalne demokratije je uvidjela da je jedini uspješan način rada koordinirano i sistematsko djelovanje svih aktera društva. Inicirala je i fomirala jedinstvenog institucionalno tijelo – Koordinaciono tijelo , čiji se rad zasniva na multidisciplinarnom pristupu u prevenciji, zaštiti i borbi protiv nasilja u porodici u KS od predstavnika: Ministarstva pravde i uprave Kantona Sarajevo, Ministarstva zdravstva Kantona Sarajevo, Ministarstva za rad, socijalnu politiku, raseljena lica i izbjeglice Kantona Sarajevo, Ministarstva unutarnjih poslova Kantona Sarajevo, Udruženja/udruga BH Novinari i NVO – Fondacije lokalne demokratije.

Uspostavljanjem Koordinacionog tijela, na našu inicijativu i u našoj implementaciji u Kantonu Sarajevo prvi put su se udružili predstavnici vladinih i nevladinih organizacija u jedinstveno institucionalno tijelo čiji je zajednički cilj prevencija, borba i zaštita od nasilja u porodici, kao sistemski odgovor zajednice na sve prisutniji problem nasilja u porodici.

Rad Koordinacionog tijela rezultirao je usvajanjem i potpisivanjem **Protokola o saradnji na prevenciji, zaštiti i borbi protiv nasilja u porodici** kao i **Programa rada na prevenciji, zaštiti i borbi protiv nasilja u porodici za 2005-2006.**, u čijem su kreiranju i potpisivanju aktivno učestvovala nadležna Ministarstva Kantona Sarajevo.

Od početka 2006 godine uspostavljena je jedinstvena baza podataka na nivou Kantona Sarajevo o slučajevima nasilja u porodici. Bazu vodi nadležna služba MUP-a, a pored podataka ove službe bazu podataka čine i podaci službi socijalne zaštite i podaci Skloništa za žene i djecu žrtve nasilja, koje djeluje u okviru Fondacije lokalne demokratije. Godišnji prikupljeni podaci će biti baza za buduće aktivnosti na polju problema kojim se bavimo.

U decembru 2006. godine Koordinaciono tijelo je kreiralo i usvojilo nacrt **Akcionog plana prevencije, zaštite i borbe protiv nasilja u porodici u Kantonu Sarajevo** koji čini osnovu za uspostavu strategije u borbi protiv ovog problema na nivou Kantona Sarajevo.

U septembru 2007 godine, Vlada Kantona Sarajevo je usvojila Akcioni plan, te tako postala prva lokalna zajednica u BIH, koja je donijela strateški dokument za ovu oblast i ozvaničila saradnju između vladinog i nevladinog sektora.

Multidisciplinarnim pristupom, implementiranjem aktivnosti Akcionog plana, doći će do razvoja sistemske strategije u prevenciji, borbi i zaštiti od nasilja u porodici uz uključenje svih aktera društva u Kantonu Sarajevo.

U konačnom, implementacijom Akcionog plana, doći će do smanjenja problema nasilja u porodici kroz institucionalno uspostavljene jedinstvene metode rada i pristupa u radu, senzibilisanih i edukovanih uposlenih u javnim službama Kantona Sarajeva kao i predstavnika medija.

Smještaj N.N žrtve porodičnog nasilja u ustanovu "Sigurna kuća" – (multidisciplinarni pristup u rješavanju slučaja N.N.)

N.N, stara 37 godina, majka dvoje malodobne djece, obratila se prvi put za pomoć na S.O.S. telefon za prijavu nasilja prije par mjeseci, te je navela da je žrtva dugogodišnjeg zlostavljanja u porodici, zajedno sa dvoje malodobne djece. N.N. je prilikom prvog javljanja na SOS telefon željela prijaviti nasilje ali anonimno i tom prilikom nije željela da se slučaj procesuiru kako ne bilo kakve druge intervencije. Nakon kraćeg vremena nazvala je ponovo nakon što je bila pretučena od strane muža. Muž je izašao iz kuće, te je N.N. taj momenat iskoristila da potraži pomoć.

Poziv je primila dežurna operaterka S.O.S. telefona, uzela opšte podatke koji su neophodni za intervenciju (adresa, opština, telefon), uputila istoj da će patrola mjesno nadležne policije uskoro stići na njenu adresu. Operaterka je obavjestila mjesnu nadležnu policijsku upravu da se dešava porodično nasilje na adresi N.N.. Službenici policije su nakon zaprimljene prijave o nasilju odmah izašli na lice mjesta, te su obavili razgovor sa N.N. i njenim suprugom koji se u međuvremenu vratio u kuću. Prilikom obavljanja razgovora policije sa mužem N.N., isti je bio neljubazan, agresivan, u vidno alkoholiziranom stanju, te je policija odmah prebacila N.N. i njenu djecu kao i njenog supruga u stanicu u razdvojenim patrolnim kolima. Nakon saslušanja u prostorijama stanice, suprug N.N. je zadržan u pritvoru.

Obzirom da se sve dešavalo negdje oko 19.00 h, pozvan je dežurni socijalni radnik koji je ubrzo pristupio u policijsku stanicu i obavio razgovor sa N.N. i njenom malodobne djecom. Procjena socijalnog radnika je bila da se N.N. sa djecom smjesti u "Sigurnu kuću" jer su isti bili vidno traumatirani dugogodišnjim zlostavljanjem od strane muža/oca, a njihova dalja fizička bezbjednost na kućnoj adresi je bila ugrožena. Socijalni radnik je nakon procjene, a zajedno sa službenicima policije odveo N.N. na CUM KCUS (Centar Urgentne Medicine) gdje su konstatovane tjelesne povrede koje su posljedica fizičkog nasilja. Nakon pregleda žrtve, socijalni radnik je pozvao dežurnu koordinatoricu "Sigurne kuće", te najavio prijem žene sa dvoje malodobne djece. Prijem N.N. sa dvoje malodobne djece je odobren i realizovan u službenoj pratnji dežurnog socijalnog radnika kao i službenika policije.

Cijeli proces zbrinjavanja žrtve sa djecom od same prijave na S.O.S. telefon pa sve do smještaja istih u "Sigurnu kuću" proveden je u skladu sa protokolom koji nalaže obaveze i prava subjekata koji rade na zaštiti žrtava porodičnog nasilja.

Od momenta smještaja žrtve i njene djece u ustanovu krenuo je i proces njihove detraumatizacije kao i rehabilitacija. Isti su uključeni u kompletan psihosocijalni tretman (individualna, grupna, suport, medikamentozna i radno – okupaciona terapija).

Djeca su zbog bezbjednosti prepisana u lokalnu školu gdje su se zahvaljujući ljubaznosti i podršci uposlenog nastavnog kadra brzo adaptirali na nove školske uslove.

Služba socijalne zaštite je dalje, u koordinaciji sa nama, radila terapijski sa nasilnikom u svojim prostorijama. NVO "Vaša prava" su N.N. pružili besplatnu pravnu pomoć (konsultacije i izrada tužbe za razvod braka, dalje pravne upute vezane za kontaktiranje oca sa djecom, podjela imovine i sl.). Policija je dalje procesuirala slučaj, te je predmet predat tužilaštvu.

Trebalo je vremena da se osjeti lagani napredak u oporavku N.N. kao i njene djece.

Nakon nekog vremena N.N je željela ispričati svoju priču javno, uz zaštitu identiteta, kako bi na taj način pomogla mnogim ženama koje pate zbog nasilja u porodici. Njena priča je objavljena, na korektan način zahvaljujući senzibilisanom novinaru koji je radio na toj priči.

Partnerstvo – šta da se radi?

Dženan Trbić
IBHI BiH
Mersiha Čuljević
SDC

Uvod

Definiranje i implementacija koncepta socijalnog uključivanja podrazumijevaju specifične principijelne zahtjeve. Sasvim je prirodno, naime, da koncept jačanja socijalne kohezije koji je uključiv po rezultatima, bude uključiv i po načinima implementacije – štaviše, sam proces mora biti *inkluzivan*. Ova uslovljenost proizilazi iz principijelnih, ali i praktičnih razloga: integralno rješavanje problema u kojem se istovremeno tretiraju i njegovi pojavni oblici (siromaštvo, izolovanost, kvalitet života) i uzroci (nivo obrazovanosti, dostupnost različitih oblika socijalnih usluga, legislativa), nameće potrebu angažmana svih društvenih resursa.

U ovom kontekstu partnerstvo aktera - suštinski ili formalno pozicioniranih u različitim društvenim organizacionim oblicima (ili izvan njih) - zahtijeva posebnu pažnju. Širina obuhvata pojma *uključivanja* (ekonomija, obrazovanje, zdravstvo, gender, okoliš, itd.), kao i raznovrsnost pripadnosti aktera različitim društvenim hijerarhijama, značajno uslo-žnjavaju zadatak klasifikacije potrebnih i mogućih oblika saradnje u određenoj državnoj zajednici.

U tekstu koji slijedi će biti analizirana potreba, mogućnost i oblici saradnje između organizacija civilnog društva, naročito nevladinih organizacija, i javnih i državnih institucija u procesu razvijanja i implementacije strategije socijalnog uključivanja u bosanskohercegovačkom kontekstu. Ovdje je naročito važno imati u vidu činjenicu da su različiti aspekti socijalnog uključivanja unutar državnog sistema uprave pozicionirani u odvojene podsisteme obrazovanja, socijalne zaštite, ekonomije, itd. Kako su ovi podsistemi organizirani kao formalizirane vertikalne hijerarhijske strukture, pitanje uspostave horizontalnih veza na svim nivoima postavlja se kao logičan problem. Različitost konkretnih potreba za uspostavom horizontalnih veza zahtijeva fleksibilnost, koja često nije prvi pojam koji se povezuje sa organima državne uprave. Značajan kapacitet za prevazilaženje navedenog problema leži u organizacijama civilnog društva – legitimnim oblikom interesnog organizovanja građana. Organizacije civilnog društva koje se fokusiraju na konkretne *potrebe* su komplementarne javnim i državnim institucijama čiji je fokus na uslugama, pravima ili mjerama. Postojanje *različitih i komplementarnih* aktera nameće pitanje uspostave njihove saradnje, naročito u preuzimanju društvenih zadataka koji prevazilaze njihove pojedinačne kapacitete.

Partnerstvo: Jedinstvena potreba i različiti pristupi

Iskustva iz različitih zemalja ukazuju da je potreba za uspostavom partnerstva između nevladinog i javnog/državnog sektora univerzalno prepoznata. Imajući u vidu različite modele razvoja država, ova saradnja je u praksi poprimala različite oblike. U SAD su nevladine organizacije tradicionalno imale ulogu pružaoca socijalnih usluga, što je praksa koja

donedavno nije bila karakteristična za većinu zemalja zapadne Evrope. U bivšoj Jugoslaviji je bila značajna institucija *Samoupravnih interesnih zajednica* (SIZ) zamišljenih kao mjesta gdje se susreću uplatitelji (predstavnici tzv. *udruženog rada*), korisnici i davatelji usluga¹. Uvođenje ove institucije, čija je uspješnost u praksi bila upitna, ipak ilustruje prepoznavanje potrebe za prevazilaženjem svakodnevnih konkretnih problema u radu organa državne uprave kroz povećanje fleksibilnosti i dijeljenje odgovornosti u procesima društvenog razvoja.

Komparativna analiza iskustava različitih država u kontekstu saradnje nevladinog i vladinog sektora² je pokazala da značajnija integracija organizacija civilnog društva u procese relevantne za socijalno uključivanje može voditi porijeklo iz:

1. Tradicionalne uloge organizacija civilnog društva u nekim zemljama;
2. Nedostatka kapaciteta države u kriznim situacijama (*Crisis of State Capacity*³), u kojim države angažmanom nevladinih organizacija potiču razvoj novih usluga i inovativnost u zadovoljavanju naraslih potreba;
3. Politike države ka komercijalizaciji javnih usluga koja je često uslovljena ekonomskim problemima. U ovim slučajevima se nevladin sektor pojavljuje kao takmac na tržištu i cijenom se nadmeće za pružanje usluga.

Ako ovu klasifikaciju primijenimo na specifičnu situaciju BiH, možemo prepoznati postojanje tri bitna preduslova za razmatranje aktivnije uloge organizacija civilnog društva:

- Bosna i Hercegovina je iz prethodnog društvenog uređenja naslijedila socijalni karakter ali i visoku birokratizaciju države. Socijalistički model organizovanja građana je pokušao kompenzovati jednopartijski sistem sa dodatnim formama okupljanja, koje su međutim u manjem ili većem obimu bile povezane sa državom i uvjetovane istom (SSRN⁴, SSO, Udruženja građana, i druga). Ipak, određeni broj udruženja građana iz ovog perioda barem dijelom korespondira sa sadašnjim pojmom nevladine organizacije (npr. Crveni Križ/Krst) i tradicionalno je integrisan u *sistem pružaoca socijalnih usluga*. Međutim, ukupan odnos prema nevladinim organizacijama u modernom smislu tog pojma u bivšoj Jugoslaviji ne opravdava ocjenu kojom bi se današnje aktivno učešće nevladinih organizacija u pružanju usluga smatralo rezultatom nasljeđa.
- Razmatrajući kapacitete bosanskohercegovačkih institucija u kontekstu moguće uloge NVO u *kriznim situacijama*, primjećuje se visok stepen korelacije sa trenutnim stanjem u BiH. Kriza državnih sistema (zbog karakterističnog državnog uređenja ovaj pojam se treba uzeti uslovno) u svim oblastima⁵, te nemogućnost obezbjeđenja usluga propisanih zakonom, uslova je značajan angažman nevladinih organizacija u popunjavanju ove praznine. Dostupnost sredstava iz međunarodnih izvora za finansiranje nevladinih organizacija rezultirala je smanjenim nivoom uticaja države na kvalitet, geografsku distribuciju i dostupnost usluga pružanih od strane NVO. Porijeklo sredstava imalo je značajan uticaj i na broj nevladinih organizacija u pojedinim dijelovima BiH – u skladu sa prioritetima pojedinih međunarodnih donatora sredstva su često fokusirana na određena administrativna područja što je rezultiralo sa neproporcionalnim brojem NVO (i njihovim aktivnijim angažmanom) na različitim područjima BiH. Aktivnosti nevladinih organizacija u pružanju usluga iz oblasti socijalne zaštite, obrazovanja, zdravstva i drugih su tako više rezultat prioritizacije međunarodnih organizacija, a manje strateški planirane politike vlade. Zbog toga se vladin sektor opire sistemskoj podršci nevladinim

1 "Zdravstvena politika Hrvatske: U vrtlogu reformi i suvremenih društvenih izazova" – Siniša Zrinščak; Hrvatski časopis za javno zdravstvo, 10/2007

2 Komparativna studija NVO/vladinog partnerstva, Caroline L. Newman, Međunarodni centar za neprofitno pravo, http://www.icnl.org/JOURNAL/vol2iss3/p_ngogov.htm

3 Claire Ulmann – The Welfare State's Other Crisis, Indiana University Press, 1998

4 Savez socijalističkog radnog naroda; Savez socijalističke omladine i druga se, veoma uslovno, mogu posmatrati u kontekstu pojma kvazi-NVO, o kojem će kasnije biti riječi

5 U izobilju primjera navodimo samo jedan, iz područja legislative socijalne politike: Zakon o osnovama socijalne zaštite, zaštite civilnih žrtava rata i zaštite porodice sa djecom Federacije BiH donesen je u sredinom 1999. godine (Sl. novine FBiH 36/99). Obzirom da se radi o okvirnom zakonu, isti predviđa donošenje kantonalnih zakona koji će konkretizirati pojedina rješenja za teritorij pojedinačnih kantona. Posljednji kantonalni zakon o socijalnoj zaštiti (za Zeničko-dobojski kanton) je stupio na snagu u septembru 2007. godine – punih 8 godina od donošenja Okvirnog zakona.

organizacijama, kao i preuzimanju i replikaciji pozitivnih primjera saradnje NVO i javnih institucija na lokalnom nivou. Izuzetak od navedenog predstavlja određeni broj nevladinih organizacija, koje, u cilju kupovine socijalnog mira (ne bez sličnosti sa prethodnim sistemom), dobijaju značajnu finansijsku podršku države.

- Komercijalizacija javnih usluga predstavlja jedan od legitimnih modela smanjivanja cijene njihovog koštanja. Omogućavajući privatnom i nevladinom sektoru da se natječu za pružanje ovih usluga sa javnim sektorom - kvalitet, cijena i dostupnost postaju elementi tržišne utakmice. Iako prednosti i nedostaci ovog modela nisu predmetom ove analize važno je spomenuti određene pretpostavke za njegovu implementaciju. Naime, delegiranje ovlasti za pružanje usluga podrazumijeva uspostavu mehanizma kontrole. Ovaj mehanizam podrazumijeva standardizaciju kvaliteta usluga i sistem akreditiranja njihovih pružaoaca. Navedeni elementi pretpostavljaju aktivan odnos države prema potencijalnim ponuđačima (uključujući i nevladin sektor), iniciranje dijaloga i implementaciju poticajnih mjera. U bosanskohercegovačkoj praksi su primjeri komercijalizacije javnih usluga do sada više bili sporadični izuzeci nego pravilo.

Partnerstvo države i nevladinog sektora u kontekstu evropskih iskustava

U većem broju evropskih zemalja je ranu fazu javnog prepoznavanja uloge nevladinog sektora obilježila izrada i potpisivanje generalnih dokumenata o saradnji⁶. Ovi dokumenti demonstriraju posvećenost (makar i načelnu) priznavanju uloge nevladinog sektora na nivou razvoja vladinih politika i imaju dva osnovna cilja: ohrabrivanje javnog sudjelovanja u političkom životu i uspostavljanje mehanizama saradnje koji će vladi olakšati teret obezbjeđenja javnih usluga⁷. Kao reprezentativni primjeri ovih dokumenata mogu se navesti Program suradnje Vlade Republike Hrvatske i nevladinog neprofitnog sektora u Republici Hrvatskoj⁸, Estonski Koncept razvoja civilnog društva⁹ ili Mađarska Državna strategija prema civilnom sektoru¹⁰. Obzirom da su po svojoj prirodi ovo deklarativni dokumenti, njihova je primarna funkcija da demonstriraju principijelnu spremnost državnih struktura da priznaju ulogu organizacija civilnog društva: *Vlada želi da služi a ne dominira, što je jedino moguće uz aktivnu participaciju građana i uz partnerstvo sa organizacijama koje sačinjavaju civilno društvo. Civilno društvo predstavlja jedan od bitnih oslonaca državnih aktivnosti*¹¹.

Prateći iskustva evropskih zemalja, nevladin sektor u BiH¹² je nakon četverogodišnjeg nastojanja uspio 2007. formalizirati odnose sa vladinim sektorom potpisivanjem *Sporazuma o saradnji između Vijeća ministara BiH i nevladinog sektora u BiH*¹³. Vrijednost ovog, kao i ostalih pomenutih sporazuma, koncepta, strategija i programa počiva u otvaranju vrata za uspostavu konkretnijih mehanizama saradnje. Postojanje i uspješnost konkretnih mehanizama jedini su mjerljivi pokazatelji stvarne posvećenosti države deklarativnim izjavama Sporazuma.

U evropskom zemljama postoje različiti modeli saradnje između vladinih i nevladinih institucija, ali im je svima zajednički razvijen institucionalni okvir sa grupama mehanizama koji facilitiraju specifična pitanja. Ovakvi okviri najčešće uključuju:

- Parlamentarne komitete za NVO pitanja (Njemačka, Mađarska),
- Državne urede za saradnju sa NVO (Mađarska, Hrvatska, Slovenija)
- Urede za saradnju pri ministarstvima nadležnim za pitanja od posebnog značaja za NVO (Slovačka, Poljska, Mađarska)

6 Policy Documents on Cooperation. U Velikoj Britaniji poznati i pod nazivom "Compacts"

7 Komparativna analiza Evropskih politika i prakse u saradnji NVO i Države, Nilda Bullain i Radost Toftisova, u The International Journal of Not-for-Profit Law, septembar 2005

8 Dostupan na: http://www.uzuvrh.hr/UserFiles/Program.suradnje_prijedlog.pdf

9 Dostupan na: <http://www.ngo.ee/1030>

10 Dostupna na: http://www.nonprofit.hu/files/6/6/9/669_Hungariangovernmentstrategy2002.doc

11 Citat iz Mađarske Državne strategije o civilnom društvu.

12 Okupljen oko Koalicije NVO Raditi i uspjeti zajedno

13 Dostupan na: <http://www.grozdb.ba/v2/files/docs/SPORAZUMB.doc>

- Vijeća ili zajedničke savjetodavne komitete (Češka, Hrvatska, Slovačka)
- Specijalizovane agencije (Njemačka, Mađarska, UK)
- *Kvazi-NVO*¹⁴ – fondacije ili organizacije osnovane i/ili finansirane od strane države. Državni nadzor je ograničen nezavisnom upravnim strukturom (Francuska, Mađarska, Danska, Hrvatska).

Do sada u Bosni i Hercegovini nije uspostavljen sistemski okvir za saradnju NVO i državnih institucija. U reformi pojedinih oblasti (npr. socijalne zaštite ili obrazovanja) formirana su pojedinačna konsultativna tijela koja uključuju (su uključivala) predstavnike nevladinog sektora, npr. Savjetodavne grupe za socijalnu politiku¹⁵, Komisija za koordinaciju pitanja mladih u Bosni i Hercegovini¹⁶, Monitoring implementacije srednjoročne razvojne strategije¹⁷, učešće NVO u izradi Strategije rješavanja problema Roma, i druge. Uz mali broj izuzetaka, dosadašnji primjeri saradnje vladinih institucija i NVO imaju nekoliko ograničavajućih karakteristika:

- Ne radi se o trajnim već ad-hoc formiranim tijelima za rješavanje određenog zadatka – nakon njegovog izvršetka, okončava se (ili zadržava samo na nivou formalnog) učešće NVO u konkretnom procesu. Na primjer, nakon izrade strategije NVO-i ne participiraju u njenom izvršenju ili monitoringu.
- U najvećem broju slučajeva, učešće nevladinih organizacija u procesima koje provode državni organi je uslovljeno pritiscima ili obezbjeđenjem finansiranja od strane međunarodnih organizacija. Praktično, ukoliko nevladine organizacije za proces konsultacija uspiju obezbijediti finansijska sredstva iz međunarodnih izvora ili ukoliko su međunarodna sredstva obezbijeđena za provođenje neke vladine aktivnosti uslovljena uključivanjem NVO, onda je vlada spremna za, makar formalnu, saradnju.

Nakon potpisivanja *Sporazuma o saradnji između Vijeća ministara BiH i nevladinog sektora u BiH*, te formiranja tijela predviđenih ovim Sporazumom¹⁸ za očekivati je da će saradnja između vladinih institucija i nevladinog sektora osnažiti i dobiti institucionalni oblik¹⁹.

Finansijski aspekti partnerstva

U skoro svim evropskim zemljama različite forme državnog finansiranja predstavljaju značajan izvor sredstava za nevladine organizacije. Ovi iznosi se kreću od 20% u Slovačkoj, do preko 70% u Belgiji i Irskoj²⁰. Pored direktnog finansiranja, prisutne su i različite forme indirektno podrške – npr. dodjeljivanje prava ili ovlasti umjesto direktne uplate budžetskih sredstava. Dodatno, Evropska komisija obezbjeđuje finansiranje projekata nevladinih organizacija u godišnjem iznosu od oko 1 milijarde eura²¹.

Osnovni motivi za pružanje finansijske podrške određuju i metodologiju njihove implementacije: ukoliko je kao motiv definiran *krizni nedostatak kapaciteta države* u pružanju usluga, a uloga NVO prvenstveno u razvoju novih i inovaciji postojećih usluga, metodologija implementacije mora podrazumijevati i analizu uspjeha odnosno analizu mogućnosti replikacije razvijenih usluga u drugim lokalnim zajednicama²². Nadalje, ukoliko država, prepoznavši potrebu za jačanjem

14 Poznati i kao Quangos

15 Social Policy Advisory Groups - SPAGs

16 Službeni glasnik BiH, 03/05

17 Za više detalja o različitim mišljenjima o nivou uključivanja NVO u proces monitoringa Srednjoročne razvojne strategije BiH vidi: <http://www.dep.gov.ba> i <http://www.icva-bh.org/bos/docs/nvofin.doc>

18 Ured za nevladin sektor i Savjet za civilno društvo (točka 9.10. Sporazuma)

19 "Mi se dosad nismo mogli pretjerano pohvaliti ulogom civilnog društva u opštem razvoju Bosne i Hercegovine. Potpisivanjem Sporazuma mi zapravo prisustvujemo početku stvaranja institucionalnog i pravnog sistema za pomoć i razvoj civilnog društva u BiH, a ujedno i uloge civilnog društva u Bosni i Hercegovini." Iz govora Predsjedavajućeg Vijeća ministara BiH, dr Nikole Špirića, prilikom potpisivanja Sporazuma.

20 Izvor: <http://www.jhu.edu/~cnp/pdf/comptable4.pdf>

21 Komisija i nevladine organizacije: izgrađivanje jačeg partnerstva, Dokument za diskusiju Evropske Komisije. Dostupan na http://europa.eu.int/eur-lex/en/com/wdc/2000/com2000_0011en01.pdf

22 Kao primjer je moguće navesti *Analize usluga* i *Analize zadovoljstva korisnika* Fonda za socijalne inovacije, Ministarstva rada i socijalne politike Republike Srbije. Za više detalja vidi: <http://www.sif.minrzs.sr.gov.yu/>

organizacija civilnog društva, podržava i njihovo institucionalno jačanje, a ne samo konkretne projekte²³, proces selekcije organizacija mora sadržavati uporedne kvalitativne analize mogućeg doprinosa ovih organizacija u implementaciji opštih državnih politika. Iz ovoga proizilazi da je u procesu pružanja finansijske podrške, pored apsolutnog iznosa, jednako važno strateški promišljeno usmjeravanje sredstava prema konkretnim organizacijama kao i analiza uspješnosti njihovog rada.

Specifičnost ustrojstva i složena administrativna nadležnost nivoa vlasti u Bosni i Hercegovini otežavaju izradu procjene kako ukupnog iznosa finansijske podrške države organizacijama civilnog društva tako i procenta učešća države u ukupnom finansiranju NVO.

Prema posljednjim dostupnim podacima²⁴ u Bosni i Hercegovini je registrovano blizu 10.000 nevladinih organizacija, ali je broj aktivnih organizacija procijenjen na nešto manje od polovine ovog broja. Ovaj i drugi podaci iz navedene studije sugerišu da veličina nevladinog sektora u BiH prati međunarodni prosjek u svim parametrima osim volonterskog rada koji je, sa ekvivalentom od 5,36% značajno iznad evropskog prosjeka²⁵. U praksi se sredstva nevladinim organizacijama u BiH dodjeljuju na nivou opština, kantona, entiteta i države tj. iz približno 220 različitih budžeta. Nadalje, specifičnostima zakona koji regulišu pitanje registracije nevladinih organizacija u ovaj sektor su pozicionirane različite vrste organizacija: sportske, humanitarne, vjerske, itd. pri čemu specifičnosti različitih važećih knjigovodstvenih propisa dodatno otežavaju objedinjavanje podataka. Sve navedeno utiče na, generalno gledano, minimalnu transparentnost finansiranja NVO iz državnih izvora te neznatne kapacitete države za integraciju iskustava u reformske procese.

Da bi se uklonili ovi nedostaci potrebno je jačanje kako podrške nevladinom sektoru tako i kapaciteta države za analitičko praćenje i usmjeravanje ovog procesa. U tom smislu, za BiH su naročito značajna iskustva većeg broja bliskih država u uspostavi tijela zaduženih za distribuciju finansijske pomoći i analizu rezultata rada nevladinog sektora npr:

- Fond za socijalne inovacije Ministarstva rada i socijalne politike Republike Srbije²⁶
- Zaklada za razvoj civilnog društva Republike Hrvatske²⁷,
- Nacionalni fond za civilno društvo Republike Mađarske²⁸,
- Fondacija za razvoj civilnog društva Republike Češke²⁹,
- Fond za socijalni razvoj Republike Slovačke³⁰.

Šta su pozitivna iskustva rada ovih fondacija?

Ako uvedemo uslovnu podjelu organizacija civilnog društva koje djeluju u području socijalnog uključivanja na *organizacije koje pružaju usluge i zagovaračke organizacije*³¹, jasno je da se pred zagovaračke organizacije postavljaju veoma osjetljiva pitanja. Ona se tiču samih organizacija (da li će prihvatanje sredstava uticati na našu nezavisnost?) kao i države (zbog čega podržavati kritički nastrojene organizacije?). Država, naročito ona koja dugoročnije promišlja svoje politike, u svakom slučaju ima višestruk interes u podržavanju zagovaračkih organizacija, prije svega izražen u pravovremenom uticaju zainteresovanih grupa građana na izrade politika i dostupnosti značajnih ekspertskih resursa rapsloživih u nevladinom sektoru³². Kreiranje modela podrške ovim organizacijama koje ne ugrožavaju njihovu nezavisnost, također je u državnom interesu. Posmatrajući moguće modele podrške organizacijama koje pružaju usluge (u ovom kontekstu

23 Kao primjer je moguće navesti grantove za institucionalno jačanje NVO Zaklade za razvoj civilnog društva Republike Hrvatske. Za više detalja vidi: <http://zaklada.civilnodrustvo.hr/>

24 Kvalitativna studija 3: Zapošljavanje, pružanje socijalnih usluga i nevladin (NVO) sektor; Status i perspektive za Bosnu i Hercegovinu, analiza i implikacije za politiku, Nezavisni biro za humanitarna pitanja BiH, 2005

25 Vrlo je zanimljiv podatak da je ovako visok procent volonterskog doprinosa zabilježen u zemlji čija legislativa ne poznaje pojam volonterstva u međunarodno prihvaćenom smislu te riječi.

26 Više detalja dostupno je na: <http://www.sif.minrzs.sr.gov.yu/>

27 Više detalja dostupno je na: <http://zaklada.civilnodrustvo.hr/>

28 Više detalja dostupno je na: <http://www.nca.hu>

29 Više detalja dostupno je na: <http://nros.beneta.cz/english-info>

30 Više detalja dostupno je na: <http://www.fsr.sk>

31 Komparativna analiza Evropskih politika i prakse u saradnji NVO i Države, Nilda Bullain i Radost Toftisova, u The International Journal of Not-for-Profit Law, septembar 2005

32 Ibid

ograničeno na cilj razvoja novih, inovativnih tipova usluga³³), država također ima interes za kreiranje modela u kojem će proces odlučivanja biti dijeljen sa organizacijama – potencijalnim korisnicima sredstava.

Prethodno pobrojane fondacije predstavljaju jedan od mogućih modela koji odgovara ovim zahtjevima:

- Fondacije su svojom pravnom pozicijom, najčešće u formi kvazi-NVO, izmještene izvan direktne državne hijerarhije čime se povećava njihova fleksibilnost, djelimična nezavisnost te mogućnost prikupljanja sredstava iz drugih izvora.
- Upravljačka struktura (upravni odbori) u pravilu uključuje i predstavnike državnih organa i civilnog društva – čime se dijeli odgovornost nad procesom saradnje.
- Spoj centralnog finansiranja i lokalne implementacije projekata omogućava generalizaciju primjera dobre prakse i njihovu integraciju u državne sisteme i legislativu.

Poređenje navedenih primjera sa iskustvima iz BiH, ponovo u fokus dovodi bosanskohercegovačke specifičnosti. Sredstva dostupna NVO u BiH su u prethodnim godinama najvećim dijelom obezbjeđivana od strane međunarodnih organizacija. U uslovima poslijeratne obnove, ova situacija je imala značajan uticaj na razvoj nevladinog sektora ali i na njegovu "otuđenost" od državnih i javnih institucija. Aktivnija uloga i nevladinog sektora ali i državnih organa u otklanjanju ovog problema predstavlja imperativ. Uspostava tijela (u formi kvazi-NVO ili drugačije) kojim bi država demonstrirala posvećenost razvoju nevladinog sektora, dijeleći vlasništvo i odgovornost nad tim procesom sa organizacijama civilnog društva može predstavljati dobar model jačanja povjerenja.

Umjesto zaključka

Usaglašavanje principa na kojim počiva saradnja državnih i organizacija civilnog društva u BiH sa evropskim standardima uslovljena je zahtjevima koji proističu iz procesa stabilizacije i pridruživanja Evropskoj uniji. Princip socijalnog uključivanja kao dio politike EU dijelom obezbjeđuje okvir te pruža priliku za dovođenje BH rezultata u kontekst uspjeha drugih država, članica EU i kandidata. Ovim se bitno smanjuje opasnost od *lutanja u razvoju politika* kao i mogućnost *relativizacije eventualnih neuspjeha*.

Potpisivanje *Sporazuma o saradnji između Vijeća ministara BiH i nevladinog sektora u BiH*, kao i sporadična integracija nevladinog sektora u izradu strateških dokumenata ukazuju da su preduzeti određeni koraci u skladu sa pozitivnom evropskom praksom, međutim uz ogromna kašnjenja. Predstojeće aktivnosti koje su logičan nastavak dosadašnjih predstavljaju jedinstvenu priliku za jačanje partnerstva nevladinog i vladinog sektora. Ovo se naročito odnosi na učešće civilnog društva u izradi i monitoringu implementacije *Nacionalne Strategije socijalnog uključivanja*³⁴, uspostavu i definiranje djelokruga rada *Ureda za nevladin sektor i Savjeta za civilno društvo*, uspješnost Inicijative za uspostavu *Fonda za socijalno uključivanje u BiH*³⁵, kao i na različite inicijative za promjenu zakonskih rješenja u domenu jačanja organizacija civilnog društva. Imajući u vidu prirodu ovih aktivnosti, podjednaka odgovornost na unapređenju odnosa leži na državnim organima, na organizacijama civilnog društva i predstavnicima međunarodne zajednice. Uz otvoren dijalog, razmatranje primjera dobre evropske prakse, i zajedničke napore svih društvenih snaga, procenat od 50,32% socijalno isključenog stanovništva u BiH³⁶, ne mora ostati crna bosanskohercegovačka realnost.

33 Ukoliko se radi o strateškom pristupu države u pozicioniranju nevladinog sektora kao ugovorne strane pri pružanju usluga, evropska iskustva ponovo nude nekoliko modela: od njemačkog modela koji preferira rješavanje konkretnih potreba što je moguće bliže mjestu gdje su nastale (*subsidiarity*), preko normativnog modela (npr. u Mađarskoj) prema kome država pokriva troškove pružanja usluga iz domena svojih odgovornosti svim akreditiranim pružaocima prema broju korisnika, do kompetitivnog sistema (u UK i Poljskoj) prema kojem se nevladine organizacije na tenderima natječu sa akterima iz ostalih sektora. Detaljnija analiza ovih modela nije predmet ovog teksta.

34 Za izradu Strategije zadužena je Direkcija za ekonomsko planiranje BiH. Za više detalja vidi: <http://www.dep.gov.ba>

35 Vidi tekst u nastavku poglavlja

36 Izvor: *Izvještaj o humanom razvoju – Socijalna uključenost u BiH*, IBHI BiH i UNDP, 2007.

Studija slučaja

Fond za socijalno uključivanje u BiH

Dženan Trbić
IBHI BiH

Inicijativa za uspostavu Fonda za socijalno uključivanje u Bosni i Hercegovini pokrenuta je u okviru *Švicarskog programa podrške nevladinim organizacijama u BiH*, projekta čiji cilj podrazumijeva *profesionalizaciju nevladinih organizacija i ulogu državnih institucija u općinskim sistemima socijalne zaštite u cilju osiguranja adekvatne socijalne i zdravstvene brige za korisnike*¹. Pored Nezavisnog biroa za humanitarna pitanja, kao izvršne agencije Programa, u pokretanju Inicijative učestvovala su 22 nevladine organizacije iz čitave Bosne i Hercegovine. Nakon izrade Platforme, Inicijativa je predstavljena velikom broju nevladinih organizacija, vladinih i javnih institucija te međunarodnih organizacija. Kao rezultat, Platforma je unaprijeđena većim brojem konstruktivnih prijedloga te prilagođena stvarnim potrebama organizacija i institucija – budućih korisnika sredstava Fonda.

Osnovni fokus Inicijative: uspostava Fonda za socijalno uključivanje u BiH, podrazumijeva doprinos smanjenju socijalne isključenosti u Bosni i Hercegovini kroz finansiranje projekata u partnerstvu aktera iz nevladinog, vladinog i privatnog sektora na lokalnom i sektorskom nivou, sa ciljem neposredne pomoći ugroženim kategorijama stanovništva, kao i akumulacije znanja, iskustva i ekspertize za djelovanje na prevenciji i smanjenju posljedica socijalne isključenosti.

U formulaciji željenog uticaja, moguće je jasno prepoznati dva osnovna cilja:

- Kreiranje pravno-finansijskog mehanizma koji bi, obezbjeđenjem finansijske i stručne podrške, podsticao integraciju napora organizacija civilnog društva u promicanju principa socijalnog uključivanja sa naporima institucija iz drugih sektora. Obezbeđenje finansijskih preduslova bi podstaklo jaču samoorganizaciju socijalno isključenih grupa te doprinijelo promjeni prirode njihovog odnosa sa specijaliziranim javnim institucijama: umjesto statusa *korisnika* naglašavala bi se uloga *partnera*.
- Kreiranje stručnog tijela zaduženog za analizu uspjehnosti i mogućnost replikacije modela razvijenih u projektima finansiranim od strane Fonda. Integracija pojedinih elemenata dokazanih projektnih modela u državne sisteme socijalne zaštite, zdravstva, obrazovanja i sl. doprinijela bi održivosti konkretnih usluga te njihovoj široj i trajnijoj dostupnosti socijalno isključenim grupama.

Specifičnost misije Fonda proizilazi i iz metodoloških odrednica koje u fokus dovode *potrebe* a ne *usluge/prava/mjere* te time rezultira i horizontalnom integracijom aktivnosti trenutno u ingerenciji različitih sektora: obrazovanja, zdravstva, socijalne zaštite, zaštite okoliša, gendera i drugih.

U profiliranju ideje Fonda, Inicijativa naglašava važnost sljedećih aspekata:

- Transparentnost: kako u procesu zagovaranja za uspostavu, tako i u radu Fonda po njegovom osnivanju,
- Korištenje naučenih lekcija u uspostavi srodnih Fondova u drugim, prije svega susjednim, zemljama,
- Usuglašavanje misije i principa rada Fonda sa principima Evropske Unije.

1 Projekat je finansijski podržan od strane Švicarske Agencije za razvoj i saradnju (SDC)

Različiti strateški dokumenti - rezultati napora državnih organa na strateškom osmišljavanju razvoja BiH² sadrže i eksplicitno izrečene zahtjeve za integracijom kapaciteta organizacija civilnog društva u razvojne i reformske procese. Međutim, čest je slučaj da navedeni zahtjevi ne nalaze svoj izraz u operativnim i akcionim dokumentima proisteklim iz strategija. Razloga za ovakvu praksu ima više, pri čemu jedan od važnijih leži u nedostatku znanja (know-how) o metodološkom povezivanju partnera sa različitim kapacitetima, načinom rada, principijelnom uslovljenošću, i motivacijom a bez formalizirane povezanosti zajedničkom hijerarhijom.

Za prevazilaženje ovog nedostatka potrebno je definiranje specifičnih mehanizama za poticanje partnerstva i uspostavu modela saradnje. Iz analiza dosadašnje prakse, ne samo u BiH, moguće je percipirati značajne opasnosti za efektivnost provedbe strategija praćenih neadekvatnom operativnom razradom³. U ovom kontekstu, Fond za socijalno uključivanje ima značajnu ulogu. Imajući u vidu očekivanja koja se u procesu stabilizacije i pridruživanja postavljaju pred BiH, važnost Fonda će značajno rasti.

2 npr: Strategija (i akcioni plan) razvoja informacionog društva (2004), Srednjoročna razvojna strategija BiH (2004 – 2007), Strategija o integrisanju BiH u Evropsku Uniju (2005), Strategija za rješavanje problema Roma (2005), Strategija o maloljetničkom pristupništvu (2006), Strategija Socijalnog uključivanja (u izradi), itd.

3 "Njegova slabost leži u dijelu o socijalnom isključivanju u kojem se teoretski pristup pokazao nedovoljnim te u kojem je izražena potreba za praktičnim planom implementacije." Vesna Leskošek o implementaciji Programa borbe protiv Siromaštva i Socijalne isključenosti Republike Slovenije u publikaciji "Labirinth of Care – The Relevance of the Etics of Care Perspective for Social Policy" – Institute for Contemporary Social and Political Studies

Od projekata do sistemskih promena: Država i nevladin sektor u reformi socijalne zaštite i uloga Fonda za socijalne inovacije

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Uvod

Tekst predstavlja kratak pregled reforme sistema socijalne zaštite u Srbiji i specifične uloge koju Fond za socijalne inovacije (FSI) ima u tom procesu. Ovo je pogled učesnika promena, a ne nezavisna i kritička procena. Koliko je bilo moguće, autor je težio da pruži objektivnu sliku promena i prikaže teorijski i praktični kontekst u kome se one odvijaju. Istovremeno, sam tekst je usmeren na probleme i teškoće, manje nego na uspehe i dobra iskustva, jer autor smatra da se iz teškoća i grešaka nekada može više naučiti nego iz "primera dobre prakse".

Nasleđe

Kao i druge socijalističke zemlje, Srbija je kraj socijalizma dočekala sa etatizovanom socijalnom politikom. Država je obezbeđivala usluge koje su često bile nejednakog kvaliteta, ali ipak svima dostupne: besplatno obrazovanje i zdravstvena zaštita, dotirane stanarine za društvene stanove, vrlo često i subvencije za druge usluge (prevoz, hrana, odeća i sl.), vodila se politika punog zapošljavanja, a sama preduzeća bila su agenti socijalne politike (u oblasti zapošljavanja, ali i kroz stambenu politiku). Usluge socijalne zaštite pružali su centri za socijalni rad (CSR), ustanove za smeštaj korisnika (dece bez roditeljskog staranja, dece i odraslih osoba sa smetnjama u razvoju, starih itd.), kao i druge ustanove socijalne zaštite (prihvatilišta, prihvatne stanice, klubovi i dr.).

Postsocijalistička transformacija donela je brojne teške reforme u društvenoj, ekonomskoj i političkoj sferi. U grubim crtama, te promene uključivale su uvođenje naknada za nezaposlene, ukidanje mnogih subvencija (na primer, za stanovanje), privatizaciju nekih usluga (obrazovanje, zdravstvo, penziono osiguranje), prenošenje nekih nadležnosti na lokalni nivo, postepeno uvođenje trećeg sektora u domen pružalaca socijalnih usluga, kao i transformaciju velikih ustanova za smeštaj korisnika u korist usluga u mestu porekla korisnika.

Ove promene su u Srbiji imale još ozbiljnije posledice nego u mnogim istočnoevropskim zemljama, pre svega zbog ratova, sankcija, ali i odlaganja tržišnih i političkih reformi. Tako je početak pravih promena Srbija dočekala sa oslabljenim sistemom socijalne zaštite koji su činili, pre svega, centri za socijalni rad i ustanove za smeštaj korisnika, ali i značajan broj nevladinih organizacija (NVO), kako starih udruženja za samopomoć, tako i modernih, najčešće nastalih kao odgovor na nove potrebe ili na inicijativu ili uz pomoć međunarodnih donatora.

Sadašnji sistem socijalne zaštite – dominantna uloga CSR i ustanova za smeštaj korisnika

Sadašnji sistem ne razlikuje se bitno od nekadašnjeg i čine ga CSR, ustanove za smeštaj korisnika i druge ustanove (prihvatilišta, prihvatne stanice i sl.), kao i NVO-i koje se bave pružanjem usluga i zastupanjem prava korisnika. Jedan deo prava iz oblasti socijalne zaštite finansira se iz opštinskih, a drugi deo iz republičkog budžeta. Dominantnu ulogu

u sprovođenju socijalne zaštite u opštini ima CSR – osniva ga opština i njegov rad se finansira sa republičkog i lokalnih budžeta. Uloga CSR nije se promenila i on i dalje administrira većinu socijalnih davanja, koordinira pružanje usluga socijalnog rada i administrira zakonska prava iz oblasti zaštite odraslih, dece i porodice.

Ovakva struktura rada CSR podrazumeva čitav niz administrativnih poslova, što narušava balans između administrativnog i stručnog rada u funkcionisanju centara za socijalni rad (PRSP, 2003: 102). U poslednjoj deceniji 20. veka, tipičan CSR bio je pod velikim pritiskom novih korisnika, razapet između njihovih rastućih potreba i sve manjih finansijskih i ljudskih resursa. Kada su započeli međunarodni razvojni programi, centri su često bili izostavljani i većina programa bila je usmerena ka nevladinom sektoru, mada je teško reći da li je uzrok tome nepripremljen javni sektor ili nespremnost donatora da rade sa javnim sektorom. U svakom slučaju, promene iz 2000. godine centri za socijalni rad dočekali su sa stručnjacima u čiji profesionalni razvoj se nije dovoljno ulagalo, sa nedovoljno razvijenim programima i niskom motivacijom stručnog osoblja.

Druga strana rada CSR je *koordinacija i planiranje* lokalne socijalne zaštite. Za one programe koji su u nadležnosti lokalne samouprave, kao što su prihvatilišta, dnevni centri, pomoć i nega u kući i drugi, sama opština je formalno zadužena za planiranje, budžetiranje i kontrolu. U praksi, ti procesi odvijaju se malo drugačije: ili opština poveri CSR da napravi plan rada i budžet za narednu godinu ili sam CSR lobira za određene programe i finansijsku podršku iz lokalnog budžeta (cf. Vuković, Jovanović, Čalošević, Janša, 2005; Babović i Cvejić, 2005), dok sama opštinska uprava ostaje na margini planiranja i sprovođenja lokalne socijalne politike.

Konačno, CSR pruža i usluge socijalnog rada – preventivne delatnosti, dijagnostiku, tretman i savetodavno-terapijski rad – čiji je cilj pružanje stručne pomoći pojedincima, porodicama i društvenim grupama da rešavaju svoje životne teškoće ili pomoć u organizovanju lokalnih i drugih zajednica da sprečavaju socijalne probleme i ublažavaju posledice (ZSZ, član 48. stav 1). Kada je reč o ovim uslugama, analize su pokazale da te usluge nedovoljno izlaze u susret korisnicima, nisu otvorene prema zajednici i da u većini opština u Srbiji nisu dovoljno razvijene (cf. PRSP, 2003: 107; Vlada RS, 2005; Matković, 2006: 44 i dalje).

Posebnu pažnju treba posvetiti uslugama koje se odvijaju van ustanove ili CSR, u mestu življenja ili u stanu korisnika, odnosno, sve aktivnosti kojima pružalac usluge ide do korisnika, a ne očekuje da korisnici dođu kod njega (u službu) da bi dobili uslugu. Ovo su, zapravo, usluge na terenu (na primer, programi smanjenja ili kontrole štete kod dece ulice, mladih koji koriste psihoaktivne supstance i sl.) i predstavljaju slabu stranu rada CSR. One su nerazvijene zbog nedostatka sredstava u budžetima gradova i opština, nedovoljne zainteresovanosti za sistem socijalne zaštite, ali i inertnosti samog sistema i nemotivisanosti profesionalaca. To je prouzrokovalo favorizovanje smeštaja u ustanove i kada on nije neophodan (cf. Vlada RS, 2006: 14).

U pružanju usluga socijalne zaštite, važnu ulogu ima i nevladin sektor. Kao i u mnogim zemljama centralne i istočne Evrope, nevladin sektor u Srbiji u celini nije razvijen pružalac usluga socijalne zaštite, ali nekada pokazuje više dinamike i razumevanja za promenljive potrebe korisnika od statičnog i često konzervativnog javnog sektora. Međutim, nevladin sektor nije potpuno autonoman u planiranju usluge, već na taj proces jak uticaj imaju donatori, bilo da je reč o domaćim ili međunarodnim izvorima. Rezultat ovoga je vrlo parcijalan model aktivnosti – raspoloživost socijalnih usluga koje nevladine organizacije pružaju više zavisi od lokacije nego od analize socijalne potrebe unutar zajednica (PRSP, 2003: 113). Tako kreirane usluge onda nisu trajne, što stvara višestruku štetu usled naraslih, a neostvarenih očekivanja; organizacije i korisnici ne uspevaju da unaprede usluge, da iz svoje prakse generišu naučene lekcije koje bi bile relevantne za unapređenje rada i drugih pružalaca, pre svega CSR. Konačno, tako se stvara kultura zavisnosti i neaktivnosti ili reaktivnosti kod samih organizacija i lokalnih samouprava.

Dominantan javni sektor vs. kombinovana socijalna politika: Uloga države i NVO u socijalnoj zaštiti

U socijalističkom sistemu socijalne zaštite država je finansirala i pružala usluge preko javnog sektora. Naručilac je istovremeno i pružalac usluge i ne postoji nezavisna kontrola potreba korisnika, niti nezavisna kontrola kvaliteta (cf. Fox and Götestam, 2003). Ovakvom sistemu se prigovara da je birokratizovan, neefikasan i neinovativan (cf. Bežovan,

2000) i u njemu, kao uostalom i u brojnim savremenim javnim sektorima, službenici nemaju systemske podsticaje da javne fondove koriste na najefikasniji način, političari i javni službenici nemaju podsticaje da otvaraju usluge koje su namenjene najugroženijim stanovnicima, a sami korisnici nemaju podsticaje da racionalno koriste usluge (cf. Reddy and Pereira, 1998). Da bi se izbegle negativne strane države kao pružaoca servisa, koriste se kvazi-tržišni mehanizmi kako bi unapredili sistem pružanja usluga. Jedan od pristupa prihvaćen i u Srbiji jeste model naručilac-pružalac usluge koji podrazumeva pluralizaciju pružalaca usluga i razvoj tzv. *kombinovane socijalne politike* (cf. Vlada RS, 2005: 45, 56). Naime, predviđeno je da država naručuje usluge i da istovremeno podržava uvođenje više novih vrsta pružalaca usluga tako što će ovaj prostor otvoriti NVO-ima, profitnim firmama i pojedincima. Na taj način, mogu se dobiti usluge koje su bolje prilagođene potrebama korisnika, jeftinije su, odvijaju se u prirodnom okruženju, jačaju kapacitete korisnika i smanjuju nivo zavisnosti, te su sve skupa kvalitetnije.

NVO kao pružaoci usluga

U mnogim zemljama postoji duga tradicija pružanja usluga socijalne zaštite od strane nevladinih organizacija (SAD, Francuska, Holandija, Nemačka i druge), dok se neke razvijene zemlje, na primer, skandinavske, uglavnom oslanjaju na javni sektor u pružanju ovih usluga. Pobornici prve strategije tvrde da su nevladine organizacije fleksibilnije, prilagođene rešavanju individualnih problema, te da bolje razumeju probleme s kojima se pojedine grupe suočavaju, zato što s njima imaju direktan kontakt. Pojedincima je mnogo teže da priđu vladinim institucijama zbog birokratskih prepreka, a i zato što mnoge od tih institucija nemaju ispostave u udaljenim predelima i ne bave se direktno problemima s kojima se čovek u tim oblastima može suočiti (cf. Newman, 1999: 2-7). Pored toga, često se tvrdi i da su usluge koje pruža NVO sektor mnogo jeftinije i efikasnije, a i da "kultura" javnog sektora nije orijentisana prema klijentu (Fox and Götestam, 2003: 7).

Međutim, postoje i drugačija stanovišta, koja ukazuju na loše strane nevladinog sektora kao pružaoca usluga socijalne zaštite, a kao najvažnije izdvajaju se pitanje *kvaliteta, efikasnosti i cena* usluga. Neke analize pokazuju da nevladin sektor postiže viši kvalitet usluga, veću efikasnost i manju cenu kada sprovodi *usko definisane projekte* u oblastima u kojima ima značajno iskustvo i stručnost. Nasuprot tome, kada se bave široko definisanim razvojnim programima i složenim multi-sektorskim programima koje sprovode državni organi (koji zahtevaju i glomazne upravljačke aparate koji su, naravno, skuplji od jednostavnih NVO organizacionih struktura), NVO sektor daje mnogo lošije rezultate. (Clayton, 1996: 7-11).

Na kraju, neke od prednosti nevladinih organizacija u pružanju socijalnih usluga proističu iz njihove veze sa klijentima i ukorenjenosti u zajednici. Međutim, u mnogim zemljama državni fondovi namenjeni određenom tipu socijalnih usluga odlaze novim, visoko specijalizovanim NVO-ima koje su uspevale da pobede i javne ustanove i stare NVO-e koje su nastajale "u zajednici". Na taj način se gubio *grassroots* karakter nevladinih organizacija (cf. Clayton, 1996: 12-19), a one su dobijale loše odlike javnog sektora. Oni NVO-i koji su u *ugovornom odnosu* sa državom retko se bave politički kontroverznim pitanjima (kritika državnih programa, zastupanje interesa pojedinih grupa i sl.), te se na taj način gubi kritička i nezavisna uloga zastupnika prava i interesa pojedinih grupa korisnika.

Proces ugovaranja usluga od strane države, isto kao i donatorske strategije finansiranja projekata, dovode do "NVO-izacije" građanskog društva¹, zahvaljujući čemu ovom scenom dominiraju visoko-specijalizovane organizacije koje imaju jako usmerenje na zapošljavanje, jasnu organizacionu strukturu, visoke upravljačke sposobnosti itd. (cf. Bagić, 2004; Stubbs, 2007 i dr.). Na neki način, sve su to odlike profitnog sektora, te je i logično da se postavi pitanje: Da li je onda došlo do zamene uloga? Jedan direktan odgovor daje Lempert: Ključna uloga profesionalne NVO nije da pruža usluge u socijalnom sektoru, jer su firme mnogo efikasnije u pružanju usluga; uloga NVO je da razvija ideje i modele i tera vladu i privatni sektor da ih finansiraju i realizuju (Lempert, 2007: 13).

Ako je imperativ vlade da ugovara usluge, a ne postoji privatni sektor, onda ostaje da se vodi računa o tome da profesionalizovan i specijalizovan NVO sektor nema direktne podsticaje da poveća efikasnost kao privatni sektor, ali da

1 Govoreći o ženskom pokretu, Aida Bagić kaže da termin NVO-izacija implicira dve stvari. Prva se odnosi na povećanu tendenciju države da ugovara nevladine organizacije da rade na socijalnim problemima za koje država smatra da nije sposobna ili nema volje da ih rešava. Drugo značenje odnosi se na proces transformacije društvenih pokreta u profesionalne organizacije (Bagić, 2004: 19).

istovremeno nema ni utemeljnost širokih društvenih pokreta ili građanskih inicijativa. Ako, pak, se vlada oslanja na javni sektor, razlozi za odustajanje od angažovanja drugih izvođača usluga nisu ujedno i razlozi da se javni sektor ne reformiše i unapredi njegova odgovornost.

Kapacitet države da upravlja promenama

Praktična i teorijska pozadina ideje o uvođenju NVO-a u pružanje usluga nalazi se u idejama o novoj javnoj upravi. Naime, 80-tih i 90-tih godina 20. veka, počeo je proces reformi javne uprave u SAD, Velikoj Britaniji i drugim razvijenim zemljama. Ove promene mogle bi se ukratko opisati kao prelazak sa centralizovanih, birokratizovanih i hijerarhijski ustrojenih državnih aparata na decentralizovane modele odlučivanja i pružanja usluga, veća orijentacija ka rezultatima i efikasnosti, uvođenje privatnog profitnog i neprofitnog sektora u pružanje usluga i ugovaranje usluga od strane države (Mathiasen, 1999). Promene su bile motivisane praktičnim razlozima, to jest, željom da se smanje troškovi javne uprave i poveća njena efikasnost, ali i ideološkim uticajem neoliberalnih ideja o minimalnoj državi i tržištu.

Ovaj model je, pod uticajem donatora, postepeno presađivan i u zemlje u razvoju i tranziciji. Međutim, njihova primena naišla je na prepreke u vidu slabih administrativnih kapaciteta, korupcije, nerazvijenog privatnog sektora itd. (za neke primere, cf. World Bank, 1997, Polidano, 1999; kad je reč o administrativnim kapacitetima lokalnih samouprava u Srbiji da vode lokalnu socijalnu politiku, slične nalaze daje i Čalošević, 2006). Svetska banka je takođe priznala taj problem u svom izveštaju o razvoju iz 1997. godine, tvrdeći da je projekat razvoja koji se oslanjao na državu propao, ali da će se isto desiti i s projektom koji bude ignorisao državu. U izveštaju se naglašava da su potrebni značajni kapaciteti i volja da se pripreme i sprovedu ugovori, posebno kod socijalni usluga čije rezultate je teško specifikovati. Države koje su manje sposobne da sprovedu složene ugovore i imaju slabu birokratsku kontrolu koja bi ograničila arbitrarno ponašanje pod fleksibilnim sistemima upravljanja, moraju biti oprezne (World Bank, 1997: 87). Zbog toga, stručnjaci Svetske banke upozoravaju da se reformisti ne smeju usmeriti samo na unapređenje mera, već moraju jačati i institucionalno okruženje u kojima će se te mere sprovesti (World Bank, 1997: 33).

Istraživanja sprovedena u bivšim socijalističkim zemljama daju slične rezultate. Iskustva iz Rusije su da je za ugovaranje usluga od strane države potreban izvor finansiranja, pravičan i otvoren proces nadmetanja, dobar ugovor i sposobnost lokalnih vlasti da prati realizaciju ugovora, kako bi se izvođači držali odgovornim. Kao prepreka, javlja se i manjak kompetencija i iskustva lokalnih samouprava (Stuyrk, 2003: 5, 67-71). Analize iz Srbije ukazuju na probleme u vezi sa neodgovornošću vlasti, nesposobnosti da se javne i zakonske obaveze sprovedu u delo, te nepostojanje mehanizama pritiska i zastupanja od strane korisnika ili građana (Lampert, 2007; Matković, 2006; Čalošević, 2006 itd.).

Nove usluge i novi pružaoci: Strategija reforme

Strategija razvoja socijalne zaštite u Srbiji, koju je Vlada Srbije usvojila 2005. godine, predviđa da CSR odlučuje o pravima korisnika radi procene najpovoljnije, odnosno, najcelishodnije usluge, koju pak, može pružiti javna ustanova, nevladina organizacija (NVO) ili privatni preduzetnik, te da se većina usluga pruža ne u ustanovama, već u prirodnom okruženju korisnika. Međutim, da bi takav sistem zaživeo, potrebno je da se dogodi čitav niz promena koje se tiču transformacije ustanova i razvoja alternativnih usluga u prirodnom okruženju korisnika. Uslovi za te promene, su, pak, administrativna i fiskalna decentralizacija, uvođenje standarda kvaliteta i sistema licenciranja pružalaca usluga, jačanje stručnih, administrativnih i upravljačkih kapaciteta lokalnih samouprava i pružalaca usluga i uvođenje nezavisne kontrole rada javnog sektora.

Od ustanove do zajednice: Transformacija

Za razliku od bivših socijalističkih zemalja, u zemljama Zapadne Evrope i u SAD, već u drugoj polovini 20. veka stručna javnost sve glasnije zastupa stanovišta koja govore u prilog prelasku sa institucionalnog smeštaja na razvoj usluga u zajednici, odnosno, otvorene oblike zaštite. Najvažniji faktor koji je doprineo prelasku na alternativne oblike zaštite jeste cena usluga: različite studije pokazale su da je cena vaninstitucionalnog smeštaja manja nego zbrinjavanje u usta-

novi. U Rumuniji, cena smeštaja deteta u instituciju više je nego duplo veća od cene otvorenih oblika zaštite i smeštaja u profesionalnu hraniteljsku porodicu, dok je cena usvojenja ili reintegracije u porodicu više od 10 puta manja (Cf. Tobis, 2000: 30). U Srbiji, prosečna cena smeštaja u domu je najmanje za 30% veća; naime, cena smeštaja je 201€ mesečno, a prosečna cena porodičnog smeštaja je 152€. Najveća cena je u domovima za decu bez roditeljskog staranja (238€), zatim u domovima za stare i penzionere (198€), a najmanja u domovima za lica ometena u razvoju (167€). Ovi podaci ne uključuju troškove zdravstvene zaštite, opreme i investicija (cf. Lišanin, 2005), tako da je stvarna razlika između cena smeštaja u ustanovu i cena zaštite u prirodnom okruženju daleko veća.

Takođe, smatra se da je zbrinjavanje u otvorenim oblicima zaštite bolje za korisnike jer ustanove odlikuje nedostatak individualizovane brige, strogo organizovane dnevne aktivnosti, izolacija i stigmatizacija. Neka istraživanja sprovedena u Rusiji pokazuju da trećina dece koja napuste ustanove postaju beskućnici, četvrtina ima kriminalni dosije, a svako deseto počinio samoubistvo. Još jasniju indikaciju uticaja ustanova na decu bez roditeljskog staranja daje podatak da je 1 od 10 maloletnih prestupnika odgajan u javnim ustanovama (Tobis, 2000: 33).

Strategija razvoja socijalne zaštite Srbije predviđa transformaciju ustanova za smeštaj korisnika i stavljanje naglaska na usluge socijalne zaštite u mestu porekla i podršku prirodnoj porodici (otvoreni oblici zaštite sprečavaju ili odlažu odlazak korisnika u instituciju, a s druge strane, omogućavaju povratak korisnika iz ustanova u sredinu porekla). Tokom 2006. godine, Ministarstvo rada, zapošljavanja i socijalne politike izradilo je individualne planove tretmana za svu decu bez roditeljskog staranja koja su smeštena u ustanovama, a do kraja godine trebalo je da donese srednjoročni plan transformacije ustanova, kao i posebne planove transformacije za svaku ustanovu (Vlada RS, 2005: 49-50). Međutim, osim značajnog povećanja broja dece u hraniteljskim porodicama (3500 naspram 1700 u ustanovama, prema UNICEF, 2007: 31), do značajnijih sistemskih promena još uvek nije došlo.

Lokalna samouprava: Važan ali nepouzdan faktor

Važnu kariku u stvaranju novog sistema zasnovanog na uslugama u zajednici predstavljaju lokalne samouprave. Prema Zakonu o socijalnoj zaštiti i obezbeđivanju socijalne sigurnosti (ZSZ), u nadležnosti lokalne samouprave je otvaranje nekoliko vrsta otvorenih usluga socijalne zaštite: pomoć u kući, dnevni boravak, kao i privremeni smeštaj u prihvatilište, oprema korisnika za smeštaj u ustanovu ili drugu porodicu i jednokratna pomoć. Opština ili grad imaju zakonsku dužnost da obezbede građanima prava u oblasti socijalne zaštite, ali zakon ne predviđa mehanizam koji bi primorao lokalne samouprave da ispune svoje obaveze. Sami korisnici imaju male mogućnosti da nateraju državu da poštuje njihova prava.

Retke su opštine koje svoje obaveze u oblasti socijalne zaštite u potpunosti realizuju. Razlozi su u konstantnom nedostatku finansijskih sredstava, izostanku kontrole realizacije prava koje je lokalna samouprava u obavezi da ostvari, te nepostojanju utvrđenih kriterija o minimalnoj stopi izdvajanja iz budžeta opština za socijalnu zaštitu (Vlada RS, 2005: 44). Pored toga, same opštinske administracije oslanjaju se na kapacitete CSR-a da planira i predlaže mere, a neki centri za socijalni rad nemaju proaktivan pristup, što ne podstiče otvaranje usluga (cf. Vuković, Jovanović, Čalošević, Janša, 2005). Konačno, pošto sistem nije zasnovan na pravima korisnika i eksplicitnoj mogućnosti da oni tuže državu, ne postoji ni taj mehanizam podsticaja za uspostavljanje odgovarajućih usluga (cf. Lempert, 2007: 94 ff.). Zahvaljujući ovakvom spletu okolnosti, prema nekim podacima (Vlada RS, 2005: 45), u više od 100 opština ne postoje usluge podrške za stare i osobe sa invaliditetom u prirodnom okruženju.

Podrška razvoju mreže usluga u zajednici: Uloga Fonda za socijalne inovacije

Do 2002. godine investiranja u razvoj lokalnih socijalnih usluga u Srbiji nisu bila koordinirana sa nacionalnom politikom (koja tada još uvek nije bila formulisana u obliku jedinstvenog strateškog dokumenta) i u velikoj meri bila su usmerena ka nevladinim organizacijama. Takva situacija, naravno, nije dovela do obnavljanja javnog sektora i stvaranja mreže usluga sposobne da apsorbuje narastajuće potrebe stanovništva. Zato je tadašnje Ministarstvo za socijalna pitanja

ustanovilo dva fonda – Fond za socijalne inovacije i Fond za finansiranje organizacija osoba sa invaliditetom (FOSI)² – s višestrukim ciljevima: da obezbede otvaranje novih usluga i uključivanje novih korisnika u sistem socijalne zaštite, da podignu kvalitet usluga i kapacitet pružalaca usluga, da obezbede jednak geografski razvoj usluga, te da pružaju informacije za kreiranje novih mera³.

Organizaciona struktura i status: Privremena rešenja i dileme

Fond za socijalne inovacije je program Ministarstva rada i socijalne politike Srbije. Njegovim radom upravlja ministarstvo, Jedinica za upravljanje i Programski savet. Jedinica za upravljanje FSI ima delimičnu autonomiju u odnosu na resorno ministarstvo koja je rezultat partnerskog angažovanja Programa Ujedinjenih nacija za razvoj (UNDP) i resornog ministarstva na uspostavljanju i vođenju ovog programa. Programski savet FSI daje strateške smernice za rad FSI-a i čine ga, pre svega, predstavnici ministarstva, donatora i organizacija građanskog društva, kao i osoblje Fonda.

Dosadašnje evaluacije pokazale su da je, zahvaljujući relativnoj samostalnosti u delovanju, FSI mogao da ispolji veću fleksibilnost, manju birokratizovanost, responzivnost na pojedinačne inicijative i potrebe, jednostavnija administrativna pravila i brzinu, ali i otpornost na česte političke promene. Istovremeno, takav status predstavlja i nedostatak, jer FSI nema atribut pravnog lica, niti ovlašćenja ministarstva ili jednog njegovog dela, ne postiže programsku i stratešku konzistenciju, niti je odgovoran (eng. *accountable*) korisnicima, odnosno građanima (za detalje cf. Lempert, 2007; Bagić and MacKellar, 2007). Iskustva fondova za socijalne investicije Svetske banke pokazuju da velika autonomija onemogućava da se aktivnosti usklade sa aktivnostima ostalih vladinih ustanova, da dovodi do stvaranja velikih birokratskih struktura koje s vremenom same počinju da pate od nedostataka državne birokratije (cf. Tandler, 2000)⁴. Na žalost, ni stvaranje jedinica za implementaciju projekta nije dalo bolje rezultate, jer je po pravilu vodilo ka gubljenju odgovornosti i inicijative resornih ministarstava za sprovođenje promena, što posebno loše posledice ostavlja u politički krhkom i institucionalno slabom okruženju.

Sadašnji status je zamišljen kao prelazno rešenje⁵ u stanju očekivane političke neizvesnosti i nejasne uloge koju bi FSI imao u budućem sistemu socijalne zaštite. Do sada se pojavilo nekoliko predloga za trajno rešavanje statusa FSI – od ugrađivanja u ministarstvo, preko prisajedinjenja novoosnovanom Zavodu za socijalnu zaštitu, do osamostaljivanja. Sva-ko od ovih rešenja ima svoje prednosti i mane, koje zavise od konteksta i, posebno, željenih ciljeva fonda. Zato je važno napomenuti da odluka o ciljevima fonda svakako logički prethodi pitanju o pravnom statusu i idealno gledano, u skladu s tim bi trebalo da se kreira i odgovarajuća organizaciona struktura i model odlučivanja⁶.

2 Ova dva fonda godišnje investiraju do 3.5 miliona € u razvoj lokalnih usluga za ranjive kategorije, što na godišnjem nivou doprinosi ostvarivanju ili sprovođenju preko 200 usluga i projekata. Inače, ukupni izdaci lokalnih samouprava za socijalnu zaštitu iznose oko 22 miliona €.

3 Dosadašnje analize utvrdile su da je FSI za EAR i UNDP bio mehanizam za uključivanje NVO sektora u procese smanjivanja siromaštva, a za ministarstvo za socijalnu politiku, mehanizam za unapređenje sistema usluga (cf. Allen, 2005; Bagić and MacKellar, 2007), te da se postepeno okretao od "inovacija" ka "investicijama" (Lempert, 2007). Ta višeslojnost misije dovela je do brojnih teškoća u radu, o kojima će kasnije biti reči.

4 Argumentacija J.Tandler zasniva se na analizi južnoameričkih investicionih fondova koji imaju višestruko veće prosečne budžete nego FSI. No, time se ne umanjuje značaj ovog argumenta koji se može zasnivati i na jednostavnoj birokratskoj inerciji, naročito u uslovima višestrukih izvora finansiranja.

5 Štaviše, i sam FSI je u osnivačkim aktima definisan kao tranzicioni mehanizam.

6 Kada je reč o modelima odlučivanja i njihovoj primenljivosti za različite ciljeve, zanimljiva je rasprava o modelima odlučivanja Saha i Stiglitz (Sah, Stiglitz, 1986). Oni pokazuju da kada se odlučuje u hijerarhijskim strukturama (u kojima samo jedna osoba ili mali broj donosi odluke, kao na primer, u birokratskim sistemima), manja je verovatnoća da će se prihvatiti loš projekat, ali je istovremeno veća verovatnoća greške odbijanja dobrog projekta. Sasvim suprotno, kada se odlučuje u poliarhijskom sistemu (u kome postoje više donosilaca odluka koji samostalno odlučuju, kao na primer, na tržištu), veća je verovatnoća da se pojavi greška prihvatanja lošeg projekta, ali i verovatnoća da se prihvati dobar projekat. Njihova razmatranja imaju relevanciju kako za definisanje unutrašnje organizacije fondova, tako i za njihovo pozicioniranje u širem zakonskom i institucionalnom okruženju. Na nivou strukture organizacije, ako je cilj inovacija, onda je primerenije poliarhijsko odlučivanje, a ako je reč o targetiranim investicijama u javni sektor, onda je verovatno primerenije hijerarhijsko odlučivanje. Sličnu logiku u uspostavljanju mehanizama za odlučivanje o projektima koji će se finansirati predlaže i Jack: ako je cilj određene intervencije kroz projekte da se dode do posebne kategorije ugroženih, a prelivanje sredstava se da tolerisati, onda je ravna

Podrška projektima

Od kada je osnovan, krajem 2002. godine, Fond za socijalne inovacije finansirao je 212 projekata koje su sprovodili CSR, NVO-i i drugi akteri iz preko 70 opština u Srbiji. Pored toga, FSI je kontinuirano radio na podizanju stručnih i upravljačkih kapaciteta CSR-a, NVO-a i ustanova za pružanje usluga kroz brojne seminare, priručnike, uputstva, sastanke itd. Do sada, preko 600 stručnjaka prošlo je kroz edukacije FSI (kako iz organizacija koje su dobile sredstva za projekte, tako i iz onih koje su bile neuspešne), a objavljeno je i nekoliko priručnika.

Do sada je FSI finansirao projekte koji uvode nove metode rada u javne ustanove, edukuju kadrove, uvode nove pružaoce usluga i nove korisnike. Mnoge od usluga su po prvi put testirane i razvijane u Srbiji upravo zahvaljujući sredstvima FSI-a (medijacija, multisektorski programi za sprečavanje porodičnog nasilja, aktivnosti u udaljenim zajednicama itd.). Većina projekata trebalo je da razvije usluge socijalne zaštite u zajednici. Najveći problem s kojim se pružaoci ovih usluga susreću jeste *održivost*: od usluga koje finansira opština, oko pola ovih usluga je prešlo na privremeno ili trajno finansiranje iz opštinskog budžeta, dok se ostatak još uvek finansira na projektnoj osnovi ili su pak ugašene⁷. Tako se i na ovom primeru pokazuje da je jedno od ključnih pitanja reforme sistema socijalne zaštite kako da se obezbedi da lokalne samouprave finansiraju one usluge koje su u njihovoj nadležnosti⁸.

Neki autori (cf. Smale, 1998) smatraju da lokalni i pilot projekti predstavljaju dobar način da se razvije inovacija, ali ne i metod za širenje novih oblika rada, jer polaze od lažne pretpostavke da će se dobra iskustva iz projekta ugraditi u nova rešenja, a da će loša iskustva biti odbačena. Poslednja evaluacija FSI-a otkrila je da ima malo prenošenja novih pristupa na nacionalni nivo, te da razlog leži u tome što resorno ministarstvo nema struktura za koordinisanje mera kako bi postiglo implementaciju na nivou cele zemlje, niti je, kao nužan preduslov, sprovedena fiskalna decentralizacija (Bagić and MacKellar, 2007: 19). Jedna kasnija analiza pravnog i institucionalnog okruženja u oblasti socijalne zaštite u Srbije, identifikovala je ključne *zakonske promene* koje bi morale da nastupe da bi inovacije i novi modeli rada razvijeni kroz neke projekte FSI dobili širu primenu (cf. Lempert, 2007). Dosadašnji uspesi mogu se zahvaliti nesistemskim faktorima – jedini uhvatljiv činilac jeste aktivnost pružalaca usluga – a ne promenama u zakonima i načinu finansiranja usluge.

Uprkos nedostacima na centralnom nivou, moramo se zapitati zašto opštine tako teško preuzimaju proaktivnu ulogu u ovoj oblasti. Teško da bismo mogli izdvojiti jedan faktor koji odlučujuće utiče na ovakvu situaciju u oblasti lokalne socijalne zaštite. Na stav opštinske administracije utiču politički prioriteti (a u toj oblasti vlada velika konkurencija u kojoj se pitanja socijalne zaštite teško mogu izboriti za prioritet), kapacitet opštinske administracije i centra za socijalni rad, te nivo izdvajanja iz opštinskog budžeta za socijalnu zaštitu (u proseku, opštine izdvajaju 1.8%, odnosno od 0.1% do 5%, cf. Lišanin, 2005). Drugi važan faktor jeste rašireno opredeljenje opštinskih vlasti da sprovode programe davanja materijalne pomoći ugroženim stanovnicima, pre nego da finansiraju otvaranje usluga⁹. Ti programi su, u principu, vidljiviji i imaju veći politički efekat¹⁰. Pored ovih, uslovno rečeno, kontingentnih faktora, postoje i sistemski. Naime, sistem finansiranja usluga socijalne zaštite je tako kreiran da ne nudi nijedan podsticaj opštinskim vlastima da razvijaju usluge socijalne

hijerarhija poželjna. Ako su, pak, budžetska ograničenja stroga, onda se zahteva model odlučivanja sa većim stepenom konsenzusa (Jack, 2000: 7).

- 7 Analiza rađena za potrebe FSI pokazala je da usluge koje su uspele da se održe, to treba da zahvale proaktivnim lokalnim centrima za socijalni rad. Oni su se pokazali kao uspešniji lobisti od nevladinih organizacija zahvaljujući, pre svega, posebnom položaju CSR prema lokalnoj samoupravi (Stojadinović i Lučić, 2006).
- 8 Mnogo bolji rezultati postignuti su na polju podizanja upravljačkih i stručnih kapaciteta organizacija koje pružaju ove usluge. Iako se ovim statističkim prikazom kapacitet organizacije poistovećuje sa podobnošću prema zahtevima donatora (cf. Bagić, 2004), prvobitna podrška FSI dovela je do toga da je procenat formalno neispravnih kvalifikacija (kao jedno od merila za kapacitet organizacije da upravlja programima) pao sa jedne četvrtine u 2003. godini, na konstantnih 12-13% u poslednjih nekoliko godina. Tome treba dodati i brojne edukacije koje su stručnjaci iz javnog i nevladinog sektora prošli kao deo projekata koje su realizovali.
- 9 Tokom 2005. godine, među uslugama koje se finansiraju iz budžeta opština i gradova, dominantne su bile jednokratna pomoć u novcu (55.762 porodice) i jednokratna pomoć u naturi (18.124 porodica), dok je pomoć u kući primalo 3.858 lica, privremeni smeštaj u prihvatilište ili prihvatnu stanicu 647 lica, a usluge dnevnog boravka 1.977 lica (MRZSP, 2006: 14).
- 10 Slična je situacija i u Mađarskoj, gde su sredstva za lokalne usluge socijalne zaštite i socijalnu pomoć spojene u jednu budžetsku liniju. To predstavlja podsticaj vlastima da građanima daju socijalnu pomoć, jer na taj način smanjuju troškove usluge, te je novčana korist koju lokalno stanovništvo ima gotovo izjednačen sa iznosom koji opština potroši. Taj pristup je, takođe, i politički profitabilan. S druge strane,

zaštite. Većina usluga pruža se u ustanovama, a za finansiranje ustanova odgovorna je republička vlada. Zato lokalne vlasti i CSR nemaju interes da korisnika zadrže u zajednici i tu mu pruže uslugu jer ne plaćaju smeštaj, a slanjem korisnika u ustanovu smanjuje se i obim posla CSR-a.

Alternativne strategije: Projekti, planiranje i reforma javnog sektora

Prve dve godine rada FSI-a bile su posvećene promovisanju ideje o pokretanju reformski orijentisanih lokalnih programa, podršci centrima za socijalni rad i ustanovama da unaprede svoje administrativne i upravljačke kapacitete kako bi efikasnije aplicirale za fondove i organizovanje stručnih seminara i edukacija. Na kraju ovog perioda, bile su razvijene brojne usluge socijalne zaštite u zajednici. Geografska pokrivenost bila je nedovoljna, ali je ipak uključivala ispodprosečno razvijene opštine (cf. Vuković, 2007). Sve usluge zavisile su od zainteresovanosti lokalnih samouprava da ih uključe u redovne opštinske budžete (budući da osim sporadičnih i neznatnih donacija nevladinom sektoru, drugi mehanizmi, kao što su planiranje, ugovaranje i slično, nisu postojali). Konačno, ovaj period rada obeležio je nedostatak jasne strategije za upravljanje procesima na nacionalnom i lokalnom nivou. Ovo je bila prva faza u radu FSI-a, faza *finansiranje projekata i edukacija osoba*.

Od 2005/2006. godine, resorno ministarstvo i FSI usmerili su se na rad sa lokalnim samoupravama, s idejom da se kroz procese strateškog planiranja na opštinskom nivou obezbedi savezništvo lokalnih samouprava za unapređenje lokalnih usluga¹¹. Procesom lokalnog planiranja socijalne politike obuhvaćeno je više od dve trećine opština u Srbiji. Taj proces se dopunjuje i dodelom grantova za sprovođenje jednog ili više prioriteta iz lokalnih strategija. Ovo je druga faza u radu FSI, faza *lokalnog socijalnog planiranja*. Ovaj proces omogućava jače uključivanje lokalnih samouprava u socijalnu politiku, ali istovremeno nailazi na sistemske teškoće u vezi sa adekvatnim predstavljanjem korisničkih grupa i uključivanjem novih aktera u domen pružalaca usluga¹². Konačno, on sam po sebi ne predstavlja dugoročan odgovor u nedostatku temeljnih zakonskih promena, pažljivog prenosa nadležnosti, podsticanja tržišta pružalaca usluga drugim sredstvima osim subvencionisanja ponude itd.

Zanimljiv primer su opštinski koordinacioni odbori za socijalnu politiku, koji su trebali da omoguće transparentno lokalno planiranje i ugovaranje usluga. Analiza sprovedena za potrebe FSI-a (Čalošević, 2006), pokazala je da oni u najvećem broju slučajeva ne dovode do izmena opštinskih budžeta ili dugoročnih promena u opštinskoj administraciji, često se vide samo kao uslov za dobijanje donatorske pomoći, uspostavljeni su kao privremeni, a ne trajni mehanizmi za planiranje, praćenje i upravljanje socijalnom politikom na teritoriji opštine. Zato se proces uspostavljanja ovih tela može posmatrati i kao *projektizacija* nečega što je trebalo da predstavlja dugoročnu *institucionalnu politiku*. Na to su uticali kako uslovi donatorskog finansiranja, tako i nedostatak zakonskih izmena koje predstavljaju osnov institucionalnih promena u srpskom pravnom okruženju.

Od 2006. godine, resorno ministarstvo je donelo niz sistemskih mera koje deblokiraju neke od reformskih procesa. Naime, izrađeni su individualni planovi tretmana za decu bez roditeljskog staranja u ustanovama, postavljen moratorijum na prijem dece mlađe od 3 godine (što je preduslov za deinstitutionalizaciju i čitav niz odgovarajućih promena) i regrutovane su nove hraniteljske porodice. FSI trenutno finansira 13 velikih projekata koji imaju za cilj da stvore neke preduslove za transformaciju ustanova za decu i okviru njih razvija se hraniteljstvo (uključujući i specijalizovano), nove usluge u ustanovama (dnevni centri, samostalno stanovanje itd.) i usluge podrške prirodnim porodicama. Ovi programi pobudili su veliko interesovanje ustanova (prijavilo se 62% ustanova, a 45% je obuhvaćeno projektima), povećali su

ako žele da otvaraju servise, lokalne samouprave moraju da plaćaju poreze i doprinose, pa je novčana korist koju stanovnici imaju manja od polovine sredstava koju opština potroši (Tausz, 2003: 61).

11 Lokalno socijalno planiranje bilo je zamišljeno istovremeno kao sredstvo za jače uključivanje lokalnih vlasti u oblast socijalne politike, ali i za pluralizaciju pružalaca usluga kroz opštinske konkurse za projekte, odnosno, usluge.

12 Analize fondova za socijalne investicije, pokazuju da programi zasnovani na (lokalnoj) tražnji imaju značajne probleme sa artikulacijom potreba i prioriteta. Kada zajednica formuliše svoje potrebe, one često idu na uštrb realnih potreba najsiromašnijih stanovnika (npr. Tendler, 2000: 118), a odluke su često pod uticajem administracije, preduzetnika ili uticajnih pojedinaca. Po analogiji, moglo bi se zaključiti da izbor projektnih aktivnosti koje vrše lokalni partneri FSI-a, takođe može biti više u interesu pružaoca usluga, nego direktan odgovor na interese najugroženijih grupa (sličan prigovor daje i Lempert, 2007).

motivisanost nekih profesionalaca, ali istovremeno doveli i do jakih otpora u ustanovama. Prate ih različite poruke sa nacionalnog nivoa i nesigurna budućnost u 2008. godini. Kao delimični nastavak ovih aktivnosti, FSI će od 2007/2008. godine finansirati razvoj 16 regionalnih centara za hraniteljstvo i opremanje stanova za samostalno stanovanje i programa podrške koji će se u njima sprovoditi.

Ovo je treća faza u radu FSI, faza *reforme javnog sektora*. Nju karakterišu direktne investicije u programe resornog ministarstva koje prate brojna nerešena pitanja: Da li je to transformacija ustanova? Da li se time otvara tržište novih usluga i novih pružalaca? Koje zakonske i sistemske promene su potrebne za održavanje efekata dosadašnjih investicija? Koji mehanizmi zaštite prava korisnika se predviđaju?

Naučene lekcije

Proces koji je do sada opisan nudi više tema za raspravu, nego gotovih recepata kojim putem ići, a kojim ne. Mnoge od tih tema tiču se bolnih promena u javnom sektoru, promena tokova novca, ali i povećanja kontrole od strane korisnika različitih vrsta usluga. Pitanje koje je na neki način referentni okvir za promene je: šta u javnom sektoru ne funkcioniše dobro, odnosno, koje od potreba ili prava korisnika javni sektor ne ispunjava i šta je tačno lek za taj nedostatak (novi standardi, novi pružaoci, reforma javnog sektora i sistema finansiranja, jačanje postojećih mreža solidarnosti, reforma obrazovanja itd.)? Dosadašnji rad Fonda za socijalne inovacije svakako ne daje odgovore na sva pitanja, jer je uloga Fonda u reformi socijalne zaštite bila ograničena. Osim toga, za sveobuhvatnu ocenu potrebna je i vremenska i lična distanca, koju ovaj autor nema. No, neke indicije svakako postoje.

Inovacije i promene

Podrška inovacijama nije isto što i podrška investicijama. Podrška inovacijama zahteva, pre svega, specifičan i nezavisan fond koji će biti bliži oblasti istraživanja i razvoja nego javnoj upravi, kao i jak državni aparat koji će inovacije moći da evaluira i eventualno pretvori u sistemska rešenja. Podrška investicijama zahteva, pak, jasan i dugoročan strateški okvir i ništa manje sposoban javni aparat koji će ih sprovoditi. Obe koncepcije mogu biti legitimne, ali zahtevaju različite organizacione strukture i različit status fonda koji će ih sprovoditi. Na nivou projekata, evaluacije rada FSI pokazale su da je pogrešno očekivati da će jedan projekat moći da razvije inovativnu ideju, sprovede je kroz projekat i pokaže da će imati dugoročan efekat, te na osnovu toga obezbedi održivost usluge (Lempert, 2007: 22). Na taj način, mešaju se tri zadatka: *inovacija, implementacija i pretvaranje u stabilno sistemsko rešenje (održivost)*.

Podrška projektima ne dovodi do sistemskih promena ako država ne obezbedi efikasne mehanizme da dobra rešenja postanu redovna praksa. Ti mehanizmi mogu biti različiti: fiskalna, administrativna i sektorska decentralizacija, promena načina finansiranja usluga, međusektorska saradnja, podsticanje autonomnih građanskih inicijativa, stvaranje pravnog okvira u kome će građani i korisnici vršiti pritisak na državu za unapređenje njenog rada itd. No, nalazi i zaključci dobijeni iz realizovanih projekata svakako mogu poslužiti kao preporuke za dalji rad i strategije. Ukoliko ne postoji moć apsorpcije na centralnom nivou, onda dolazi do nečeg što bismo mogli nazvati "horizontalni transfer" – stručnjaci i organizacije spontano preuzimaju dobre modele rada i ugrađuju ih u svoju praksu.

Grantovima se pruža podrška na strani pružalaca, dok je potrebna i komplementarna mera zakonskih i drugih promena kojima bi se uklonile prepreke i otvorilo tržište pružalaca usluga. Time bi se ustanovila potražnja za uslugama koja bi bila podsticaj za najefikasnije i najdelotvornije pružaoce (za detalje, cf. Lempert, 2007: 62 ff.).

Konačno, fokus na resorno ministarstvo i pružaoce usluga (iz javnog ili privatnog sektora), bez uključivanja stručne javnosti, medija, drugih sektora itd., donosi samo parcijalne efekte. Otvaranje javne rasprave o merama i politikama može biti bolna inicijativa, pogotovo za konzervativne i hijerarhizovane javne uprave kakve smo nasledili iz perioda socijalizma, ali već na kratke staze, ona doprinosi većoj odgovornosti i delotvornosti.

Razvoj usluga u zajednici

Jedna od najvažnijih strategija kod razvoja lokalnih usluga jeste da one budu što ravnomernije razvijene u različitim delovima zemlje. Država ima obavezu da pruži određene usluge i svi građani, bez obzira na mesto u kome žive, imaju ta prava. Zato država garantuje za ostvarenje minimuma ovih prava i zato razvija neke mehanizme za ravnomeran razvoj usluga i adekvatnu alokaciju centralnih fondova.

Za stvaranje mreže lokalnih usluga potrebni su, osim valjanih zakona, i postepena decentralizacija i sistem finansiranja usluga koji je usaglašen sa željenim ishodima. U decentralizovanom sistemu, neke od usluga o kojima je ovde reč trebalo bi da se odvijaju na opštinskom nivou, neke bi uvek ostale na centralnom¹³, dok bi se neke ustanovile na međuopštinskom nivou. U treću grupu usluga mogla bi se uvrstiti prihvatilišta i prihvatne stanice, te neke specijalizovane usluge koje zbog ekonomije obima treba ustanovljavati za veće celine (na primer, usluge za određene kategorije osoba sa invaliditetom, regionalna ili međuopštinska služba za podršku hraniteljskih porodica i dece na hraniteljstvu, kao i službu za obuku personalnih asistenata i osoba sa invaliditetom za ulogu poslodavaca prema personalnim asistentima). Da bi se uspostavio takav sistem potrebno je da postoji delotvoran treći nivo vlasti (region) ili dovoljno jak sistemski podsticaji sa centralnog nivoa kojim bi se motivisale opštine i lokalni pružaoci usluga da sarađuju¹⁴.

Zaključak

U Srbiji, reforma sistema socijalne zaštite odvija se u kontinuitetu punih pet godina, od uspostavljanja prve demokratski izabrane vlade i početka pravih društvenih reformi do danas. Politička podrška reformama, kako iznutra, tako i spolja, nije jenjavala tokom ovog perioda. Socijalna zaštita je uspela da privuče značajnu međunarodnu finansijsku i stručnu pomoć. Prema sadašnjem stanju stvari, ta intenzivna pomoć državi biće na raspolaganju još najmanje tri godine. Uprkos toj dosta svetloj slici, pred sistem socijalne zaštite u Srbiji, resorno ministarstvo i stručnu javnost postavljaju se brojna teška pitanja. Na neka od njih smo se osvrnuli i u ovom tekstu. U narednom periodu, sam sistem biće suočen s novim problemima: javljaće se novi socijalni problemi i novi korisnici, programi transformacije ustanova trebalo bi da započnu, uvodiće se nov način rada u javnom sektoru, zapoćeće složene operacije kreiranja novih tokova finansiranja, itd. Te promene mogu proizvesti otpor i zahtevaće jasne mere i institucije sposobne da ih sprovede. Zato se čini da najvažnije pitanje s koji će se nosioci promena suočiti glasi: Da li će sledeći ciklus reformi biti prilika da se menja strukturni okvir u kome se reforme sprovode ili je okvir dovoljno dobar (to jest, nudi dovoljno kompetencija, motivacije i efikasnosti) da se sprovođenje promena može odmah nastaviti?

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13 Iskustva zemalja u tranziciji su da ustanove treba da ostanu u nadležnosti centralne vlasti. Ukoliko se nadležnost prebaci na opštinske vlasti, one nemaju podsticaj da ih zatvaraju i otvaraju alternativne servise, jer tako čuvaju viši nivo zaposlenosti (Fox and Götestam, 2003: 19-23). Strategija razvoja socijalne zaštite predviđa da samo visoko specijalizovane usluge budu finansirane sa republičkog nivoa (Vlada RS, 2005: 20). U vezi s tim, G. Matković predlaže da hraniteljstvo bude i dalje finansirano sa republičkog nivoa da bi se obezbedila redovna isplata naknada za hranitelje i tako očuvala mreža hraniteljskih porodica čije je postojanje nužno za dalju transformaciju ustanova za smeštaj dece bez roditeljskog staranja (Matković, 2006: 60).

14 Primer međuopštinskog prihvatilišta u Priboju koje je FSI finansirao pokazuje kako su ovakve usluge neodržive bez adekvatnog zakonskog okruženja. Naime, nakon prestanka finansiranja od strane FSI okolne opštine su, na osnovu ugovora sa opštinom Priboj, plaćale usluge za korisnike sa njihove teritorije, ali su posle izvesnog vremena to prestale da rade. Pošto nije postojao mehanizam za sprovođenje ugovora u delo, regionalno prihvatilište je jedno vreme finansirala opština Priboj. Danas, međutim, ono pokriva samo teritoriju opštine Priboj.

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Studija slučaja

Deca ulice

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Od 2007. godine nevladina organizacija Centar za integraciju mladih (CIM) vodi Svrtište za decu ulice u Beogradu. Svrtište je namenjeno deci uzrasta od 14 do 18 godina starosti, koja su bez adekvatnog roditeljskog staranja i sa poremećajima u ponašanju. Takođe, usluge Svrtišta se pružaju i deci od 4 godine, kao i za mlade do 26 godina. Ta deca i mladi žive, rade i provode noći na ulicama, u napuštenim objektima, šahtovima, smetlištima i mostovima. Iz predhodnog iskustva CIM u radu na terenu, deca i mladi najčešće žive u grupama i imaju predhodno iskustvo institucionalnog tretmana, odnosno, smeštaja. Zbog prethodnog negativnog iskustva, sada, čak i kada imaju informacije, zbog nepoverenja oni imaju poteškoća da koriste usluge koje im se nude. Takođe, određeni broj usluga koje bi njima bile značajne, najčešće su im nedostupne jer nemaju lična dokumenta.

Problemi s kojima se suočavaju kreću se od socijalnih (siromaštvo, neadekvatna ishrana i smeštaj, smanjene mogućnosti izbora, nasilnog okruženja, maloletničke prostitucije i povećanog rizika trgovine ljudima), preko zdravstvenih (neadekvatna ishrana, veliki rizik od povređivanja, problemi vezani za seksualno i reproduktivno zdravlje, narkomanija, alkoholizam, zdravstvene bolesti), do psiholoških (odrastanje u stresnom okruženju, neizgrađeni stabilni i zdravi odnosi sa odraslima, zloupotreba psihoaktivnih supstanci itd.).

Za decu ulice, zakon predviđa uslugu zbrinjavanja u prihvatilištu sa ili bez prihvatne stanice. Na teritoriji Beograda, za decu ulice uzrasta od 7-18 godina, postoji Prihvatilište sa 16 postelja, koje funkcioniše u okviru Zavoda za vaspitanje dece i omladine Beograd. Sadašnja regulativa kaže da je osnovni cilj ove ustanove da vrši prihvati i kratkotrajan smeštaj dece i omladine koja se nađu u skitnji, prosjačenju ili drugim slučajevima, kada svojim trenutnim statusom zahtevaju društvenu intervenciju. Takođe, u Prihvatilištu se vrši privremeno i celovito zbrinjavanje dece i omladine sa poremećajem u ponašanju, koje upućuju sudovi i centri za socijalni rad. Kroz Prihvatilište godišnje prođe oko 430 korisnika, a kao najčešći vid otpusta – oko polovina svih slučajeva – iz Prihvatilišta beleži se bekstvo.

Analize su pokazale da ovakve usluge, i ostale usluge i aktivnosti ustanova i institucija ne odgovaraju na sve potrebe ovih korisnika, da ne podstiču korisnike da traže druge usluge na koje imaju pravo, niti ih informišu o njima, da ih izoluju u ustanove i nude represivne mere nakon bekstva. Sve to, po mišljenju stručnjaka iz Centra za integraciju mladih, krši prava zagarantovana Konvencijom o pravima dece. Takođe, predstavnici Centra za integraciju mladih ističu da je nedostatak post-institucionalne podrške i praćenje posebno slaba karika u zaštiti maloletnika.

Zbog toga je početkom 2007. godine pokrenut projekat otvaranja Svrtišta za 'decu ulice' koja pruža privremeni smeštaj i zadovoljenje osnovnih potreba za hranom, higijenom, sigurnošću i bezbednošću. Stručnjaci i volonteri Centra za integraciju mladih rade na terenu i samom Svrtištu i u svom radu rukovode se principima *ne-osuđujućeg* stava odraslog prema detetu, uvažavanje izbora deteta, principom poverljivosti informacija, principom individualnosti i postupnosti u planiranju, posebno naglašavajući participaciju deteta u donošenju odluka koje su značajne za njega ili nju. To značajno utiče na izgradnju poverenja korisnika u Svrtište i terenske radnika. Dodatna korist predstavlja činjenica da su terenski radnici prisutni na ulicama već tri godine, a takođe i uzrastno i kulturološki bliži ovoj populaciji od odraslih i samim tim lakše ostvaruju komunikaciju i kontakt.

U samom Svratištu, deca dobiju i osnovnu medicinsku pomoć, prolaze kroz različite radionice (edukativne, psihološke, kreativne), te dobiju pomoć i podršku za rešavanja različitih problema. Projektni tim se umrežavanjem sa drugim organizacijama i institucijama, kao i njihovim informisanjem o karakteristikama ove populacije, trudi da kreira načine da se na potrebe korisnika i urgentne krizne situacije reaguje efikasno i time stvori mrežu podrške za ovu populaciju dece i mladih. Kroz aktivnosti socijalne radnice, Svratište pruža podršku u obnavljanju kontakata sa porodicom i podržava decu koja ostvaruju svoja prava u samom sistemu socijalne zaštite (jedan od partnera na projektu je i Gradski centar za socijalni rad Beograd).

U prva tri meseca rada, kroz Svratište je prošlo 157 korisnika (projektom se planiralo 100 korisnika u periodu od 9 meseci). Deca svakodnevno posećuju Svratište, a tokom dana ih u prostorijama bude i do 40.

Njegov rad je privukao veliku pažnju medija i javnosti, ali i resornog ministarstva i gradske vlade. Osim toga, pokrenuto je i nekoliko volonterskih akcija za pomoć Svratištu: humanitarna akcija beogradskih brokera, deo novca od ulaznica sa nekih kulturnih manifestacija uplaćuje se Svratištu itd. Kako su se stanari zgrade u kojoj se Svratište nalazi bunili, a sami predstavnici CIM kažu da to nije najadekvatniji prostor za takvu uslugu, vode se pregovori sa republičkom i gradskom vladom o nalaženju trajnijeg rešenja.

Studija slučaja

Udruga za promicanje inkluzije

Nedeljka Mišević

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Udruga za promicanje inkluzije, nevladina humanitarna udruga, osnovana je 1997. godine s ciljem poticanja procesa deinstytucionalizacije osoba s intelektualnim teškoćama i razvoja stručnih službi podrške u zajednici. Udruga je osnovana uz stručnu i financijsku podršku *Instituta Otvoreno društvo Hrvatska* i *Open Society Mental Health Initiative*. U prvo vrijeme Udruga je okupljala stručnjake s Edukacijsko-rehabilitacijskog fakulteta i Centra za rehabilitaciju Zagreb, tako da su i prve deinstytucionalizirane osobe bile korisnici Centra za rehabilitaciju Zagreb.

Od samog početka postojala je dobra volja i suradnja s nadležnim državnim tijelima, tadašnjim Ministarstvom rada i socijalne skrbi, te je 2000. godine program stanovanja uz podršku ušao u redovan sustav financiranja usluga socijalne skrbi kroz prvi dom za samostalno stanovanje u Zagrebu koji osobama s intelektualnim teškoćama nudi podršku u svakodnevnom životu u stanovima (najčešće unajmljenim na tržištu). Tokom sljedećih godina program stanovanja uz podršku se širi na gradove Osijek, Bjelovar i Slavonski Brod.

Život u zajednici podrazumijeva uključenost u različita područja svakodnevnog života, pa se tako pokazala potreba za razvijanjem programa koji osobama s intelektualnim teškoćama pružaju podršku pri stanovanju, zapošljavanju te aktivnostima slobodnog vremena. Programi se razvijaju na poticaj i u suradnji s osobama s intelektualnim teškoćama jer su usmjereni zadovoljavanju njihovih potreba. Udruga najveću važnost pridaje ostvarivanju prava osoba s intelektualnim teškoćama, pa su tako osobe s intelektualnim teškoćama od uključivanja u neki od programa Udruge uključene i u program samoodređenja i samozastupanja kako bi u najvećoj mogućoj mjeri donosile odluke o svom životu.

Praktično iskustvo Udruge bilo je dobra podloga i za utjecaj na promjene u zakonodavstvu. Tako je u sustav socijalne skrbi prvo ušao oblik ustanove pod nazivom "Dom za samostalno stanovanje" koji svoju uslugu pruža u stanu namijenjenom manjoj skupini osoba s intelektualnim teškoćama, da bi 2003. godine u sustav socijalne skrbi ušao novi oblik pod nazivom "Organizirano stanovanje" koji podrazumijeva podršku osobama s intelektualnim teškoćama u njihovom svakodnevnom življenju, a u stambenim zajednicama živi od jedne do najviše pet osoba.

Paralelno sa razvojem stručnih službi podrške za odrasle osobe s intelektualnim teškoćama, razvijaju se i programi podrške za djecu koja se deinstytucionaliziraju i nastavljaju živjeti u udomiteljskim obiteljima.

Razvoju Udruge uveliko je pridonijela jasna vizija i misija osnivača usmjerena deinstytucionalizaciji i razvoju stručnih službi podrške u lokalnim zajednicama djeci i odraslim osobama s intelektualnim teškoćama. Dobra organizacija i kadrovska politika također su jedan od bitnih činitelja uspješnosti jedne tvrtke kakva je danas *Udruga za promicanje inkluzije*.

Danas je *Udruga za promicanje inkluzije* najveći, među udrugama, privatni pružatelj usluga u djelatnosti socijalne skrbi i stvarna alternativa tradicionalnom smještaju osoba s intelektualnim teškoćama u hrvatskom društvu. Više od 100 deinstytucionaliziranih odraslih osoba živi u četiri hrvatska grada uz podršku programa stanovanja u zajednici dok je više od 30 deinstytucionalizirane djece ostvarilo svoje pravo na život u obitelji.

Svojim programima i uslugama ali i aktivnim zagovaranjem prava na život u zajednici, Udruga je značajno pridonijela socijalnoj uključenosti i građanskoj jednakopravnosti osoba s intelektualnim teškoćama u Hrvatskoj.

CIVIL SOCIETY
IN STRENGTHENING SOCIAL INCLUSION

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Foreword

The collaboration between the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation (SDC) and the Independent Bureau for Humanitarian Issues (IBHI BiH) dates back to the year of 1999, when SDC, in addition to providing financial support to partner nongovernmental organisations, had recognised the need to provide them with support through education in project management and thereby significantly contribute to NGO development.

This collaboration has expanded and strengthened with the implementation of the *Swiss Support Programme to Nongovernmental Organisations in BiH 2004-2008* in which IBHI BiH has had the role of Programme's executive agency in charge of monitoring and ensuring expert support to project partner organisations. As a part of the Programme, the first publication on the topic of *Social Inclusion – Best Practises of Swiss Support Programme to NGOs in BiH* was created in 2005, summarising the experiences of partner organisations during the first two years of the Programme.

It is our great pleasure that, by publishing this second publication: *Civil Society in Strengthening Social Inclusion*, we are taking a step towards resolving issues of social exclusion and the role which civil society organisations have in this process.

We appreciate that the approach to social exclusion used in creating this publication will help bring the reader closer to the European context and the complexity of many issues intertwined in the areas of civil society and the promotion of its values. The publication focuses on the contribution civil society organisations have made in strengthening social inclusion while assuming a sectoral approach (with a particular orientation towards economic, education, healthcare and social exclusion aspects tied to social protection). Accentuated are concepts of participation and partnership of different stakeholders as well as post-war specificities of BiH evident in special forms of social exclusion caused by ethnic migrations. Moreover, a chapter on relevant experiences from countries in the region is integrated into the Publication.

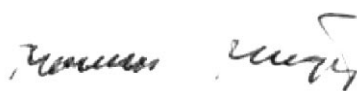
An analytical approach in presenting is enriched by an abundance of practical information based on analyses, research and study cases. We are of the opinion that this approach is agreeable to both the decision makers at different levels of government and the practitioners who face certain aspects of social exclusion in their everyday work.

In making this Publication, a large number of experts from different areas was directly or indirectly involved. We use this opportunity to thank those, who due to the nature of their participation, were not listed as authors but without whom this Publication would have been much impoverished. Firstly, this pertains to representatives of nongovernmental organisations as members of the *Swiss Support Programme to NGOs in BiH* including 25 organisations from across BiH which, from the very beginning, actively participated in initiating, profiling and promoting the Initiative for Establishment of the *Social Inclusion Fund in BiH*, while securing administrative, expert and all other types of assistance in writing this publication. Also, we thank Lejla Somun-Krupalija and Mervan Miraščija, the authors whose expertise in areas of gender and law provided a major contribution to a significant number of chapters of this Publication.

Finally, we express our gratitude to representatives of government institutions: municipalities, cantons, entities and state ministries who found time to provide information on financial contributions of their institutions to the nongovernmental sector and, for the first time, enabled an analytical approach to examining this important topic.

We hope that this Publication before You will make a contribution in bringing together different viewpoints and strengthen partnerships between government and public institutions, nongovernmental and international institutions and the private sector, and thereby try to provide an answer to the question of *how to diminish social exclusion in BiH*.


IBHI BiH Director


Director of SDC in BiH

Civil Society and Social Inclusion – Towards Development With a Human Face

Dr. Žarko Papić
IBHI BiH

1. Introduction - What is Civil Society and Social Inclusion?

1.1. Civil society, without elaborating on its numerous definitions, is an attempt to generate new capacities for real social inclusion of citizens into the societal processes and their participation in decision-making, along with the classic form of parliamentary democracy and functioning of its government and public institutions. More specifically, it is a democratically elected, transparent and responsible government and the rule of law; free access to information and independent media; joining of citizens, in order to achieve social goals, into different types of organisations we call NGOs, local self-governance etc.; it stands as a whole, consisting of various civil society components.

Therefore, civil society is a matrix and a synthesis of numerous forms and ways of organized action. But what is more important is the essence, a citizen joining other citizens and, in the overall democratic environment, having the opportunity to influence his/her own life and society.

In BiH, the notion civil society is usually reduced to its very important, but nevertheless only a part, NGOs. Without the aforementioned democratic environment (transparent and responsible government, rule of law, strong independent media and strong self-governance), the influence of citizens through NGOs is not only very limited but develops, indirectly, as a parallelism to public institutions. At present, the gap between NGOs and government and public institutions is considerably smaller than it was in the nineties when the term “nongovernmental” was often understood as “anti-government.”

Under the presumed conditions of a realistic civil society, Government and NGOs have the same goal, fulfilling the interests of citizens, which is their joint direction and field of cooperation.¹

1.2. There are few precise definitions of social exclusion.² Generally, being “excluded” is taken to mean being left outside the mainstream and denied access to the social, economic and political rights afforded to others. Prescriptive definitions and policies designed to combat social exclusion (i.e. to be included in social exclusion programs) are still more context-dependent.

“Social exclusion describes a process by which certain groups are systematically disadvantaged because they are discriminated against on the basis of their ethnicity, race, religion, sexual orientation, caste, descent, gender, age, disability, HIV-status, migrant status or where they live. Discrimination occurs in public institutions, such as the legal system or education and health services, as well as social institutions like the household.”³

1 See text of F. Šero, *The Role of Civil Society in Social Inclusion in BiH*, in this publication

2 See UNDP/IBHI BiH, *Human Development Report 2007 - Social Inclusion in BiH*, Sarajevo, 2007, p. 16, 17

3 DFID, *Reducing Poverty by Tackling Social Exclusion*, September, 2005, p. 3.

Further, it can be argued that within a developmental or transition economy context the presence of social exclusion:⁴

- Causes the poverty of particular groups of people, leading to higher rates of poverty among the most excluded groups;
- Reduces the productive capacities and the rate of poverty reduction of a society as a whole;
- Makes it harder to achieve the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs);
- Leads to conflict and insecurity.

The EU, which has set social inclusion at the heart of policymaking, conceives of exclusion as distinct from income poverty. Poverty is a distributional outcome, whereas exclusion is a relational process of declining participation, solidarity and access. Indeed for some, exclusion is a broader term encompassing poverty; for others, it is a cause or a consequence of poverty. We feel, however, that the causation runs in both directions.⁵

We can in general terms assert that social exclusion is multi-dimensional or socio-economic, encompassing collective as well as individual resources; a dynamic process, along a trajectory between full integration and multiple exclusions; relational, in that exclusion entails social distance or isolation, rejection, humiliation, lack of social support network and denial of participation; active in some sense, in that there is an agency or forces driving exclusion; and finally, relative to context. Disrespect, discrimination, and degradation are as much at work as monetary poverty and physical need. Even modern welfare states can exclude some citizens upon various grounds.

2. Basic “Development Philosophies”

2.1. In order to understand real, historic, potentials of civil society and social inclusion, we must take into account the differences in existing concepts of economic and social development. To some, civil society and social inclusion are complementary and “internal factors” of development, and to others, they are some sort of make-up, an addition aimed at decorating the picture of “economical/market fundamentalism.”

In the following table,⁶ we are attempting to describe, with the risk of oversimplifying, the differences between two approaches to the philosophy of development.

Human development	Traditional development concepts (Neo-liberalism)
Objective: expansion of human opportunities and capabilities - development as freedom	Objective: maximization of economic welfare
Focus of concern: people, including their joining, civil society and gender equality	Focus of concern: markets
Guiding principle: equity and justice	Guiding principle: economic efficiency
Emphasis: ends	Emphasis: means
Trend focus: reduction of poverty and social exclusion	Trend focus: economic growth
Poverty definition: population in multidimensional deprivation	Poverty definition: population below minimum poverty line
Key indicators: HDI, GDI, GEM, percent of HPI	Key indicators: GNP, GNP growth and percent below income poverty line

⁴ DFID, *ibid*, p. 5-9.

⁵ H. Silver, S M. Miller, *A Social Exclusion: The European Approach to Social Disadvantage and Indicators*, Vol. 2, No. 2, spring 2003.

⁶ Table was developed bearing in mind R. Jolly, *Compared Paradigms of Human Development, Readings in Human Development*, UNDP Office for Human Development Reports, New York, Oxford University Press, 2003, p. 109

2.2. We will maintain our focus on the “left” (not only in the table) approach:

The human development approach places human beings’ freedom – and more precisely the freedom or “capability” – to make positive choices at its core, not in a formal sense but rather in the sense of the real conditions which limit freedoms even in the most democratic societies.⁷ Thus, to be “developed” means having the ability to exercise a choice to acquire certain fundamental states of being – to be educated, to be healthy, to articulate a point of view, to be politically active, to be able to share in the material wealth of a society, and so forth.

The human development concept is thus based upon the strength of the human potential against the restricted reality of life. Lack of education, poor healthcare, inadequate economic possibilities, violation of political freedom, and the neglect of citizens’ rights, can generally restrict human beings’ freedom.

The human development perspective contains the need to overcome obstacles that people face through efforts and initiatives of the people themselves. The intention is not only to improve human lives in the sense of wellbeing and freedom but also to acknowledge that human accomplishment can radically change and improve the way a society is organized. The focus on the one hand is on providing a much clearer perspective on how, and in which way, the lives of human beings can be improved, and on the other a more complete comprehension of how this improvement can be achieved through the strengthening of human accomplishment.⁸

“The basic purpose of human development is the expansion of human choices. Foremost, these choices are undefined and changeable over time. People often value achievements which are generally intangible and are unrelated to income or economic growth, such as better access to education, better nutrition and health services, safe living environment, cultural freedoms and a sense of participation in the community activities. The human development goal is the establishment of an environment where people are able to live long, healthy and creative lives.”⁹

The key difference between orthodox economic thinking and human development is that the first is focused exclusively on increasing only one choice – the choice of income – while the other includes increasing all human choices whether they are economic, social, cultural or political. For that reason, it is possible to argue that by increasing income the other choices will also be increased. Yet this relationship is not automatic.

The main, value-added elements of human development are as follows: firstly, that income inequality blunts the automatic relationship between income growth and economic growth. Secondly, that society should build and strengthen human potentials to ensure equal access to human opportunities. The growth of GDP, for example, is an important tool for increasing human potentials. Yet the processes of production cannot be treated in an abstract manner as they require the human context. In short, human potentials are also instrumental for economic well-being. Thirdly, the human development paradigm includes the whole society and not just the economy. Attention is given to political, cultural and social, as well as economic factors. Research on the relationship between the economic and non-economic environment is one of the most important aspects within the human development concept. Fourthly, people are the ends and means of human development. Human beings are not perceived merely as instruments for production through increasing human capital but as the ultimate focus of development.

The welfare system, social safety nets, or investments in education or health, however, cannot be equalized with the human development paradigm. It includes these aspects but only as components. The human development paradigm includes all aspects of development, from economic growth, international trade, budget deficits and fiscal policy, to savings, investment, technology, elementary social services and social safety networks for the poor. There is no aspect of development which does not belong to this area but the most significant point is the extent and nature of human choices and opportunities, and the enrichment of human lives. All aspects of life – economic, political and cultural – are in fact viewed from this perspective. Economic growth thus becomes just one component of the human development paradigm.

⁷ Analysis of human development is given based on UNDP/IBHI BiH, *ibid*, p. 18-21

⁸ Amartya Sen, *Foreward, Readings in Human Development*, *ibid*, p. VII.

⁹ Mahbub ul Haq, *Human Development Paradigm*, p. 17, the author is considered to be the founder of the human development theory elaborated within UNDP.

To summarize, the human development paradigm asserts that:

- development must place human beings at the centre of its goals;
- the purpose of development is to increase all human choices and opportunities, not only incomes;
- in addition, the paradigm is related to building human potentials (by investing in human beings) and to a comprehensive use of those potentials (by creating a framework for development and employment);
- there are four basics: equity, sustainability, productivity and empowerment. (Note: human development places economic growth as an important element but it underlines the need to pay attention to its equality and distribution);
- the purpose of human development analyses is to offer practical options that lead towards development.¹⁰

The conclusion seems to arise that the human development concept is a complementary, natural ambient for civil society and social inclusion.

In that context, when narrowing down the viewpoint to NGOs as important factors of civil society, it is important to analyze their role in social inclusion.

3. The Role of NGOs in Social Inclusion in BiH

3.1. The extent and nature of social exclusion in BiH is analyzed in NHDR 2007¹¹ in the following categories: post-conflict discrimination and ethnic separation, economic insecurity and vulnerability, education, health, social protection and civic participation. The gender aspects of exclusion can also be examined within each of these segments.

To provide a general barometer of exclusion in BiH, the NHDR 2007 researchers developed a methodology for calculating a series of three social exclusion indices. These draw on the approach used to track changes in human development, but specifically address isolation from key economic, political and social processes.

The General Social Exclusion Index (HSEI) is based on seven proxy indicators reflecting living standards, health, education, participation in society and access to services. The Index suggests that 50.32% of BiH population is socially excluded in at least one of these forms. From the standpoint of the role of NGOs, especially important aspect is participation in society and its two following indicators. Indicator “those who do not vote in elections” is 43.6% and the indicator “those who do not participate in organized social activities” is 90.7% of those surveyed. In question here, therefore, is a lack of participation.

The Extreme Social Exclusion Index (HSEI-1) is a stronger form of the HSEI and is estimated at 21.85%. This signifies that approximately 22% of BiH's population is extremely socially excluded from the most basic processes and needs.

The Long-term Social Exclusion Index (HSEI-2) differs from the others in that it measures that sector of the population which has limited choices for improving their situation, thus being at risk of long-term exclusion. This Index shows that 47% of the BiH population is at risk of long-term exclusion.

3.2. In the final decade of the last century, EU social policy began to develop on the basis of decreasing social exclusion. The starting point was the inclusion of the term “social exclusion” in the preamble of the European Social Charter (1989) and its amendment (1996), when a new Right was introduced, “Right to protection against poverty and social exclusion.”

We repeat that social exclusion essentially means that vulnerable groups have little access to power and decision-making bodies and thus often feel powerless and unable to exercise any influence on the decisions that affect their daily lives. For that reason, the term “social inclusion”, in this sense, must be understood as inclusion in all aspects of society.

¹⁰ Mahbub ul Haq, *ibid.* p. 19.

¹¹ See UNDP/IBHI BiH, *ibid.* p. 11,12

Social inclusion for the EU is the process which ensures that those at risk of poverty and social exclusion gain the opportunities and resources necessary to participate fully in economic, social and cultural life and to enjoy a standard of living and well-being that is considered normal in the society in which they live. It ensures that they more fully participate in the decision-making which affects their lives and access their fundamental rights. Therefore, inclusion into societal processes and decision-making is a precondition for solving social problems.

3.3. Starting with the aforementioned, joining of citizens into NGOs in BiH is a very important aspect and an initiator of social inclusion, above all, because the NGO sector in BiH has significant capacities.¹² For that reason as well, it is important to listen to the voices of NGOs.

Roundtable on "Social Inclusion - the Strategic Orientation of NGOs" was organized on June 2, 2006 on Jahorina. Representatives of nongovernmental organisations (21 NGOs from BiH, beneficiaries of the Swiss support program for NGOs in BiH, SDC/IBHI BiH) analyzed the need to systematically formulate the experiences of everyday application of social inclusion in strategy documents, thus providing a universal application of this concept independent from current ongoing projects.

The following recommendations were made:

- The difficult situation within the social welfare field can only be overcome through the joint efforts of all stakeholders, and not by the individual and isolated efforts of individual institutions/organisations.
- Non-governmental organisations and public institutions, the main stakeholders in the field of social welfare at the local level, have compatible capacities to promote the principle of social inclusion of endangered groups and individuals and to raise awareness within the wider community about active participation in the fight against social exclusion.¹³
- Bearing this in mind, the cooperation and coordination of nongovernmental organisations and public institutions is essential.
- The importance of orientation towards social inclusion principles has additional origins in the requirements of the European Union, as formulated in its White Paper. Nongovernmental organisations must take a more active role in profiling local policies to harmonize BiH legislation and social practices with EU requirements.
- The importance of NGO participation in promoting social inclusion principles is reinforced by their wider orientation, which is not just limited to persons in need of social welfare but to wider social forces. This approach has two main advantages: (1) Unlike other stakeholders, NGOs can raise awareness among various layers of the community about the needs of socially neglected groups and individuals through public campaigns, encouragement of volunteerism, etc.; (2) NGOs can articulate the ability of excluded groups for self-help.
- NGOs must bear in mind the mutual, although not identical, aspects of inter-dependence of social exclusion and poverty. Although activities targeting reduction of poverty-caused social exclusion are important elements of NGO work, it is equally important to act upon those elements of exclusion that are not only the consequences, but also the causes, of increased poverty.

It should also be noted that the first publication on Social Exclusion in BiH was *Social Inclusion - Positive Experiences of the Swiss Program of Support for Non Governmental Organisations in BiH*, SDC/IBHI BiH, Sarajevo, January, 2006.¹⁴

3.4. Social inclusion policies in BiH, due to the size of the exclusion problem and the importance of those policies for EU integrations, are increasingly more present and important.

It is crucial to understand that the goal of those policies, strengthening of social inclusion, determines their character, method of designing and implementation.

12 For the information on the size, social and economic importance of the NGO sector in BiH, refer to the text of Ranka Ninkovic-Papić, *Civil society - From Participation to Partnership and Social Inclusion*, in this publication.

13 See text of M. Ćuk, *Social Protection and Social Exclusion - Development of an Integrated Social Protection in BiH*, in this publication.

14 See UNDP/IBHI BiH, *ibid*, p. 138

Social inclusion policies must be inclusive.

Through various forms of partnership, inclusive policies must include all stakeholders into their design and implementation processes:

- excluded groups,
- all levels of government and public service providers,
- social partners,
- civil society organisations, NGOs, and
- all citizens.

Therefore, structures and their coordination for inclusive policies must be developed; participation and partnership of all must be organized.¹⁵

3.5. Coordinating body for economic development and EU integrations of BiH has decided to begin the preparation of the BiH Development Strategy 2008-2013 and the Social Inclusion Strategy. Preparation of these documents will be coordinated by the Directorate for Economic Planning within the BiH Council of Ministers, with full participation of experts and the BiH Council of Ministers.

Bearing in mind the importance of the role of NGOs in social inclusion, establishment of the Social Inclusion Fund¹⁶ to support activities of NGOs in the preparation and implementation of BiH Social Inclusion Strategy is of crucial importance in strengthening social inclusion and development of BiH as a civil society.

¹⁵ The bases of these structures have been developed through a series of projects: DFID Project "Reforming the systems and structures of the central and local social policy regime in BiH," UNICEF Projects "Piloting Child Protection System Reform at Central and Local Levels in Bosnia and Herzegovina" and "Support to Child Protection System Reform in BiH," most developed forms of the structures are Social Policy Advisory Groups (SPAGs) formed in 2007 based on experiences from the aforementioned projects within the DFID project "Support to Pro Poor Policy Development" (DEP/LSE Consortium). See Schemes of these structures in this publication in the text of Ranka Ninkovic-Papic, *ibid*.

¹⁶ See, in this publication, text of D. Vukovic, *From project to Systematic Changes: the State and the Nongovernmental Sector in the Social Protection Reform and the Role of the Social Innovation Fund*.

Case Study

The European Union and Social Inclusion

Dr. Žarko Papić
IBHI BiH

1. EU joint goals of the social inclusion strategy are:

- Facilitating participation in employment and access to all goods, services, resources and rights
- Preventing social exclusion
- Support to the most vulnerable
- Mobilizing all relevant bodies

2. EU joint Social Inclusion Strategy is realized through the Open Method of Coordination (OMC) and its key elements:

- Common goals
- Action plans on social inclusion of countries members (NAP Inclusion), Joint Inclusion Memorandum (JIM) for countries candidates in the pre-accession period
- Joint reports on social inclusion
- Joint agreed social exclusion indicators (Laeken indicators)
- Exchange of experiences

3. National Action Plan for social inclusion (NAP Inclusion) contains (example: NAP Slovenia, 2004-2006):

- Major trends and challenges
- Strategy, main objectives and target groups
- Facilitation of participation in employment (goals and measures)
- Facilitation of access to resources, rights, goods and services (goals and measures)
- Prevention of the risk of exclusion (goals and measures)
- Help for the most vulnerable (goals and measures)
- Institutional framework
- Examples of good practice

4. Joint Inclusion Memorandum (JIM) is:

- Document jointly prepared by the European Commission and countries candidates
- Contains a general overview of principle challenges, current or foreseen solutions from policies designed to tackle poverty and social exclusion problems

5. Purpose of JIM is:

- To prepare candidates for participation in the Open Method of Coordination upon accession

- To ensure funds for candidates
- To translate EU social objectives into policies of countries candidates
- To facilitate a joint learning process

6. It is a process that will help to:

- Build capacities and mobilize all stakeholders
- Determine necessary activities and identify fundamental problems
- Develop statistics and promote indicators
- Assess key challenges
- Increase awareness on common objectives
- Develop an integrated national strategy
- Assess the relevance of existing policies
- Identify priorities in policies designed to improve social inclusion processes

JIM is, in fact, a Social Inclusion Strategy, jointly agreed by the EC and the country candidate.

General framework for JIM is (example: JIM Croatia, March 5, 2007):

- Economy and labor market
- Social situation
- Key challenges
- Proposals of measures
- Promoting gender equality in combating poverty and social exclusion
- Statistical systems and indicators for poverty and social exclusion
- Social inclusion projects supported through pre-accession funds
- Conclusions

The Role of Civil Society in Social Inclusion in BiH

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Centre for Promotion of Civil Society

Introduction

Since I have been professionally engaged in one of, as many like to say, numerous civil society organisations for considerable period of time, I have constantly been asking myself how come organisations or individual researchers working on development of democracy and civil society in Bosnia and Herzegovina never raised the question of reasons that lead to emergence of a “huge” number of nongovernmental organisations in our country and never tried to answer it. When several of us were joined by the idea to establish *Centre for Promotion of Civil Society*, we were led by *economic, social and political reasons*. It is my belief that survey on reasons leading to expansion of nongovernmental sector in BiH would justify same or similar considerations in 90% of cases. *Economic factor* is something called absence of work, market or competition in some specific areas where we saw opportunity for our action. We believed in possibility that fulfilment of these specific needs would provide for quality and cheaper service in which private and public sector had had no interest at that time. Our internal structure and donor’s support ensured more flexible and easier decision-making processes regarding concrete situation or problem we had faced. At the same time, we had been creating a realistic foundation for our own professional engagement that could have been paid. Also, learning from our own experience, we came to conclusion that we are taking on an indirect function of the profit sector.¹ *Social factor* is one of the considerable motivating elements that at the time prompted many individuals to get involved in this scope of work. It is not necessary to name particular arguments for such reasons in 1996, yet they must be very indicative if they are still motivating us in the same way today. *Political factors* had occupied our interest on account of pluralism and the need to build up tolerance, which at the time seemed to be mutually correlated. We believed at that time this would enable us to express an interest that differs from prevailing standpoints (orientations) of national elites of the political parties.

Ten years later, we are increasingly frustrated by trends in which we participate and by results which we achieved. However, I will try to use several indicators to give a review of achievements that we trust have made a deep impact on future choice orientations in each of these fields. Choice in the engagement of civil society organisations will determine societal trends in our country’s future. First of all, it is a matter of citizens’ confidence in the nongovernmental sector, the government and the expressed readiness for involvement based on “*new foundations*”.

Research² shows that **ethnic “minorities” of constitutive nations³, the poor and women** are the most marginalised social groups in Bosnia and Herzegovina. This same opinion was expressed by citizens (1200 respondents) and leaders of nongovernmental organisations. Nevertheless, leaders of nongovernmental organisations pointed out the fact that those same groups were represented the least in the nongovernmental sector itself. Therefore, it is a matter of double exclusion – not only from the society but also from civil society organisations alike, although it is through their

1 We had been publishing a monthly expert journal “Legal Advisor” and conducted series of seminars in areas of direct interest for the profit sector.

2 „BiH Civil Society Development Survey” ten years later, which was conducted by the Centre for Promotion of Civil Service with financial support from the Open Society Fund BiH – SOROS (results will be published end of November 2007).

3 Serbs in the Federation of BiH, and Croats and Bosniacs in the Republic of Srpska.

mediation that marginalised groups should lobby for changes in their status. In essence, this duality tells us a lot about civil society organisations, particularly if we bear in mind that in at least two cases, individuals concerned are one and the same. Among others, issues of the poor and ethnic groups penetrates the sphere of human rights, which we commonly talk about in an abstract manner. There are only rare examples of criticism directed against the system or its leaders who “produce” the exclusion and discrimination. When we talk about involvement of civil society organisations, all three social groups must also be examined from the relations point of view: citizens – civil society organisations – the government.

Relations Among Citizens, Civil Society Organisations and the Government

Exclusion of the above-mentioned social groups is only a tip of the iceberg in relations between the authorities and citizens in BiH. Links broken during the war have never been re-established, and there are no serious indications when that would happen. Citizens are fully excluded and have no influence on the social flows whatsoever. Any mention of quality of life is strongly pushed beyond the horizon of daily existential life of “ordinary people”. They have become prisoners of the ruling national elites who progressively show less and less understanding for the problems affecting the majority of people. However, there are some “silent” social processes, results of which can be monitored through different surveys that must be taken into account in the planning of future actions of the civil society organisations. The aforementioned survey progressively shows less confidence which citizens have in organised forms of action (political parties, trade unions, nongovernmental organisations, etc.). From the aspect of citizens’ confidence, on the top is the confidence in religious communities, and second in nongovernmental organisations. Although citizens report that their knowledge of NGO operations is scarce, they have great trust in their work. Approximately 82.9% of citizens are not members of any organisation, whereas nearly one fifth or 17.1% see themselves as members of some organisations. Regarding the type and scope of work of organisations in which they are involved, the lowest or negligible interest is for *organisations of minority ethnic groups and women’s organisations*. This attitude fully corresponds to attitudes of civil society leaders, who said that minority ethnic groups, the poor and women were least represented among members of civil society organisations. Regarding the proportion of citizens who were members or are presently members in any organisation, leading are political parties (14.4% members who pay membership), followed by trade unions with 11.2%, and sports associations.

A bit less than one tenth of BiH citizens (9.2%) consider themselves as active members of an organisation, while 5.4% are active volunteers and participate in provision of non-monetary support in some form of activity in the organisation. In relation to membership, significant differences in socio-demographic characteristics were observed only in respect to the age and level of education, whereas membership and participation are significantly more frequent in category of the middle aged, while membership participation increases with level of education. Poor members of the community are mostly excluded. We may conclude that these data are an indication of the insufficient amount of information on existing organisations, of the lack of time, absence of knowledge on people who are involved in organisations’ activities, and lack of confidence in existing organisations.

Active participation in membership of civil society organisations is a problem and, according to expert opinion, is often limited by organisation’s structure comprised of a leader and few followers or his/her school friends. These facts are publicly recognised and they frequently limit civil society organisations in completing their missions. Volunteer work is one of civil society organisation’s key abilities to gather and include people into concrete actions benefiting the whole community. Largest portion of active members who gather around civil society organisations are volunteers engaged in various forms of social assistance or in status issues of its members. However, when asked: *“How active are you in provision of some/any form of support to community members (outside the family) but not through an organisation (for example, assistance to elderly citizens, training of students, donating of second-hand clothes, etc.), and without being paid for it?”* – around one half of respondents (52.25%) responded positively while 42.57% reported that they did not do it. There

is a significant statistical difference in responses to this question, in regards to gender of the respondents. Women are significantly more involved in provision of support to the community without being paid for it (57.7%) than men.

There is evident difference between individual involvement and involvement through some of existing organisations. Citizens are more involved in informal forms of participation or self-initiated actions, in local communities or the closest surrounding. This is one of the indicators showing that organised forms of action do not provide sufficiently acceptable framework for citizens to use them in order to satisfy or fulfil their need for helping other community members. Attitudes of civil society organisations' leaders or leaders of political parties regarding minor or practically non-existent citizens' interest to get involved in local communities are not genuine. The problem is that citizens have no confidence in or the organised forms do not provide them with a sufficiently good framework for fulfilment of their interests.

Humanitarian or other types of donations represent the most frequent form of voluntary support. Most recently, the extent of humanitarian donations increased, owing to new "technologies" and donation phone calls. This form of commitment shows high level of trust in initiators of such activities, which can be a basis for building new forms of solidarity and a sense for *general good*. This can be an inspiration to organisations that would like to introduce new forms of communication with citizens and to improve their respect and trust. Slightly more women than men make humanitarian donations. Results that we received show us the need to reconsider present method of work and to search for a new approach to development of culture of giving in BiH. Since some 52% of citizens participated in some form of humanitarian work, out of which 15% donated money, we may conclude that there is a statistically significant difference between voluntary work and donation of money via or outside an organisation. It is possible that citizens do not have enough confidence in existing organisations committed to these activities or they are not sufficiently acquainted with volunteering opportunities in their spare time or in voluntary money donation. Principal limitations typical for organisations that entail voluntary work and money donation are related to benefactors' lack of information on the extent to which their money was beneficial to those it was intended for.

Community-based "civil activism" is one of best indicators of citizens' readiness to get involved in joint activities resolving concrete and common problems. Many statements on citizens' unwillingness to get involved in particular activities especially at local level remain unsubstantiated. Participation in meetings of political parties or actions initiated by them is not a measure of citizens' interest to participate in community actions. Content of actions is an essential measure of participation: if actions directly reach the citizens' interest, their participation and concerns are greater by far. Citizens are eager and are getting involved into concrete actions, but they are not willing to become a part of fruitless political debates which produce no tangible results. There is a statistically significant difference – respondent from rural areas responded positively to this question in significantly more cases. Respondents from rural areas are more inclined to rely on each other in initiating local actions in resolving community problems, whereas respondents from urban areas tend to more rely on local administration/authorities and budgetary resources allocated for resolution of community's problems.

Two Separate "Worlds": The Authorities and the Citizens

In the last two years, during which budgetary resources of public institutions were tangibly increased, governments in our country were invited to act in accordance with their role and their authorities and provide greater financial resources for social programs. Many civil society organisations that are active in provision of social services or containing poverty saw great opportunities to continue with their efforts in partnership with governments. However, this had devastating consequences, as their work was devalued and underrated by governments and their long-term involvement in this sphere was not recognised outside their local communities. Activities were taken over by authorised governmental institutions which are unfortunately insufficiently involved in communities. Key reason of this relationship is in the fact that governments refuse to renounce this type of power as a form of purchase of party confidence among the poorest members of the community. Social protection system and support to the poorest is not elevated to the level of state and society's responsibility, but remains an expression of good will and the ability of current political elites to act through

state institutions as compensations for lost fatherhood or state/society's care. Significant part of social pathology caused by chronic absence of work is skilfully diverted to the responsibility of the state, while political elites remain outside the circle of responsibility for emerging consequences, as majority of people try to resolve their problems by means of their mediation. In future, responsible political leaders will have to face the following need: to reduce and simplify excessive legal and administrative regulations, in order for state to seem efficient in provision of social services for citizens, leaving a part of job to civil society organisations, along with promotion and enhancement of the role of those political leaders that will affirm highest moral standards in public and private behaviour. In the course of significant period of time preceding the war, work in sector of public services dealing with poverty issues was one of most noble professions. After the war and to date, public servants in social services sector must face problems of criminal, abuse and corruption in order to get to caring for the poor and excluded population, as well as to ensure equal opportunities for all – definition of these tasks does not only infiltrate the sphere of state's responsibility but also their personal involvement. Many citizens of our country tend to identify individual officers in the public service sector with the whole institutions, considering them responsible and liable. For this exact reason, and due to lack of confidence in institutions, citizens try to resolve their problems outside the existing system or those who want to provide help fail to do it through the existing organisations. Citizens simply start building "their own world" independent of institutions and the prevailing actions carried out by them. The highlight of the "success" of these institutions and people in them is citizens' complete lack of interest in what and for whom these institutions do what they do.

Increasing Confidence in Civil Society Organisations

For the last ten years, political elites in our country jointly worked on devaluating the importance and role of civil society organisations as the so-called "mercenary structures". Survey results suggest that there has been a change in citizens' perception of civil society organisations. Ten years were needed to pass for the BiH civil society to achieve enormously great progress in capacity building as well as to make direct, powerful and organised pressure on authorities. In only ten years, completely unorganised and marginal group of civil society advocates became a network of several hundreds linked civil society organisations that managed to build up a common approach in "*Civil Platform for 2006 Elections*" and to receive support of 506.000 inhabitants on key social issues. In view of the entire political situation in the country, political strength of un-democratic political parties, enormous influence of groups originating from war and groups that represent "national interests", civil society organisations achieved strong influence on BiH people's mind and secured their confidence. However, although civil society managed to sign *Agreement on Cooperation with the BiH Council of Ministers*, and even though agreements on cooperation between local authorities and local nongovernmental organisations have been signed in many municipalities (some of which are making efforts to establish capacities that would enable systemic approach to processes of planning, creating and implementation of public policies), civil society's efficiency in influencing a public policy has very limited range, without concrete and tangible results, even in socio-economic segments represented in GROZD "*Civil Platform for 2006 Elections*". Reason for the absence of visible results is not only in the fact that certain time needs to pass from planning to evaluation of a public policy, but in reality that powers which hinder civil society's participation also advanced in creation of environment hindering civil society's influence on public policies. These powers grew to a level which seriously jeopardises the entire political stability and questions the overall functioning of democracy in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Instead of Conclusions:

- Excluded and marginalised social groups in our country are: *ethnic "minorities" of constitutive nations, the poor and women*, both in the society and in civil society organisations alike;
- Authorities fail to establish communication with citizens, and citizens have no strength or influence to impose their existential problems as key issues for political platforms;

- Ten years are needed to pass for the BiH civil society to achieve significant progress in capacity building, and to utilise GROZD movement to make direct, powerful and organised pressure on authorities;
- Although ruling political elites negated civil society organisations in the public scene, they are second in place as being most entrusted with citizens' confidence;
- Citizens are poorly informed of work of the nongovernmental organisations;
- Although there is a significant difference between urban and rural areas in relation to citizens' interest for community actions, territorial distribution of organisations is in favour of urban areas;
- Citizens are more involved in self-initiated actions than in organised forms of activities – political parties, trade unions or nongovernmental organisations;
- Civil society organisations do not have a developed infrastructure, knowledge and ability to accept more members and volunteers, with their active involvement in projects and programs of work;
- There is still no great interest in the need to differentiate organisations providing services from organisations active in campaigning or some other promotional activities;
- The BiH Council of Ministers has publicly recognised civil society organisations and signed *"The Agreement on Cooperation between the BiH Council of Ministers and the Nongovernmental Sector"*.

What Can Be Done?

1. Raising Awareness of Belongingness to the Sector;

Leaders of civil society organisations are quite worried about the trend of relative decrease in foreign funding of nongovernmental sector, and the sector's increasing financial dependence on local sources, accompanied with scarce understanding and public awareness of the importance and role of the nongovernmental sector in safeguarding individual rights and freedom, as well as in promotion of civic engagement in the society. The increasing worry does not correspond to the increasing interest for sectoral observation of this problem, yet everyone is trying to adjust to forthcoming trends and to manage within the scope of personal abilities. The lack of awareness about the need to act jointly remains outside the range of interest for leaders in civil society organisations. Thus one question remains open for the sector:

- Prevention of dilapidation of local civil society organisations that originate on small financial amounts and huge voluntary involvement of their members, promotion of charitable donations given outside organisations and encouragement of civil initiatives in communities;
- Raising public awareness of position, role, importance and contributions of nongovernmental sector to our society;
- Overview and analysis of some most important societal issues and problems, such as issues of social justice, common standards in service provision, taxation policies for nongovernmental sector, importance of voluntarism, and relations of nongovernmental sector with the other two sectors in the society: the governmental and the business sector.

These questions do not fall within the scope of project approach, but require strong and synchronised voice of the civil society organisations. For all these reasons, it is very important to build up a strong feeling of belonging to the sector and to try to resolve these issues together. This role, which is very important for the civil society, could be taken over by the recently established *Civil Society Committee*.

2. Development of Institutions Necessary for Cooperation of the Nongovernmental Sector and the Government

Verification of "The Agreement on Cooperation between the BiH Council of Ministers and Nongovernmental Sector in BiH" created preconditions for a new approach in developing relations and cooperation between the government and nongovernmental sector in our country. Equally, this is an opportunity for an organised, joint approach to development of institutions that are essential for civil society development in BiH. Firstly, this entails establishment of the *Civil*

Society Committee that would “represent all sectors of civil society organisations in BiH” and *Civil Society Council within the BiH Council of Ministers*. At the same time, the BiH Council of Ministers should initiate establishment and commencement of work of the Office for Cooperation with Nongovernmental Organisations as soon as possible. Development of these institutions would show the government’s minimum responsibility for development of the civil society in our country and a new approach to relations and cooperation with the civil society organisations. In this manner, we shall be in position to develop most direct communication and cooperation, as well as to resolve heaps of problems of direct interests to service providing organisations and organisations with increasing interest to participate in creation of public policies in our country. This is not a mere project issue of this or that organisation that should have exclusivity in communication, but of equal and identical approach for all, under equal conditions.

We need to point out that local civil society organisations, in cooperation with the government, ought to take a serious approach in reviewing their relations and communications with international civil society organisations active in BiH, such as UNDP, OSCE, European Commission, etc. Why is this essential? Most state institutions are ready to accept their various partnership proposals and services without any comments, whereas at the same time their relations with local organisations are decreased to a minimum. This is not only a matter of money brought in by international organisations, but also represents a lack of readiness of governmental institutions to rely more on local organisations. It creates an impression of no awareness regarding “ownership” of results achieved both by the local and international organisations. In simple terms, governmental institutions and people in them perceive this as a form of “pressure” and “intrusion” on their right to do what they want during the mandate in which they won the elections. They are not aware that nobody is so limitlessly and infinitely capable and competent to do independently what they want during an elected mandate without citizens’ participation.

3. Development of the Strategy for Creating a Stimulating Environment for Civil Society Development in BiH

Second step in creating cooperation between the government and nongovernmental sector through institutional development is the adoption of “*The Strategy for Creating a Stimulating Environment for Civil Society Development in BiH*”. This would be a document jointly created by these institutions and civil society organisations with the BiH Council of Ministers. Following discussion, the BiH Council of Ministers would pass it as its official document. In this manner, prerequisites would be created for adoption of annual working programs directed towards achievement of goals and objectives set in the Strategy. For the first time, we would have an opportunity to work together on eliminating each problem that had a negative impact on development of favourable ambience for civil society development. Until the moment when civil society organisations publicly make the government equally responsible for the development of the civil society in BiH, we shall not be able to make any significant progress in this domain. At the same time, it should be pointed out that these are all issues and problems that will become obstacles on Bosnia and Herzegovina’s road to European integrations. We want this process to be perceived as of interest to local players who act in the best interest and for the welfare of citizens, not merely as a responsibility to Brussels.

4. Adoption of the Code of Good Practice for Financing Programs and Projects of the Nongovernmental Sector

One of most critical problems faced by BiH civil society organisations and governments at different levels is the absence of a transparent and an equitable system for allocation of public resources intended for programs and projects of nongovernmental organisations. Without need for any particular arguments, I am of the opinion that BiH Council of Ministers should adopt the Code of Good Practice – a set of compulsory principles and rules for all lower levels of authority that allocate resources to civil society organisations. This would be a first step that will enable lower levels of authority to commence development of clear and transparent rules and procedures for utilisation of funds from public sources. We shall need a long period of time for all complex organisations in the country, especially in the Federation of BiH, to adopt equal and transparent standards in resource allocation, spending and reporting. This is also required for local civil

society organisations that will “compete” under the same conditions in providing services in which governments will not be interested. The existing financing system is not transparent and not adjusted to civil society organisations, but to different levels of authority which in this way “buy” civil society organisations’ solidarity with their policies at local, cantonal, entity or state level. Also, the existing financing system must be changed in response to European Commission’s requirements which will emerge on our way to Brussels. My belief is that we should do it for our own sake, and not for sake of demands of Brussels.

Clear rules and procedures ensuring equal access to resources from public companies or private sector are not developed. In the forthcoming period, governments will need to facilitate and stimulate (through tax alleviations) resource allocations from public companies and private businesses, as an integral part of the Strategy for Creating a Stimulating Environment for Civil Society Development.

5. Laws on Nongovernmental Organisations Working for General Welfare

Civil society organisations and the government should soon commence development of particular standards that will define differences between organisations providing direct services to citizens and organisations active in fields of promotion, public policy analysis or public advocacy. This must be done for it will make room for standardisation and development of professionalism in provision of services which the state will transfer onto such organisations in future.

6. Social Inclusion Policy in European Perspective of BiH

Nongovernmental organisations are those that work with marginalised groups, while governments only work for them, which is one of reasons why European Union policies promote public participation of organised civil society. European Union’s Regional Policy requires an establishment of consultative bodies for different topics. Their membership needs to be based on principle of partnership, as to include representatives of public institutions, trade unions, private and NGO sector. Creating partnerships, social dialogue and other forms of civil society’s participation at all levels is being promoted, thus increasing the potential for nongovernmental organisations to become active participants in decision-making process.

As mentioned above, European Commission supports involvement of nongovernmental organisations into provision of social services. In BiH, nongovernmental organisations provide a wide range of services. During the transition period, service providers greatly depended on international donors while receiving only a symbolic local support. In order to function successfully, it is necessary for the service providers to be able to charge for their services, without being taxed as a for-profit service provider, and to be in position to compete for contracts with the government.

European Commission encourages participation of civil society and partnership with other sectors. Although without direct reference in Amsterdam Treaty, contribution of civil society organisations was emphasized in the Annex, Declaration No. 38, stating “that European Union recognises the important contribution made by voluntary service activities to the development of social solidarity. The community will encourage European dimension of voluntary organisations with particular emphasis on the exchange of information and experiences as well as on the participation of the young and the elderly in voluntary work.”

European Commission uses European Policy Forums as a method of encouraging inter-sectoral consultations. Among others, these forums include nongovernmental organisations, social partners, members of state governments, employees, regional and local authorities, and research institutes from European Union member states. Engagement of nongovernmental organisations in policy consultations serves to promote inter-sectoral service provision in Europe, which is proven to be cost-effective.

In addition to promoting consultations, EC encourages partnership-based projects, with partnership is seen as a criterion for financing which will lead to direct opportunities for new financing sources in BiH (for example, in EU community programmes and structural funds). The precondition is based on the need to develop methodologies channelling towards different strengths of two sectors. In regions express-

ing general public sector's mistrust for the NGO sector and vice versa, this method is a tool that can force them to recognise specific contribution that each side can make.

These are some of possible proposals that will make room for a greater inclusion of marginalised groups in our country or a way for marginalised groups to receive from the state appropriate services that they are entitled to. Accordingly, we have before us an enormous task and a collective engagement of the government and civil society organisations to rely on each other more in the future. At the same time, this does not mean that the civil society organisations can lose their right to independence or unconstrained critique of government's public policies. This will lead to:

- Increased genuineness and legitimacy of civil society organisations and leaders in the whole country;
- Professionally, developed standards and improved responsibilities among civil society institutions, organisations, leaders, academic community and governmental institutions dealing with the civil society;
- Finally, increased level of citizens' knowledge and understanding of BiH nongovernmental sector, through evaluation of strengths and actual influence of the civil society;
- Enhanced civil society members (activists) through promotion and expansion of dialogue, association and networking (linking) of diverse civil society members;
- Strengthened internal capacities of local civil society organisations via "ownership" of this initiative and taking of responsibility for its full implementation.

Case Study

Governmental Financing of Nongovernmental Organisations

Ana Abdelbasit
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1. Aim

This chapter covers the results of a survey carried out from 11 October to 16 November, with the aim of supplementing specific parameters about financial support of citizen's associations/non-governmental organisations (CAs/NGOs) by governmental institutions. The purpose is to provide additional information for creating and promoting innovative models for improving social inclusion through a quantification of the current status and trends regarding cooperation of state, public, private and nongovernmental stakeholders. Data collected from 100 institutions does not allow for reliable statistical conclusions to be made at the state, entity, cantonal and municipal levels. However, they do provide a general overview of the total funds allocated by relevant government institutions for the non-profit sector.

2. Summary of the Main Results

- Government institutions participating in the survey (100 of the total 214), planned a total allocation of 52,544,019.52 KM for citizen's associations/NGOs by the end of 2007. Of this amount, 29,382,505.43 KM is for CAs/NGOs; 17,914,087.42 KM for sports organisations; and, 5,328,267.67 KM for disabled veterans' associations and related organisations.
- 29.0% of the institutions participating in the survey allocate funds through public tenders; 32.0% do not have a tendering procedure (most allocate funds during the preparation of the annual budget); and, 15.0% use public tenders for only part of the funds.
- Of the institutions which participated, 84.0% require CAs/NGOs to submit a progress report.
- 55.0% of institutions which participated perform an analysis of programme and/or financial results.
- A number of government institutions emphasised the importance of cooperating with the non-profit sector, in particular with regards to alleviating the consequences of social exclusion.

3. The Sample and Response Rates

The total population consists of 280 government institutions, which includes all of the municipalities in BiH, all Cantonal, Entity and State Ministries and the Brčko District. The target population consists of 214 government institutions from different administrative levels, which might be of significance for allocating resources to non-profit organisations (CAs/NGOs; sports organisations; disabled veterans' and related organisations). The target population

was selected according to criteria related to subject matter, i.e. ministries whose responsibilities include the following areas, were selected:

- a. Labour;
- b. Social policy/protection;
- c. Health;
- d. Education;
- e. Environment;
- f. Civilian affairs; and
- g. Rural development/agriculture.

Stratification: the sample was separated into 16 strata in order to take account of different systems for resource allocation. The insufficient response rate within strata made it unfeasible to prepare allocation estimates for the State, Entity, Canton and Municipality levels. Therefore, an analysis of the total allocations was prepared. The sixteen strata and response rates are presented in the following table:

Table 2.1: Number of government institutions included in the survey and response rates by stratum

Administrative level	No. of Institutions Included	Response Rate by Stratum	Administrative Level	No. of Institutions Included	Response Rate by Stratum
BiH Ministries	2	50.0%	Tuzla Canton	7	14.3%
FBiH Ministries	7	57.1%	Zenica-Doboj Canton	6	50.0%
RS Ministries	9	44.4%	Bosnia-Podrinje Canton	5	40.0%
FBiH Municipalities	79	57.0%	Central-Bosnia Canton	5	40.0%
RS Municipalities	62	48.4%	Herzegovina-Neretva Canton	7	57.1%
Brčko Municipality	1	0.0%	Western-Herzegovina Canton	4	0.0%
Una-Sana Canton	5	20.0%	Canton Sarajevo	6	33.3%
Posavina Canton	4	0.0%	Canton 10	5	20.0%

The total results were:

- Number of surveyed institutions: 214
- Overall response rate (average): 46.7%

4. Methodology

The institutions were sent a written explanation of the survey aim, requesting a response to the following 5 questions:

1. What amount of funds did your institution allocate for citizen's associations/non-governmental organisations in 2007. Including funds which have not been distributed yet, but are expected to be allocated by the end of the year?
2. What amount of the total funds has been allocated for sports organisations; what amount is allocated for organisations focussing on protection of disabled veterans; and, what amount to other types of associations/NGOs?
3. Is the allocation of funds carried out by a public tender procedure aimed at selecting the most adequate projects/NGOs?
4. Are organisations receiving funds obliged to submit **formal** financial and narrative project reports upon the conclusion of the financing period?

5. Is an analysis of (programme and financial) results of organisations which have been supported, planned for this year, and has the analysis (if planned) been introduced this year, or prior to this year?

If a response was not received within 4 weeks, the institutions were contacted by telephone in addition to the submission of a written reminder.

5. Financing Citizen's Associations/NGOs in 2007

A certain number of institutions submitted the amount allocated up to the survey period in addition to the amount planned for 2007. Due to the disparate data about the allocated amount, the **amount planned** for 2007 was used for calculating the amounts.

Table 5.1: Funds planned for the non-profit sector

Administrative level	Total (KM)	CA/NGO (KM)	Sports org. (KM)	Disabled veterans' org. and sim. (KM)
BiH Ministries	2,222,000.00	1,372,000.00	850,000.00	0.00 ¹
	2,222,000.00	1,372,000.00	850,000.00	0.00
FBiH Ministries	12,187,200.00	10,687,200.00	1,500,000.00	0.00
RS Ministries	1,770,400.00	1,756,400.00	6,000.00	8,000.00
	13,957,600.00	12,443,600.00	1,506,000.00	8,000.00
FBiH Municipalities	12,860,882.26	6,094,528.53	4,532,753.42	2,314,441.31
RS Municipalities	18,975,109.26	6,745,948.90	9,725,334.00	2,503,826.36
Brčko Municipality	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
	31,835,991.52	12,840,477.43	14,258,087.42	4,818,267.67
Una-Sana Canton	218,000.00	218,000.00	0.00	0.00
Posavina Canton	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Tuzla Canton	60,000.00	60,000.00	0.00	0.00
Zenica-Doboj Canton	2,012,000.00	510,000.00	1,000,000.00	502,000.00
Bosnia-Podrinje Canton	69,828.00	69,828.00	0.00	0.00
Central-Bosnia Canton	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Herzegovina-Neretva Canton	992,000.00	695,000.00	297,000.00	0.00
Western-Herzegovina Canton	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Canton Sarajevo	1,167,600.00	1,164,600.00	3,000.00	0.00
Canton 10	9,000.00	9,000.00	0.00	0.00
	4,528,428.00	2,726,428.00	1,300,000.00	502,000.00
	52,544,019.52	29,382,505.43	17,914,087.42	5,328,267.67

6. Procedures for Distribution of Funds

In total, 29.0% of the 100 respondent institutions, allocate funds on the basis of a public tender, of which the majority are municipalities. Of the institutions which stated they do not use public tenders, 43.8% (14 in total) allocates funds on the basis of individual requests and the submission of programmes at the point when the budget

1 Due to the insufficient response rate, all amounts = "0.00" signify a lack of responses in relation to the target sample, rather than a lack of funds being allocated.

is being prepared; 12.5% (4 in total) do not use tenders because of the low amount of funds being allocated; while 43.8% (14 institutions) did not provide an explanation. 15.0% of institutions used public tenders for partial allocation of funds, and these mostly for project-based activities.

Table 6.1: Procedures used for allocation of funds

Administrative level	Public tender	No tender procedure	Partial – public tender/budget	Plan to introduce in 2008	No allocation	No data
BiH Ministries	1	0	0	0	0	0
Entity Ministries	1	3	1	0	1	1
Cantonal Ministries	4	5	1	0	5	1
Municipalities	23	24	13	5	1	9
Total – N; % (N=100)	29.0	32.0	15.0	5.0	7.0	11.0

7. Reporting by Non-Profit Organisations

The majority of respondent institutions require CAs/NGOs to submit a progress report (84.0%). Of the total number of institutions which require a report, 54.8% (46 in total, of which 35 municipalities) ask for a formal narrative and financial report; 3.6% (3 institutions) require only informal reports; while 34.5% (29 in total, of which 22 municipalities) exclusively require a financial report. 7.1% (6 municipalities) stated that they only require reports for specific activities (projects or activities of humanitarian organisations). The majority of institutions require reports to be submitted following the project/programme implementation or following the end of the fiscal year. A very small number, requires monthly and quarterly reports in addition to the annual report. Regular submission of reports is, in most cases, a **prerequisite for allocation of funds** in the next fiscal year. Some institutions expressed their dissatisfaction with the capacities of CAs/NGOs for preparing comprehensive reports.

Table 7.1: Do procedures exist for reporting by CAs/NGOs

Administrative level	Yes	No	Plan to introduce in 2008	No allocation	No data
BiH Ministries	1	0	0	0	0
Entity Ministries	6	0	0	1	1
Cantonal Ministries	11	0	0	5	0
Municipalities	66	1	1	1	6
Total – N; % (N=100)	84.0	1.0	1.0	7.0	7.0

8. Programme and Financial Analysis by Government Institutions

Slightly more than half of the respondent institutions (55.0%) stated that they carry out some form of analysis of programme and/or financial results. In specific cases, the analysis is required by law. Of institutions which do not carry out analyses, 1 municipality does not do so because of the extremely low funds being distributed. A number of institutions stated that they were unable to perform analyses, or were unable to encompass all CAs/NGOs within the analysis, due to: 1) understaffing; 2) extremely broad distribution of funds; and 3) lack of capacities for carrying out analyses.

Table 8.1: Do governmental institutions perform analyses?

Administrative level	Yes	No	Partially	No allocation	No data
BiH Ministries	1	0	0	0	0
Entity Ministries	3	1	0	1	3
Cantonal Ministries	8	1	1	5	1
Municipalities	43	8	6	1	17
Total – N; % (N=100)	55.0	10.0	7.0	7.0	21.0

Four (4) institutions plan to introduce analyses as of 2007; 25 institutions started to perform analyses before 2007 (17 institutions do not carry out analyses; 54 institutions did not provide this data).

Social Exclusion as a Consequence of Ethnic Migrations: Overview of Dimensions of Social Exclusion of Displaced Persons and Returnees in BiH

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INTRODUCTION

Lives of people go on in a twofold social world. Interpersonal relations, based on mutual understanding, are accomplished in the so-called “living environment”. It is composed of our social background and our prior and current group affiliations. “It is an everyday experiential horizon of the individual which is implied and which we are most often not aware of”.¹ At the same time, a person interacts within the system environment, which consists of a number of institutions of economic, political, educational, or for instance, scientific systems. The interaction that occurs within this environment is based on rational thinking and is focused on pursuit of particular interests and achievements of success.

Regardless of how independent of each other they may seem, the living environment and the system environment are interdependent. They permeate lives of those who function within different social networks. Social networks are real, empirically describable, social relations between individuals. Depending on the constellation of these networks, individuals engage in communication in different ways, finding sometimes more, sometimes less support. For that reason, social networks are of critical importance for normal functioning of people.

The area in which these networks are formed, the area of interaction of two mutually dependent worlds (system environment and living environment), is the area of the local community. Within it, persons are placed into certain functional and structural relations, which they adapt to and which they may attempt to define, at the same time.

What happens when individuals or families, as a result of drastic social disturbances, find themselves “severed” from the local community in which they functioned for years in deeply rooted social circles?

War is one such drastic form of social destruction. One of the consequences of the war in BiH, which took place between April 1992 and December 1995, are ethnic migrations, which turned a sixth of the population of Bosnia and Herzegovina into displaced persons and returnees. In many ways, they fall under the category of socially excluded persons. The situation experienced by displaced and returnee families surpasses their ability to consolidate their lives and re-establish adequate social interactions. For that reason, they require different forms of social support. Their social inclusion is a complex social problem, and local communities they reside in have a vital role in the resolution of that problem.

Given the fact that causes of the problem of displaced persons and returnees are rooted in general and specific social circumstances, but also have a personal dimension as well, it is important to use a comprehensive approach to their resolution. Community based social work provides just such an approach. Its special value is reflected in the fact that it facilitates combining of institutional and non-institutional activities and mobilises citizens, nongovernmental organisations and formal and informal community structures aiming at successful utilisation of available community resources (material, political, cultural, moral and other resources).

¹ Herman Bulinger, Jirgen Novak, *Network Social Work*, Banja Luka, 2004.

I DEMOGRAPHIC CONSEQUENCES OF ETHNIC MIGRATIONS IN BIH

According to the census of 1991, the population of Bosnia and Herzegovina numbered 4.4 million persons. During the war and immediately after, about 2.2 million persons, or about 50% of the population, found themselves on the move. Of that total, about 1.2 million persons found refuge in over one hundred different countries, while about one million were displaced within Bosnia and Herzegovina.²

There was no official census of the population of Bosnia and Herzegovina since 1991. Migrational turbulence of the period between 1991 and 1995, but also of the post-war period, made an impact on the demographic balance. It is estimated that less than 3.5 million persons live in Bosnia and Herzegovina today and that about half a million of BiH citizens live outside the country.³

Displacement is one of consequences of forceful migration of population in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Any kind of migration, be it driven by rational or emotional, subjective or objective, conscious or unconscious reasons, in essence represents a traumatic experience. This is best illustrated by the statement of one of numerous refugees from Bosnia and Herzegovina, who said: "We are neither here nor there."

Displaced persons are the consequences of internal migrations, and they are still having problems getting integrated into local communities of displacement or return. The direction of displacement in BiH during the course of the conflict was characterised by movement of population of specific ethnic background towards areas where the majority of the population was of the same ethnic background.

The first official census of displaced persons in BiH was carried out by the competent entity ministries for displaced persons in coordination with UNHCR at the end of the year 2000. According to the results of the census, 534,918 displaced persons, or 176,480 displaced families resided in BiH at the time of the census. Of the total, 46% resided in Republika Srpska, while 54% resided in the Federation of BiH. Since the changes that occurred over the following five years were not recorded and kept up to date, it became necessary to re-register displaced persons in BiH. The process of re-registration was conducted under coordination of the competent state Ministry by the RS Ministry of Displaced Persons and Refugees, the FBiH Ministry for Displaced Persons and Brčko District in 2004. It turned out that, compared to the year 2000, the number of displaced persons in Republika Srpska was reduced to one third, while in the Federation of BiH to one fifth of the original number. The 40,607 displaced families, that is 123,882 displaced persons, currently live in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Of that number, 55% (67,712) reside in Republika Srpska, while 45% (56,170) reside in the Federation of BiH. At the same time, the official statistics of the UNHCR shows over half a million returns within BiH, with 205,622 persons (36%) returning from the territory of the Federation of BiH to the territory of Republika Srpska, while 350,092 persons (61%) returned from the territory of Republika Srpska to the territory of the Federation of BiH.

The comparison of these numbers could lead to conclusion that many displaced persons resolved their status by returning to their pre-war places of residence. The real insight can only result from a comprehensive analysis of whether the registered returns, indicated by the number of repossessed housing units or the number of issued personal documents, correspond to the real place of residence of those persons.

II EMERGENCE OF THE NGO SECTOR IN BIH

UNHCR gave the most substantial contribution to providing assistance to the displaced persons and later to providing assistance to the returnees. During the time of war, UNHCR operated in the domain of the so-called "urgent humanitarian operations," the main focus of which was to assist the civilian population through distribution of food, clothing, medical and hygienic supplies. During the course of the post-conflict period, UNHCR operated in the domain of provision of legal assistance, but also in the social domain, giving a particular contribution to commencement of

2 Mario Nenadić and group of authors, *Comparative Analysis of Approach to Rights of Refugees and Displaced Persons*, Ministry for Human Rights and Refugees of BiH, Sarajevo, 2005

3 Ibid.

the process of return. In addition to UNHCR, other UN and international organisations have tried to remove or mitigate numerous problems present in the (post)conflict society. During the course of 1993, the first local nongovernmental organisations emerged on the territory of the Federation of BiH, and later also on the territory of Republika Srpska. The research conducted by the UK Department for International Development (DFID), based on the telephone poll of NGOs in BiH conducted between June and September of 2004,⁴ indicated that the majority of NGOs (38%) were registered for the first time during the period following the war (1996 – 2000), while more than one third of them (36%) were registered sometime over the course of the following four years. Many of them emerged either under the influence of or even upon the initiative of international NGOs, which were present in BiH during the war, especially during the period between 1996 and 2000. Development of the local nongovernmental sector under the influence of international organisations, largely contributed to development of a poor relationship between the nongovernmental and the state sector. That was primarily caused by the fact that the main activities of the local NGO sector at first focused on the issues of human rights, democratisation of the society and other issues in the domain of politics. However,⁵ the data that shows that the majority of local NGOs (40%) registered during the period between 2001 and 2004, testifies to rapid development and independence of the local NGOs. In addition, the scope of work of the nongovernmental sector expanded as well. Overcoming of the prejudice that “non-governmental” does not imply “anti-government,” opened the path towards mutual cooperation, which represents a key to successful fulfillment of numerous human needs, including the problems of displaced persons and returnees. Within the nongovernmental sector, the citizens interact in a new and different way, free of control and influence of the state, with the view of addressing certain problems. Since the problem of social exclusion of displaced persons and returnees remains on the list of social priorities, it is in the interest of the state to support such initiatives.

It is estimated that 4,629 nongovernmental organisations operate in BiH.⁶ Among them are those that deal with rights and position of refugees, displaced persons and returnees. Specific nature of associations which deal with problems of displaced persons and returnees is reflected in the fact that most of their members come from precisely the population of displaced persons and returnees, making these organisations burdened with numerous problems typical for the segment of the population they represent. For that reason, their potential for provision of specific forms of assistance and services remains limited. On the other hand, their advantage is reflected in the fact that “troubled by the same problems,” they are able to defining precisely the needs and interests of the population they represent. They use this advantage and resort to the media coverage and certain forms of political pressure to persist with their demands for identification of the solution to the problem. In the process of elimination of factors of social exclusion of displaced persons and returnees, different nongovernmental organisations operating in the area of health protection, culture and recreation, economic and social services and in the civic/legal sector may play an important role. They supplement what public institutions are required to provide. In addition to providing efficient and quality services, nongovernmental organisations are also raising awareness among government representatives of the necessity to ensure social inclusion of marginalised groups of population. Local communities where the displaced persons and returnees burdened by a number of social problems reside are the most appropriate areas for these NGOs and relevant bodies of the public sector to operate in.

III DIMENSIONS OF SOCIAL EXCLUSION OF DISPLACED PERSONS AND RETURNEES

It is an undisputable fact that returnees and displaced persons, being two distinct categories within the general population, testify to the consequences of internal migrations. Thirteen years since the peace agreement was signed, displaced persons and returnees still make one sixth of the population of Bosnia and Herzegovina. That illustrates the magnitude of the social problem. Its complexity is demonstrated by the fact that the majority of this segment of the

4 Employment, Provision of Social Services and the Nongovernmental Sector: Status and Prospects for BiH, Analysis and Policy Implications, Independent Bureau for Humanitarian Issues, BiH, 2002

5 Ibid

6 Ibid

population depends on the assistance and support of the local and wider social community. Displaced persons who opted to stay in the place of displacement, experience problems in integration, just like returnees who opted to live in their pre-war local communities do.

To be integrated means to establish quality social interaction. Displaced persons and returnees strive to (re)establish different social networks: from primary social networks, such as the network of family, relatives, neighbours and friends, secondary social networks, which, in simplified terms, consist of different social institutions, and finally to tertiary social networks which serve as some kind of intermediary between primary and secondary networks. Analysis in which the individual represents a "focal point" of a given social network may indicate acute or chronic problems of social functioning and the level of social inclusion. It points to problems in communication, as well as to problems of crucial importance to psycho-social stability of an individual. Those can serve as a basis for development of adequate forms of social support and reestablishment of "broken" social relations or strengthening of functional connections where other connections are missing.

Reestablishment of social networks is more difficult to accomplish with persons who have found themselves in adverse situation. In the case of war migrations in BiH, these networks were broken by force. Displaced persons, after having spent a long time (in most cases since their birth) in one type of community, are trying to integrate in the local community in which they settled during the post-war period. Returnees who returned to their pre-war places of residence have found themselves in similar situation. For displaced persons and returnees in BiH, the process of (re)integration is long-lasting and painful, and reestablishment of social networks remains central to the process of their integration.

The search for ways to better understand social integration of displaced persons and returnees needs to include a detailed examination of aspects of their social exclusion. Social exclusion is a process in which certain groups are pushed to the margin of the society and prevented from participating in social processes, on the basis of their poverty, poor level of education or their inadequate social skills. That puts them even further away from employment, income and opportunities for education and prevents establishment of their social connections. These groups have little influence on decision-making and limited opportunities to improve their standard of living.⁷

Different circumstances may lead to social exclusion. It is often caused by accumulation of unfavorable circumstances, such as low income, poor position in the labour market, lack of skills and knowledge, lack of health protection, education and so on. Exclusion also has to do with access to civic rights. To that end, exclusion implies unsuccessful integration in one (or more) social systems, such as: democratic/legal system, labour/market system, system of social benefits and system of local self-governance.

The feeling of being a member of a community, or the feeling of being excluded, depends on participation in these systems. Having said that, to be socially included would imply that all members of a society, including displaced persons and returnees, would have equal position in the democratic system, equal access to employment and economic resources, ability to use benefits or social services provided by the state, etc. They should also have quality interpersonal interactions, which imply maintaining connections with family, relatives, friends and neighbors.

Manifestations of exclusion are manifold. In examination of exclusion of displaced persons and returnees, one needs to take into account material and participatory indicators of exclusion. Hence, one needs to bear in mind that unequal distribution of material resources may be an important condition for social exclusion, since a person who is materially deprived is often poor, poorly educated and unemployed. However, that still does not mean that this assumption exhausts all of the possible dimensions or encompasses all of the causes of exclusion. For that reason, one needs to take into consideration the relational dimension as well, that is, the number and intensity of social relations. Only the combination of distributional (material) and relational (socio-psychological) aspects may lead to reliable understanding of the level of social exclusion of displaced persons and returnees in BiH.

Efficient measures for mitigation or elimination of factors of social exclusion of displaced persons and returnees, require a quality analysis of real and specific problems experienced by this population. They are in close connection with specific socio-demographic features of particular local communities they reside in, which also need to be a subject of a

7 Dr. Žarko Papić and group of authors, "Social Inclusion in BiH", IBHI BiH and UNDP, Sarajevo, 2007.

detailed scrutiny. For that reason, relevant research, data processing and description of results represent a foundation for specific action. Nongovernmental organisations can give a substantial contribution in the area of identification of both the needs of displaced persons and returnees and the problems of their local communities. One such example is a comprehensive research⁸ of ARA NGO conducted in 2006 on the territory of Bijeljina Municipality. During the course of the field research, displaced persons and returnees, in addition to other citizens, associations and local institutions and services dealing with problems of displaced persons and returnees, took active part in the work. Their active participation served the purpose of additional clarification of the problem of integration of these social groups and pointed, at least to some extent, to possible approaches to its resolution. The emphasis was put on transfer of responsibility for categories of population in the state of social need to local communities in order to increase their quality of life and stimulate displaced persons and returnees to use their own potential. The research served as a source of information on problems experienced by displaced persons and returnees in their local communities. It was conceived on the basis of prior theoretical analysis of this problem, the available documentation and ten years of monitoring of this problem through hands-on interaction with this category of the population.

The total number of displaced persons registered on the territory of the municipality on the basis of repossessed housing units, served as a starting point for establishment of scientifically relevant sample. The sample included a total of 300 respondents (150 family providers from the category of displaced persons and 150 from the category of returnees). During the course of the survey, household members were also examined, which meant that a total of 978 persons were included into the survey, 520 of which represented the population of displaced persons while 458 represented the population of returnees.

Some of the conclusions of this research are used in continuation of the text to illustrate dimensions of social exclusion of displaced persons and returnees.

1. DISTRIBUTIONAL/MATERIAL DIMENSIONS OF SOCIAL EXCLUSION

1.1. Work and Income

Generally poor economic situation in BiH has an impact on employment opportunities of the entire population. Being exposed to long-term unemployment, the population of displaced persons and returnees is affected even more severely. The mentioned research⁹ indicated that unreliable forms of employment, such as part-time and short-term employment were almost equally distributed between both categories. More than one half of unemployed or temporarily employed displaced persons and returnees await permanent employment for over ten years. During the entire period of displacement or return, they were unable to get permanent employment in the local communities of their residence. Neither returnees nor displaced persons have the potential to start their own businesses. Given their very limited monthly income, unemployed persons and pensioners represent the category of the most vulnerable persons.

The returnees are trying to rely on their own resources. That primarily implies the use of their land and gardens, the cultivation of which provides an additional source of income. For most of them, agriculture remains the main source of income. Compared to the pre-war situation, the returnees are trying to "compensate" prior permanent employment with agricultural production. Displaced persons rarely have this alternative. Their land located in their pre-war places of residence remains unavailable due to the distance, obstacles in some cases are mine fields, physical inability to cultivate the land or lack of mechanization.

The regular monthly income of displaced families mostly consists of pensions, disability benefits and subsidies paid as social benefits and child protection benefits. Returnees face similar situation, though the income from agriculture represents a somewhat higher portion of their total income. Once the permanent and occasional income of all household members is factored in, the total monthly income of displaced and returnee households is in most cases insufficient to maintain optimum family functioning. According to the result of the research, income of only one fifth of displaced and

8 Research "Integration of Displaced Persons and Returnees in the Local Community" implemented by ARA NGO, as a part of the project under the title: "Integration of Elderly Persons / Returnees in the Local Community"

9 Ibid

returnee households exceeded the amount of KM 400.00. There was a much higher number of those whose monthly income was below KM 200.00 (59% of displaced households and 48% of returnee households). Given the amount of monthly income, the majority lives either below or at the poverty threshold. It was estimated that 19.5% of the total population of Bosnia and Herzegovina has that standard of living.¹⁰ Therefore, the percentage of the poor is twice as high in the population of displaced persons and returnees compared to the general population. This claim is further supported by the information that, based on filed requests for determination of the status of displaced persons in 2005, 59% of the families from this population group was registered, whose livelihood was based on pensions, disability benefits, social assistance benefits or benefits for families of fallen soldiers.

1.2. Educational Status

Although the problem of employment could be attributed to the overall unfavourable economic situation, the causes of such situation should also be looked for in the analysis of objective possibilities of displaced persons and returnees. Part of the answer could be found in educational and professional structure of this population.

The previously mentioned research, which included 300 households (150 displaced and 150 returnee households), also focused on the issue of educational and professional structure of 978 respondents.

If we eliminate preschool children and students from the total number of persons included in the survey, the share of persons with two-year post secondary education and higher education was about 2% in both groups of respondents. Higher number of persons without any qualifications was recorded in returnee population (43%), which is the result of the fact that elderly persons and persons attached to their farms are in most cases those who opt to return.

The occupational structure data painted an interesting picture. Almost 100 different occupations were recorded in three hundred households included in the survey. Practically, every third household had a person of different occupation. At the first glance, it could have been concluded that such a diverse professional structure could ensure employment in the labour market.

However, somewhat more detailed analysis of the "spectrum of occupations" showed an unfavourable occupational structure. In the group of persons capable of working, 52% are the so-called "blue-collar" workers, housewives and agriculture workers.

These indicators are compatible with indicators obtained during the process of re-registration of displaced persons, conducted in 2005. In the population of persons displaced in BiH, 93% are persons without qualifications, the so-called "unskilled" (no formal education other than the primary education), "semi-skilled" (no formal education other than the primary education and some kind of course), and "skilled" workers (three-year secondary education in a particular profession), and persons who have only completed primary school and had a job requiring limited skills only, while only one fifth of the population had completed secondary education and was qualified for the so-called "white-collar" professions or had some practical post-secondary education and held a title of the so-called "highly-skilled" workers. When it comes to particular professions, 45% of the displaced persons were housewives, agriculture workers and blue-collar workers.

It is clear that persons who do not have adequate qualifications have limited employment opportunities. Unfavourable educational and occupational structure has a negative impact on employment opportunities of displaced persons and returnees, since the labour market demands highly educated and highly skilled workforce.

Retraining, additional training and additional schooling may represent a solution to the problem. However, given the age and material position of displaced persons and returnees, some other measures of economic recovery, such as donations, micro-credits for stimulating agriculture production or activities in crafts or service provision industry could prove more appropriate. These measures are in the focus of interest of relevant entity ministries, in implementation of programmes of sustainable return. Nongovernmental organisations have given a substantial contribution in this area, since they understand the problems of (re)integration and social inclusion and implement specific project activities in

¹⁰ Data from the Medium Term Development Strategy of BiH 2004-2007, the Council of Ministers of BiH, the Government of the FBiH, the Government of the RS, 2004.

certain areas. The examples of such approach are for instance, the activities of the Centre for Development and Support, a local organisation seated in Tuzla, whose key programme goal is to bring about improvement in the area of social and economic development in BiH. At the moment, it is involved in implementation of the project: "Complementary Support to Return of Persons Placed in Collective Care Centres in Bosnia and Herzegovina", in cooperation with the international organisation Mercy Corps Tuzla. The project is funded by the Embassy of the Kingdom of Netherlands.

The aim of the project is to provide necessary complementary support to the project of reconstruction of housing units for beneficiaries of collective and alternative accommodation, which is implemented by the BiH Ministry for Human Rights and Refugees. Mercy Corps provided basic technical infrastructure for beneficiaries of the Project, while the Centre for Development and Support worked on improvement of socio-economic position of families currently placed in collective centres, following their return to the pre-war places of residence.

The Centre for Development and Support develops a close cooperation with state, entity and municipal bodies, visits beneficiaries of the Project in their current places of residence and interviews them aiming to recognise and understand their situation, which is a key element of project implementation methodology.

During the course of visits to families, the Centre for Development and Support collects as much information as possible in order to create a detailed socio-economic profile of each of the beneficiary families. Following interview and analysis of data, the Centre for Development and Support, engages in development of the action plan, tailored to specific needs of each individual family. The families are divided into two categories. First category includes those who can accept some kind of economic assistance and the second category includes those who require social assistance from institutions competent for resolution of problems of socially vulnerable categories.

The beneficiary families capable of accepting the economic aid package work closely with the staff of the Centre to define the type of economic assistance and organise realisation of assistance. As for the second category, that is, beneficiary families who require social assistance, the Centre for Development and Support focuses on working with social services, health protection services and nongovernmental organisations willing to help the families in their reintegration in the place of return, and with all other bodies which may be able to help meet the needs of beneficiary families.

1.3. Housing

In 1991, there were a total of 1,207,693 housing units in 6,823 settlements across Bosnia and Herzegovina. On average, the size of housing units was 60.45 m² per household. War time devastation resulted in destruction of housing units and as a result, over one third of housing units were partially or completely destroyed.¹¹

Housing problems of displaced persons are result of the fact that in 82% of the cases, their property in pre-war places of residence was either destroyed or damaged to such extent that it became inadequate for living. This information is deduced from the statements given by displaced persons during the course of their re-registration in 2005. The majority of displaced families do not have proper housing. Over one third of displaced families still live in collective centres and individual and collective alternative accommodation. The rest of them either rent or live with relatives and friends. Some of them have sold their real-estate in the pre-war place of residence and managed to provide their own housing. However, these housing units are in most cases not complete and they barely meet the minimum housing standards. A large number of displaced persons resolved their housing problems either through sale or exchange of apartments or houses, which caused the loss of their status of displaced persons. For the same reason, they lost their rights to other forms of support defined by the laws for the benefit of displaced persons, though it could be assumed that many among them are socially excluded on other grounds as well. Unfortunately, they virtually live in the shadow of a large number of other persons, who still have the status of displaced persons. Through the process of implementation of property laws, returnees got their housing units back, so they live in their own houses/apartments. The process of reconstruction is being implemented slowly and it is characterised by giving priority to return. Displaced families, who opt to stay in their current places of displacement, have very limited options available.

11 Mario Nenadić and group of authors, *Comparative Analysis of Approaches to Rights of Refugees and Displaced Persons*, Ministry for Human Rights and Refugees of BiH, Sarajevo 2005

The contribution of the international community in reconstruction of housing units was substantial over the past several years. At the beginning of 2006, the level of reconstruction of houses in BiH reached almost 60%, with about 260,000 reconstructed housing units. Over two thirds of housing units were reconstructed through donations. The highest rate of reconstruction of housing units was noted in the FBiH (66.70%), followed by Brčko District of BiH (46.30%) and the RS with the lowest rate of about 40%.¹²

According to the information provided by the State Commission for Refugees and Displaced Persons in October of 2007, 44,000 families submitted applications for reconstruction of their housing units. Reconstruction of the remaining number of devastated housing units will require a total of 600 million KM, while the sustainable return will require over one billion KM. In order to resolve these problems, the preparation of the Action Plan for Development of Strategy for Implementation of the Annex 7 of the Dayton Peace Accord by 2011, is currently underway. In addition to representatives of the relevant state and entity bodies, the representatives of the nongovernmental sector should also take part in development of this Strategy. Active participation of representatives of the nongovernmental sector, through their involvement in a total of thirteen different working sub-committees, indicates that experience and strength of the NGO sector are recognised as important factors in development of such an important document.

Displaced persons lack different amenities in their current housing, including water supply, regular power supply, central heating, sanitary facilities (bathroom) and telephone lines. These amenities are also lacking in the facilities provided by the government for the purpose of temporary accommodation. To that end, the returnees are in somewhat more favourable situation, due to the fact that they live in their own housing units. Compared to the pre-war period, both groups in most cases lost additional units they had, such as weekend houses, business premises, garages, auxiliary structures etc. Their households are poorly furnished, many lost their automobiles, agriculture machinery and other tools. Both displaced and returnee households are poorly equipped with house appliances, such as refrigerators, freezers, TV sets, washing-machines and dishwashers. In 90% of cases these appliances are obsolete and rundown, and families cannot afford to replace them.¹³

1.4 Sex Discrimination

As in the rest of the world, in Bosnia and Herzegovina, there are more women refugees than the total population of the displaced and internally displaced persons. This difference, as is the case for the domicile population, progressively increases with each year, thereby decreasing the number of male refugees and displaced persons older than 60 years (UNHCR, 2005 Statistical Yearbook – Bosnia and Herzegovina i UNHCR, 2006 Global Trends: Refugees, Asylum-seekers, Returnees, Internally Displaced and Stateless Persons).

Expelled and refugee women represent a large, diverse and sensitive group within the population of victims of war. Traumatic experiences prior and during their forced departure from homes, stresses built up from repeated prolonging of their stay in refugee camps and very insecure futures have a fatal influence on women's psychological and mental health. Many of them retreat to a passive resignation and depression after they exhaust their remaining material and social aid and lose their last psychological support (Infoteka "Kruh i ruže" 1993).

Without the protection of their homes, country, ethnical-national group and, often, members of their family, women find themselves in an especially vulnerable situation during their stay as a refugee. Faced with long and arduous travels while escaping, harassment or ignorance on the part of the local authorities, often sexual harassment and violence even after finding a supposedly safe refuge. Women are often faced with challenges of assuming different roles: caring for the children and the elderly who are also refugees, at the same time acting as teachers, earning wages for the families, and physically protecting their families (UNHCR 2004 Kate Mastram & Marilyn Achrimom «Protection of Refugees: a Guide to International Refugee Law»).

¹² Ibid

¹³ Research under the title: "Integration of Displaced Persons and Refugees in the Local Community" conducted in 2005 by ARA NGO, as a part of the Project under the title: "Integration of Elderly Persons / Returnees in the Local Community"

Women refugees are often under a unique pressure from their ethnical/national group because of the expectation placed on them to carry on the traditions lost while refugees. As representatives of the symbolic nation, it is especially expected for the women to promote their ethnical/national identity. This often means that an educated woman with prior work experience and a solid income at home, now as a refugee, has to devote herself exclusively to „traditional women roles“: housekeeping and care for the elderly and children (Nira Yuval-Davis 1997 «Gender and Nation» Sage).

Being a refugee, also strongly affects men who had left conflict and violent zones along with their families. It is generally thought that even in the midst of all the hardship and recurring challenges women face, women are more adaptable in these situations than men. Men lose their traditional roles of family providers and protectors, are often stricken with a sense of guilt for leaving their homes and are not ready to accept jobs they are overqualified for just to be able to provide income for their families. They feel isolated from their prior groups within which they had established social networks; they retreat and often succumb to depression and suicidal thoughts (Judith Zur “Violent Memories” 2000, The Perseus Books Group & “Individual and Group Reactions to Violence” 1995 Refugee Studies Programme).

2. RELATIONAL/PARTICIPATORY DIMENSIONS OF SOCIAL EXCLUSION

2.1. Social Connections and Primary Social Network

The analysis of the micro-social network of displaced persons and returnees includes information on their interaction with family members, relatives, neighbours and friends. Both groups experienced collapse of their pre-war micro-social networks.

However, harmonious relations prevail within incomplete returnee families, while the conflicts caused by economic problems have higher prevalence in families of displaced persons. That is in direct correlation with the fact that they have not resolved one of the main existential issues – the issue of housing.¹⁴

The network of relatives and neighbours of displaced persons is weakened as a result of displacement of family members and neighbours in other places of displacement or abroad. The solidarity of relatives and neighbours is more apparent among returnees, because their return to places where the majority of their pre-war relatives and neighbours already returned is in most cases organised. Troubled by the same types of problems typical for returnees, they help each other, often visit each other and share their problems.

Family ties of displaced persons are either broken or difficult to maintain due to distance caused by limited accommodation capacities and search for more favourable living conditions, while the principle of family unity is more apparent among returnees.

The lack of full support of the environment and sometimes even resistance of domicile population make development of micro-social networks particularly difficult. For that reason, it comes as no surprise that displaced persons primarily make friends with persons who are also displaced in their current local communities, while returnees make friends with other persons who returned.¹⁵ This is indicative, since the circle of chosen friends corresponds not only to the identical social status but also to the identical ethnicity. That is further illustrated by the fact that displaced persons more often develop friendships with domicile population, since they tend to turn to members of the same (majority) ethnic group in the local community. However, that is still not enough to engage into discussion on full social participation.

2.2. Political Participation

On the territory of the former Yugoslavia, political solutions and decisions often shaped the reality in such a way which made persons, groups and even the entire nations subjected to suffering inconceivable to most people. It is difficult to find an individual in BiH who could admit to being responsible for beginning and duration of the war, though everyone took part in it in one way or another. The guilt is attributed to some higher (political) force. Due to their ignorance, inertness or perhaps due to their subconscious drives, some individuals easily succumbed to collective feelings and values. Those (collective) values were largely determined by the political atmosphere of the time. For that reason, it

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Ibid.

comes as no surprise that the attitude towards persons in one's immediate surrounding was largely determined by politically driven awareness of affiliation with different groups. This substantially impedes establishment of normal everyday interaction among people. It also stands in the way of their social inclusion.

The population of displaced persons and returnees demonstrates equal reserve to politics, since political solutions often do not take into account real problems experienced by socially excluded groups. Their political participation is reduced to regular and occasional participation in the elections. There are very few of those who resort to political and social engagement which could radically change their position. Although they are witnesses to what goes on in the society, in which their problems are at the top of all unresolved problems, displaced persons and returnees remain passive. They communicate with difficulty with decision-making institutions in control of the resources. That decreases their ability to participate in formulation of policies and measures that would be tailored to their needs.

On the other hand, relevant institutions and organisations act as agents of the state rather than as catalysts of change. Instead of providing specific forms of assistance, which mitigate or eliminate existential problems "here and now," the assistance is subject to political affiliation. For those reasons, the real existential problems are ignored and nothing is done to change the current situation.

Activities of the NGO sector in political or public spheres could be observed from two perspectives. On one side, associations of displaced persons and returnees should encourage the population whose interests they promote to take more active part in the election process in order to influence those political options which more efficiently promote resolution of their position. On the other side, interests of displaced persons and returnees are defined through these associations. To that end, NGOs engage into monitoring (control of public affairs) and advocating (lobbying in favour of those public policies they prefer or against those they disagree with).

To what extent organisations of the civil society can influence public policies and what is their attitude towards the state remains an important question. Their attitude could range from rivalry and competition, to mediation and finally, to cooperation. Nongovernmental organisations which represent interests of displaced persons and returnees could be very "distanced" from the government or, to the contrary, they could be "associated" with it for the purpose of accomplishment of common goals. Therefore, some among them are trying to influence the issues of public interest, remaining at the same time completely isolated from the processes of design of public policies and focusing exclusively on what they can accomplish independently. At the other extreme end are the NGOs which offer solutions fully agreeing with the arguments of the government that they are simply pushing against the open door. Once the organisations of civil society enter into contracts with government or donors to provide services, they should try to avoid the risk of putting the interest of their partners before the interest of their beneficiaries.

2.3. Social Distance and Social Identity

Social distance refers to the level of kinship in social relations, which a person engages into with members of other social groups. Very limited number of research conducted on the territory of former Yugoslavia dealt with this problem. The results of the research conducted on the subject of social distance towards members of some ethnic groups were often interpreted as satisfactory. It was often ignored that between 10% and 15% respondents expressed extreme social distance, which indicated problems in inter-ethnic relations (according to Šiber, 1998). The events that took place in this region brought the facts that were previously ignored to the spotlight.

The research in the area of social distance provides relevant information which has a particular significance in multicultural societies, since they illustrate the extent to which its members, acting as members of particular ethnic, religious or cultural groups are attached to their groups and the extent to which they are tolerant to each other. Such information may point to important changes which occurred in the society and serve as a starting point for prediction of unwelcome events. They also indicate the current situation of inter-ethnic relations and its impact on social inclusion.

Social identity is a very important factor of social functioning. Living in certain groups, one develops a feeling of belonging, which contributes to a positive self-image. As members of a group, people develop a positive social identity, since it benefits their mental health, their feeling of security, feeling of self-worth and self-respect, feeling of belonging

to a society, etc. Ethnic identity, being a part of social identity, may have a strong impact on other social occurrences. It is based on a feeling of belonging to a certain ethnic community. In multi-ethnic communities, this type of identity may have a strong impact on the process of social inclusion. Social identity of displaced persons and returnees is "limited," as a result of strong ethnic and religious identities. The feelings of belonging to ethnic and religious communities are dominant. They suppress the feeling of belonging to one's immediate surroundings (local community), but also to wider social surroundings (the state).

Having considered that, displaced persons have a certain advantage, because they live in communities in which domicile (majority) population is of the same ethnic background. That has a positive impact on their feeling of belonging to the local community. Therefore, a factor of strong ethnic and religious identities has a more positive impact on social inclusion of displaced persons, compared to the social inclusion of returnees. Hence, both ethnic and social distance of displaced persons compared to returnees is very strong.

Returnees, living in the environment dominated by the population of a different ethnicity have more difficulties participating in the life of the local community. Their statements¹⁶ about the level of kinship they feel towards members of the majority ethnic group indicate a flexible attitude. They demonstrate willingness to accept the realistic situation of co-existence. It remains unknown whether that feeling reflects the situation as it is, or whether it is rather the result of what a person wishes the situation to be. The experience points to examples which do not corroborate the claim that minority groups in local communities have fully equal treatment in public life.

When it comes to co-existence, very few people today state fear as the reason which stands in the way of co-existence.¹⁷ However, the option of co-existence is still not generally accepted. It is obvious that attitudes and behaviours of people are not formed only on the basis of real circumstances, but also on the basis of prejudice, ideological misconception or irrational perception of reality. Opposed to statements of impossibility of co-existence is the reality in which returnees, domicile population and displaced persons live together, or at least next to one another. Persistent refusal to accept real circumstances (and people in one's immediate surroundings) narrows down the possibilities for social interaction, just as association based exclusively on ethnic, political or religious reasons, in essence, reduces the number of forms of social participation.

2.4. Anomy

Problems of displaced persons have been persisting for over a decade. Over such a long period of time, their position has not changed for the better. They live in uncertainty in terms of the final resolution of the issue of accommodation, and therefore the issue of the place of residence as well. Since their arrival to their pre-war communities, the returnees have resolved that vital problem permanently settling in their current local communities. That is the base from which they look into the future with interest and hope. Encouraged by the first important step – moving into their homes, they look at what may come in the future with optimism. They are willing to personally contribute to changes. The majority believes that their own engagement may contribute to improvement of the living conditions. They see the solution in working, facilitated by certain assistance provided by the society.

The majority of displaced persons do not believe they can personally contribute to changes. They believe that an individual is powerless to do anything, they have come to terms with the fact that no one is asking for their opinion, they have lost interest as a result of loss of family members and they are discouraged that the state failed to create appropriate conditions, or they simply "gave up," due to old age or disease. That indicates the "syndrome of learned helplessness." Therefore, their perception of the future is "painted" by skepticism and pessimism, so the majority believes that nothing important would change in the coming period and they would face even more difficult problems. It is obvious that the

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ According to statements expressed in applications for re-registration in 2005, 7% of displaced persons stated fear as the reason they have not returned to their pre-war places of residence, while other persons stated other reasons (such as accommodation, employment, education, etc.)

local community and wide social surroundings do not encourage their potential and fail to do what it takes to get them socially included.

It is precisely that area in which nongovernmental organisations involved in psycho-social work can play a vital role. They may contribute to removal of anomy by empowering displaced persons and returnees and their families. In addition, they may successfully develop the concept of self-help and establish support groups. Active attitude of individuals and families is a process of empowerment, which would enable displaced persons and returnees, as well as their families and groups to increase their own personal, socio-economic and political potential and lead to improvement of their own circumstances. Displaced persons and returnees should become active participants in changes, rather than passive recipients of assistance. Empowerment is based on the objective assessment of family resources and on strengthening and use of family capacities, especially in contacts with external social institutions. The end goal is to transform the family and get it to move from being a helpless and insecure group to being strong self-functioning centre, capable of taking control over the circumstances and improving the quality of life of its members.

In the context of analysis of problems of social exclusion of displaced persons and returnees, support groups or self-help groups may play an exceptionally important role. They could get support from each other within these groups and being members of such groups would increase their self-confidence and help them overcome isolation. Initiatives for establishment of such groups, identification of the existing groups and their promotion could represent one of the strategic goals of nongovernmental organisations. In that case, NGO activists could serve as "resource consultants" who would guide clients and direct them towards resources, improving their self-confidence and helping them resolve problems.

Non-governmental organisations may successfully employ social group work with limited groups of returnees or displaced persons living at a certain location (neighbourhood). High level of individual empowerment may be accomplished through such group work, in addition to high level of solidarity among neighbours and initiation of activities of economic sustainability. Members of a group would change their roles in their social surroundings and shift from the role of victims to the role of self-aware creators of their own destinies. Local nongovernmental organisations, involved in implementation of different psycho-social activities, may be able to contribute to affirmation of the social group work. The commencement of the social group work is associated with emergence and development of different voluntary associations.

* * *

Problems of social exclusion of displaced persons and returnees are caused by their inability to exercise their economic and social rights, necessary for decent and meaningful life. If a human wealth could be measured by the number of things we are willing to give up, it would still remain quite certain that lack of some of those things could even bring survival into question. What else could people who have lost their homes, employment, social benefits and interpersonal relations give up? The magnitude of the problem (reflected in the number of socially excluded persons), its duration (over ten years) and socio-economic position of displaced persons and returnees require adequate solutions.

Different approaches are applied in the struggle against social exclusion. The emphasis is sometimes put on fulfillment of social rights and sometimes on employment, which is believed to be the main mechanism of social inclusion. The first approach requires creating equal opportunities for access to the labour market, education, health protection, legal protection, decision-making and participation in all social spheres. The other approach is mainly focused on participation in the labour market, since it is believed that employment is the main factor of social integration, while unemployment (especially long-term unemployment) is the key factor of social exclusion. Therefore, the term exclusion is sometimes merely reduced to the issue of (un)availability of employment, while observed from other perspectives, this term also includes and covers an increasing number of social spheres and puts strong emphasis on reestablishment of broken social connections. Socially excluded groups and individuals may be those who voluntarily opt to withdraw. Nevertheless, we primarily refer to displaced persons and returnees, who wish to participate in activities of the civil society, but are prevented from doing so due to different factors they are unable to control.

IV POSSIBILITIES OF COMMUNITY BASED SOCIAL WORK

When we discuss social inclusion of individuals or entire social groups, it is wrong to assume that the “failure to adapt” is something that an individual or a social group are solely responsible for. In that case, it is *a priori* assumed that the environment is always open to integration of every “normal” person. Such one-sided perception of “adaptation” is unwarranted. Phenomena that are in essence social in nature cannot be explained merely on the basis of facts and laws of psychology. Adaptation could be used to explain the psychological, but not the social aspects of the phenomenon such as social exclusion.

Potentials of displaced persons and returnees are reduced, and as a result of long term exposure to unfavourable circumstances, inevitable limitation of their potential is hardly self-induced. Social community and its norms and institutions are also partly responsible. To that end, economic, legal and political frameworks are of great importance. Economic factors are often vital to possibilities of employment, provision of adequate housing and leisure activities; the current legislation could either affirm or inhibit exercising rights in the domain of health protection, social protection or protection of human rights; political circumstances remain significant in the processes of co-existence and reconciliation. However, global social framework and strategic orientation are often very “remote” from real human needs. The solution should be found in organisation of communities, which implies that their resources should be assessed in terms of needs of those who are facing economic and social problems.

Where and how could this approach be best applied?

Local community plays a vital role in the process of social inclusion. In such “natural” ambience, in which displaced persons and returnees live, community based social work, as a complex methodological approach, could efficiently respond to numerous aspects of social exclusion.

It is unfortunate that local communities are primarily expected to implement given policies, rather than to encourage self-organisation based on needs of their residents. For that reason, community organisation is primarily identified with political organisation and structures, rather than with organisation of economic, cultural or social relations and processes in the community. Persistence on ethnic and political differences could shift the attention from real problems present in local communities. The atmosphere of ethnic division is not conducive to struggle for social inclusion of all. Alienation of certain individuals goes on, while the scope of human interactions inevitably narrows down. Members of different ethnic groups are socially excluded while members of other ethnicities are not. Ethnic distance leads to isolation which leaves limited space for social inclusion of individuals and to their alienation from regular social processes.

Despite that, important progress could be made at the level of local communities. First and foremost, one needs to keep insisting that the state has “the responsibility to care” about social inclusion of all its citizens into political, economic and social mainstream. Initial responsibility of the local community is to determine its goals and identify problems. This is followed by the defining of priorities. Since displaced persons and returnees make a significant part of the population of local communities in BiH, resolution of their social problems is certainly on the list of priorities. A comprehensive analysis of problems needs to be made and possible courses of action defined at the level of local communities. Therefore, local communities need to define available resources, possibilities, funding and methods of resolution of the problem of social inclusion of displaced persons and returnees. That is the starting point for planning of action and development of special plans and programmes. Specific actions at the level of local communities imply use of available resources (material, political, moral and cultural resources), mobilisation of citizens, **voluntary organisations** and relevant formal and informal structures within communities in order to ensure successful integration of displaced persons and returnees. Constant monitoring of activities and evaluation and revision of plans constitute integral part of responsibilities of the local community and the same applies to successful organisation of local communities through processes of negotiations, cooperation, coordination and dissemination of information to the public.

Displaced persons and returnees should be given the opportunity to fully participate in economic, social and cultural life and accomplish an optimum standard of living. They should also be involved in the processes of decision-making of importance to their everyday lives and access to resources of their local communities. Within their local communities,

they should also be granted access to employment and opportunities to earn adequate income to make a decent living, in addition to creating opportunities for lifetime learning, providing adequate housing, strengthening family solidarity and micro-social networks, securing equal access to health, cultural, recreational and legal services and improving provision of social services.

The question of the extent to which the local communities are capable of implementing these goals remains open. It is obvious that their abilities to do so are limited, since many local communities are still disorganised as a result of immense war devastation, forceful migrations and ethnic differences. Changes should focus on individual needs of beneficiaries, expansion of services provided within the social work sector, and expansion of network of stakeholders of the social system. Partnership with beneficiaries is a backbone of such an approach. Displaced persons and returnees should receive support provided by the community, which means they should be involved in the resolution of their own problems. That implies recognition of real needs of beneficiaries and full use of the potential they have. Local communities should employ approach which focuses on the client, they should adapt their support and services they provide to real needs, they should develop partnership between public and nongovernmental sectors, perform ongoing planning and evaluation activities and raise awareness of the needs and problems experienced by displaced persons and returnees.

All of the above listed activities represent an integral part of community-based social work, the most important value of which is reflected in a complex approach to resolution of social problems, including the problem of social inclusion of displaced persons and returnees.

V CONCLUSION

As noted in the introductory section, (local) community based social work not only puts available resources into efficient use, but also opens possibilities for close cooperation between public and nongovernmental sectors. This cooperation is important in the prevention and elimination of causes of social exclusion in general, and especially social exclusion of displaced persons and returnees. On one side, numerous social problems experienced by this population and their diversity, and on the other side, insufficient potential of the state, point to a conclusion that efforts of the public sector need to be complemented by initiatives and activities of nongovernmental organisations. Voluntary organisation of citizens and impact of nongovernmental organisations are some of necessary solutions, while cooperation between government and nongovernmental sectors is inevitable. In the case of cooperation between nongovernmental and public sectors, it is very important to distinguish the difference between the situation in which these two systems operate, next to each other, in parallel, implementing separate policies and fulfilling different goals and the situation in which the relationship of mutual cooperation, support and understanding is established between them. Different principles of operation of public and nongovernmental sectors do not exclude the possibility of mutual cooperation. Moreover, this cooperation represents a condition for them to provide a quality response to needs of citizens. The process of networking of government and nongovernmental sectors, including all of their available resources (also including the potential of displaced persons/returnees and their primary groups) requires patience, skill and persistence.

Since local communities represent a natural ambience in which the citizen meets the state, it is logical that it is precisely in the local communities that the cooperation could be best established between citizens (associated on voluntary basis) and the state/public institutions. In local communities, where nongovernmental organisations deal with social problems, this fact needs to be considered. If the problems are of specific nature, like the problems experienced by displaced persons and returnees, nongovernmental organisations could contribute to social inclusion in the area of economic, political, civic, social or cultural participation. They could play an important role in monitoring (control of public affairs), advocating work (lobbying in favour of those public policies they prefer or against those they disagree with), capacity building (provision of support to the community or to other civil society organisations) and provision of services to marginalised groups. Many nongovernmental organisations are well equipped in provision of psycho-social services, health or educational services. Sometimes they may play a key role, especially in cases when they have well established relations at the level of the community. For that reason, **a more significant role can be entrusted to the**

civil society sector at the local level, since they would encourage social inclusion through provision of services in areas not sufficiently covered by the state. Doing that, they would cause change in perceptions and decrease prejudices and even assume a central role in creating and bringing about positive changes.

Case Study

Social Inclusion of Returnees in Local Community

Jagoda Petrović, M.A.

Agency for Refugee Assistance

The municipality is the basic local community in which needs of citizens, including displaced persons and returnees, are met in the area of social protection. Application of measures in the area of expanded social protection benefits remains important in the resolution of their problem of social exclusion. What if such possibilities are not available and socially vulnerable persons do not represent “classic” clients of a social work centre? Could perhaps the nongovernmental organisations help there, by organising provision of assistance from the segment of expanded benefits such as care and assistance at home, assistance in economic engagement and maintaining of the family, assistance in exercising personal, economic and social rights, counselling, mediation in use of services provided by institutions and services in local communities, occasional assistance in provision of groceries, clothing, footwear, heating fuels and assistance in social, cultural and general integration of excluded groups?

Implementation of the project under the title: “Reintegration of Elderly Persons / Returnees” in Janja local community serves as a positive example which illustrates the capacity of NGOs in networking of relevant bodies of the local community in order to ensure social inclusion of returnees through appropriate stages of community based social work.

STAGE 1 – Monitoring and Identification of Social Needs of Returnees in the Local Community

Assessment of real needs and problems of the returnee population on the territory of Bijeljina Municipality was an initial step. The majority of returnees (about 8,000) were found on the territory of Janja local community, with over 40% of them in the category of senior persons, aged 60 or more. During the pre-war period, the population of this local community was exclusively engaged in agricultural production. Considering the material situation and qualifications of this population, there were no conditions to enable them to earn income from other sources. This was identified as a key factor of their social exclusion. Since these persons represented a minority ethnic group, as opposed to the majority population, their access to local institutions was reduced, not only due to the lack of interest of the local community but also due to the lack of confidence of beneficiaries.

STAGE 2 – Identification of Resources and Methods for Resolution of the Problem

This phase focused on identification of individuals, public institutions and organisations which could be able to contribute to the resolution of the problem. Cooperation was established with the Centre for Social Work, Muni-

pal Department of the Ministry for Refugees and Displaced Persons, Department for Human Rights and Reintegration operating under the relevant entity Ministry, municipal Department for Issues of Displaced Persons and Returnees, representatives of the local community, medical centre and the local media. The clients played an important role in assessment of available resources. Their potentials consisted of their relatively good health, enthusiasm about returning to their homes and properties, ownership of arable land and good relationships among neighbours.

STAGE 3 – Defining Goals

The end goal of the project was social inclusion of returnees into the local community, within which the goals focusing on the community and the goals focusing on clients were defined. The goals focusing on the local community were planned to result in changed attitudes and behaviours of all relevant stakeholders towards problems experienced by the returnee population. For that reason, it was necessary to work on combining the identified resources at the level of the local community, ensure joint participation in specific action and maintain constant exchange of information. The goals focusing on beneficiaries lead towards their equal participation in resolution of problems, through individual empowerment, establishment of micro-social network and economic sustainability.

STAGE 4 – Planning of Actions and Activities

The project implementation team of ARA NGO (social worker / coordinator, lawyer, psychologist and medical worker) prepared the plan of activities. The plan of activities, focused on empowerment of clients and included direct treatment, based on everyday contacts with beneficiaries. Once individual social case history was defined for each beneficiary, it was planned to engage into group social work with beneficiaries found to have similar problems. The purpose of group social work was not only to empower beneficiaries, but also to form a functioning micro-social network and a network of solidarity among neighbours.

STAGE 5 – Implementation of Activities

During the initial phase, development of a relationship of mutual trust was in the focus and distribution of assistance in clothing, footwear and heating fuels helped develop such a relationship. The condition of health of beneficiaries was monitored on a regular basis, through regular medical examinations and adequate medical treatment.

A lot of effort was put into change of the legal status of clients (representation of clients in exercising their property rights and rights to health protection, drafting requests for assistance in sustainable return, etc.).

Social worker organised work with groups of beneficiaries twice a month. During the initial meetings common problems were discussed, while later the attention was shifted to possible perspectives. All beneficiaries perceived continuation of agriculture production as not only a secure source of income, but also a kind of occupational therapy, which could help them have meaningful everyday lives. With time, a strong solidarity was developed among neighbours and groups and it evolved into strong informal micro-communities. During the entire time, activities were undertaken to “network” relevant local stakeholders. At the initial phase of selection of beneficiaries, representatives of the local community, Municipal Department for Displaced Persons, Association of Returnees and Municipal Department for Issues of Displaced Persons and Returnees were consulted. The agreement on the proposed list of beneficiaries served as an opportunity for the nongovernmental organisation to present its project of integration of returnees and explain its goals and its plan of implementation. Approval and support were given and consensus was made about priorities and division of responsibilities.

On the basis of demonstrated interest of returnees and the relationship of solidarity among neighbours, which was developed in the meantime, five informal groups with 10 members in each were established.

Through the engagement of ARA NGO, SDC donated one cultivator, with additional four cultivators and two greenhouses provided through the programme of sustainable return implemented by the relevant entity Ministry. To receive donations, members of solidarity groups had to sign agreements, by which a representative of a group pledged to cultivate the land owned by other group members, when necessary. That enabled re-establishment of agriculture production of **50 returnee families**, which created conditions for economic sustainability of about **170 returnees**. Members of the solidarity groups return the value back to the community, distributing part of their produce to immobile, elderly and sick persons.

STAGE 6 - Evaluation

A change occurred in living conditions of all beneficiaries. Regular non-institutional care is provided to immobile persons and persons suffering from severe medical conditions. The beneficiaries were empowered through individual and group social work and they became active participants in changes, accomplishing self-sustainability in cooperation with NGOs and other support providers.

The cooperation was established with local institutions and organisations which assumed part of the responsibilities, in line with their competencies.

The Centre for Social Work accepted the local NGO as an equal partner in resolution of the problem of social inclusion of returnees.

The local department of the relevant Ministry accepted the model employed by the local NGO, as one of possible approaches to be used within programmes of sustainable return.

Active participation of local organisations and institutions contributed to development of a different view to problems returnees experience in local communities, which helped change attitudes and behaviours prevalent in the environment. Public promotion of implementation and results of project activities by the media was of help as well.

* * *

This example illustrated that a nongovernmental organisation could also become an initiator and a key stakeholder in networking of different participants in public and nongovernmental sector operating at the local community level. The basis of this cooperation is reflected in resolution of specific problems, with clearly defined plans, goals and joint participation in some activities. Networking of these two sectors and combination of all available resources (also including potential of beneficiaries and primary groups) must be characterised by approval of all participants and respect for particular features and abilities of all of the stakeholders involved.

Inclusive Education in BiH

Radmila Rangelov-Jusović
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1. Introduction

“Every person - child, youth and adult - must be guaranteed access to educational opportunities designed to meet their basic learning needs. These needs comprise both essential learning tools (such as literacy, oral expression, calculating, and problem solving) and the basic learning content (such as knowledge, skills, values, and attitudes) required by human beings to be able to survive, to develop their full capacities, to live and work in dignity, to participate fully in development, to improve the quality of their lives, to make informed decisions, and to continue learning.”¹

In the last decade, the issue of exercising the fundamental right to *high-quality* education, and investing into human resource development in general, has gained in importance and has possibly become the key development issue gathering momentum in discussions, documents and practices across the world. Similarly, the awareness is being raised of the fact that the right to education is also becoming a matter of survival, as well as that in future the wealth of a country will be measured against the degree of education of all its citizens.

Unfortunately, the number of children excluded from the education system still amounts to millions, while the large number of adults unable to exercise this right impedes and threatens all the areas of development: economic, cultural and social. The right to education affects all other rights, so that the failure to exercise it inevitably deepens the gap between the rich and the poor, between rural and urban areas, between countries and regions.

“While commitment to attaining universal right to access to education is essential, improving and sustaining the quality of basic education is equally important in ensuring efficient learning outcomes.”²

The right to education, beginning with the moment of birth and lasting till the end of life, does not imply only a formal, physical access to different education institutions, but also an ensured quality that yields results and outcomes necessary for a high-quality life of an individual, participation in social and economic life and the development of society as a whole. One of the fundamental characteristics of high-quality schools is inclusive orientation implying “the most effective means of combating discriminatory attitudes, creating welcoming communities, building an inclusive society and

1 World Declaration on Education For All: Meeting Basic Learning Needs; World Conference on Education for All, Jomtein, Thailand, March 1990.; <http://www.un-documents.net/jomtien.htm>.

2 Dakar Framework for Action, Education for All: Meeting our Collective Commitments; The World Education Forum, 26-28 April 2000, Dakar, Senegal; <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0012/001211/121147e.pdf>.

achieving 'education for all'. High-quality, inclusive schools ... provide an effective education for the majority of children and improve the efficiency and ultimately the cost-effectiveness of the entire education system."³

*"Educational systems must be inclusive, actively seeking out children who are not enrolled, and responding flexibly to the circumstances and needs of all students."*⁴

The issue of exercising the right to education and achieving desired outcomes is often related to the wealth of a country and/or the level of investment into education. Not contesting the importance and the need for investing financial resources, comparative research and external evaluation of education outcomes (e.g. the PISA) indicate that, in a certain number of developed countries, children do not achieve the minimum or optimum standards required for successful inclusion into higher education levels, as well as modern trends in economy. On the other hand, a number of developing countries are beginning to stand out in terms of extremely high education outcomes, which opens the issue of other factors influencing the outcomes of an education system.

The education system is an extremely complex system requiring proper coordination and high-quality with regard to a number of its elements. The quality of education process affects achievements of desired goals and outcomes, which is directly related to the competence of teachers and their lifetime learning. Another important element is the capacity of the school and the entire system to be flexible and adjust to the needs of every child and family, acknowledge cultural and other differences and generate an inclusive environment, as well as actively involve families, the community, etc. The issue of social inclusion can, therefore, not be treated as a separate phenomenon, nor can problems in this field be solved separately from the education system as a whole.

In the aspiration of the European Union "to become the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economy in the world,"⁵ the right to high-quality education has gained a new dimension. The exercise of this and other rights requires uniform, coordinated and comprehensive involvement of government and nongovernmental organisations and institutions, of the business and private sectors, not only in the field of education but also in fields of social welfare and healthcare, as well as other sectors both in the country and in the world.

2. Education System in Bosnia and Herzegovina – Current Situation

a. What is the Place of Social Inclusion Within Education in BiH?

Exercising the right to high-quality education is certainly one of the crucial issues for the future of our country, but also for facing the current burning priorities related to poverty reduction and sustainable social and economic development. Statistics clearly indicate that people without or with a very low level of formal education and, unfortunately, families with three and more children account for the highest percentage of the unemployed and, consequently, the poor in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Thus, there are thousands of children in Bosnia and Herzegovina who live below the poverty line or just above it. The information that between 4% and 8% of children⁶ (or over 64% of Roma children) are not enrolled in or do not complete primary school indicates that, unless urgent actions are taken, the percentage of the poor will increase rather than decrease in the future, while Bosnia and Herzegovina, as a country, will face the problem of economic survival.

3 The Salamanca Statement and Framework for Action on Special Needs Education; World Conference on Special Needs Education: Access and quality; Salamanca, Spain, 10 June 1994, <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0009/000984/098427eo.pdf>.

4 Dakar Framework for Action, Education for All: Meeting our Collective Commitments; The World Education Forum, 26-28 April 2000, Dakar, Senegal; <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0012/001211/121147e.pdf>.

5 The European Council; Presidency Conclusions, 23 and 24 March 2000, Lisbon, Portugal; http://www.consilium.europa.eu/ueDocs/cms_Data/docs/pressData/en/ec/00100-r1.en0.htm.

6 UNDP, Human Development Report, 2003, <http://www.undp.ba>.

In addition to the above information, there are a number of examples illustrating the current situation relating to the exercise of the right to education and social inclusion in Bosnia and Herzegovina: between 85% and 95% of children of the early age have no access to any form of pre-school education, Roma children are exposed to different forms of discrimination, ethnic segregation of children has been a reality for more than a decade, textbooks and other learning material encourage stratification and antagonism or, at least, do not encourage acknowledging differences; we are not aware of problems of many children because they are 'invisible'; there are no relevant records on them, they have no documents, health insurance, etc.

Despite such a dramatic situation, these problems and their solutions are almost not on the agenda of the BiH government institutions, even of the education ministries, pedagogical institutes and other education institutions. Many will not agree with this statement, claiming that a lot has been done, considering the circumstances. Namely, the fact that, during the past years and particularly since 2002, many formal steps have been taken to ensure social and education inclusion in our country, and that a number of laws and by-laws have been passed and a number of reform documents have been signed guaranteeing all children the right to have high-quality education. This right is also governed by Article II.3 of the BiH Constitution, reading the following: "*All persons within the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina shall enjoy the human rights and fundamental freedoms ...; these include ... the right to education.*"⁷

It is clear that the formal legislation exist and sures the right of **free education** to every child. Free elementary education is ensured to all children,⁸ an additional year of compulsory primary education is introduced in order to include as many children of pre-school age as possible, the inclusion of children with developmental impediments into regular schools is governed by law,⁹ educational needs of children belonging to minority groups are governed by the Law on Protection of Members of National Minorities¹⁰ and then by the Action Plan,¹¹ etc. Bosnia and Herzegovina is a signatory to many conventions, declarations, strategies and other documents promoting access, equal rights, respect and non-discrimination.

To claim that providing for these formal preconditions will solve almost all problems and that this will lead to ensuring the right to education for every child, thus solving the main issues with regard to social inclusion, would be more dangerous than to admit that we have not made any significant progress with regard to these processes.

The implementation of the above laws and by-laws, as well as signed plans and strategies, often fails or results in occasional activities, short-term and general solutions, which only appear as actions, while the attention is diverted from crucial to formal problems.

For instance, at the beginning of every school year, when many parents are concerned how to provide for purchasing textbooks, clothes, shoes, stationery and other items required for enrolment and higher grades, education authorities are busy with opening debates on introducing school uniforms or on the schoolbag weight. Distribution of free textbooks, which often comes late or is not accessible to all vulnerable groups, is often the only activity taken by education authorities in the attempt to ensure equal access to formal education, which is limited to lower levels of education only.

Thus, limited resources, time and energy are being wasted. Actions taken do not yield desired results, leading to defeatism, fatigue and discouragement while giving new arguments to the adversary side. Relevant evaluation and analyses of activities are not undertaken either, so that each year sees a similar situation.

The most vulnerable, minority and marginalised groups often do not take part in any way in such and similar activities that are undertaken 'for them' and 'on their behalf.' This situation is also aggravated by the fact that members

7 BiH Constitutional Court; http://www.ccbh.ba/public/down/USTAV_BOSNE_I_HERCEGOVINE_bos.pdf.

8 Framework Law on Primary and Secondary Education in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Article 16, *Official Gazette of Bosnia and Herzegovina* No. 18/2003.

9 Framework Law on Primary and Secondary Education in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Article 16, *Official Gazette of Bosnia and Herzegovina* No. 18/2003.

10 *Official Gazette* of BiH No. 12/2003.

11 Ministry of Human Rights of Bosnia and Herzegovina; Action Plan for Educational Needs of Roma and Other National Minorities in Bosnia and Herzegovina, 2004.

of these groups have certain difficulties accessing schools and other institutions, so that they have no opportunity to become informed about their rights or how to exercise them.

With regard to the exercise of the right of every child to education, guaranteed by law, it is important to note that education authorities and institutions have no formal responsibility, nor are there any prescribed procedures and sanctions following failure to apply them. On the other hand, procedures are implemented for fining parents who (often due to their poverty or a lack of transportation) fail to send their children to school. There are no observed cases when schools have been held responsible for refusing (or discouraging, at least) enrolment of Roma children or children with developmental impediments, while cases of discrimination or segregation have never been sanctioned.

A lack of critical analysis of the current situation and serious reactions to the problems that our children and families are facing, save for voices coming from different associations and the NGO sector in general, is a result of a rather vague idea of the obligations on the part of the community, the education system and schools in implementing this right. Namely, families, the community, authorities at different levels and even schools still nurture the idea that our education system is 'good,' that no significant changes are required and that the problem lies elsewhere. There is a widespread conviction that school was defined long ago, that its function is to enrol, teach and assess, while it is up to parents to make their children attend school, do their homework, have the required textbooks and other material, learn the required teaching contents, etc. The inclusion of minority, marginalised and other vulnerable groups in the education system, as well as rendering assistance to children and families, still depends on the individual will and is treated as 'an exceptional effort' and 'good will' of schools, not as their duty.

The school and the community must be proactive, putting additional efforts and creating a flexible system that will accommodate the needs of every child and family, not the other way round. It is inadmissible that a certain number of children do not enrol to or do not graduate from school because they have no adequate conditions for it, do not use the language of the majority, are not assessed according to their capacities, etc. Such a situation will lead to further social stratification and unbridgeable gaps in future.

A quality education needs to abolish gender stereotypes about men and women abundantly present in BiH textbooks. Girls and boys have the right to build their futures and careers through education, unburdened by traditional divisions between "male and female" topics and jobs. High-quality education, which reform processes strive to achieve, treats social inclusion as one of its fundamental principles and, building on similarities rather than on differences, ensures that every child can become a happy and productive citizen, engaged in lifelong learning.

b. Legislation Versus Reality

If we compare only some articles of the Framework Law on Primary and Secondary Education in Bosnia and Herzegovina with the current statistical data, we can get a clear picture about the discrepancy between legislation and its application.

The Framework Law on Primary and Secondary Education in Bosnia and Herzegovina reads the following:

Article 4

Every child shall have the right of access and equal possibility to participate in appropriate educational process, without discrimination on whatever grounds.

Equal access and equal possibilities shall imply ensuring equal conditions and opportunities for everyone, to start and further pursue education.

Article 35

The school shall not discriminate in children's access to education or their participation in educational process on the basis of race, colour, gender, language, religion, political or other belief, national or social origin, on the basis of special needs status, or on any other basis.

In the sense of paragraph 1. of this Article, the competent educational authorities and institutions, together with schools, shall be especially responsible for providing for functional accommodation and supporting infrastructure for children with special needs, young people and adults, to allow for unrestricted access to education.

Article 36

The school shall promote equal opportunities for all its students, teachers and other employees, taking into consideration and at the same time promoting the right for differences among them. To this aim, the school shall establish and carry out its own programs that support and promote different cultures, languages, and religions of its students and staff.

In Bosnia and Herzegovina:

Only **5 – 6%** pre-school children have access to organised forms of pre-school education;

Between **4 and 8%** of children are not enrolled in primary schools, where this number tends to increase;

More than **64%** of children belonging to the Roma ethnic minority **DO NOT** attend school;

54 cases of 'two schools under one roof' imply segregation and/or discrimination of children on ethnic grounds;

There are considerably more **girls/women** who **DO NOT** enrol in or graduate from primary school and higher levels of education;

No school offers **bilingual curricula** or optional curricula in languages of national minorities.

c. Vulnerable Groups and Key Issues

What are the difficulties that our children and families are facing? What are the socially excluded groups we are talking about and how is this exclusion reflected in the field of education?

The group most frequently mentioned with regard to social exclusion consists of children belonging to the Roma ethnic minority, the most numerous one in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The reasons for a very low percentage of children who enrol in and complete compulsory and, particularly, higher levels of education cannot be related to one or two problems only. Unemployment, poverty, a low level of education of their parents, their poor living conditions are only one side of the issue. These difficulties are also causally related to discrimination and oppression coming from the system (the right to language, to studying of culture, etc.), social isolation and segregation, low expectations, etc., based on the existing stereotypes and prejudice.

The problems that a certain percentage of children and families face are also complex and interrelated, so that it is difficult to talk about unequivocal categories. For instance, children with developmental impediments, in addition to health-related difficulties, often have no physical access to necessary services and no transportation to schools or other

education institutions; they, therefore, live in isolation. Children in refugee and other camps live in very poor conditions, below the poverty line, sometimes do not have one or both parents, are exposed to constant traumas, etc.

The table below gives an overview of only some of the socially excluded categories, and indicates some of the elements causing social exclusion in the field of education.

<p>Minority groups:</p> <p>Members of ethnic minorities</p> <p>'Relative minorities'</p>	<p>There is a lack of bilingual or optional curricula for learning mother tongue; inability of schools and teachers to adjust to different needs and create a culturally-sensitive environment acknowledging differences.</p> <p>Textbooks, teaching materials and learning environment encourage prejudice and stereotypes with regard to members of different ethnic and religious groups and/or do not reflect or cherish acknowledging differences, particularly the sense of pride for belonging to one's country.</p> <p>Segregation of children (whether in separate buildings, separate classrooms, separate shifts, separate school entrances or within one classroom – separate school desks, etc.) on ethnic or religious grounds; the environment that, to say the least, does not sanction discrimination, racist, nationalist and other incidents, etc.</p> <p>There are no alternative programmes for children not attending religious instruction or there is no religious instruction for children belonging to minority groups.</p>
<p>Poverty</p>	<p>A major percentage of poor children have no access to pre-school programmes ensuring equal opportunities to each child in terms of their further education.</p> <p>Schooling IS NOT free. The assistance rendered to families is insufficient (it cannot cover all the needs, very vulnerable families do not meet the criteria for receiving assistance) and untimely (delivered with a several-month delay while, at the same time, schools require children to have textbooks in order to be allowed to attend classes, etc.).</p> <p>Families often do not have the means to even register their children, while a high percentage of children do not exercise their right to free health education.</p> <p>Transportation to schools is not provided even when it is stipulated as a legal obligation.</p> <p>Children from poor families (according to statistics, often in cases of children whose parents have a low level of education) are often related to low expectations with regard to their outcomes and success, while there are no special programmes in the system aiming at solving the problem of the lack of conditions for studying at home, etc.</p>
<p>Gender</p>	<p>As in other fields, there are mostly no precise and relevant data related to schooling of girls and gender equality. According to the OSCE indicators, 48% of women and 25% of men in rural areas of BiH are illiterate and have not completed primary education. In urban areas, 7.8% of men and 22.25% of women have not completed primary school. There are still no affirmative action examples with regard to girls' enrolment and completion of higher education levels (particularly from poor and minority families).</p> <p>Curricula, learning materials and textbooks contain a number of examples of encouraging stereotypes.</p>
<p>Children with special needs</p>	<p>Inclusion of children with developmental impediments is introduced even in schools that do not meet the optimum requirements – teaching staff has no adequate training, facilities do not provide for access and/or proper teaching process, there is no adequate professional help, assistants, programmes for activities and support to parents, etc.</p> <p>In certain schools, children with developmental impediments are being segregated, placed in separate classes and even buildings; there is still the problem of physical access, etc.</p>

Marginalised children (abused children, children suffering from HIV AIDS, children in refugee camps, etc.)	<p>The most frequent problem is related to inadequate coordination among different institutions, particularly education, healthcare and social welfare institutions, as well as to the inability to solve certain problems at the state level.</p> <p>Not only the public but also teaching staff and parents are not properly informed and educated about various problems that many children and families are facing so that, consequently, these children are exposed to different forms of discrimination, segregation, social isolation, labelling, etc., which makes rendering assistance and exercising the right to education even more difficult.</p>
Children over the regular primary education age	<p>Despite the legal entitlement to attend school, organising additional and special classes and examinations for children between 15 and 18 years of age who have not enrolled in or completed primary school is conditioned by financial resources and often left 'at the discretion' of schools.</p> <p>There are very few organised literacy and education programmes for adults or retraining and in-service training, which would lead to their employment or life-quality improvement and would consequently reduce poverty.</p>
Adults	

3. The Role of the Nongovernmental Sector in the Field of Social Inclusion in Education

The role of civil society or, more specifically, of nongovernmental organisations (NGOs) in the post-war period in Bosnia and Herzegovina can almost not be realistically assessed. They were organised and worked in the most difficult period of a destroyed and politically and economically complex country in which social exclusion was a rule rather than an exception and in a situation where long-term planning was almost impossible and needs were enormous. As a result, we sometimes seemed not to have made any progress.

The fields of engagement of the government and nongovernmental organisations have often intertwined and, in some cases, NGOs have taken over certain responsibilities representing obligations of government institutions at various levels.

Fields of Activities of NGOs

One of the key roles of civil society and nongovernmental sector has undeniably been to **point out the existence of problems**. Many of them would not have been identified as problems without NGOs, which have **given a voice** to many marginalised and vulnerable groups – to children with developmental impediments, to children without parental care, sick children... NGOs were the first to point out that our education system was not inclusive, and pressured schools and education authorities to implement the right of every individual, particularly of children, to education.

The NGO sector has had a significant influence in terms of **sensitising the public**, particularly the media, their education and clarification of the causes and consequences of certain phenomena. Namely, social isolation, stereotypical and one-sided presentation of certain groups and maintaining prejudice are some of the major obstacles to the exercise of different rights, including the right to education. On the other hand, reconsidering convictions and the system of values are the most complex and the longest lasting processes, which require a lot of skill and dedication, a lot of time and consistency.

Similarly, it is necessary to offer new **models and examples of good practice**. Following effects and results in specific conditions, **NGOs have developed and applied** different ways of securing social inclusion at different levels of education within the formal education system and beyond it by developing different forms of informal education in communities.

NGOs are **initiators, advocates and even participants in developing** new laws and by-laws, strategies and other documents (the Framework Law on Pre-school Education; legal solutions to the issue of inclusion of children with developmental impediments into regular education, etc.) which provide a legal framework for exercising the rights of certain groups.

Analyses and surveys of the current situation, needs and positions of different vulnerable and socially excluded groups are most frequently made by the NGO sector (e.g. the situation with regard to the right of children to education, the position of Roma children within the education system, the issue of gender and gender equality and many other issues). These analyses were often the only indicators of the situation at a given moment, while the data collected through them not infrequently represented the only relevant information, considering the fact that municipal and higher-level authorities often did not have accurate information related to vulnerable and socially excluded groups.

In addition to NGOs, which primarily represent, advocate and fight for the implementation of the right to education, a certain number of specialised professional nongovernmental and non-profit organisations have been established during the years. They offer different **professional** services which traditionally used to be offered only by government institutions and organisations.

These organisations gather experts in specific fields and, thanking to their links with different international networks, great flexibility and adjusting to different needs, they are able to offer highly-sophisticated services compatible with similar services in far more developed and wealthier countries. This is particularly related to development and implementation of different specific **training programmes for teachers and other professionals** in the field of education and related sectors relating to inclusive education in broad terms, to development or adjustment of socially-sensitive, integrated and outcome-oriented **curricula**, development of university courses for different areas of the contemporary education system, to implementation of new **education models, research**, publishing, etc.

a. Difficulties NGOs are Facing

Difficulties and obstacles that NGOs are facing on a daily basis arise from a number of factors: extreme complexity of the context they work in, a lack of continuous and long-term projects and sources of funds, which are the only guarantee of sustainable changes in the education sector in particular, as well as low definition of certain legislation areas which would govern the work and/or certain activities of NGOs.

As in other fields, the work of NGOs in the field of education, particularly with regard to their fight for human rights and rights of children, is made even more difficult by the segmentation of the system, resulting in non-harmonised legislation and practices implemented through 13 ministries of education. The issue of social inclusion must be solved at the state level, since the right to education transcends the boundaries of cantons and entities or even the state itself.

The cooperation with NGOs frequently begins and ends by giving approval for project implementation or by signing various cooperation agreements. These projects reflect the efforts of NGOs to develop and pilot different models to be incorporated into the formal system and supported by authorities. It often happens, however, that even after the initial establishment of a model it is further maintained by NGOs rather than by government organisations. Care about children with developmental impediments, transportation of children, help delivered to socially most vulnerable families and children, etc. are only some of these examples. Such a situation further exhausts NGOs and burdens their already limited human and financial resources.

In-service training and education of teachers and other professionals, as already mentioned, is mostly implemented with the help and organisation of NGOs. According to the results of a research conducted with a sample of 2200 primary-school teachers in Bosnia and Herzegovina, more than 70% of teacher training, including some form of in-service training, was implemented by nongovernmental organisations.¹² Around 50% of teachers have still not had any training that might help them implement reform goals or meet their legal obligations (inclusion, nine-year primary education, etc.).

¹² Survey of needs of teachers for further in-service training, COI Step by Step and UNICEF, 2006.

The situation in other fields is quite similar, so that, in the long term, NGOs are certain to play a very important role in the field of in-service training and lifetime learning. The current legislation and practice, however, do not provide for better exploitation of the existing developed resources and their use within the formal system, or for supporting development of new resources. Various training programmes developed by NGOs are not accredited as there is no legal framework for doing so. There are no standards relating to teachers' work; there are no precise guidelines and rules relating to the practice of implementation, monitoring and financing continuous in-service training, additional training, retraining, promotion, etc. The current education system is still centralised (although within smaller territorial units) and organised so as to secure and maintain control over all the segments in education, despite the fact that the system has neither the capacity nor professional resources to meet the growing needs of the system, schools, teachers and children and families in particular.

Results of extensive research and serious analyses made by NGOs are often not taken into consideration while developing policies and strategies, while proven models and examples of good practice are not seen as a potential and an opportunity, but often as competition to the system.

The interest and initiatives of individual teachers, schools and local communities for engaging in different activities and projects implemented by NGOs are not always matched by support on the part of education and other, higher-level authorities. When given, such support is of formal and declarative nature only. This leads to a lack of harmonisation within the education system, which contains examples of extremely good practice and results, commitment to quality and principles of social justice, but also cases of schools violating children's and human rights.

It would be unjust, however, to say that there have not been examples of excellent cooperation with education and other, mainly local authorities in certain areas. Unfortunately, this practice is often interrupted (as it depends upon) personnel changes, while political influences and interests mainly outweigh the care for welfare of children and families. Time and resources are wasted while needs and problems keep growing.

4. Instead of Conclusion, or What are the Opportunities for Effective Action

Exercising the right to education must become one of the ultimate goals at the level of the entire state of BiH. This is an issue that does not touch upon everyday politics but is a universal and essential one for achieving long-term goals and the basis of economic and any other development. It should be emphasised once again that the right to education does not imply only access to educational institutions but also includes the right to high-quality education leading to desired outcomes and development of full capacities of each individual.

The issue of social justice and inclusion cannot be solved partially or separately from the system as a whole. In the context of schools (which can be applied to all other areas), it is important to direct them so as to develop an **inclusive culture** or a safe and encouraging community accepting, cooperating and respecting everyone and representing a basis for the highest achievements of all community members; an **inclusive policy** implying clear strategies for change and activities strengthening capacities of the school to respond to differences among students; **inclusive practice** relying on differences as an advantage, works on the principles of individualisation and differentiation, and encourages students to cooperate and actively participate in all aspects of their education.¹³

Building an inclusive community, changing the system of values and achieving the set goals and policies in practice requires mobilisation of all available resources.

Cooperation within and among sectors should be reflected in the following:

- Harmonisation of the vision, mission and goals of the education system in terms of social inclusion; professional consensus about the issues of high-quality and inclusive education and development of standards;

¹³ Inclusive education Centre for Studies on Inclusive Education, UK, <http://inclusion.uwe.ac.uk/csie/csiehome.htm>.

- Development of strategies and action plans on the basis of partnerships with participation of all interested parties, particularly minority, marginalised and other excluded groups;
- Budget planning and allocation of resources in accordance with joint priorities and proven practice applied by NGOs and government organisations; including NGO services in the system of funding; monitoring the efficiency of allocation of resources (cost-effectiveness);
- Formal engagement of all developed NGO capacities in the situation analysis segment, in different research, teacher training and training of other professionals, etc.;
- Involving the NGO network in the process of providing relevant information and education of the public, communities, parents and other interested parties about their rights and ways of their implementation, and about relevant goals and activities;
- Continuous dialogue and monitoring, evaluation and promotion of activities and results in the segment of social inclusion within the education sector;
- Better mutual cooperation and establishment of coalitions and NGO networks at the state level;
- Efforts on one's own training and specialisation in certain fields within the profession;
- Multidisciplinary approach to the issue of the right to education, and joining together of NGOs and government organisations from different sectors.

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Case Study

Improving the Approach to Education of Roma Children

Mirsada Bajramović
Zemlja djece

Roma population of Bosnia and Herzegovina still experience extreme poverty, unemployment, homelessness and inadequate access to education, social and healthcare services. Surveys conducted by the organisation “Zemlja djece” (Land of children) showed that the majority of Roma children is not in position to attend school due to extremely harsh living conditions, which prevent them from affording necessary textbooks and school supplies. These factors, along with discriminatory attitude and prejudice against Roma in school, and compulsory administrative and other cost of education, to a great extent limit Roma’s access to regular education, despite the willingness of many Roma parents to enrol their children into schools. “Children need lots of things when they go to school, nice clothes and shoes, they must not be dirty and in torn up clothes, must have money to buy a sandwich, schoolbag, books and notebooks, and I don’t have all that” – said a nine-year-old girl who is not included in the regular education system.

With an aim to achieve systematic changes that would ensure equal access to education for Roma children, “Zemlja djece” has been implementing the project “**Strengthening the Approach to Education of Roma Children**” since 2005. This program is focused on the development of models for provision of direct services, work with pilot groups that will gradually be integrated into educational process. Specific characteristic of this project is that it includes children who live and work in the streets. This is the most vulnerable category of children who are uncared for and neglected in aspects of rearing, education, hygiene and health, and are frequently victims of abuse or economic exploitation by their community or family. Activities are implemented in Tuzla teenage centre “Telex” trough:

- Educational and counselling work with children,
- Counselling work with families, and
- Representation in the local community.

Educational and counselling work with children is organised based on the principle of basic literacy, preparatory lectures with pre-school children, assistance in learning the core curriculum, instructive lectures for out-of-school exams and vocational training.

Three-month courses on **basic literacy** have so far been completed by 37 candidates in the age group 6-15, out of which 33 were included into the regular educational process.

Our support in preparatory lectures helped 16 children get ready and enrol into school, and show very good results on tests. In order for them to start school the same way as other children, they receive help from local shopping centres in form of schoolbags and stationery each year. To overcome the problem of textbooks, in 2005, “Zemlja djece” launched an action to ensure financial resources from the Tuzla Cantonal Budget for the purchase of textbooks for Roma and socially deprived children. Tuzla Cantonal Government approved this initiative. On this basis, every year, the Ministry of Education distributes free textbooks to these categories of children in the canton.

Assistance in learning the core curriculum for children attending school is a very important segment of work that not only provides direct help to children but also contributes to strengthening connections with schools

and teaching staff. The 26 beneficiaries ages 6-19 receive assistance in different subjects being taught. Strong co-operation has been established with schools, so that the children's success and needs for additional help are being monitored together with school teaching staff. As a result, none of the children have dropped out, and 24 of them improved grades in all subjects. We need to point out that 7 young volunteers from "Telex" are involved in provision of additional assistance, based on their skills in particular areas.

Particularly important work under this project is the work with children and youth ages 10- 17, who terminated their education or were never included in it, and it is carried out through organisation of **instructive lectures and preparations for taking out-of-school exams**. Unfortunately, until 2005, under the cantonal Law on Primary Education, taking out-of-school exams in primary education was commercial, and students had to bare very high costs. For that reason, our organisation launched an initiative for changes and amendments to the cantonal Law, which were subsequently passed and provided for free-of-charge out-of-school exams for all children. This was initially realised with the support of two primary schools (Poljice and Kiseljak), and today, cooperation has been extended to three additional schools in Tuzla. School staff provides extensive support in this activity, including preparation of required documentation, creation of plan and program of exams, appointing exam commissions and conducting the exams. "Zemlja djece" is currently the only organisation providing this type of assistance to children and youth of Tuzla Canton in an organised manner. So far, 15 candidates completed two or more grades, and 4 successfully completed primary school education. Parents of our beneficiaries are also included in out-of-school exams and they will, after completion of primary education, be included in the program of vocational training. Due to the results of this very important segment of our work, TC Ministry of Education fully supported it and made available school capacities for these purposes. Also, they approved our request to equalise the status of these children with the status of children regularly attending school regarding the right to free schoolbooks and healthcare services. Together with our volunteers, pedagogy students of Tuzla University were included in the implementation of this activity, and long-term cooperation has been established with them.

Program of vocational training for older candidates commenced in 2006 and is primarily designed for category of youth and parents without or only with completed primary education. This activity is performed in partnership with Building/Construction & Geodesy Secondary School and Vocational Secondary School in Tuzla, the two schools in which our candidates attend five-month training courses and gain practical vocation qualifications of housepainter, tile-fitter, hairdresser, tailor, etc. Our association provided necessary materials, transport, hot meal during lectures and hired school professional staff, whereas schools made available their facilities and equipment free of charge. Cantonal Ministry of Education issued a Decree verifying this method of attaining vocational skills. To date, 27 candidates completed the training program and attained knowledge and skills of hairdressers and house-painters, while 25 are currently in training for tile-fitters and tailors. Using starting sets of tools, all candidates from the first training cycle are now applying acquired knowledge in their neighbourhoods or as apprentices in the private sector, thus ensuring income for themselves and their families. This activity also has a sustainability component, as our goal is for it to be integrated into the educational system by the year 2009.

The fact that approach of this organisation is based on long-term strategy aiming towards systematic resolution of children and youth problems is proven by our numerous initiatives for changes and amendments to positive legal regulations with a goal to remove financial and administrative barriers in education of Roma children and children from socially deprived families. Throughout the implementation of this project, we managed to introduce systematic and long-term guarantees of rights to free-of-charge out-of-school school exams in primary education, right to free textbooks, school transport and organisation of the "Summer School with Student Volunteers." Unfortunately, problems of hot meals and school stationery for these pupils still remain to be solved. Our task now is to remove these obstacles successfully, which is in the best interest of the entire social community.

Economy, Civil Society Organisations and Social Inclusion

Davorin Pavelić

Introduction

The connection between social inclusion and economy mainly comes down to analysis of capabilities / capacities of the individual to take part in the economic life of the community. Since in most cases, the only economic resource individuals have is their work, the level of inclusion in economic life of the community can be measured by the possibility of employment. In addition, the connection between social inclusion and economy can also be analysed from the perspective of how adequate the income earned by an individual through his/her economic activity is in terms of the amount required to meet one's basic existential needs and ensure inclusion into social activities of the society. A large number of employed persons, especially those employed in informal sector, earn insufficient income.

The number of individuals who are not included or who are prevented from getting included into economic life in Bosnia and Herzegovina is very high. The latest research¹ indicates a large number economically inactive but employable persons who are not employed nor are they looking for active employment.

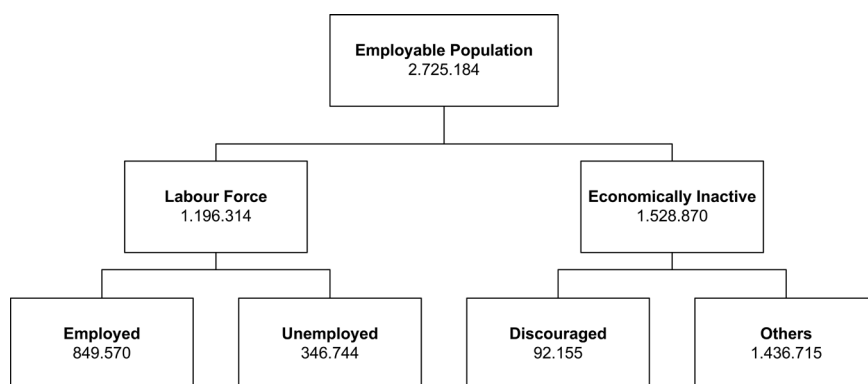


Image 1. Economic Activity of Employable Persons²

Of over 2.7 million employable persons, only 43.8% are economically active. Of the total number of economically active persons, 29% are unemployed. In addition, of the total number of employed persons, a large number is employed in informal sector, earning low wages without basic benefits and rights guaranteed to employed persons.

¹ Labour Force Survey 2006. and Labour Force Survey 2007. – previous data; Agency for Statistics of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

² Source: Labour Force Survey 2007. – previous data; Agency for Statistics of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Regardless of the definition of an unemployed person, provided by the International Labour Organisation (ILO), we can claim that over 50% of the employable population of Bosnia and Herzegovina is excluded from the economic life, either as a result of economic inactivity caused by the feeling of being discouraged, inability to get employment or employment in informal sector.

Certain categories of population are more affected by social exclusion from economic life. Women and youth are the two categories considerably more affected by the problem of unemployment and economic inactivity, compared to other categories of the population.

Another important problem of social exclusion from economic life is long term unemployment. According to the data presented in the Labour Force Survey, 87.1% of the total number of unemployed persons are unemployed over an extended period of time, that is, for more than a year.

The causes of such situation could be found in generally poor economic situation and low demand for workforce, economic growth which, despite being high, is still insufficient for a substantial change of rather grim situation in the labour market, rigidity of the labour market and its duality (formal and informal sector), inefficient operations of labour market institutions, and so on.

Institutional and Legal Framework

Institutional and legal framework is fragmented and they reflect the administrative organisation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. This fragmentation resulted from disunited economic space of the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina. When it comes to the labour market, it could be stated that there are at least three separate labour markets in Bosnia and Herzegovina, both in terms of the institutional and in terms of the legal framework. Such fragmentation of the economic space results in a more complex business circumstances requiring higher expenses which has a negative impact on the labour market dynamics.

According to the analyses of the labour market legal framework done to date, compared to other countries, Bosnia and Herzegovina is among those with the highest index of cost of employment.

The existing legal framework and rigidity of the formal labour market substantially contribute to the constant growth of the informal sector, which is also the biggest generator of new jobs. This creates a strong dualism in the labour market and a deep division into formal and informal labour market, testifying at the same time to the fact of how inflexible the formal labour market really is.

In addition, inadequate implementation and failure of employers to comply with regulations makes even those workers formally registered as employees unable to exercise some of their basic rights (such as the right to health protection and other forms of social security). Failure to comply with the provisions of the law is not only present among privately owned businesses. It is rather widespread to most of the companies owned by the state.

Institutions responsible for labour market management do not have coherent and clearly defined employment policies and labour market policies. For that reason, the majority of measures of government institutions represent a reaction to negative occurrences in the labour market, which resemble "fire fighting" efforts rather than active involvement in labour market management.

Each of the entities, as well as each of the cantons in the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, has employment bureaus. The mandate, organisation, funding and operation of entity and cantonal employment bureaus are defined by entity employment laws³.

3 Law on Mediation for Employment and Social Security of Unemployed Persons of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina;

Organisation and operation of employment bureaus in the FBiH and the RS are substantially different. While the organisation of employment bodies is more centralised⁴ in the RS, in the FBiH, the Employment Agency of the FBiH has very limited competencies and control over operations and activities of 10 cantonal employment bureaus⁵

The basic functions of employment bodies are: (i) registration of unemployed persons and assessment of fulfilment of criteria for receipt of assistance and benefits prescribed by the law in case of unemployment, (ii) provision of social and material security to unemployed persons, (iii) mediation in the labour market, (iv) collection of information and analysis of the situation in the labour market and (v) design and implementation of active measures in the labour market.

Employment bureaus are understaffed in both entities and the majority of their activities is reduced to registration of unemployed persons and provision of social security to eligible unemployed persons who met all requirements for receipt of assistance and benefits set forth by the provisions of the law. Activities of mediation in employment, professional orientation, and training and retraining of the unemployed are either not implemented or are implemented to a very limited degree in terms of number of persons participating in them.

Insufficient number of staff is not the only limiting factor preventing employment bureaus from doing more than just simply registering beneficiaries of their services. Employment bodies also operate in inadequate premises and do not have necessary equipment to work with unemployed persons. In addition, very few staff members are trained and capable of providing other types of services, in addition to registration of unemployed persons.

Difficult situation in the labour market, fragmented institutional and legal framework, complete absence of employment policies as well as inefficient institutions create the need and open space for intervention of civil society organisations.

Civil Society Organisations and Economy

What could a civil society organisation (CSO) do to enable inclusion of a large number of excluded individuals in economic life of Bosnia and Herzegovina?

The analysis of the role of CSOs in Bosnia and Herzegovina could be reduced to the analysis of types and scope of activities through which they provide assistance directly or indirectly or enable economically inadequate and excluded individuals or certain groups of individuals to become included into economic life.

As a next step, the analysis develops into two separate directions. The first direction relates to analysis of activities implemented by CSOs which provide direct assistance to individuals or specific groups within the population of unemployed persons to find or get employment. The other direction relates to analysis of activities undertaken by CSOs which create preconditions for stronger economic growth thus indirectly generate more opportunities for employment of those who are excluded from the economic life.

In terms of analysis of the existing CSOs in Bosnia and Herzegovina, our interest is primarily focused on activities of organisations which aim to establish the lacking development infrastructure (such as information centres, incubators, centres for education and training, etc.), common interest organisations such as trade unions and associations of employers, organisations involved in research and analysis of development policies (*think tanks*) and organisations lobbying for certain development priorities, budget priorities, reforms etc.

4 6 regional employment bureaus and 63 municipal employment bureaus responsible for implementation of decisions, measures and activities defined by the Head Office/Central Employment Agency;

5 Competencies of the cantonal employment bureaus are: (i) establishment of rights and privileges of registered unemployed persons, (ii) implementation of professional programmes of orientation, training and retraining of unemployed persons and their employment, (iii) collection of information on unemployed persons and submission of information to the FBiH Employment Agency, (iv) issuance of work permits to foreign citizens and persons without citizenship following issuance of approval by the FBiH Employment Agency.

It is typical for the majority of nongovernment organisations, especially those the activities of which focus on establishment of development infrastructure and analysis of development policies, that they in most cases act as branches or extensions of international organisations which are primary sponsors of activities of these organisations, but also bodies determining the focus of activities of CSOs.

Underdeveloped relations between civil society organisations and government organisations and institutions, insufficient support to nongovernment organisations provided by government institutions and unclear criteria for allocation of limited amounts earmarked for the nongovernment sector have caused very few CSOs to successfully develop necessary infrastructure and sufficient financial and human resources to be able to engage into more serious activities and make more substantial impact on the society of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

According to different assessments, between 8,000⁶ and 9,095⁷ organisations are registered in BiH. Out of the total, between 4,692⁸ and 1,500⁹ are active. Regardless of the source of information, the number of “professional” NGOs is considerably lower than the number of active organisations.

Direct Support to Individuals

Non-government organisations have implemented or are still implementing a large number of projects under which direct assistance is provided to individuals in getting employment, resolving the problem of unemployment through self-employment or increase the chances of individuals for getting employment by developing their skills and abilities.

A large number of projects are directed to self employment and initiation of small-scale businesses. Through implementation of these projects, the beneficiaries are usually provided with information, training and technical assistance in the process of planning and initiating of business ventures. Some of the projects include provision of certain amount of financial support to beneficiaries initiating their own businesses, in addition to provision of technical assistance.

Non-government organisations, mainly with financial and technical support provided by international organisations, embark on the area where government institutions and organisations failed to secure necessary development infrastructure, assistance and services to individuals. One of the examples of such activities is illustrated in establishment of business centres and business incubators (business development centres). These institutions and organisations provide a wide range of services to entrepreneurs, increasing the odds for survival of the newly established businesses.

Microcredit organisations represent one of the “success stories”. According to the information provided by the World Bank, over the ten years of their operations, they have distributed 380,000 loans generating or assisting in generating of about 200,000 jobs in Bosnia and Herzegovina. As applicable to other projects, the activities undertaken by the micro-credit organisations also focused on certain target groups. The result of such approach is reflected in the fact that they represent about 50% of beneficiaries of micro-credit organisations.

Very limited number of nongovernment organisations attempted to get involved in activities of provision of information to unemployed persons on the labour market, increase of opportunities for employment of unemployed individuals and activities related to mediation in employment of unemployed persons. One of the reasons for such limited number of organisations lies in incomplete legal framework which represents an obstacle to a more active involvement of the nongovernment sector in these activities.

6 Civil Society Analysis in BiH; USAID, BiH; 25 June 2004

7 Qualitative study 3: Employment, Provision of Social Services and the Nongovernment (NGO) Sector; Status and Perspectives of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Analysis and Implications to Policy, Independent Bureau for Humanitarian Issues BiH/Birks, Sinclair and Associates, 2005. available on <http://www.ibhibih.org/>

8 IBHI BiH/BSAL source

9 USAID source

NGOs and Development Policies

The role of the nongovernment sector in analysis, development and oversight of implementation of development policies, though not negligible, is still not enough to ensure its serious impact on development processes in the society of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

In the majority of cases, activities of these organisations are funded by the international organisations, which also determine topics, methods and approaches to analyses, development and oversight of implementation of development policies, in addition to providing funding. At the moment, there are about dozen nongovernment organisations in Bosnia and Herzegovina in possession of certain capacities for analysis, development and oversight of implementation of development policies.

However, even without engaging into assessment of efficiency of implementation of projects of civil society organisations relating to development policies or lobbying for certain development goals, it is beyond doubt that economic affairs failed in imposing themselves as the most important issue in the society of Bosnia and Herzegovina, especially among the political elitists. The responsibility for such situation is partly on underdeveloped and inactive civil society organisations.

Regardless of significant efforts of international organisations aiming to develop capacities of civil society organisations for representation and lobbying, these capacities are still underdeveloped. There are very few CSOs involved in representing interests and lobbying, and even if there are isolated examples of lobbying activities, in most cases they are focused on minor problems, which makes the lack of strategic orientation and well prepared approach to lobbying for a particular problem very evident.

The weakness of trade unions and associations of employers both of which should represent significant agents of change, is particularly obvious. During the course of 2003, the Confederation of Trade Unions of Bosnia and Herzegovina, in cooperation with experts and others CSO, developed a proposal of employment strategy in Bosnia and Herzegovina and presented it to the Council of Ministers for review. The initiative had no effect, nor did the Council of Ministers ever respond to this document.

Common Interest Civil Society Organisations

Common interest civil society organisations, such as the trade unions and association of employers are key to socio-economic dialogue in economically developed societies. The existing administrative, political and ethnic divisions present in the society of Bosnia and Herzegovina had an effect on organisation and establishment of common interest organisations. The trade unions and organisations of employers were divided to reflect administrative units present within BiH, and in most cases they were also divided to reflect the ethnic principles. The majority of these organisations do not have sufficient resources and capacities to more actively engage in analyses, discussions and decision making on the subject of development policies in Bosnia and Herzegovina. In many cases, due to limited and divided membership, these organisations do not have sufficient legitimacy or the political structures refuse to acknowledge their legitimacy.

Socio-economic council was not established at the level of Bosnia and Herzegovina; instead, two such councils were established at entity level. Unclear relations between common interest organisations are often used by political structures which manipulate their way to selection of partner to negotiate with, within the socio-economic council.

Discussions within the socio-economic council have always been reduced to collective negotiations, which in essence come down to negotiations on the subject of collective agreements lead between the government and the trade union of employees of government institutions and organisations. In most cases, the role of private sector in the process of negotiations with social partners was negligible.

Instead of the socio-economic council serving as a core and source of activities, measures and policies which aim to enable rapid economic growth, it turned into its opposite and the source of obstacles to higher economic growth and employment in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The existing regulations and provisions relating to collective agreements, in addition to specifying methods of leading negotiations on the subject of the general collective agreement and ways of determining salaries and benefits of employees, represent an important source of rigidity in the labour market and a substantial obstacle to higher mobility of the workforce. The current legal framework protects jobs of persons already employed, preventing at the same time women and youth from entering the labour market.

Instead of Conclusion

Due to inefficiency of government institutions and organisations in creating and implementing development policies, lack of resources for support and very limited scope and quality of services provided by the government institutions and organisations to the unemployed, tremendous needs and a large empty space emerged for much higher level of involvement of civil society organisations.

Stronger involvement of civil society organisations is necessary both in the area of research, development and oversight of implementation of development policies which could lead to higher level of inclusion of the population into economic life, and in the area of provision of direct services and assistance to unemployed individuals.

It would be of special importance to get the civil society organisations involved into processes of identifying of key problems in the labour market and get them to approach representing interests and lobbying for certain development policies and goals in a structured manner. These policies and goals would result in higher level of inclusion of the population into economic life.

Labour and employment sector institutions spend dozens of millions of convertible marks on different forms of passive and active measures in the labour market. The majority of implemented measures were never evaluated in terms of their success and the results they yield. This is only one of examples where civil society organisations could play an important supervisory role over implementation of employment policies and use of substantial amounts of tax payers' money.

Due to lack of direct advisory services, mediation in employment, additional education, training and retraining of the unemployed, civil society organisations have enough space for implementation of these activities and meeting the needs that are not covered by the activities of public sector institutions and organisations.

Unfortunately, although government organisations and institutions, due to their inefficiency, created needs and space for stronger involvement of civil society organisations, the capacities of civil society organisations remain insufficient and the act of their assuming the role of public sector in the area of economy and social inclusion would not lead to importance change of the existing situation.

Despite substantial financial resources and technical assistance provided by the international organisations, common interest organisations, which represent irreplaceable partners to public sector and government institutions in the social-economic dialogue in other countries, are still far from being able to play the role of equal partners of government institutions.

Case Study

Mapping Stakeholders in the Area of Youth Employment

Jan Zlatan Kulenović
Youth Information Agency

Introduction

Finding employment, especially for the first time, as well as starting one's own business represents a big challenge not only for the youth of this country, but also for different state institutions, employment bureaus, business sector, regional and local development agencies, educational institutions, nongovernment organisations, youth and students associations, international organisations in BiH, and others. It was precisely the institutions listed here, operating in 85 municipalities, and 578 persons representing them, that the Youth Information Agency contacted to ask for their opinion on importance, needs and possibilities for employment of the youth and development of entrepreneurial activities in BiH. These meetings, regional dialogues, as we opted to call them, were held in 15 towns across BiH, over the period between December of 2005 and March of 2006¹. The process of involvement of different stakeholders in discussion on the subject of employment of the youth represents a part of the project supported by USAID, implemented as continuation of the conference organised under the title: "BiH Youth, Let's Make Our Future!", organised on occasion of 10th anniversary of signing of Dayton Peace Agreement, in Sarajevo, on 12 November 2005.

Collection of Information and Situational Analysis

The Youth Information Agency, as a leading nongovernment, non-political organisation operating at the level of BiH in the area of development of youth policies, prepared a comprehensive desk review during the first months of preparation for the project, which included review of different documents and statistics and developed a map of stakeholders in the area of employment of youth. We found that **45% of youth were unemployed**² (aged 15 to 19: **64.6%**; aged 20 to 24: **39.3%**), that unemployment was one of the three main reasons for departure from the country (over **100,000** left since Dayton, **77%** of young persons wish to leave BiH), that the rate of unemployment among youth (aged 18 to 25) was **2.5** times the rate noted in the group aged 25 to 49, that the youth makes **36%** of all unemployed persons, that of all unemployed young persons, over **90%** are those with lower qualifications (secondary school graduates, skilled workers or non-skilled workers), while only **2%** were those with college degree, that **55%** of the youth were not interested in starting their own business, with additional **30%** feeling discouraged

1 Regional dialogues: Zenica (21 Dec 2005), Istočno Sarajevo (23 Dec 2005.), Travnik (18 Jan 2006.), Livno (19 Jan 2006), Trebinje (24 Jan 2006), Široki Brijeg (25 Jan 2006), Mostar (26 Jan 2006), Goražde (9 Feb 2006), Brčko (15 Feb 2006), Tuzla (16 Feb 2006), Zvornik (17 Feb 2006), Banja Luka (23 Feb 2006), Mrkonjić Grad (2 Mar 2006), Bihać (3 Mar 2006) and Sarajevo (15 Mar 2006)

2 According to the "strict" definition of the unemployed of the ILO (International Labour Organisation), the unemployed persons are those who have no employment, who are available for employment in the following two weeks and who looked for employment over the past four weeks.

about it (due to lack of initial capital, too extensive bureaucracy, corruption etc.), and that unemployment of the youth was a key factor of their risk behaviour in the society (crime, drug abuse, etc.), which costs the state dear. In the area of education the following was noted: the rate of enrolment in secondary schools is at 72.6%, which is below the rate noted in other countries in the region, BiH comes 39th in Europe for its rate of reform of higher education, 3% of the population has college degree, while the average in EU is at 15%, there is no Higher Education Law at the state level and 80% of the youth is dissatisfied with the system of education. However, one of the important findings was that there were a large number of institutions and stakeholders which are either dealing with or should be dealing with development of youth employment policies, but they are either not active in this area, or are not networked to each other. To be able to get the more detailed insight into the situation as it is, and get the first hand information on capacities, resources, practices and the level of networking among stakeholders and get their suggestions, proposals and ideas, the following activity was organised:

Regional Meetings and Dialogues

As noted in the introduction, we organised 15 regional dialogues with almost 600 participants from 85 local communities who represented different sectors, institutions and stakeholders in this area. Using the map of stakeholders, we invited over 1,200 persons to take part in these dialogues. The meetings had the form of moderated conventions extending over between two and a half and three hours, consisting of two parts, the first of which was presentation of the analysis of the situation in the area of employment of the youth, which was followed by the interactive part in which participants made anonymous notes on pieces of paper stating their ideas on the subject (what should be done, what should the emphasis be put on), which was then followed by a discussion among stakeholders. The break was intentionally made in the middle of each session to enable participants to engage into informal communication and get to know each other. In addition to hearing interesting ideas, learning about practical activities of individual stakeholders and analysing problems in more detail, we also noted the need for dialogue and lack of communication among all “stakeholders”. For some of them, it was the first time that they sat together with other participants and engaged into discussion on the subject of youth employment policy, despite the fact that they came from the same town or region as other participants present in the session!

Products, Results and Lessons Learned

The basic and direct product of this process of dialogue was resource material, or in other words, **the manual** which represents “findings and challenges”, that is, open questions in the area of employment of the youth and development of entrepreneurship among the youth in BiH. The overview of measures and actions taken in the area of employment of the youth and development of entrepreneurship among the youth is presented in a separate chapter, and substantiated with examples of good practices in BiH. This chapter presents ideas, proposals and suggestions about what should be done in this area, in addition to examples of what those who were successful, creative and industrious have done. In the end, the contact list under the title “Who is Who” was systematised and presented as a listing of a large number of stakeholders operating in this area in BiH, with details on their mission and competencies, in addition to their contact details. The manual was posted on the website of USAID, and will also be made available both in special version and on-line, on the youth portal, on: www.mladi.info by the end of 2007.

Another product of our regional dialogues is a video material which consists of 40 five-minute shows illustrating examples of good practice, which were broadcasted by BHT in the spring of 2006.

However, what is even more important are the further results, in other words, those who used the manual (containing details of all dialogues and the Project) to organise special training events (for instance, some training

was organised for heads of economy departments of 30 municipalities partners of the Italian Consortium CISP in 2006). In addition, part of the exposé of the Prime Minister of Sarajevo Canton, Samir Silajdžić, contained excerpts from the manual and the manual was also used for the purpose of other research work in this area and planning of other projects, both by the local administrations and civil society organisations. In addition, the media could use the manual to find all of the stakeholders in this area listed in one place, which made it much easier for them to prepare their stories and reports on this subject. Certain number of copies of the manual was also purchased by the Agency for Labour and Employment of Bosnia and Herzegovina and distributed to its entity and cantonal employment bureaus. The use of the manual, as well as the connections established among 600 participants in the dialogue will yield the true result of this project, which represented an exercise initiated and implemented by one local civil society organisation.

It could be concluded based on the above that successful social dialog has to be inclusive and has to involve all interested parties and stakeholders, in addition to being interactive, innovative and well substantiated with arguments (data, facts, statistics and analysis) and finally documented in the form that could be put into further use, which is systematic, easy to read, clear and what is most important – available to all other stakeholders in a certain area. The social dialogue is not an end in itself; it is the beginning and a precondition for further development of policies and measures in a certain area and a first step towards building trust among stakeholders and paving a path to further cooperation. It is quite certain that the role that the nongovernment organisations play in the society undergoing transition represents an important link in creating a social dialogue and special public policies, based on facts and needs of the citizens.

Health and Social Inclusion

Dr. Irfanka Pašagić
Tuzla Amica

I

The variety of laws in Bosnia and Herzegovina has resulted in different obtainment of healthcare in different areas in BiH.

The fact is that in BiH region there is no common law which would regulate the basic healthcare of the population; all jurisdictions in this field have been transferred to the level of Entities and the District of Brcko.

Certainly, the best situation is in the District of Brcko. Insured parties do not pay the participation, and with the exception of medical treatment in the area of the District, they have the same conditions throughout BiH and even abroad. In the Federation of BiH, the healthcare system is decentralised, jurisdiction is divided between the Federation and cantons and responsibilities between the Federation, cantons and municipalities, with the fact that most of the jurisdiction has been positioned at the level of cantons. In Republic of Srpska, all the responsibility is on the entity level.

Although there are agreements signed for the use of healthcare between the entities, the possibilities for the exercise of this right are very small. Thus, the injured parties are forced to use services in strictly designated institutions which often creates problems, especially in regards to hospitalisation.

Although the healthcare system reform, which started immediately after the war and was supported by significant funds from abroad, involved the introduction of the institution of family doctor, it is still denied to a large number of citizens, which is particularly evident in rural environment.

Still, in Bosnia and Herzegovina, hundreds of people do not exercise their right to the basic healthcare¹. Among them, a large number of them are children.

High unemployment rate² is one of the main causes of inaccessibility to healthcare for all citizens of BiH, but inadequate information and lack of exercise of existing rights in the domain of healthcare is also evident. Inadequate social policy, but also a large number of persons in the need of social assistance in BiH's transition process, is also an important factor of the inaccessibility to health institutions for all.

Inadequate distribution of healthcare institutions denies a large number of citizens the access to a quality healthcare, due to the distance and additional travel costs, and even the lack of public transportation to a health institution, thus creating for many people, especially the poorest ones, an impassable obstacle. The returnee population has particular difficulties in the places where the infrastructure is still a large problem, so even the rare families which have health insurance have difficulties in exercising their healthcare rights. A large number of exiled persons, returnees and internally displaced persons have lost the right to healthcare due to change of place of residence and unawareness of deadlines for acquiring those rights.

¹ According to the *Report on Human Development – Social Inclusion in BiH* (IBHI BiH/UNDP, 2007) the number of persons in BiH who are not covered by the health insurance is estimated at 758 thousand.

² According to the Agency for Statistics of BiH for August 2007 (latest available data) currently 521720 persons in BiH is unemployed, whereas the tendency of the unemployment rate is growing (1,0 index point higher than in August 2006).

Accessibility to medications, especially ones of quality, is also inadequate. Essential lists of medications are different for different parts of BiH, as well as is their availability. That particularly affects the groups of poor citizens, among them persons of third age, who represents the largest consumer population, leading them to a multiple social exclusion.

Although the social exclusion and poverty represent two different aspects, they are nowhere else as much connected as in the healthcare sector. We may even speak of poverty induced sickness, what often happens in cases of chronic diseases or disability, thus confirming their interconnection.

The healthcare status of the population cannot be viewed separately from the overall social situation. It has become complex in Bosnia and Herzegovina due to the direct or indirect war consequences. Unstable political situation causes a permanent crisis, which significantly affects all spheres of life, especially the mental health of population. One must not forget that even today, more than twelve years after the war, the survivors and victims are in fear of many criminals still at large, mass graves have been dug out on a daily basis and there is not a single refugee or returnee family who has not lost their members. It is not known to what extent the psychological traumas have affected the growth of psychosomatic diseases, due to a limited number of quality researches³.

It is evident that the abuse of psych-medication has grown to epidemic proportions, especially among youth. A large number of nongovernmental organisations has been trying, particularly in the field of primary prevention to diminish this pestilence⁴.

We are the witnesses of this addiction spreading among the younger population. Fortunately, the prevalence of HIV is still low.

On a daily basis, we have been facing appeals for help in treatment of the sick abroad, many of whom are children. It is unacceptable, especially in a country which has lost so many young lives, that there are not conditions entitling everybody to a right to life. The Federation Fund of Solidarity⁵ has not developed good criteria yet and does not cover all costs. Thus, the NGO sector is irreplaceable in seeking funds and institutions to treat the sick.

II

Such a difficult health situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina would be far more aggravated, had not the civil sector played – besides the public one – a significant role in the improvement of community health and reduction of social exclusion.

Numerous organisations and associations on the territory of BiH have emerged due to specifics associated with the war, increased need for new forms of assistance, but also as an attempt to remove deficiencies in providing services and assistance to the existing institutions.

In the course of time, thanks to the faster and better availability of information and education, supported by international institutions, organisations and individuals, the civil sector notably strengthened its capacities and has become an indispensable link in all spheres of the society.

The role of civil society in crisis situations, when quick reaction is necessary, as well as fast mobilization of larger number of people, immediate education and swift action, is something we all witnessed and with its absence the war consequences would be much larger.

Provision of direct medical aid, donations in medical equipment significantly mitigated difficulties through which our country passed. In addition to certain positive contributions, it is interesting that acceptance of the civil sector in BiH varies significantly, ranging from acceptance of the civil sector as an equal partner by authorities (i.e. the case in Tuzla) to full ignorance or denial of its role and need for civil society organisations and associations to exist. Yet, whilst they were almost entirely dependant on the international funding at the very beginning, nowadays, almost in all com-

3 As a positive example, we can note the research called *Psychological Consequences of the War Trauma of Population in Development in Bosnia and Herzegovina*, Vera Daneš and Vesna Horvat, 2005.

4 As an example see: <http://www.narkone.org>

5 For more information see: <http://for.com.ba/Solidarnost/solidarnost.htm>

munities, the authorities (particularly at the local level) have started to allocate funds to activities of the civil sector, also including provision of certain health services and entering partnership agreements with government authorities – particularly at lower levels.

The role of civil sector is immeasurable in animation of citizens in the decision-making processes related to the health of general public, awareness-raising of health as a fundamental human right and information on patients' rights about their conditions and best medication treatments, but also about:

- Health education
- Improvement of hygienic conditions and habits
- Promotion of healthy lifestyles
- Environmental awareness and improvement of housing conditions
- Decrease of stigmatization of ill and invalid individuals
- Education on addiction diseases and similar
- Promotion of multidisciplinary, integral modes of assistance
- Innovative support modes

The role of nongovernmental sector in the health sector is neither precisely defined, nor any legislation exists that regulates it. In addition to that, the nongovernmental sector considerably contributes to the health of general public through various activities, mainly based on experiences and needs recognized on the field. Nowadays, it is obvious that a rather small number of organisations offer health services as an isolated but rather as an integral segment in the multidisciplinary support to the vulnerable groups of population.

Due to its flexibility, the NGO sector pays with no doubt attention to various aspects of social exclusion and aims at finding modes of comprehensive actions, whilst institutions of the system approach the problem-solving partially, each one from its own domain.

On a daily basis, we witness founding of new associations of patients and treated patients with particular diseases such as leucosis, breast cancer, Crone's disease and ulcer colitis or similar. These associations significantly contribute to better information on a particular disease, promoting healthy lifestyles, its members have a better access to information on new medications or treatment technologies, make significant impact to the patients and their families. Simultaneously, by their activities they impact the awareness-raising of population and early disease detection but also reduction of stigmatization of ill persons.

III

Facts indicating deficiencies in existing health care and experience in the up to date work of civil sector demonstrate the necessity of refining the NGO sector but also the existing health care system.

There are certain groups of socially excluded people, who have least chance to be better integrated in the social activities and decision-making in foreseeable period of time without an internal mixed approach. The cooperation of governmental and nongovernmental sector is particularly important in regard to integration of social and health, but also educational and other forms of support and assistance.

Due to its flexibility and innovations, the civil sector can cover certain segments; the public sector cannot do due to its organisational structure.

The integral, multidisciplinary approach to the treatment is very developed in the NGO sector and it demonstrated noteworthy results in the approach to the problem-solving of multiple socially excluded persons so far. Apart from the obvious effectiveness, it is evident that the assistance is faster, more available, accustomed to the individual needs and also financially adjustable.

Healthcare as One of the Causes of Social Exclusion: Specific Groups

Roma Population

Roma population represents one of the most socially excluded categories in all aspects, including the health one⁶. Stigmatization and prejudice existing for decades in this region are certainly one of the factors why Roma population often excludes itself from the community they live in.

There is a whole range of factors having impact on their health conditions and access to the health care.

The mere poverty of this population has significant impact – often extremely bad conditioned housing, poor and irregular nourishment, poor hygienic habits, living environment, and often job they deal with. No access to the health care, apart from impossibility of preventive actions, often aggravates improvement of the implying health consequences.

To a certain degree, the situation has improved after the war primarily thanks to the NGO sector, but also to the Roma association and other organisations and associations who recognized social exclusion of this population and direct actions, creating projects aimed at improvement of the status of Roma in the society, but also to the indirect influence to all levels of government aiming at amendments to respective legislation and practice. Unfortunately, the overall situation is still dramatic.⁷

It is still obvious that particularly difficult position bear female Roma population who enter non-marital unions quite early while abortion often remains a single birth control form, the women trafficking is also registered, while the family violence in majority of cases is considered normal phenomenon.

The fact is that there are numerous Roma nongovernmental organisations on territory of BiH, but it is also evident that the coordination among them is still inadequate and often leads to overlapping of activities. Majority of projects are still funded by the international sources, but it is also obvious that situation has been changing in this sector and that local authorities are more included in the support to these projects.

One of the major reasons for health exclusion of Roma population is definitely long-standing life on the margins of society, which resulted in the poor lifestyle, but also led to mistrust in the institutions of the system. The very lifestyle is often the cause of increased diseases with Roma population. It is well known that they have the highest birth rate in our region, but also the shortest life expectancy. Traditionally poor or no education at all impairs employment but also better access to information, which additionally complicates access to the health institutions. It is known that large number of children officially do not exist, they are not entered into birth registries, thus even in cases the health care possibility exists in one or another form, they are not entitled to it.

It is evident that any of the partial solutions will not lead to the social inclusion of this population or group into the social community. The Roma issue should not remain only the issue of Roma organisations, but of the entire community in one integral, multidisciplinary approach which will make possible their equal participation in the community.

Individuals with Psychological Disorders

Individuals with psychological disorders caused by war

According to some data, on the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina there are more than a million persons with post traumatic stress disorder symptoms, out of which majority have chronic PTSD syndrome. Among them, there are a large number of concentration camp prisoners, demobilized soldiers, sexually abused women and girls. Having in mind that the lack of initiative and inability to perceive future, as well as alteration in behavior are accompanying symptoms of this disorder, then the mere psychological assistance, which is only accessible to the fewer number of persons in need, shall not contribute to its better inclusion in the social community. It is generally known that unemployment represents

6 For a more detailed elaboration of this assessment please refer to "Problem-Solving Strategy of Roma Population" (BiH Council of Ministers, Official Gazette, No. 67/05)

7 *Human Development Report – Social Inclusion in BiH* (IBHI BiH/UNDP, 2007), page 112

one of the leading issues in post-conflict societies, and one of its causes is that chronic PTSD persons can come up of make a living in a different way with difficulties and very often exclude themselves from any forms of social activities.

In addition to that, the transmission of symptoms to the next generation is also known, therefore it is crucial to find ways for children originating from families with PTSD patients on time in order to get involved in certain activities that can help them to cope with the family situation.

Chronic psychological patients are one of the most excluded groups still debated whether they belong to the health or social sector. We can pose question about their right to work, entertainment, education, and....

Refugees, internally displaced persons and returnees

Refugees, internally displaced persons and returnees also represent socially excluded groups created by the war. Adequate and updated data on health conditions of those persons are not available. Due to conditioning of property legislation, but also education of children, the majority of those individuals lives in one place, but is officially registered in another. In that way, many of them loose certain rights, including the right to health care in the place of residence. The fact is that among returnee population there is the highest number of poor people for various reasons, including high traumatisation, failure to secure existence or to obtain funds which will enable them to secure possibility to take control over their own lives and to create their own future. Simultaneously, in the returnee places the infrastructure is often entirely devastated, thus they frequently live without potable water, or they are still depending on the humanitarian aid. Among this population depressive reactions are often present.

Third age persons

Elderly persons represent a group constituting a large number of socially excluded for numerous reasons⁸. Although formally large number of elderly people has right to health care, numerous medical services and medications of the essential lists still urge additional material funds they usually do not possess, or in order to provide needed medications, they have to cut quality food which aggravates their health conditions.

We are not only encountered with health conditions associated with the third age on a daily basis. Every day there are more elderly people who live on their own, with less mobility skills, who cannot exercise their own hygienic needs or similar. In the former system, it was almost a rule for children to take care of elderly people, while nowadays, primarily due to major migration changes, elderly people are left to the care of social community which is definitely insufficient. Within this population we often encounter the feeling of helplessness and forlornness. Resolving only needs related to the health care or any other type of needs in an insulated way, without a multidisciplinary approach providing for creative, dignifying and socially useful life, would not change the quality of their life nor would reduce their multi-caused exclusion.

People with disabilities

Thanks to well coordinated actions of the public and civic sector, these people have far more favorable conditions to live good lives and to be included into their community in accordance with their remaining abilities. Unfortunately, and although great progress was made, there is still a large number of those in Bosnia and Herzegovina who are prevented from taking their rightful place in society. The nongovernmental sector still plays a significant role in improving position of this population. Problem of this social group was there even before, but it became more tangible after the war, while the establishing of numerous NGOs and associations of people with disabilities improved their status within the community. Several laws regulating rights of persons with disabilities were adopted – not all of them, however⁹. A significant lapse of the existing support provided to people with disabilities is that more efforts are being invested in

⁸ For more details please refer to *Human Development Report – Social Inclusion in BiH* (IBIH BiH/UNDP, 2007), Leaken indikator 1a, page 186.

⁹ *Study of Policies related to Disability*, Economic Planning Directorate, Ministry of Labor and Social Policy of the Federation of BiH, Ministry of Health and Social Protection of RS, Independent Bureau for Humanitarian Issues - BiH, 2007

order to assist them materially and less in order to help them use their remaining abilities in a useful and high-quality way, and to enhance them even more.

Children with special needs

Significant amount of the assistance provided to children with special needs is coming from the nongovernmental sector, and there is still a large number of these children with no access to all the necessary forms of assistance. The lack of access to and insufficiency of assistance is especially visible in rural areas – majority of these children in rural areas do not have access to any form of assistance. The nongovernmental sector did a lot in order to include this group, however, little has been done in order to coordinate activities among governmental and nongovernmental sector and to provide for adequate geographical accessibility¹⁰. These children are still being stigmatized in rural areas, and even if there are programs aiming to provide for their inclusion, it does not happen due to exclusion by their parents. Especially visible is the inaccessibility of high quality and highly specialized institutions to poor children – institutions that would enable them to have necessary medical treatment. This, along with other forms of social exclusion makes their marginalization extreme. Certain coordinated actions of educational and NGO sector have shown the importance of the integrative, community based approach, and success would be even greater if other relevant institutions and civil society organisations were included.

Female population in rural areas

Difference between urban and rural areas is extremely large, especially when it comes to the status of women within the society and community. Common poverty, remoteness of the educational and health care services, especially for families of returnees is often causing early dropouts from educational system among children and young people – especially within the female population. There is a visible trend of early marriages and establishing of own families – more drastic cases referring to girls at the age of 14 and 15. Phenomenon of early marriage is present among the boys as well but not in such a drastic form. Without any knowledge on health protection and family planning, they often get their own children very soon, often being delivered with no professional assistance at all (especially if they don't have access to health insurance, since in that case they have to pay for the costs of medical and hospital treatment).

Abortion is still the only birth-control form in rural areas; use of contraceptives is extremely rare, while check-ups by gynecologists and obstetricians are still a luxury or an embarrassment for a large number of women in rural areas.

Often setbacks caused by early marriages are marital problems and desertion from the common-law marriage. If a child has been born in such a marriage, it often has a large chance to be socially marginalized as well.

Women in rural areas have no access to any sort of employment, due to a complete lack or inadequate education and are mainly dependent of men. It is therefore often that a woman remarries several times – those suffering the most in such cases are children – due to lack of material provisions, they are often being left with fathers while women has no right to any kind of material reimbursement.

It can not be expected for the position of women in rural areas to improve without a thorough analysis of the situation, identification of areas at risk (such as the area of North-Eastern part of Bosnia) and without a joint and coordinated action, and if not, women in rural areas will continue to be economically and otherwise dependent and will continue to play a marginal role in a society that they are supposed to participate in on equal basis (we should not forget that one of the goals of the Millennium Declaration is the protection of women in their reproductive age).

Instead of Conclusion

- Establishing of a civil sector as the 'voice of people' and their acceptance by politicians and society at large not as the alternative to the government, but as its supplement capable of offering innovative solutions is a key requirement for the reduction of social exclusion.

¹⁰ 'Los Rosales' – The Center for Children and Young People with Special Needs in Mostar represents a positive exception.

- One of the major goals of civil society and local community development is an integrated approach to fulfillment of basic human needs, including the right of citizens, and especially those at risk to health and healthy environment. If not, you can provide the poor child with the ideal health care, but if that child does not have shoes to go to the doctor nor money to pay for the bus ticket to get to the hospital, it will hardly ever get better.
- The NGO sector is of exceptional significance in all the crises and cases of emergency and it should be counted on in such situations. Swift changes in their activities, easy access to education and establishing of teams on needs basis, often outside of the regular frameworks would improve the efficiency of their actions. Involvement of volunteers is far more present in an NGO sector, therefore reducing costs and the number of professionals required;
- The civil sector is, and in the forthcoming period it is still going to be a significant factor of maintenance of the community health;
- Having in mind the role of the civil sector regarding the improving of life conditions within the community and reduction of social exclusion of both individuals and groups, it is necessary to put additional efforts in order to try to influence the public sector to speed up the reforms of the health care system in order to make the services of the family MDs available to as much of the BiH inhabitants as possible;
- The civil sector has to insist on the adoption of the state level Health Care Act;
- It is also important to include and link different stakeholders (governmental, nongovernmental and private sector) in order to avoid spending of resources without adequate results;
- It is also important to insist on defining of the position and role of the NGO sector and associations within the Health Care Sector, and thus, its integration into community based actions system that should result in a higher quality of financial support from local authorities to the civil sector;
- A significant aspect of the civil sector activities refers to education of others and own education in order for the sector to be able to follow the most recent information and to be able to transfer and apply its knowledge within the community;
- The health care system is not the only thing that matters, what also matters is our lifestyle and the environment we live in;
- A need for an integrated approach in resolving of numerous health and other needs is an area where joint actions of governmental and nongovernmental sectors provide a guarantee of success;
- Well-being of the community reflects not only in dressing, housing, nutrition, etc., but also in good health, social security and safety and good education;
- Clear insight into needs of society and community, defining of responsibilities and tasks of institutions and of the civil sector, a coordinated approach to reduction of factors and causes leading to the social exclusion of individuals, families or groups can improve the development and the quality of the society as a whole.

Case Study

Healthcare for the Elderly in BiH: Home Care

Jadranka Duraković
Red Cross of the Tuzla Canton

For eleven years, the Red Cross Organisation has been implementing the nationwide BiH program of care provided to elderly individuals, popularly called "Home Care Program". With varying intensity and approaches, this program is still being implemented to date. Main problems influencing the inefficiency in project implementation are related to inadequate level of information and coordination of activities among families, local community, social and health care institutions, institutions for social welfare of elderly individuals and nongovernmental organisations.

Therefore, for three years, Tuzla Canton Red Cross has been working on development, implementation and integration of a mixed model of care for elderly. In this model, problems specific to the elderly population would be resolved in a comprehensive manner, in sense of social and health care, with concrete application of prepared procedures in the social and health care services network and nongovernmental sector.

This model is being implemented as pilot project in six municipalities of Gracanica, Lukavac and Kalesija as well as in the Tuzla Retirement Home.

It is based on non-institutional forms of health care for elderly on one end, and use of capacities of educational institutions and other institutional resources for social care for the elderly, such as the Tuzla Retirement Home, on the other end.

All activities implemented in the aforementioned municipalities and institutions, served as a basis for development of procedures for eldercare.

Procedures clearly defined roles and responsibilities of all participants in the network, which comprise of health care professionals, social workers, Red Cross volunteers, and representatives of local communities. Implementation of procedures enabled less expensive and services of greater quality and efficiency to be provided to elderly in domains of social and health care. In particular, improvements have been made in the health care system and many elderly individuals obtained access to health care services that would otherwise not be possible without network's support. This is also important from the aspect of various regulations and modalities in areas of healthcare and social institutions. Social services have, by far, greater limitations in their work than healthcare institutions. Some legal resolutions envisaged financial support for ill individuals requiring assistance by third parties, regardless of their social status.

Collaborative work allows for an appropriate selection of elderly in local communities (such as local areas or city blocks) who truly need assistance in access to some forms of health care. The model provided a more efficient coordination of all actors in the process of including new beneficiaries who, due to poor health, require assistance.

Brief Description of Project Activities

Pilot municipalities formed teams for eldercare, and so far these teams operate within municipal organisations of the Red Cross and are comprised of representatives from: the Centre for Social Work, health centre, local community, municipal government and the Red Cross. Occasionally and depending on needs, representatives of

educational institutions are involved in team's activities. Selected Red Cross volunteers, who completed appropriate training, along with local communities conducted assessments and selection of elderly individuals in those local communities. Selection was done in accordance with predetermined criteria. The selections were based on current Red Cross criterion (persons over 65, living alone, in need of one or more forms of social or healthcare services). For the process of beneficiary selection and in accordance with predetermined criteria, a record form was prepared for RC volunteers to complete during their visits to elderly individuals. The record form contains the necessary information needed in order to make a decision on the type of service to be provided to the beneficiary (family situation assessment, health status assessment, available health and social documentation, accommodation conditions, etc). After the visits and the completed record forms, Eldercare Team meets and makes a selection of most disadvantaged elderly individuals who will be included in the project and will receive planned services during project implementation. Each local community is given room for inclusion of additional beneficiaries as suggested by one of Eldercare Team members. These beneficiaries would include individuals requiring third party assistance after hospital treatment, individuals who lost a spouse or were abandoned by a family member that previously provided care, or any other individuals for whom the team decides assistance is required. The types of services provided to beneficiaries are the following: home assistance, medical examinations, nurse visits, RC volunteer visits, purchase of medication, access to social and healthcare funds available in their municipality, canton and entity, etc). After the selection of beneficiaries, the Eldercare Team creates individual plans of assistance in treatment and prevention.

Activities of the Eldercare Team are shown in the following table:

The Centre for Social Work	Municipality/Local Community	The Health Centre/Hospital
Social needs (legally prescribed)	Keeping records of elderly individuals requiring assistance	Family medicine ambulance services
Access to residential and semi-residential facilities (the Retirement Home, the Day Centre, clubs, safe houses)	Securing of basic needs	Hospital treatment
Resources for third party assistance	Assistance in obtaining accommodation	Examinations by specialists
Supervision of quality and types of services	Space for clubs and day centres	Patronage services
Central database	Financing	Rehabilitation
	ELDERLY PERSON	
Educational Institutions	The Red Cross/NGO Sector	Formal and informal elderly groups
Development of inter-generational solidarity	Home assistance	Raising awareness on life's healthy third stage
Practical education in residential and semi-residential facilities	Public kitchen services	Organisation of self-assistance groups
Solidarity campaigns	Support to day centre activities	Initiatives for improving the status of elderly individuals
Creation and development of new educational profiles in the fields of geriatric care and gerontology	Operational organisation of clubs for elderly	Recreational and entertainment activities
	Recreational activities	Community service
	Solidarity campaigns and collection of humanitarian help	
	Advocacy for improvements in eldercare policies	

During implementation of project's first phase in six local communities of municipalities Gracanica, Lukavac and Kalesija, 36 volunteers visited 326 elderly individuals. After consultations with the Eldercare Team, 12 individuals were selected in Gracanica, 28 in Kalesija and 18 in Lukavac. These were individuals marked as most disadvantaged (single, severe chronic illness, hardly mobile and completely immobile persons). Plans were created for each of these individuals and activities were agreed on by all actors participating in project implementation. Activities are currently being implemented in the field. Improvements in the health status and quality of life are expected in each of the selected beneficiaries.

Red Cross Tuzla Canton opened a multi-purpose Day Centre in Tuzla Retirement Home. **The Centre is opened** for Retirement Home beneficiaries and other elderly individuals from Tuzla municipality. In addition to the social activities organised in the Day Centre (newspaper reading, music hours, occupational therapy, birthday parties, religious and other events), the Centre organises practical lessons for students of the Faculty of Education and Rehabilitation and pupils of the secondary medical school (geriatric and physical therapy groups).

Finally, it is important to mention that all four municipalities as well as the Tuzla Canton Ministry of Labour and Social Policy provided financial support to this project. This support was not sufficient, but demonstrates readiness by local and cantonal authorities to support these and similar activities. In order for social and health care of elderly to be efficient, it must be based on an integrated approach which assumes common action of all players involved in the quality of elderly life as well as creation of conditions for inclusion of local communities in this process. This innovative approach to resolution of priority problems affecting specific groups of citizens requires a sufficient financial support, and the development of financial mechanisms through which coordinated investments in field of social policy would be possible, as well as provide better access to services and decision making process in social and health care for excluded groups of citizens (in this case – elderly population).

Social Protection and Social Exclusion: Development of Integrated Social Protection in BiH

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Introduction

For a large number of citizens, the social protection in Bosnia and Herzegovina represents a source of income and is an area recognisable in the society for provision of assistance to the most vulnerable persons in overcoming the difficulties they have been experiencing as a result of a number of socio-economic factors present in the society or of their own inactivity and responsibility. During the war, and the years that immediately followed it, over 70% of the population received some form of social protection services, the most important of which are: humanitarian aid, monetary assistance, psycho-social assistance, institutional care, etc.

Today, the system of social protection (as understood and interpreted internationally), in both entities of BiH, provides different services and assists in meeting basic existential needs of several hundred thousand residents belonging to different systems within the social sector. These include: social protection, pension-disability system, protection of veterans and disabled veterans, protection of the unemployed, protection of refugees and displaced persons, child protection (protection of families with children) and provision of health insurance for various categories of population. About 16% of GDP is expended in BiH for these purposes.

Research conducted on the standard of living, poverty and unemployment indicate that the needs significantly surpass the current provision and that the benefits rank lowest in the region.

The extent to which the existing funds enable the functioning of an efficient system that improves the social situation in BiH - burdened by very difficult, complex and long-term social problems, consequences of war and transition - and prevent social exclusion of its beneficiaries, is the focus of several analyses, the results of which indicate the necessity of a complete social protection system reform and its full adaptation to new roles and tasks. Lack of strategic orientation in the area of social policy in general, as well as a short-term nature of impact of many programmes implemented in the area of social protection, which did not become sustainable or did not involve a developmental component, keep slowing down the processes of reform thus maintaining the present situation.

It is important to note that the social protection in BiH is perceived in much narrower terms compared to the international perception and that it encompasses the following: "Organised activity focused on provision of social security of citizens in the state of social need and their families"¹, or the following: "Organised activity focused on prevention of causes and consequences of the state of social need in all areas of social life and provision of assistance to citizens and families who have found themselves in such a state."² New definitions direct social protection towards improvement of social status of citizens on personal, family and broader social level and perceive it as a force which strengthens social

1 The Law on Basis of Social Protection, Protection of Civil Victims of War and Protection of Families with Children, Official Gazette of the FBiH No: 36/99

2 The Law on Social Protection, Official Gazette of the RS No: 5/93

cohesion and promotes independence and ability of people to help themselves. The new circumstances of social development and new social problems and needs require social protection services to respond to current needs of citizens and support vulnerable and marginalised individuals and groups who require organised assistance of the community, as well as citizens who are unable to secure their livelihood and the livelihood of their families through participation in economic activities. For those reasons, the new perceptions of the role of social protection are automatically associated with overcoming social exclusion, since the beneficiaries of social protection are at highest risk of being unable to access the resources of the society and being poor and affected by multiple challenges of life over a long period of time, which denies them of the professional, economic and socio-cultural potential of the society or a state and pushes them to the margins.

Developing and implementing the Medium-Term Development Strategy, which is based upon the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper, BiH started with a planned, long-term approach in adoption and implementation of a number of measures and activities which need to bring about changes in the area of social protection, among other things. One of those measures includes adoption of the Social Inclusion Strategy which will contribute to overcoming the basic social problems and lead to improvement of the social status of citizens on personal, family and broader social level. It is an undisputable fact that the area of social protection is of immense importance to social inclusion and that it represents a primary stakeholder in the majority of activities aiming at prevention of social exclusion. However, it is only one among many social stakeholders all of which are equally responsible for providing a more complete life of individuals and social groups.

Social Exclusion and Poverty

In theory, social exclusion is understood as a moderately permanent, multidimensional deprivation of an individual, caused by several reasons.³ That implies the following:

- Excluded persons do not participate in distribution of social institutionalised resources, such as education, employment, access to healthcare and social services, emotional exchange, etc.;
- Inability to participate in distribution of social resources is marked by permanence difficult to overcome;
- Inability to participate in distribution of social resources is not always a result of what excluded persons do and what their lifestyle is, or their inability or incapacity, instead, it is caused by structural factors such as unequal opportunities for education, inter-generational poverty inheritance, etc.;
- One type of deprivation produces other adversities and leads to multiple exclusion (loss of employment leads to material vulnerability, loss of friends and emotional support, loss of sources of information and opportunities for self-affirmation, etc).

Social inclusion connects three key areas of deprivation. Those are: employment area (unemployment and inability to get employment and earn income), economic area (poverty in terms of lack of income necessary to meet the basic existential needs) and socio-cultural area (social isolation, rejection, humiliation, lack of network of social and family support). Socially excluded persons are precisely those who find themselves at the cross section of these three areas. The combination of these factors deepens the vulnerability and makes it more difficult to overcome, thus increasing the risk of sinking even further down and entering the so-called vicious circle of exclusion.

3 Teo Matković, Social Exclusion in Croatia – empirical analysis, UNDP, 2006, Zagreb

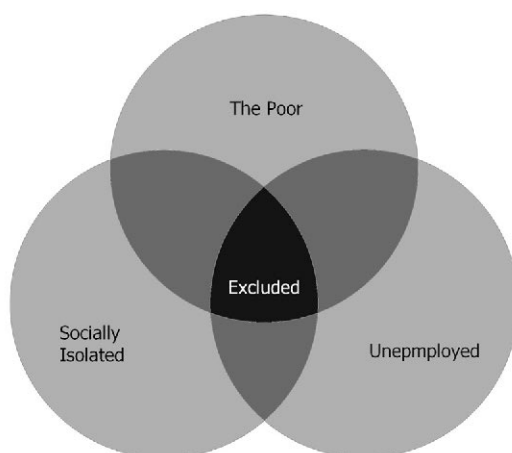


Image 1. Areas of deprivation and social exclusion

Perceived from the perspective of social protection, poverty represents one of the major causes of social exclusion, that is, social exclusion produces and increases poverty. The Medium-Term Development Strategy of BiH covering the period from 2004 to 2007, defines the poverty as a multidimensional phenomenon which, in addition to income insufficient to meet the basic existential needs, also implies inability to get employment, inadequate living conditions, inadequate access to social protection, healthcare, educational and utility services. Such perception of poverty takes into account an objective dimension which implies lack of income and inability to access services, but also a subjective dimension, which implies lack of conditions for development and reproduction of physical and psychological abilities, reflected in a feeling of not being free, not belonging anywhere and being inhibited, as well as a feeling of a lack of dignity and self-respect, all of which characterise social exclusion. Basic definitions of poverty are:

- Absolute poverty (poverty at the verge of survival, or general line of poverty), marks the absolute minimum standard of living based on precisely determined list of groceries (estimated to be adequate to meet the minimum requirements necessary to preserve health), in addition to other expenses such as housing and clothing expenses.
- The line of extreme poverty is determined on the basis of a minimum of necessary calories and nutrients, converted into monetary equivalent.
- Relative poverty (relative poverty margin) determines poverty in accordance with the national standard of living, because, regardless of the absolute needs, persons can be considered poor if their standard of living is significantly below the standard of living of other persons in a given country.

Available statistics and analyses of annual consumption and beneficiaries of social sector services do not point to presence of extreme poverty in Bosnia and Herzegovina. About 19.5% of the population of BiH is extremely poor and about 30% lives at the threshold of poverty. The poor are a heterogeneous group, which in most cases includes: the usual beneficiaries of social protection, children, persons with low level of education, elderly persons, persons with disabilities, displaced persons and returnees, unemployed, some residents of rural areas and Roma. In most cases, socially excluded persons are: the poor, the elderly, the young, returnees in the areas of minority return, persons with disabilities, marginalised groups characterised by high level of stigmatisation (persons infected with HIV virus, sexual minorities, current and former drug addicts). It is evident that in most cases, socially excluded persons and poor persons are those who, in addition to poverty measured by the level of income, have problem accessing the labour market, quality lifetime learning, health protection, cultural events, information and participation in decision-making. Their risk of being excluded in

at least one of the above areas is much higher if there is mutual interaction of several components of social exclusion, which creates the so-called spiral of multiple deprivation.

Characteristic of both for poverty and social exclusion is their reproduction in a vicious circle. Children are a part of the population most severely affected by poverty and they can serve to illustrate the process best. A child from a poor family has parents whose level of education is poor, since 60% of the poor live in households in which adults have only primary education. Lower level of education puts them at a three times higher risk of becoming poor and socially excluded. Persons who have only primary education cannot be employed, or are employed in poorly paid positions and earn low income insufficient to meet the basic existential needs. Preschool institutions are accessible to a limited number of children. In Bosnia and Herzegovina, only 9% of children get the benefit of this type of care and education. These are primarily the children of employed parents with secondary, two-year post secondary education or higher education, while families of workers and unemployed persons turn to family resources for child care, education and preparation for school, as a result of lack of monetary resources adequate to cover the cost of preschool education. Even at an early beginning, children from poor families are exposed to two major risks or situations which impede their development and disadvantage them from the start, limiting their opportunities for social inclusion. These two major risks are education of their parents and their resources for education of their children and their admission to preschool institutions. Primary education is, in line with the official policies, free of charge, but the cost of textbooks and accessories, clothing, footwear and additional activities required to acquire knowledge (foreign language courses, computer literacy courses, sport activities, travel, vacations, etc.) cannot be covered by the poor families from their existing income. Children from poor families are less likely to continue schooling and if they do not get higher level of education it becomes harder for them to get employment, and even if they do get it, they get poorly paid jobs, soon facing the situation identical to the situation experienced by their parents, reproducing poverty; in short, they are highly vulnerable and they easily find themselves in the social deprivation which leads them to social exclusion.

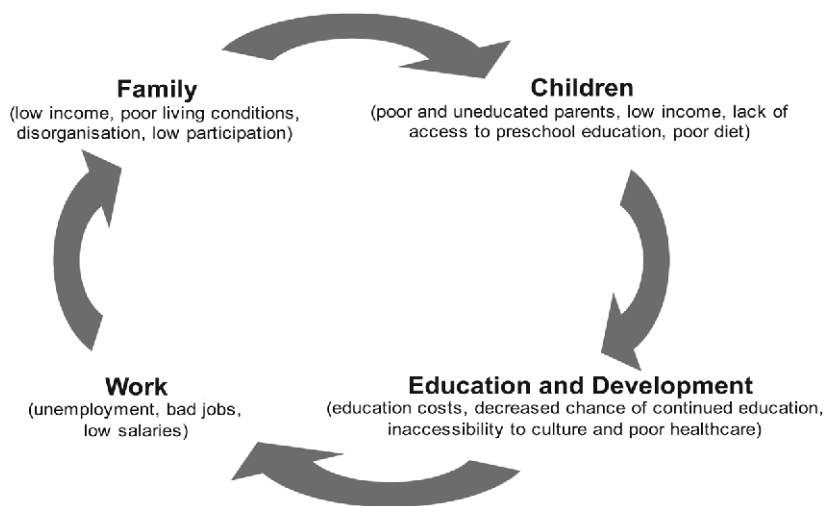


Image 2. Vicious Circle of Poverty

In BiH, the phenomenon of new poverty is also present. It is present among citizens who enjoyed a high standard of living before the war and who have found themselves either slightly above or below the threshold of poverty, as a result of the war and its consequences, in addition to the consequences of transition. These citizens face much more complex situation and they are at an extreme risk of social exclusion, due to the loss of material and social standing they

enjoyed previously, when their standard of living was high, and loss of social connections in their prior place of residence, within their family, work environment and local communities.

Social Protection and Social Exclusion

Social protection in BiH is defined by entity laws (Law on Social Protection of Republika Srpska and the Law on the Bases of Social Protection, Protection of Civil Victims of War and Protection of Families with Children of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina). Both laws were amended several times. In the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the above cited law represents an umbrella law and it deals with bases of social protection, defines protection of civilian war victims and protection of persons with disabilities, while each canton passed its own law to develop the system of entitlements and protection of primary beneficiaries in more detail.

In addition to these basic laws, which establish and define the system of social protection, there are a number of other laws which define individual segments of social protection. These are primarily the laws passed within the system of pension and disability insurance, labour and employment, child protection, protection of families, criminal laws and health protection laws.

The laws are accompanied by by-laws such as rulebooks, instructions, decrees, decisions, etc. which clarify certain provisions of the laws and regulate entitlements, conditions, beneficiaries, procedures and stakeholders of the system in more detail.

In certain municipalities in both entities, decisions were passed introducing additional benefits which expanded the system to a substantial extent, especially in the domain of social services, significantly improving the scope and quality of social protection and systematically integrating into the existing system the experiences acquired during the course of implementation of a number of other programmes of reform of social protection in BiH.

From the very perspective of social protection and social exclusion, it is important to stress that the legal framework for passage of laws in BiH is determined by the Constitution of BiH, which represents a constitutive part of the General Framework Agreement for Peace and which integrates the international instruments for protection of human rights consisting of 17 acts applied directly, which have a priority over all other laws. In addition, BiH, as a successor of SFRY, is a signatory to a number of declarations, covenants and pacts, the implementation of which is mandatory. Social rights, being the integral part of human rights, are represented in these instruments and their implementation is mandatory. The laws passed within the system of social protection in BiH are characterised by:

- Full legislative decentralisation, without common foundation or the guaranteed minimum benefits mandatory for all systems;
- High fragmentation of the system and lack of unique standards and principles in defining and exercising rights which have the common purpose, and in some cases also failure to consider the social criteria in defining social rights;
- Substantial differences in approaches, amounts and scope of benefits collected by beneficiaries, based on differences in status, rather than on needs;
- Unequal distribution of funds among different sectors, based on unequal approach resulting from the provisions of laws;
- Some of the legal solutions are obsolete and they are not harmonised with the European standards and international documents integrated in the very foundations of the legislation of BiH;
- Inherited stereotypes are given preference in approaches present in some laws and lack of innovative approach is evident;

These features of the legal system generate many features of the social protection in BiH, the most important of which are:

- No clear preference demonstrated by the main political forces and stakeholders in the country for the model of social protection which would be in place, which results in unclear position and role of the system of social protection;
- Management of the system divided between entities and lack of responsibility and participation of the state in policy-making;
- Decentralisation of the system among entities, cantons and municipalities with inadequately defined responsibilities of system stakeholders and inadequately defined methods of coordination;
- Fragmentation of the system in different sectors (labour, protection of veterans and disabled veterans, social protection, pension and disability insurance, protection of families with children) which fail to ensure adequate level of cooperation and coordination of their measures and activities;
- No system of social security for the poor and no defined social assistance mechanisms to operate as a part of social security to provide continued existence of persons who are unable to work;
- Domination of the philosophy and practice of provision of assistance and emphasis on financial assistance and institutionalisation, lack of prevention, complex administrative procedures and no involvement of beneficiaries in planning and decision-making;
- Reliance on medical model and inadequate application of the social model which encourages integration in the society, life within the family and establishment of permanent interpersonal relations, through services of support and care;
- Low level of consultation and participation of social partners in designing and implementing measures and lack of comprehensive civic dialogue among different bodies participating in the system;
- Internal organisational setup of institutions of social protection reflects the principles of internal organisation of other public services characterised by domination of administrative procedures, isolation, lack of flexibility and poor coordination with other systems, sectors and structures of the society;
- Uneven level of development of individual areas, which produces unequal access to rights and resources;
- Polarisation present among beneficiaries and preference for certain "deserving" categories of individuals, reflected through distribution of funds and determining amounts of benefits;
- Unorganised and inadequately defined participation of civic sector, insufficiently determined standards and mechanisms for monitoring of suitability and quality of provided services and lack of initiatives for development of partnership between public and civic sectors;
- Insignificant presence and participation of private sector in the entire system;
- Insufficient development of services which support life in the community and poor development of integrated social protection at the local level;
- Failure to consider and pay attention to gender equality as one of the fundamental values of the system and gender dimension as a factor of risk of poverty and exclusion.

These and many other features made the system of social protection itself excluded, since it is always placed on the margin of all political and social interests and perceived as extremely unproductive state investment with no social capital, the system always at risk of restrictive economic measures which do not take into consideration the situation and needs of beneficiaries. Officials representing the system of social protection failed to create and impose a national strategy in the area of social welfare and develop a wide consultative process involving all of the stakeholders and get the public and the beneficiaries interested in a number of current social issues. This type of social exclusion of the system has a very negative impact on the position of beneficiaries and the scope and quality of received assistance and services and produces the need for a radical change of policy in order to develop a truly inclusive system of social protection in BiH.

The first measure that needs to be implemented within the inclusive social policy is to secure for everyone minimum resources necessary for living, either through employment and/or the system of social protection. The salaries earned as a result of employment need to secure a decent living and particular emphasis needs to be put on minimum benefits provided under some systems of social protection which should secure a living free of poverty. The current ben-

efits do not even secure bare survival of their recipients and they are also highly selective, therefore available only to the poorest categories or other particular status groups. As recipients of pensions are at high risk of poverty due to the size of their income, it is necessary to introduce certain forms of social assistance for the most vulnerable pensioners.

The new policy needs to be based on goals promoting social cohesion, such as: guaranteed adequate level of social protection, provision of protection for the most vulnerable social groups, promotion of equal opportunities for citizens, encouraging development of professional skills and development of the sense of responsibility of individuals and families for their own situation, employment and continuous life-long development of professional skills and prevention and ban of social exclusion and discrimination. It has to be based on human rights and individual needs of beneficiaries, on partnership with beneficiaries and their full involvement in strengthening their own capacities and meeting needs in such a way which shifts focus from social assistance to a comprehensive assessment of the situation and needs and identification of the most appropriate measures, using all resources of the community (family capacity and the capacity of the most immediate surroundings, including the work environment, different forms of organisations and associations of citizens and all segments of the civil society). The measures must be a part of resources of the community, such as care and assistance at home, different types of foster care, professional assistance in the family, different forms of day care, organised housing, counselling etc, while institutional measures should only be used once all other possibilities are exhausted.

During the course of development of inclusive social protection, its geographic coverage needs to be taken into account, especially when it comes to poverty reduction policies. Particular areas were more affected by the war, were less developed, suffered substantial population migration, are inhabited by returnees or minority ethnic groups, are exposed to demographic changes or are otherwise isolated and have limited access to resources. These areas usually have more substantial social needs, as a result of a higher and multi-layered social exclusion. For that reason, geographic coverage needs to be integrated not only into economic and income-based measures, but into social measures as well.

In implementation of the new policy, the inclusive approach needs to be given priority in the reform of social services which will strengthen services provided by private and civic sectors, while public services would become open to the community, beneficiaries and all stakeholders, resulting in development of coordination skills and skills of initiation, planning, monitoring and the community based social work. The services of other systems within the social sector (labour, pension and disability insurance, healthcare etc.) should also be encompassed by the reform which would aim to promote partnership and foster active policies of participation rather than provision of financial assistance.

Today, a large number of citizens require social assistance and provision of care. Establishment of their rights is often based on whether or not they belong to a specific group and whether or not they have acquired a particular status. There are no verified and documented data on needs of the most vulnerable categories of population and it is therefore often the case that the assistance is not available for those who need it most. The reform must bring about an approach based on needs, rather than on status, which will grant equal rights to assistance to all beneficiaries who need it.

Reformed and integrated social protection needs to take into account documented data on higher risk of poverty of women, higher rate of unemployment of women, lower average wages paid to women compared to those paid to men, more serious problems experienced by single-parent families in which the only parent is a woman in most cases, difficulties living as a single elderly person, higher participation of elderly women and significantly higher rate of domestic violence against women. The adequate response to these facts requires development of institutions and services which serve the purpose of provision of support to women and leads to provision of equal opportunities, prevention of discrimination and promotion of measures which create conditions for harmonisation of family and professional duties which will directly result in improvement of both parental and family functions.

The new social management in distribution of social resources is in place in countries of the European Union. Our social services have to improve their efficiency and accelerate the progress of changes, implementing new methods of operation and provision of services and developing and putting into practice new standards of operation. For the freedom of choice to be effective, it is important to improve dissemination of information on different programmes of social protection to citizens.

Development of statistics, databases and indicators of poverty and other social problems and social exclusion is a precondition for establishment of a current, up to date, documented and serious operation of any sector in the society. Social protection in BiH has not developed its statistics, it does not have a single database, it does not have research institutes and projects and it therefore remains unable to adequately respond to needs. For those reasons, it needs to develop its instruments as soon as possible and adapt the existing statistics to ensure they are both reliable and current.

Social Exclusion of Beneficiaries of Social Protection

The majority of persons and groups at high risk of poverty and social exclusion are beneficiaries of social protection. They are persons either without income or with low level of income (incapable of working without support from the family, elderly persons receiving minimum pension, unemployed, single-parent families, families with several children etc.), vulnerable ethnic minorities (minority returnees and Roma), internally displaced persons and refugees, persons with special needs (persons with disabilities, persons with mental health problems, the ill etc.), children (children without parental care, vulnerable children living under difficult family circumstances, children victims of domestic violence and young persons previously placed in social protection institutions) and other groups with fewer members also facing challenges of extreme poverty (homeless persons, former drug addicts, former convicts etc.). In addition, in the recent past, over indebted persons and persons getting high interest loans also became exposed to high risk of facing poverty or social exclusion.

Children, being the most vulnerable category, represent substantial group of beneficiaries of social protection services of different kinds. It is estimated that over 180,000 children in Bosnia and Herzegovina treated under the system of social protection, may become or already are socially excluded persons, as a result of different risks they are exposed to. The most frequent risks are family situation, early termination of schooling, poverty, disease and disability, delinquency and other forms of social vulnerability.

Among adults, priority beneficiaries are persons lacking material resources and persons with disabilities. The system of social assistance for materially deprived persons is integrated in the system of social protection, area of labour and employment and protection of veterans and disabled veterans. Social assistance (different types of benefits) is meant to meet the basic existential needs of persons unable to meet those needs either independently or with the assistance of their families. Only social assistance is provided on these grounds within the system of social protection, while other systems require a certain status which serves as a basis for provision of benefits (the status of a veteran or a disabled veteran for instance). Amounts of benefits vary, depending on the system they are provided under. Benefits provided under the social protection system range from KM 41.00 provided in Republika Srpska to several hundred KM provided in Sarajevo Canton. Detailed overview of the issue of social protection and its importance to social inclusion requires extensive analyses, data and recommendations which cannot be included into this paper. In short, it is necessary to establish a completely new, more rational and more efficient system in this segment, which would focus on socially most vulnerable citizens and which would not be based on social insurance. The system of social assistance needs to be radically simplified, the criteria harmonised, the approach improved and the appropriate targeting of assistance ensured, avoiding accumulation or overlapping of benefits. In addition, the status of persons capable of working who receive no income based on insurance needs to be determined, but in close association with participation in programmes of professional activation aiming to secure their employment and social integration as soon as possible. For that reason, it is necessary to establish better coordination of all elements of the system of social protection and social security.

Persons with disabilities represent a group at high risk of social exclusion and they are the largest group of beneficiaries of social protection. According to analyses of the World Bank, disability or special needs increase chances of becoming poor by 18%. The risk of social exclusion is the result of the fact that persons with disabilities require medical care and healthcare services more compared to the general population, that they have limited access to education and lower level of literacy, that they have very limited access to employment, that their housing is poor and not properly

adapted to their condition and that due to physical and social barriers they do not have access to different cultural, economic, educational, social, infrastructure and other facilities.

There is an extremely high number of persons with disabilities in BiH, which is a consequence of the war, increased prevalence of disease, poverty, traffic etc. There are no reliable records in this area and it is estimated that over 130,000 citizens are affected by disability of some level. The lack of harmonized criteria for assessment of disability represents another serious problem, in addition to discrimination which is reflected in categorising disability in terms of causes of disability. Persons whose disability is a result of the war receive much more support from the institutions of the system and use up most of the resources available within the system of social protection, which represents an additional element of social exclusion.

Among other beneficiaries of social protection, Roma and displaced persons or minority returnees are at highest risk of social exclusion. In addition to traditional causes of exclusion resulting from their lifestyle and attitude of the society towards them, members of Roma population are in most cases illiterate and poor, without essential personal documents and registration and without employment.

Displaced persons represent a large share of the poor population. Each third displaced person is poor. In addition to poverty, they experience other problems associated with psycho-social adaptation and integration into the community, resolution of housing issue, problems caused by separation of the family and loss of friends, which is often the cause of poverty and brings them in the state of social exclusion. Displaced persons receive benefits under the system of social protection, along with other socially vulnerable persons, but the fact that they are displaced makes their needs more complex.

Gender Aspects of Social Exclusion

One of the basic standards in exercising human rights and fundamental freedoms, which includes social inclusion, is to apply principles of equality and equity of women and men in all areas of personal and professional life. Significant progress was made in our country in promotion and implementation of the gender equality policy following the adoption of the Law on Gender Equality, which created conditions for establishment of legal and institutional mechanisms in this area. Gender equality is a process which cannot be merely imposed by the law; it is mostly the product of social and cultural atmosphere of a particular society. Our society fosters stereotypes when it comes to understanding the role of a woman in the society and her participation in social activities outside her home. This produces a risk of social exclusion on the basis of gender. When combined with other risks of exclusion, such as poverty, disability, unemployment, ethnicity and violence, conditions are created for multiple exclusion. For that reason, the society has to create a large number of measures to improve the general social position of women and raise awareness of the need to respect human rights of women. Among those measures, special emphasis needs to be placed on those measures targeting women members of ethnic minorities, women with disabilities, women victims of domestic violence and other forms of violence and trafficking in human beings, single mothers, etc. These are precisely the largest socially excluded groups.

The activities contributing to visibility of gender inequality, that is, the visibility of social exclusion, are of particular importance in this area. One of those activities focuses on official statistics which only recently introduced gender-categorised data, expected to be available for use over the coming years.

Contribution of the Civic Sector in Overcoming Social Exclusion from the Perspective of Social Protection

Social exclusion warns of, is concerned with and requires a wide-spread social action. There are several stakeholders whose involvement is essential in development and implementation of social inclusion policies. Those are: excluded groups, all levels of the government and all public sector service providers, social partners, civil society and

all citizens. In cases of such broad participation, it is essential to develop structures and ensure their coordination in development of inclusive policies in addition to ensuring participation and partnership of all involved. Civil society is an extremely important partner, capable of providing key support in the system of social protection and even introducing changes which would ensure accomplishment of goals of the reform.

The current role of the civil society in the system of social protection in BiH is in most cases sporadic, supplementary and not particularly obvious or particularly valued, with the exception of the family as the basic element in life of every individual. Social protection in the domain of care and material support fully relies on the family solidarity provided for the benefit of elderly persons, persons with disabilities and some categories of children.

About 1,200 organisations operate in the area of social protection as nongovernmental organisations established through different forms of association and organisation of citizens. Their activities are different and they cover all of the areas of social services. The most numerous among these organisations are associations of beneficiaries, particularly persons with disabilities, which is a result of the prior tradition, carried over from the former state. A few organisations deal with new social issues. The majority of newly established organisations built their operations and their sustainability on international donations and projects supported by international organisations and foundations. Only sporadic communication and cooperation took place between nongovernmental organisations and government institutions. Rivalry persisted for a number of years between public institutions and nongovernmental organisations, and it was fuelled by both sectors. Nongovernmental organisations perceived themselves as more innovative, more flexible, better equipped and more capable of reacting to the current social situation, while public institutions believed they were more competent, more professional and more reliable in this area. As a result of the rivalry, many years have passed with minimum cooperation, which could have improved the system of social protection. Over the past few years, the understanding and perception of both sectors changed and different mechanisms were established which lead to consultation, cooperation and partnership. Many nongovernmental organisations are now extensively involved in development of new policies and laws, they are now lobbying for their adoption on one side and for design, planning and delivery of social services to meet different needs of beneficiaries, on the other side. As a result of their involvement, certain systems of social protection and work with persons with disabilities, elderly persons, children and in particular children victims of domestic violence and trafficking in human beings, were substantially improved. Involvement and work of the nongovernmental sector in the area of social protection helped change approaches, get the beneficiaries more active and more involved, identify community resources and apply international standards and modern methods of operation, which represents a constitutive element of the policy of inclusion and overcoming social exclusion. Operation of some organisations has a character of social dialogue, because they became partners of the government in the policy-making process (coordinating boards of persons with disabilities).

Over the past several years, in some communities in BiH, in which the process of reform of social protection made a substantial progress, a mixed system of social services was established. It implies partnership of government, nongovernmental and private sectors in provision of social services. Capacities of these three sectors are mutually complementary, which improves the variety and quality of services provided, ensures better access to services by beneficiaries and inclusion of beneficiaries in planning, decision-making and provision of services. As a result of the mixed system, community based care was substantially improved and responsibility of local communities for meeting the needs of their socially vulnerable residents was increased.

Capabilities of the nongovernmental sector in promotion of social inclusion are remarkable. They include sensitising the public about certain issues and encouraging social solidarity and philanthropy. Campaigns that this sector can run as well as engagement of volunteers could help the public to recognise the problem, encourage higher level of family and social solidarity with excluded persons and bring about different measures and activities which would substantially raise awareness and define opportunities for excluded groups in terms of self-help.

Partnership of government and nongovernmental sectors in social protection represents an integral part of the policy of social inclusion. Work in partnership enables combining of community resources, improvement of access to information, prevention of duplication and improvement of accessibility, in addition to ensuring persons who require social

services are included and reached, providing response to specific needs in local communities, ensuring higher and more responsible involvement of local communities and promotion of social cohesion by building trust and cooperation.

Integrated Social Protection: The Chance and the Need

Reform of the system of social protection in BiH, being the integral part of the policy of social inclusion, has to reflect the following principles: respect and indivisibility of human rights, the best interest of beneficiaries, accessibility of services to beneficiaries, the least restrictive environment, participation, inclusion, responsibility and independence of beneficiaries and continuation of protection with a freedom to choose services. It has to contribute to improvement of protection of the poorest citizens, create opportunities for poor persons to cross over the poverty threshold and improve the quality of life of socially excluded and enable them to return to socially active life, by creating a network of various accessible services in the community, in line with the needs and best interests of beneficiaries. That way, an integrated social protection would be developed in which the social stakeholders (government, nongovernmental and private sectors) would use the existing and develop new resources in the most efficient manner.

Central to the framework of social inclusion within social protection are all of the above premises, including: quality system of networks of social security adapted to needs, provision of social assistance to the most vulnerable, provision of support from the state for those unable to ensure social security through their own work and participation in economic processes, services based on needs, inclusion of marginalised and excluded beneficiaries, etc.

Priority activities in creating inclusive or integrated social security in Bosnia and Herzegovina are:

- Reform of the system of funding and structure of benefits and assistance;
- Securing substantially higher share of social services, in comparison to monetary benefits;
- Introduction of active measures which enable reintegration in the labour market and decrease dependence on social benefits, especially among beneficiaries who are still able to work;
- Strengthening of local communities in monitoring and identification of social needs of their residents and planning of appropriate measures and services by combining all available resources and working in partnership;
- Development of strategies for specific groups of beneficiaries who are at highest risk of poverty and social exclusion.

Case Study

Centre for Children and Youth with Special Needs “Los Rosales” Mostar

Jasna Rebac
Los Rosales, Mostar

From an Idea to Implementation

At the time of definitive division of the city of Mostar, horrible war devastation, huge number of victims, enormous number of expelled persons throughout the world, displaced and homeless persons in their own town, persons reduced to poverty and unemployment, it was beyond brave, humane and absolutely democratic to recognise, assess and react to the need for a centre for offering services to children and youth with special needs in the Herzegovina-Neretva Canton.

At such a time, a lot of positive energy and sensibility was needed to encourage local authorities in Mostar to engage in this shared aim – to create better conditions for children with special needs regardless of the time and origin of these difficulties. The dream of such enthusiasts slowly began to realise itself.

The *Los Rosales Centre* was built thanks to a donation by the Government of the Kingdom of Spain. The implementation included the Spanish Agency for International Cooperation (AECI) for the South-East Balkans through the NGO named *Engineers and Architects without Borders* starting from 1996. More than KM 4,000,000.00 has since been invested in building and equipping the centre.

Development Genesis (Through Stages)

It began as a project, but good work yielded good results. The system increasingly recognised this fact and accepted it, while the legislation defined it. This does not mean that all the goals were achieved.

Stage one included the Special Primary School only. According to relevant European standards and Spanish projects, construction work began in 1996, permanently monitored by friends from Spain (construction experts and experts for the work with children with special needs). The school began its work as early as 1997 with 42 students with special needs of different impediments (mild and moderate mental retardation, Down syndrome, cerebral palsy, autism, hyperactivity, hearing impediments, combined impediments, etc.) and a team of 16 employees. At the very beginning it was evident that this would not meet the needs of children and youth with special needs in the Herzegovina-Neretva Canton. The task was to create conditions for gradual integration into the community under the same conditions as everyone else (for them to receive basic rehabilitation, to become socialised, to master social skills, to learn to become independent in everyday life, to receive high-quality education according to their capacities, to become able to work, etc.). The development initiative, unique in the Canton at the time, was based on partnership between the civic sector (domestic and foreign) and government institutions. However, every period of time has its

own good and bad sides. The donated money was easily accepted, anything and everything was signed without a strategy for accepting the maintenance of such institutions on the part of competent government institutions. The applicable legislation was utterly inadequate at the time.

Representatives of the following institutions took part in this project:

- The Government of the Kingdom of Spain (AECI – Technical office for the South-East Balkans)
- City of Mostar
- Ministry of Education, Science, Culture and Sports of the Herzegovina-Neretva Canton
- Ministry of Health, Labour and Social Protection of the Herzegovina-Neretva Canton
- Sunce Association
- Cooperazione Italiana
- Engineers and Architects without Border
- Parents
- Experts interested in working with persons with special needs
- NGO volunteers

The project developed thanks to the individuals and groups within foreign and domestic NGOs whose mission was unique: to offer equal opportunities for all, equally according to everyone's abilities, using remaining capacities.

In all its activities, *Los Rosales* relied on two principles (which proved to be a good choice):

- a) the principle of respecting human rights – respecting the rights of children,
- b) the principle of social inclusion.

Los Rosales changed its name in the registry from school into a centre. Facilities for a kindergarten, occupational-rehabilitation workshops and residential buildings were built. These facilities were equipped and professional staff (25 employees) trained and teams formed in order to create better and more humane conditions for children and youth with special needs and to reduce poverty in the Herzegovina-Neretva Canton.

The Centre Today

Today, the *Los Rosales Centre* has its segments that operate at an enviable level:

- Kindergarten Kolibri,
- Primary school,
- Residential facilities Liman offering permanent family accommodation for 12 persons together with an SOS mom and dad. Thanks to a project of Cadiz Province from Spain, an assistant was also engaged this year.
- Workshops:
 - *Dandelion* – wood
 - *Amfora* – ceramics
 - *Rainbow* – textile and weaving
 - *Oasis* - flowers

The whole Centre currently has 150 beneficiaries between 3 and 49 years of age, but their number varies during course of the year. The beneficiaries are of different religious and ethnic backgrounds, social origin, place of residence in the H-N Canton and with different impediments. Regardless of all the differences, the Centre's door is wide open for its beneficiaries. The only criterion for entering the Centre is the need of each individual. Centre provides daily transportation to 42 beneficiaries, accompanied by their parents where 15 of them use public transportation and are reimbursed for the fare, while the rest arrive on their own. All the beneficiaries are provided with a meal in the Centre, as well as protective clothes, working tools and working material – free of charge for their families. They have a multiethnic professional team of 32 employees, 5 volunteers and 2 assistants working with them.

Activities in the Centre aim at providing social services for individuals and groups, such as individual and group treatment, counselling, occupational therapy, protective employment, social rehabilitation, re-socialisation, professional orientation, protected accommodation, integration, etc.

The Centre has major problems that are not of financial nature only. Education and social protection fall within the competence of the H-N Canton. There is no legislation at the state level governing such centres. What is needed is to adopt legislation at the state level which would eliminate such obstacles. Despite considerable improvements and achievements, the sustainability of the *Los Rosales Centre*, as a non-profit institution, is in question.

The civic sector offers considerable support to the *Los Rosales Centre*. Five years ago, the Centre was about to be closed. At that moment *Lebenshilfe*, *Women for Europe*, SPI CGIL and, most of all, the AECL came into the Centre's life and offered considerable support to the sustainability of the *Los Rosales Centre* through different projects. Still, systemic solutions are the only valid long-term solutions for this Centre.

In the meantime, the H-N Canton has seen considerable improvements in the field of social protection. Legally feasible solution have been offered with regard to social services through daily care for children and youth with special needs, accessible and suitable transportation, rehabilitation procedures, etc. This does not imply that they have actually been applied in practice. In the H-N Canton, children and youth with special needs are still labelled, seen differently and seen as a 'burden' on the local community.

Center's Status and Financial Situation

The registration of the *Los Rosales Centre* as a public institution with the H-N Cantonal Registry, No. 02-023-7-3/98, did not solve the issue of funding. The founder is one thing, but financier quite another. The absence of a law governing social protection of children, mothers and families with children, a constant lack of funds in the Cantonal and Mostar City budgets, indifference on the part of local authorities, marginalisation of children and youth with special needs (as well as many other things) influenced the Centre's team to operate in a different way. They maintained contacts with all the media (and were lucky to have them as partners); many panels, roundtables and conferences (with participants from the H-N Canton and from the whole country – Tuzla, Trebinje, Banja Luka, Zenica, Sarajevo, Siroki Brijeg, etc.) resulted in specific conclusions and requests. The Centre printed and distributed these conclusions to representatives and councillors at all the levels of government, to political parties, caucuses, etc. Parents, children and youth with special needs gave a huge contribution to these efforts. We approached governmental and nongovernmental institutions and organisations, banks and private companies. The results came in slowly but were considerable. The Centre became recognisable (from other centres in the H-N Canton) and specific in terms of its services.

The United World College, Altruist, students of music from across the world involved their volunteers. Since 2001, they invested hundreds of hours of volunteer work, which must be recognised as a rare occurrence.

The Centre's management won their opportunities to address the City Council of Mostar, the H-N Canton prime minister, all the ministers, experts, parents, citizens of the H-N Canton. The High Representative in BiH paid three visits to the Centre, as well as ambassadors of different countries, consuls and others.

The civic sector had recognised a difficult moment. Offers of different projects began to arrive. We 'grabbed' them. We proved we were doing a good thing by being responsible, working in a team, acting professionally and honestly. We arrived at halfway point. We received numerous awards and, at the same time, we advocated and lobbied for a systemic solution for the Centre. Representatives of the Canton and the City qualified the *Los Rosales Centre* for children and youth with special needs as an **institution of particular importance for the H-N Canton and the City of Mostar**. With the relevant documentation supplied, the status of the *Los Rosales Centre* became legally regulated (document No. UF/1-362/98), its services accepted and funds could begin to seep in (though small) from the Mostar City Budget and the Cantonal Budget. The example of the *Los Rosales Centre* shows that efforts will pay

off and that results will not fail to be achieved if governmental and nongovernmental organisations, private entrepreneurs, experts, parents and citizens work together. Funding is not the deciding factor. What was more important was good organisation, a clear strategy, team work and promotion of knowledge and skills. We entered the *Ruzicnjak – Los Rosales* partnership (an association of persons with special needs over 18 years of age, with the mission of self-representation).

Definitively, the survival of the *Los Rosales Centre* will never come into question again. The Centre has won its place in the budgets of the H-N Canton and the City of Mostar, but has also won a number of projects improving the quality of its services and making its aim attainable.

As soon as the *Los Rosales Centre* is mentioned, everyone will readily explain what the Centre is and where it is located in Mostar.

This example of good practice may serve as a model for achieving good results.

Training and Awareness Raising

Protégés of the *Los Rosales Centre*, their parents, employees and citizens receive constant training through different projects: *Let's be partners*, *Awareness of persons with disabilities*, *What are my rights*, *Right to information*, *Lifelong learning*, *Occupational therapy*, *Employing persons with disabilities*, *Coping with disability*, *Campaigns and lobbying*, etc.

The goals are:

- Promoting access to stable and high-quality employment for women and men with special needs;
- Influencing the development of policy of reconciliation, employment and family life;
- Integration and employment using the opportunities of social economy;
- Training for manufacturing small articles (jewellery, ceramic ornaments, small wood articles, weaving, painting, making ikebana, flower arrangements, etc);
- Contributing to reduction of poverty through social inclusion and creating a framework for lifelong learning and training.

The Centre has the following resources: working area and playground with a yard of 2241 m², full equipment for music, logopedic, psychology and pedagogy laboratories, classrooms, workshops, kindergarten, residential area, gym and the social worker's office.

In 2001, the Centre was left without funds for its regular operating. The whole social segment was brought in question. This project was threatened and the Centre about to be closed.

Government of the Kingdom of Spain provided financial assistance through a three-year agreement for the transitional period until the relevant government institutions take over the Centre. The agreement was signed on 30th of August 2004, stipulating that 90% of funds for the first year would be provided by Spain and 10% by the local community. The following year, the ratio was set to 50% on both sides. In the third year, Spain was to provide 20% and the local community 80%. By signing this agreement, the local community committed to fund the Centre and its sustainability as of 1st of January 2008, following its Annual Program. All the previous efforts yielded good results and reduced the risk related to offering services to beneficiaries of the *Los Rosales Centre*.

What Next?

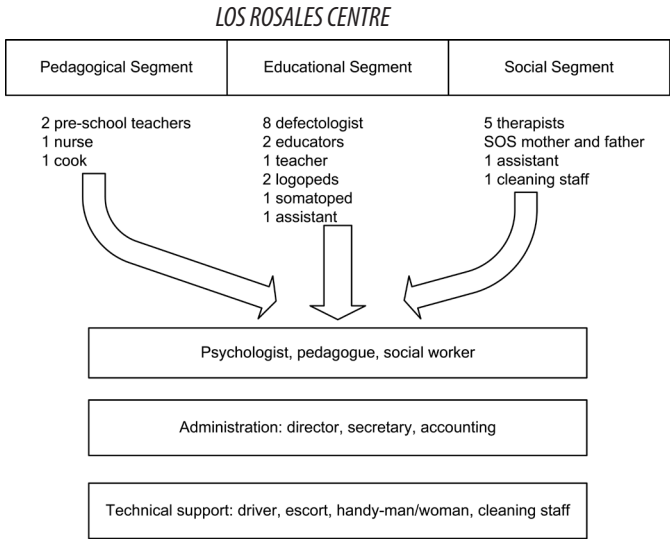
In order to achieve sustainability of alternative services and support, the state, local community, parents and NGOs should work as partners and play a significant role in projects such as this one in the *Los Rosales Centre*. The termination of the above agreement will also terminate considerable financial support. The self-sustainability

of the *Los Rosales Centre* is expected to be achieved with partnerships among public institutions, authorities and the Centre in implementing programmes and offering relevant services. In future, the Centre should be financed from the budgets of the City of Mostar and the Ministry of Health, Labour and Social Protection of the H-N Canton with regards to the social segment, from the budget of the Ministry of Education, Science, Culture and Sports of the H-N Canton in the amount of 100% in regards to the education segment, and from the budget of the City of Mostar in regards to the pre-school education and material expenses of the primary school. ‘Will it be so?’ is a question to be answered soon enough. Until then we are left with our constant uncertainty, anxiety and fear. Our previous practice has given us enough warnings!

Possible Solutions

A possible solution would be the official adoption of a new model for establishing and enhancing good partnership relations among government institutions, parents and the *Los Rosales Centre*, as well as designing joint projects leading to improved services and the Centre’s self-sustainability.

The current situation on the H-N Canton, unemployment, poverty, political divisions, crime and corruption and social exclusion of vulnerable groups are not sound preconditions for a better future of the *Los Rosales Centre*. Hence, a special emphasis on the role of civic sector, as its importance for the *Los Rosales Centre* has been immeasurable. Many services for children and youth with special needs are still unavailable even though there are legal grounds for their use. There is no need to name the causes of such situation again. This explains just how important the civil sector is.



Civil Society from Participation to Partnership and Social Inclusion

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1. What are we talking about?

1.1. Does civil society in BiH represent partnership and social inclusion?

The definition of "civil society" (though there are many versions of it) is not usually given in our social setting but its meaning is implied, often in different ways.

Civil society in essence means participation of citizens, their inclusion, democratization of every-day life, and not merely voting at elections.

Mechanisms that should make it possible are democratic elections; rule of law; accountable and transparent authorities; independent media and civil society organisations (NGOs) that can, only in the above described setting, be efficient and effective.¹

Therefore, civil society cannot only be reduced to nongovernmental organisations (NGOs), however diverse and significant they may be.

NGOs are also only a good organisational form of including citizens into societal processes (above, beyond and better than the classic political representation). For that reason, bearing in mind the essence of civil society, another question can be asked – are citizens included in social life, are they subjects or objects of political elites, government institutions and dependent media (directly or indirectly)?

1.2. In what way can civil society in BiH be a factor of social inclusion?

Social inclusion does not only relate to social issues, but to inclusion in the decision-making process in all aspects of society as well. Therefore, social inclusion is inclusion into society.

Certainly, the socially vulnerable are in the focus because they are the most excluded, but they are not the only ones.

Social exclusion means that certain population groups have little opportunity to be involved in decision-making and in that way directly influence their ever-day lives, i.e. they are marginalized. This is exclusion.

Exclusion is, most frequently, caused by poverty, lack of education, discrimination based on gender, race, ethnicity or any other factor.

The circle then "closes" – by exclusion and life on the margins. Namely, those population groups, because of their exclusion, do not even have opportunities for employment, making their own income and acquiring education, and thus affecting their own lives.

¹ In the *Assessment of Democracy Development in BiH* (Open Society Fund BiH, Sarajevo, 2006), civil society and political participation involve the media, political participation, accessible government and decentralization.

In today's reality of Bosnia and Herzegovina (marked by absence of other aspects of civil society), NGOs are the initiators of social inclusion of citizens in a general, social sense, and especially of their inclusion in finding solutions to social problems.

However, in order to strengthen the role of NGOs in social inclusion, it is important to bare in mind the available capacity of the NGO sector in BiH.

2. Potential of the NGO sector in BiH²

2.1. Following the development of NGOs at the beginning of 90s is their inadequate definition and lack of a clear role of NGOs in BiH. Due to the fact that there was no experience in the model of work, context and actions of the NGOs, in the beginning, they were constituted as humanitarian and aid organisations, and later on others appeared with different interests, context of work, model of performance and ideas and activities.

The first local NGOs appeared in 1993. Many of them have grown up from projects started by international organisations aiming to maintain the continuation of certain activities, or as initiatives by local staff in these organisations.

The number of NGOs significantly increased after 1995, in the beginning primarily international NGOs. According to recent research,³ most of the international NGOs (43%) were registered for the first time in the period 1996-2000, while the greatest number of local NGOs was registered for the first time in the period 2001-2004 (40%).

2.2. The total number of registered NGOs in BiH is 9095 but only half of them are really active, i.e. 4629.⁴ In comparison with other countries, this number should not be ignored. Counting the registered NGOs in BiH, for one NGO there are 417 citizens, in Great Britain there are 426 citizens and in Hungary 250 citizens. Certainly, the picture is bad if we take into consideration only active NGOs. In this case, for one NGO there are 820 citizens.

The total estimated income of the NGO sector in BiH creates 4.5% of GDP while consumption of the NGO sector amounts to 2.4% of GDP. Now we come to the very interesting comparison, participation of the NGO sector in our GDP. It is close to 1/5 of the participation of BiH industry in GDP (industry participates in 18% and it is not far from the participation of the agriculture in GDP, which is 40%). Therefore, the economic power and significance of the NGO sector are enormous.

The number of full time employees in the NGO sector is 26,668 (also taking into account the number of part time employees), i.e. 2.3% of the active labor force. If we add to this the number of full time volunteers - 63,129, which is 5.36% of active labor citizens - we can get the right picture: 7.66% of active labor citizens work in the NGO sector, either for a salary or voluntarily. Income in GDP just from the volunteers is 3.2%. In accordance with international standards, these numbers are very high. Analyses of employment (for salary or voluntarily) in 24 countries, indicates that the average is 7.30%, from 20.6% in Holland to 0.6% in Mexico. In order to make a comparison, there are 43,405 citizens in BiH employed in sector of transport and communications.

NGOs in BiH provide services to 29% of citizens in BiH. And it is not just the case for services; it also illustrates the transfer of donors' money to the beneficiaries. This is in connection with information that 60% of NGOs operate at a local community level which is very close to the situation in Great Britain where 70% of NGOs operate at this level.

2.3. It seems that these numbers strongly confirm the significance of the NGO sector in BiH and provide the authorities in BiH with a new and realistic picture of the NGO sector and civil society. In other words, the NGO sector can no longer be underestimated or placed at the margins of the society development. Its significance requires defining of the NGO sector development policy. It also shows that social policy can strongly rely on the NGO sector. In the last ten

² See IBHI BiH Study, *Integrity in reconstruction - Corruption, Effectiveness and Sustainability in Post-War Countries*, Sarajevo 2007, p. 54-59

³ See more: DFID, IBHI, BSAL, *Qualitative Study 3 - Employment, Social Service Provision and the Nongovernmental Sector: Status and Prospects for BiH, Analysis and Policy Implications*, May 2005.

⁴ DFID, IBHI BiH, BSAL, *ibid*.

years, the development of the NGO sector in BiH has been financed by foreign support, directly from donors or from international NGOs.

Partnership development between the NGO sector and governmental sector in BiH is particularly important because, with the decrease of foreign donations, local NGOs will have a serious problem regarding their sustainability.

2.4. An interesting point is the distribution of activities among local NGOs (the number of NGOs engaged in certain areas of activities according to NACE Classification). (Statistical classification of the economic activities in EU)⁵

Table: Numbers of nongovernmental organisations in NACE Classification according to Statistical Institutes of FBiH, RS and Brčko District

NACE CODE	NACE DESCRIPTION	FBiH	RS*	BiH
85.3	Social Work Activities (with and without accommodation) not undertaken by government or private sector	961	93	1054
91.11	Business and Employers organisations	157	25	182
91.12	Professional organisations	220	179	399
91.20	Trade Unions	1270	25	1295
91.31	Religious organisations	138	10	148
91.32	Political organisations	722	39	761
91.33	Other Membership organisations. This includes: - Activities of organisations directly affiliated to a political party furthering a public cause or issue by means of public education, political influence, fund raising etc - Special interest groups such as touring clubs and automobile associations and consumer associations - Associations for the purpose of social acquaintanceship such as rotary clubs, lodges etc - Associations of youth, young persons associations, student associations, clubs and fraternities etc - Associations for the pursuit of a cultural or recreational activity or hobby (other than sports or games) - Associations for protection of animals	2039	1381	3420
92.62	Other Sporting Activities	1151	685	1836
TOTAL		6658	2437	9095

*Includes 121 organisations registered in Brčko.

5 See: DFID, IBHI BiH, BSAL, *ibid*.

Dependence on foreign donations can be seen from following data:⁶

Ranked sources of income

Sources of income	% of total mentions
1 Membership fees	27%
2 Government donations	21%
3 International donations	21%
4 Domestic donations	18%
5 Contracted services	9%
6 Municipal funds	2%
7 Other	2%

3. From participation to partnership - road to inclusion

3.1. Participation and partnership - forms of inclusion into the decision-making process

Participation is involvement, and it means to be included in the process of consultations without being included in the decision-making, therefore, to have a limited influence. The example for that is consultations with NGOs in the preparation of the BiH Mid-Term Development Strategy (MTDS) 2004-2007.

Partnership is inclusion in the process of preparing and making decisions; therefore, the influence is not limited. The example for that is Economic-Social Councils with equal inclusion of Government, Employers and Unions.

Progress from participation to partnership requires strengthening of inclusion into the decision-making process of those whose lives are directly influenced by those decisions.

3.2. Functions of participation

Usually, functions of participation are defined as follows:⁷

- Improves quality and relevance
- Increases efficiency
- Empowerment
- Legitimacy
- Self-reliance
- Learning by doing

Hence, participation is a human right and a part of human well-being. Also, it is a long-term process that includes distribution of work and cooperation based on equality and mutual respect. It can be said that it has a certain price, but also that it pays off.

3.3. From participation to partnership - how?

Inclusion represents equal (de jure) rights and (de facto) equal opportunities for all. It is a principle according to which all participate, benefit, contribute, decide and become equal stakeholders in development. This then leads to partnership.

⁶ See: DFID, IBHI BiH, BSAL, ibid.

⁷ R. Wiman, STAKES 2007

Partnership involves support, consultation process and joint ownership. However, in reality, an organisation often supports only a certain initiative or activity, when it should provide full support and be a partner with equal rights. Also, if an organisation often participates in the process of consultations and decision-making without having real influence, and sometimes, to a large degree, depending upon other members with greater influence, then this does not in any way ensure equal rights and equal opportunities for all in the consultation process. Real inclusion in such a process would be when an organisation, as a partner, makes decisions and participates in the entire process as a member of, for example, an advisory board. Partnership functions based on joint responsibility. Therefore, participant is an equal partner and is treated as such. Since the participant is present based on a right, from the beginning of the process there is an opportunity to realize equal rights, criteria and distribution of resources.

3.4. Functions and benefits of partnership

Important factors of partnership development are building trust among partners, joint vision and having an adequate amount of time for those processes.

Partnership functions through recognizing and accepting that disagreements might occur, as well as observing the need to increase capacities of all partners for work in a partnership. Partnership stakeholders have defined roles and a clear division of responsibilities in the process, and the focus is always on the desired results.

The process of partnership demands a transparent working principle, in other words, enabled open access to information of all partners involved.

By pooling resources of organisations working in partnership, capital at disposal of any of the partners is increased; cost-effectiveness is achieved; and the working principle becomes - creating more for less. This is one of the benefits of partnership.

One of the principles of cooperation between the BiH Council of Ministers and the nongovernmental sector in BiH is: *"Working in partnership towards common goals has additional value. We will build a relationship based on partnership to improve policy development and step up the design and provision of services to the citizens."* The Agreement arose from the need of nongovernmental organisations and the BiH Council of Ministers to build an institutional framework for joint cooperation.⁸

What are additional benefits of partnership?

Certainly, it is creating an environment in which innovation is developed. In addition to pooled resources, more favorable conditions are created through improved access to information gained through networking and existence of a forum in which risks can be shared among partners.

Also, each partner must cover different segments and promote activities that are complementary. This undoubtedly prevents duplication in any form. Partnership approach has the potential to develop a sense of responsibility within the community.

3.5. Partnership management

Stakeholders and structure of partnership, as well as the level at which partnership is formed, depend on the goal and type of activity. Partnership at the local level/municipalities - Municipality, Center for Social Work (CSW), NGOs, beneficiaries - is a horizontal partnership, and partnership at higher levels is a vertical partnership - for example Social Policy Advisory Groups (SPAGs).

Horizontal and vertical partnerships together create conditions for applying a bottom-up approach and including all stakeholders and beneficiaries in policy development and implementation.

Bearing in mind the abovementioned factors of partnership development, partnership management is focused on partnership as a process and the results it demands, which is followed by a recognition and creation of a most suitable

⁸ See *Agreement on Cooperation between the BiH Council of Ministers and the nongovernmental sector in BiH*, adopted on April 26, 2007 at the 8th session of the BiH Council of Ministers, Sarajevo

structure resulting from the process/activity. Accent is placed on the beneficiary/client and achievement of results, and not on the internal organisational structure.

This type of management is developmental, uses the design as the means and has a bottom-up strategy approach. Consequently, priorities of successful partnerships should be activities and relationships, which are more important than the structures.

4. Partnership in practice

4.1. Swiss NGO Support Programme in Bosnia and Herzegovina⁹

The Program was launched in 2004 and up to date, it has provided support to 53 projects implemented by 29 nongovernmental organisations on the territory of 29 BiH municipalities. It is financed by the Swiss Development and Cooperation Office (SDC) in BiH and the executing agency on the project is the Independent Bureau for Humanitarian Issues (IBHI BiH). The goal of the project is to professionalize domestic NGOs and the role of government institutions in municipal social protection systems, all with the purpose of providing adequate social and health care for beneficiaries. Methodologically, the goal of the project is achieved by focusing on the following areas:

- strengthening cooperation among nongovernmental organisations and public institutions;
- strengthening organisational structure of partner organisations by providing expert assistance;
- exchanging experiences and expertise among partner organisations.

Financial information on the implementation of this project illustrates, in an interesting way, the capacities and organisational approaches in securing the necessary resources. Namely, the Program is based on the principle of shared participation in financing by providing up to 50% of the necessary funds while the organisations are obligated to provide the other 50% from alternative sources, including their own contribution. Considering the availability of other donors and the fact that Program's implementation capacity is limited by a certain amount, the effective share of SDC funds in the financing of projects up to date totals 31.79%.

In the majority of cases, the capacities of service providing organisations are far above the level of available funds from individual donors and for that reason almost all projects are financed by several donors (average number of donors is 4.1 and the highest recorded number of donors financing one project is 7).

Also, longitudinal analysis of project financing points to a slow but stabile cross-over from international to domestic resources. The beginning ratio, calculated in 2004, of 55.87% international funds to 44.13% domestic funds has been changed to the ratio of 49.96% international funds to 50.04% domestic funds calculated in 2007. Even though these ratios still show strong dependence of NGOs on foreign resources, the trend of an increased use of domestic resources that resulted in its prevalence in 2007 is evident.

4.2. DFID Project "Reforming the Systems and Structures of Central and Local Social Policy Regimes in Bosnia and Herzegovina"¹⁰

Project was implemented from May 2001 to May 2005 in pilot municipalities Gornji Vakuf-Uskoplje and Zenica in BiH Federation (FBiH), and Banja Luka and Trebinje in Republika Srpska (RS).¹¹

The goal of the partnership was to strengthen social policy regimes, as well as to achieve participation and commitment of all interested stakeholders at all levels: BiH state; entity; canton (in FBiH); municipality; centers for social work; and civil society.

⁹ Information obtained from IBHI BiH Project Team of the „Swiss NGO Support Program in BiH“

¹⁰ Project "Reforming the Systems and Structures of Central and Local Social Policy Regimes in Bosnia and Herzegovina", supported by UK Government's Department for International Development (DFID)

¹¹ See IBHI BiH Study, *ibid*, p. 85-99

This objective was to be attained through the promotion of effective and efficient social policies, which are fiscally sustainable and innovative, and contribute to the mitigation of poverty, inequality and social exclusion. The aim of the Program was to achieve these objectives by: improving social policy planning, social welfare management and administrative capacities of entity level institutions; strengthening municipal (in FBiH, cantonal) social policy management and social service delivery; and developing community action projects partnership between civil society and municipalities in four pilot areas. In this way, conditions would be created for improvement of social policy at the BiH level.

Municipal Project Management Boards (PMBs) supported, advised and managed Project activities and ensured active involvement of all actors at the municipal level. They reviewed and provided recommendations on project management issues relevant to the municipality, provided guidance to DFID team on municipal factors pertaining to the Project, and promoted joint working initiatives within and with the municipality. Their work was supported by municipal planning development staff.

The Boards consisted of representatives from cantonal ministries from pilot areas in FBiH; municipalities from pilot areas; centers for social work from pilot areas; beneficiaries; NGOs; and other public institutions in the social sector.

At the entity level, Project Coordination Groups were established to oversee project management issues; promote joint work; discuss recommendations from entity forums and exercise policy influence as required; plan dissemination of lessons learned; participate in project reviews; and plan for future developments following the termination of the Project. In the Project's second phase, these Groups were transformed into Social Policy Advisory Groups (SPAGs).

Horizontal partnership was developed not only between local stakeholders and the project team, but more importantly, between various organisations active in the field of social protection in the municipalities. (see Annex 1)

Vertical partnership was accomplished through SPAGs (Social Policy Advisory Groups) at the entity level in FBiH and RS. SPAGs were consultative advisory groups set up in line with international best practice. Their members were representatives of pilot municipalities, cantons in FBiH, i.e. centers for social work, municipal administrator, and representatives of competent ministries. Chairs of SPAGs were ministers from FBiH and RS in charge of social policy.

SPAGs immediately focused on laws, finances and services in social protection; promoted reforms that were not only negatively motivated because of financial constraints, but were focused on improvements in the areas of equity, targeting, nature and effectiveness of expenditures and aims in social policy. They adhered to the BiH Constitutional structure and focused on efficiency and communication across and between institutions of both entities and all cantons. SPAGs were solidly based in participative and consultative processes of partnership, throughout which decisions were made by consensus and a broad membership of social policy stakeholders. Using lessons learned in pilot municipalities, they provided information during discussions with the international community on social policy related matters; propagated effective and efficient social policy principles and processes; developed a welfare mix of a pluralistically delivered set of services; and reinforced a client based social protection system and a set of policies.

Experiences of SPAGs were the bases for forming CPPAGs (Child Protection Policy Advisory Groups) in FBiH and RS within the UNICEF Project "Support to child protection system reform in BiH". CPPAGs have been functioning very well in the period 2005-2007 and support to the continuation of their successful work is planned in the upcoming period.¹²

DFID Project, "Support to Pro Poor Development Policies in BiH," implemented by DEP and LSE Consortium, based on previous positive experiences, has further elaborated on the concept of SPAGs, formed by government decisions in FBiH, RS and Brcko District. Their activity will be focused on participation in the preparation of the BiH Development Strategy 2008-2013 and Social Inclusion Strategy (see Annexes 2, 3 and 4).

12 UNICEF Project "Support to child protection system reform in BiH" is being implemented by IBHI BiH and realized in 9 municipalities (Bugojno, Gradiška, Kakanj, Vareš, Teslić, Breza, Donji Vakuf, Prnjavor and Srbac). After the adoption (municipal Councils/Assemblies) of child protection development documents (Two-year child protection development plan 2004-2005 and Action plans to support piloting child protection system reform 2006-2007), Municipal Management Boards (MMB) continue to work in five old targeted municipalities (Bugojno, Gradiška, Kakanj, Teslić and Vareš). MMBs monitor the realization of Action plans to support piloting child protection system reform (2006-2007) in old municipalities as well as the activities related to this plan. In new municipalities (Breza, Donji Vakuf, Prnjavor and Srbac), MMBs established in those municipalities are preparing Action plans for social inclusion in child protection system reform (2008-2009) and Action plans for monitoring elementary school enrolment (2007-2008).

The implementation phase outcomes in the DFID Project “Reforming the Systems and Structures of Central and Local Social Policy Regimes in Bosnia and Herzegovina” were the development of Municipal Social Protection Development Plans (MSPDPs) and Community Action Projects (CAPs) at the local level. Project assistance was directed toward achieving the management of change and supporting key stakeholders in the creation and development of plans at the municipal level.

As a result of this key component, MSPDPs for the period 2003–2005 and 2005–2008 were unanimously adopted by the Municipal Assemblies in all four project municipalities. They were prepared by working groups of local stakeholders, including centers for social work, local NGOs and municipal administrators, and adopted as a proposal by PMBs.

In distinction from the Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSP, later Mid-Term Development Strategy/MTDS/2004–2007), which emphasized economic growth, the MSPDPs focused on the social sector, especially management of social policies and their reform at the local level. The aim of the Plans was to: promote social policy planning; strengthen municipal management of the social sector; develop and facilitate partnership at the community level; promote and develop efficient and sustainable methods and forms of support for beneficiaries based on their needs; focus on the beneficiary; raise the level of local government transparency and inform local communities and professionals in social protection with an aim of raising awareness; and improve local self-government and ownership of the reform process. Based on these plans for reform implementation, particularly those regarding social protection in the municipalities, stakeholders recommended changes to laws and policies at entity level in FBiH and in RS.

It is important to point out that local/municipal budgets for social protection were increased by 1 million KM (GBP 350 000) through specific budget lines for CAPs. In addition, networks of partnerships developed, with the greater role of NGOs and public institutions, and the expansion of private sector support, including private kindergartens and contributions to social protection, both in types of support and in the financial aspect. These networks and the increased awareness of the needs of specific marginalized groups are elements that were sustained after the Project implementation period.

CAPs, in particular, were financed by the DFID social policy project. Through a process of public bidding, selection by a committee consisting of local members, and monitoring by Project Management Boards, CAPs supported and developed partnership, innovation and sustainability.

Partnership among governmental and nongovernmental sectors was provided through the tender conditions. Proposals for CAPs would only be taken into consideration if they entailed partnerships with public institutions involved in social protection (centers for social work, schools, etc.) and nongovernmental organisations with a defined joint implementation and management structure.

CAPs provided innovation and sustainability by encouraging active participation of beneficiaries in the design and implementation of activities. Through this client-based approach, local stakeholders became increasingly engaged in the financing of the CAPs over the project period. Out of three rounds of CAPs, Project (DFID) entirely financed round one; round two was jointly financed by the municipality/city and the Project (50%–50%); and in round three, the municipality/city financed 64% of the total budget for all CAPs. At the end of the Project (May 2005), municipalities/cities entirely took over financing of CAPs. By the fourth year, all four municipalities had completely taken over the financing of their activities through municipal budgets.

The following data demonstrate the importance of CAPs for beneficiaries and the reform. In total, for all pilot municipalities /cities, figures are as follows:

- Total budget of 109 CAPs is 2,751,762 KM. The Project contributed 1,746,760 KM (63, 5%), and municipalities/cities contributed 1,005,002 KM (36, 5%).
- In their implementation, 277 organisations/stakeholders (with some overlap) participated, including 150 NGOs, 107 public institutions and 20 private entrepreneurs.
- The number of direct beneficiaries during the three-year period (bearing in mind that the criteria are specific by area) is 20,703.

After the project “Reforming the Systems and Structures of Central and Local Social Policy Regimes in Bosnia and Herzegovina” ended in May 2005, CAPs remained sustainable and continued with their activities through rounds four and five (2006 and 2007) in all four aforementioned municipalities. Their activities have been financed from municipal budgets in all municipalities. It is to be concluded that the results of a continuous work on the development of partnership and innovation in municipalities are sustainability and ownership.

5. Lessons learned

According to the Final Participatory Impact Evaluation Report¹³, the key elements of the project that have been sustained are: knowledge; experience; networks; the ethos of partnership; and an awareness of the needs of marginalized people. Some services, including counseling, have been maintained in accordance with organisational capacities. New networks have been developed, which continue to provide support to this day. As the social protection improved, more and more consultations in the field of policy and program development were held and the number of indirect beneficiaries (such as families) has constantly been increasing.

On the other hand, some stakeholders felt that municipalities were insufficiently involved in CAP activities. Volunteerism remains a problem, bearing in mind financial constraints, and concerns have also been raised regarding the expertise and funding to sustain project activities.

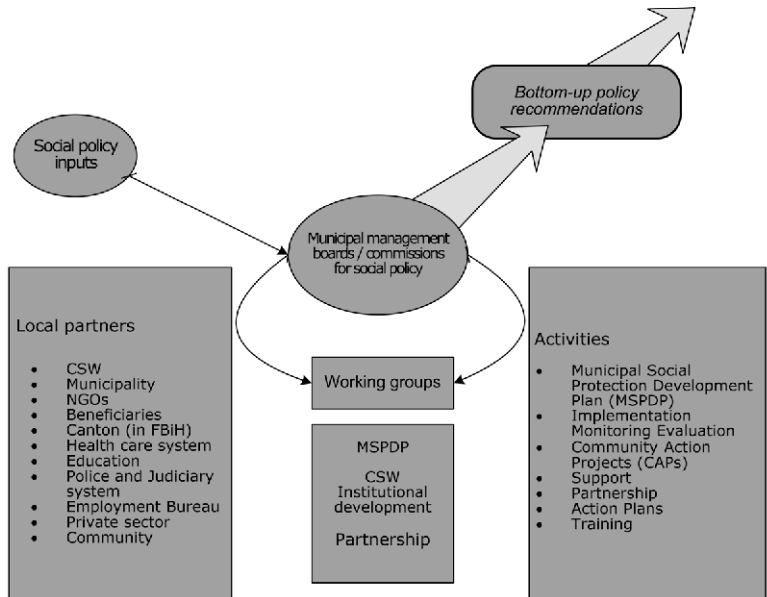
Within the BiH context, such partnership is crucial in building capacities of local organisations and overcoming challenges posed by high levels of poverty, unemployment, dependency and social exclusion. This approach could have broader regional significance and be applied in the Balkans and in the SEE countries as a better model of international support. Donors should thus maintain this project implementation approach, thereby emphasizing partnerships between foreign and local implementing organisations as well as the contributions of local stakeholders.

13 Final Participative Impact Evaluation Report, 26 April, 2005 http://www.birks-sinclair.com/Bosnia279Docs/279%20FPIER%20Main_final.pdf

Annex 1

Example of horizontal partnership

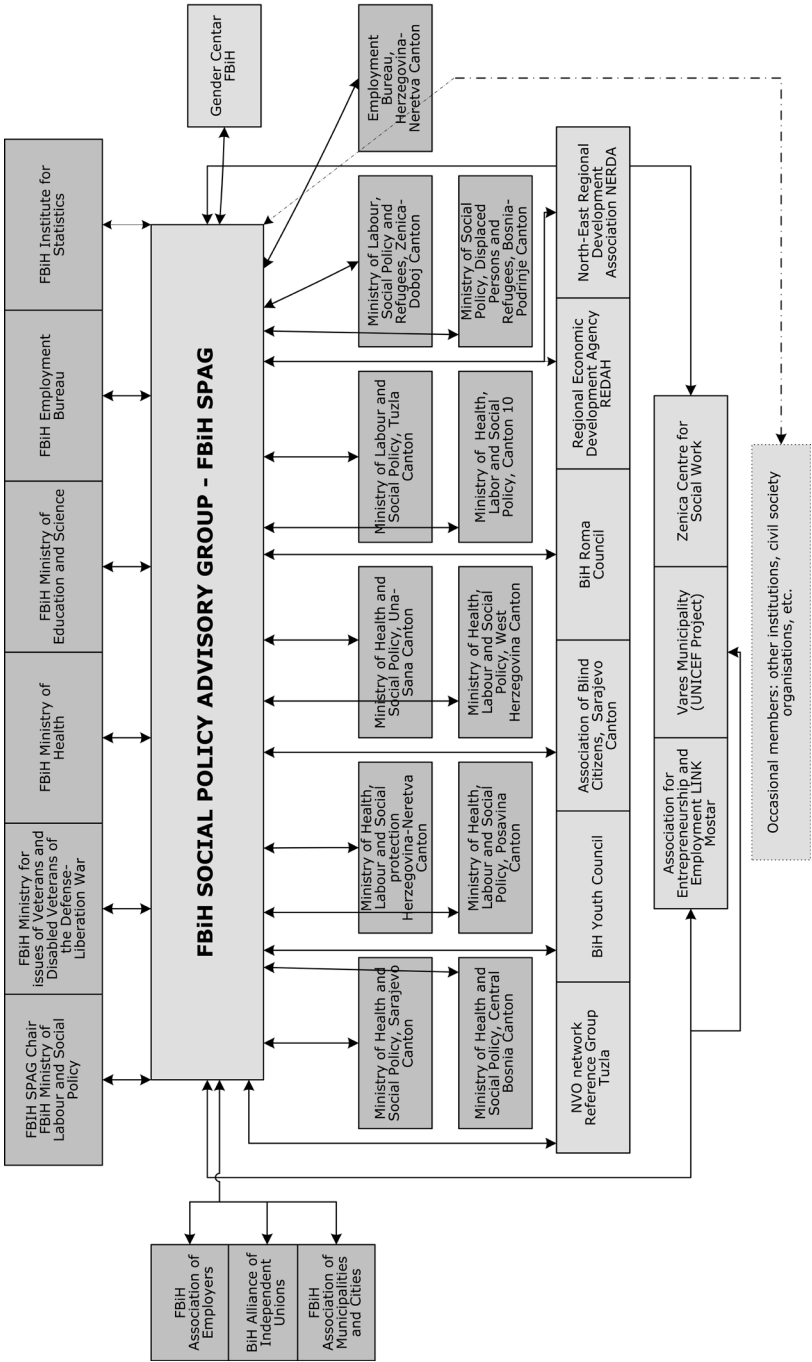
Experience from DFID Project "Reforming the Systems and Structures of Central and Local Social Policy Regimes in Bosnia and Herzegovina," IBHI BiH/BSAL



Annex 2

Example of vertical partnership

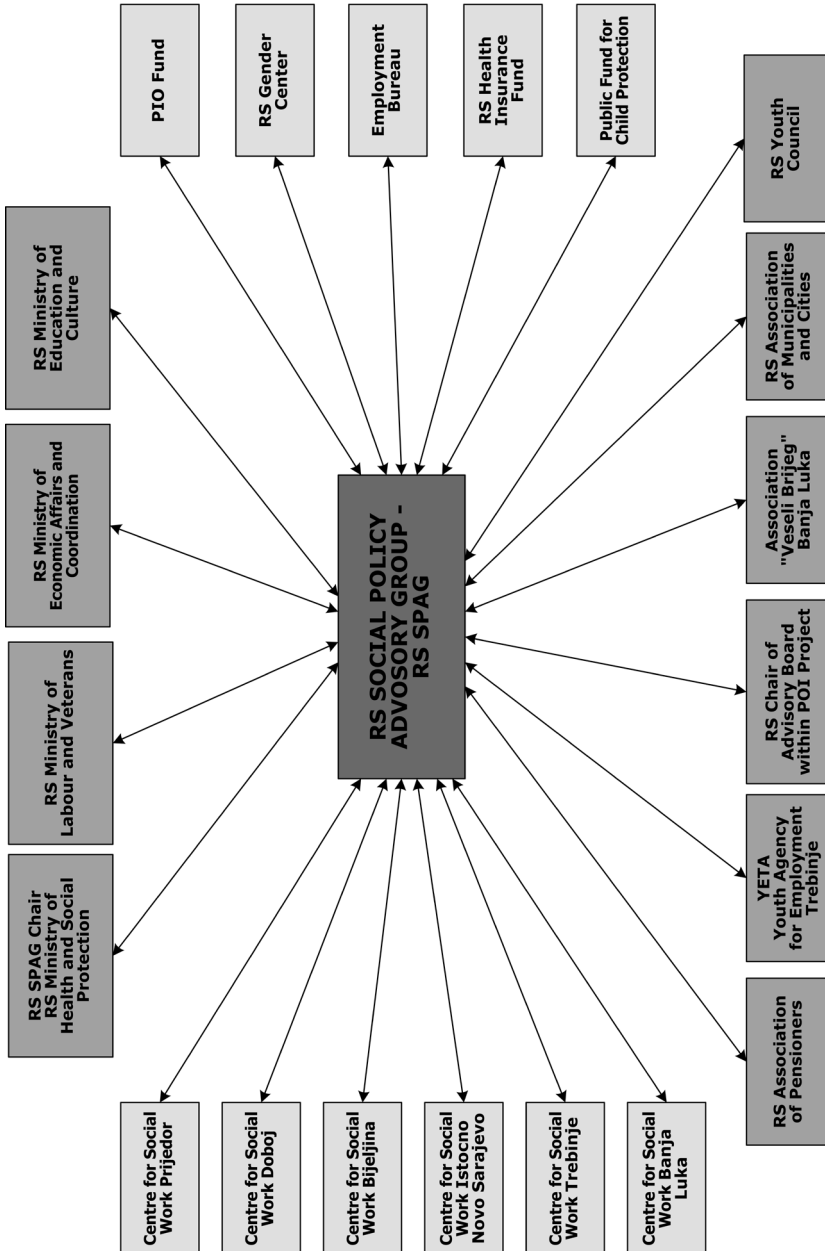
Scheme of the structure of BiH Federation Social Policy Advisory Group (FBiH SPAG) formally constituted on July 10, 2007 (DFID Project „Support to Pro Poor Development Policies in BiH,” DEP/LSE Consortium)



Annex 3

Example of vertical partnership

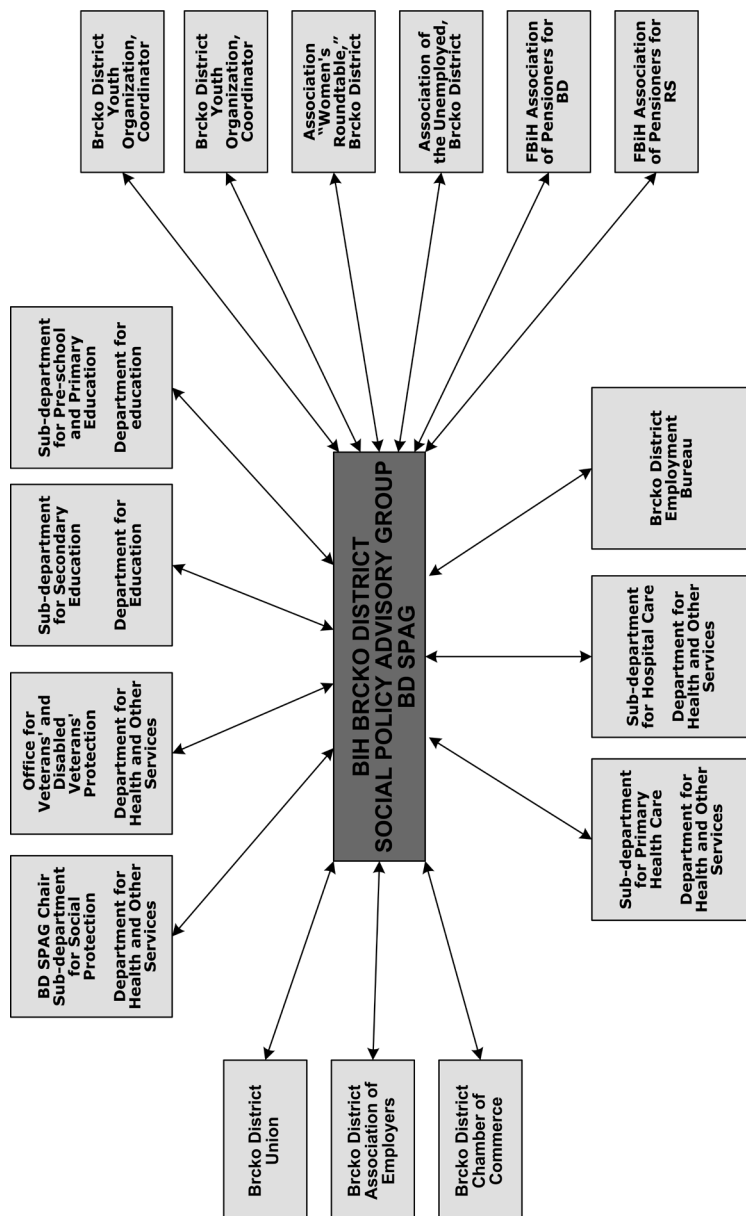
Scheme of the structure of RS Social Policy Advisory Group (RS SPAG) formally constituted on October 22, 2007 (DFID Project „Support to Pro Poor Development Policies in BiH,” DEP/LSE Consortium)



Annex 4

Example of vertical partnership

Scheme of the structure of Brcko District Social Policy Advisory Group (BD SPAG) formally constituted on June 12, 2007 (DFID Project „Support to Pro Poor Development Policies in BiH“ DEP/LSE Consortium)



Case Study

Domestic Violence

Jasmina Mujezinović
Foundation of Local Democracy

Mission of the Foundation of Local Democracy is to create a society without violence and a society of equal opportunities.

Goals:

- Promotion and protection of human rights at all levels of social and public life;
- Improvement of women and children's status through prevention and protection from domestic violence as well as elimination of gender-based violence;
- Promotion and protection of child's rights, particularly from the domestic violence aspect, manipulations with children and their abuse in any illegal way;
- Promotion of a healthy life.

Systemic solutions, multidisciplinary approach in our work, cooperation with other nongovernmental organisations and institutions are determinants of our activities.

The Problem and Its Resolution

Domestic violence occurs in all layers of society, and its fundamental feature is that it happens behind closed doors and without external interventions. Data show that in 80% of cases, violence occurs within a marriage and the individuals exposed to abuse are female. Violence, as one of causes which lead to permanent disturbance of marital and family relations, is an evident and growing problem in Sarajevo Canton and the entire Bosnia and Herzegovina. This fact may be supported by data available from nongovernmental organisations (data from Safe House – shelter for women and children victims of domestic violence and Shelter for girls victims of violence – incest, human trafficking ...) as well as by official data available from centres for social work and the police. The evidence of growing domestic violence is also provided by data from Social Protection Services in Sarajevo Canton (SC) municipalities showing that the number of recorded cases of violence in 2006 was 65% higher than in 2005.

When it comes to domestic violence in BiH, the problem is reflected in unsystematic and disintegrated approaches and actions of various players (both governmental and nongovernmental) in prevention, fight and protection.

Many years of work in this field have lead Foundation of Local Democracy to the realisation that the only successful method of work is a coordinated and systematic action of all players in the society. The Foundation initiated and established a unique institutional body – Coordinating Body, whose activities are based on a multidisciplinary approach for prevention, protection and fight against domestic violence in SC, with comprising representatives of: the Ministry of Justice and Sarajevo Canton Administration, SC Ministry of Health, SC Ministry of Labour, Social policy, Displaced Persons and Refugees, SC Ministry of Internal Affairs, BiH Journalist Association and NGO – Foundation of Local Democracy.

Under our initiative and its implementation in Sarajevo Canton, establishment of the Coordinating Body for the first time gathered representatives of governmental and nongovernmental organisations into a single institutional body with a common goal – prevention, protection and fight against family violence, as community's systemic response to increasingly present problem of domestic violence.

Work of the Coordinating Body resulted in the adoption and signing of the **Agreement Protocol on Prevention, Protection and Fight against Domestic Violence** and **2005-2006 Work Plan for Prevention, Protection of Victims and Combating Domestic Violence**, created and signed by relevant ministries of Sarajevo Canton.

At the beginning of 2006, a unified database of domestic violence cases was established in Sarajevo Canton. The database is maintained by the competent service in the Ministry of Internal Affairs. In addition to data provided by this service, database also encompasses data from social protection services and the Shelter for women and children victims of violence operating under Foundation of Local Democracy. Annual data serve as a basis for future activities related to range of problems we deal with.

In December 2006, Coordinating Body created and adopted draft **Action Plan for Prevention, Protection and Fight against Domestic Violence in Sarajevo Canton**, which represents the basis for creation a strategy for elimination of this problem at Sarajevo Canton level.

In September 2007, Government of the Sarajevo Canton had adopted the Action Plan, becoming the first local community in BiH that adopted a strategic document in this field and commemorated the official cooperation between governmental and nongovernmental sector.

The multidisciplinary approach and implementation of the activities envisaged in the Action Plan will lead to the development of a systemic strategy in prevention, protection and fight against domestic violence, along with the involvement of all societal actors of Sarajevo Canton.

Finally, implementation of the Action Plan will ensure a reduction of domestic violence through institutionally established common approaches and methods of work, sensitised and educated/trained employees in public services of Sarajevo Canton as well as media representatives.

Placement of N.N., a victim of domestic violence, in the Safe House (a multidisciplinary approach to resolving the case of N.N.)

N.N., age 37, mother of two minor children, several months ago has requested assistance for the first time through the S.O.S. phone line for victims of violence, stating that she and her two minor children were victims of continuous abuse in the family. In her first contact with S.O.S. phone line N.N. wished to report the violence but stay anonymous. She did not want the case to be processed or any interventions to be made. Not long after the first contact, after being beaten by her husband, she phoned again. Her husband had just left the house and N.N. seized the opportunity to seek assistance.

S.O.S. phone operator on duty received the call, took general data required for intervention (address, municipality, phone number), and informed the caller that local police team would soon arrive at her home. Operator contacted the local police station informing them about a case of domestic violence at N.N.'s address. When the police received the report on domestic violence, the officers immediately went to the scene, interviewed N.N. and her husband, who by that time had returned home. During the police interview, N.N.'s husband was unkind, aggressive and visibly under the influence of alcohol, so separate police cars immediately transferred N.N. with her children and her husband to the police station. Following the hearing conducted in the police station, N.N.'s husband was kept in custody.

As the whole scene was happening around 7 p.m., contact was made with a social worker who soon arrived to the station and conducted interviews with N.N. and her minor children. Social worker's conclusion was that N.N.

and children should be placed in the "Safe House", since all of them were visibly traumatised by long-term abuse inflicted by husband/father, and their future physical safety at home was jeopardised. Following the assessment, social worker and police staff took N.N. to the Emergency Medicine Centre where she was diagnosed with bodily injuries inflicted by physical violence. After medical examination, the social worker contacted the duty coordinator of the "Safe House", requesting the accommodation for one woman and two minor children. Placement of N.N. and two minor children was approved and realised with the official escort of the social worker and police officers.

The whole process of care for this victim and her children, starting with the first contact made via S.O.S. phone up to their placement in the "Safe House", was conducted in compliance with the protocol which incorporates the rights and responsibilities of participants in the process of victims' protection against domestic violence.

The process of their therapy and rehabilitation started immediately upon arrival of the woman and her children to the institution. They were enrolled in a complete psycho-social treatment (individual, group, support, medical and occupational therapy).

For their safety, children were transferred to local school. Thanks to the kindness and the support of teaching staff, the children quickly acclimatised to a new school environment.

The social welfare service, with our coordination, continued to provide therapy to the offender. NGO "Your Rights" provided N.N. with free legal assistance (consultations, divorce claim, further legal advice related to father's contact with the children, property division, etc.). Police processed the case and forwarded it to the prosecutor's office.

Time was needed in order to notice slight improvements in N.N. and children's recovery.

After some time, N.N. wanted to tell her story to the public, however with hidden identity, in order to help many women who are suffering from domestic violence. Her story was published in a proper manner, owing to the sensitised journalist who covered it.

Partnership – What is to be done?

Dženan Trbić
IBHI BiH
Mersiha Čuljević
SDC

Introduction

Defining and implementing the concept of social inclusion imply specific requirements based on firm principles. It follows quite naturally that the concept of strengthening of social cohesion, which is inclusive in terms of its results, should also be inclusive in terms of methods of implementation – moreover, the process itself has to be *inclusive*. Such nature of this concept is a result of principles but also the result of practical reasons: integrated resolution of problems which involves treatment of various forms in which they are manifested (poverty, isolation, quality of life) and their causes (level of education, availability of different forms of social services, regulations) demands that of all available social resources be put into use.

In this context, the partnership of stakeholders, regardless of whether they are essentially or formally positioned within different social organisational forms (or outside them), requires special attention. The magnitude of the term *inclusion* (economy, education, healthcare, gender, environment, etc.), as well as the diversity of affiliation of stakeholders with different social hierarchies, substantially complicates the task of classification of necessary and possible forms of cooperation in a certain state.

The following text presents an analysis of the needs, possibilities and forms of cooperation between civil society organisations, especially nongovernmental organisations, and public and state institutions in the process of development and implementation of the strategy of social inclusion in the context of Bosnia and Herzegovina. It is of special importance to take into account the fact that different aspects of social inclusion integrated within a unified state administration are placed into separate subsystems of education, social protection, economy, etc. Since these systems are organised as formal, vertical hierarchy structures, the question of establishment of horizontal connections at all levels becomes a logical problem. The differences between specific needs for establishment of horizontal connections require flexibility, which is often not the first thing that comes to mind when we think of bodies of state administration. A significant capacity important to overcoming this problem lies in civil society organisations – legitimate form of organisation of citizens sharing the same interest. Civil society organisations which focus on specific *needs* complement public and state institutions which focus on services, rights or measures. The existence of *different and complementary* stakeholders, poses the question of possibilities for cooperation between them, especially when it comes to social objectives, the fulfilment of which surpasses their individual capacities.

Partnership: Unique Need and Different Approaches

Experiences in different countries indicate that the need for establishment of partnership between nongovernmental and public/state sectors was universally recognised as important. Having in mind different models of develop-

ment of different states, this cooperation took different forms in practice. In the United States, nongovernmental organisations traditionally played the role of providers of special services, which was also a practice typical for the majority of Western European countries up until recently. In former Yugoslavia the institution under the name of *Self-governing Interest Community* (Samoupravna interesna zajednica - SIJZ), was conceived as a place where funding institutions (representatives of the so-called *associated labour*), beneficiaries and service providers¹ would meet. Introduction of these institutions the rate of success of which remains questionable, illustrates recognition of the need to overcome specific everyday problems in operations of the bodies of state administration through increase of flexibility and division of responsibilities in the processes of social development.

The comparative analysis of experiences of different countries in the context of cooperation between non-governmental and government sectors² indicated that a more substantial integration of civil society organisations in the processes relevant to social inclusion could have originated from:

1. Traditional roles of civil society organisations in some countries;
2. Lack of state capacities in critical situations (*Crisis of State Capacity*³), in which states encourage development of new services and innovative approaches for the purpose of meeting growing needs, through engagement of nongovernmental organisations;
3. State policies that lead to commercialisation of public services, often caused by economic problems. In these cases, the nongovernmental sector becomes a competitor in the market and relies on prices to compete for provision of services.

If we apply this classification to the specific situation in BiH, we can recognise three important preconditions for consideration of a more active role of civil society organisations, specifically:

- Bosnia and Herzegovina inherited from the prior system both its social character and its high level of bureaucracy of the state administration. The socialist model of organisation of citizens attempted to compensate for the weaknesses of a one-party system, by introducing additional forms of assemblies of citizens, which were more or less both related to the state and dictated by it (SSRN⁴, SSO, associations of citizens and other organisations). Nevertheless, certain number of associations of citizens originating from this period at least partially corresponds to what is currently denoted under the term of a nongovernmental organisation (for instance, Red Cross Organisation) and these are traditionally integrated into *the system of social service providers*. However, the attitude towards nongovernmental organisations in former Yugoslavia, in the contemporary sense of the term, does not justify the claim according to which the current active participation of nongovernmental organisations in provision of services could be considered a result of heritage.
- Considering the capacities of institutions of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the context of a possible role of NGOs in *critical emergency situations*, one can observe a high level of correlation with the current situation in BiH. The crisis of the state systems (given characteristic structure of the state, this term should be accepted with reserve) in all areas⁵, and inability to provide services set forth by the law, resulted in substantial involvement of nongovernmental organisations in filling this gap. Availability of funding from international sources of

1 The Croatian Health Policy: In The Whirlpool of Reforms and Contemporary Social Challenges" - Siniša Zrinščak; Hrvatski časopis za javno zdravstvo (Croatian Public Health Magazine), 10/2007

2 Comparative Study of the NGO/Government Partnership, Caroline L. Newman, International Centre for Not-for-Profit Law, http://www.icnl.org/JOURNAL/vol2iss3/p_ngogov.htm

3 Claire Ulmann – The Welfare State's Other Crisis, Indiana University Press, 1998

4 The Union of Socialist Working People, The Union of Socialist Youth and other similar organisations, could under certain conditions be perceived as *quasi NGOs*, which will be discussed in more detail, further in the text.

5 Among the host of examples, we would like to note only one, referring to the area of social policy regulations: The FBiH Law on Basis of Social Protection, Protection of Civilian War Victims and Protection of Families with Children was passed in mid 1999 (Official Gazette of the FBiH, No: 36/99). Since that was a framework law, it sets forth passage of canton-level laws which would provide more specific solutions applicable to individual cantons. The last cantonal law on social protection (passed in Zenica-Doboj Canton) entered into force in September of 2007, no less than 8 years since passage of the framework law.

funding of nongovernmental organisations resulted in decreased influence of the state on quality, geographic distribution and availability of services provided by NGOs. The origin of funds have also had an important effect on the number of nongovernmental organisations in certain regions of BiH, depending on priorities of certain international donors, the funds were often directed to certain administrative areas, which resulted in disproportionate distribution of NGOs (and their more active engagement) in some areas in BiH, compared to the others. The activities of nongovernmental organisations in provision of services in the area of social protection, education, healthcare and other services are more a result of prioritisation done by international organisations, and less the result of a planned government policy. For that reason, the government sector resists providing systemic support to nongovernmental organisations in addition to resisting emulating and replicating positive examples of cooperation between NGOs and public institutions at local level. The exception from the above is reflected in the example of certain number of NGOs, which for the purpose of preventing civil unrest (not unlike the prior system), get substantial financial support from the state.

- Commercialisation of public services represents one of legitimate models for decrease of the cost of such services. It enables private and nongovernmental sectors to compete for provision of these services against the public sector, and quality, price and availability of services become important elements of competition in the market. Although strengths and weaknesses of this model are not subjects of this analysis, it is important to note certain conditions for its implementation. First of all, delegation of responsibilities for provision of services implies establishment of control mechanisms. This mechanism implies standardisation of the quality of services and the system of accreditation of service providers. These elements imply active attitude of the state towards potential service providers (including the nongovernmental sector), initiation of a dialogue and implementation of stimulating measures. In Bosnia and Herzegovina, examples of commercialisation of public services have up to date been more sporadic exceptions than a rule.

Partnership Between the State and the Nongovernmental Sector in the Context of the European Experiences

In a large number of European countries, the early phase of recognition of the role of nongovernmental sector was marked by development and signing of general documents on cooperation⁶. These documents demonstrate dedication (even if it is only formal dedication) to recognition of the role of the nongovernmental sector in development of government policies, and they have two main goals: encouragement of public participation in political life and establishment of mechanisms of cooperation which would relieve the government somewhat of provision of public services⁷. We could note the Programme of Cooperation of the Government of the Republic of Croatia with the Nongovernmental Sector in the Republic of Croatia⁸, Civil Society Development Concept of Estonia⁹ or Hungarian Civil Sector National Strategy¹⁰ as representative examples of these documents. Given the fact that these are declarative documents by nature, their primary function is to demonstrate principled willingness of state structures to recognise the role of civil society organisations: *The government wishes to serve rather than dominate, which can only be made possible through active participation of citizens and partnership with civil society organisations. Civil society represents one of important backings of state activities.*¹¹

6 Policy Documents on Cooperation. Known in Great Britain under the name “Compacts”

7 Comparative analysis of European policies and practices in cooperation between NGOs and the State, Nilda Bullain and Radost Toftisova, u The International Journal of Not-for-Profit Law, September of 2005

8 Available on: http://www.uzuvrh.hr/UserFiles/Program.suradnje_prijedlog.pdf

9 Available on: <http://www.ngo.ee/1030>

10 Available on: http://www.nonprofit.hu/files/6/6/9/669_Hungariangovernmentstrategy2002.doc

11 Quotation from the Hungarian Civil Sector National Strategy.

Watching what goes on in European countries, after four years of trying, the nongovernmental sector in BiH¹² succeeded in formalising its relationship with the government sector in 2007, when the *Agreement on Cooperation between the BiH Council of Ministers and the Nongovernmental Sector in BiH*¹³ was signed. The value of this particular agreement as well as the value of other noted agreements, concepts, strategies and programmes is reflected in the fact that they opened the door to establishment of more specific mechanisms of cooperation. The existence and success of specific mechanisms are the only quantifiable indicators of the real level of dedication of the state to declarative statements noted in these agreements.

There are different models of cooperation between government and nongovernmental institutions in the European countries, but what they all have in common is that they have all developed institutional framework with sets of mechanisms facilitating specific issues. Those frameworks in most cases include:

- Parliamentary committees for NGO issues (Germany, Hungary),
- State offices for cooperation with NGOs (Hungary, Croatia, Slovenia),
- Offices for cooperation operating under ministries responsible for issues of special importance to NGOs (Slovakia, Poland, Hungary),
- Councils or joint advisory committees (Czech Republic, Croatia, Slovakia),
- Specialised agencies (Germany, Hungary, the UK),
- *Quasi-NGOs*¹⁴ – foundations or organisations established and/or funded by the state. The state oversight is limited by independent managerial structure (France, Hungary, Denmark, and Croatia).

To date, system framework for cooperation between NGOs and state institutions has not been established in Bosnia and Herzegovina. During the course of reform of particular areas (for instance, social protection or education), individual consultative bodies were established which include (or which included) representatives of the nongovernmental sector, for instance: advisory groups for social policy¹⁵, Commission for Coordination of Youth Issues in Bosnia and Herzegovina¹⁶, monitoring of implementation of the Medium Term Development Strategy¹⁷, participation of NGOs in development of the Roma Strategy, and others. With few exceptions, present examples of cooperation between government institutions and NGOs have several limiting characteristics:

- These are not permanent bodies, but rather bodies established on an *ad-hoc* basis to deal with specific objectives. Following completion of those objectives, the participation of NGOs comes to an end (or is maintained on formal level). For instance, following development of strategies, NGOs do not participate in implementation or monitoring of implementation of those strategies.
- In most cases, participation of organisations in processes implemented by state bodies is subject to pressures or provision of funding by international organisations. Practically speaking, if nongovernmental organisations secure funding from international sources for the purpose of consultations, or if the international funding provides for implementation of a government activity and requires involvement of an NGO, then the government is ready for, at least a formal, cooperation.

Following the signing of the *Agreement on Cooperation between the BiH Council of Ministers and the Nongovernmental Sector in BiH* and establishment of bodies set forth by this Agreement¹⁸ it is to be expected that the cooperation

12 Gathered around the Coalition of NGO *Work and Succeed Together*

13 Available on: <http://www.grozd.ba/v2/files/docs/SPORAZUMB.doc>

14 Also known as “Quangos”

15 Social Policy Advisory Groups - SPAGs

16 Official gazette of BiH, No: 03/05

17 For more details on different opinions on the subject of the level of inclusion of NGOs in the process of monitoring of the Medium Term Development Strategy of BiH, see: <http://www.dep.gov.ba> and <http://www.icva-bh.org/bos/docs/nvofin.doc>

18 The Office for Nongovernment Sector and Civil Society Council (Item 9.10. of the Agreement)

between government institutions and the nongovernmental sector would become strengthened and that it would take a more institutional form.¹⁹

Financial Aspects of Partnership

In almost all European countries, different forms of provision of funding by a state represent a substantial source of funding for nongovernmental organisations. These amounts range from 20% in Slovakia, to over 70% in Belgium and Ireland²⁰. In addition to direct funding, there are also different forms of indirect support – for instance, award of rights or competencies in place of direct transfer of funding from the budget. In addition, the European Commission provides funding for projects of nongovernmental organisations totalling about € 1 billion per year.

The basic motives for provision of financial support also determine methodology of their implementation: if the motive is defined as *critical lack of capacities of the state* in provision of services and the role of an NGO is primarily reflected in development of new and innovation of the existing services, the methodology of implementation has to imply analysis of success, that is analysis of possibilities for replication of developed services in other local communities.²¹ Moreover, if the state, after having recognised the necessity of strengthening of civil society organisations, also supports their institutional strengthening, rather than just supporting specific projects,²² the process of selection of organisations then has to entail comparative qualitative analyses of possible contributions of these organisations to the implementation of general national policies. It then follows that strategically conceived allocation of funds to specific organisations and analysis of success of their operations are equally important to the process of provision of financial support as the total amount of assistance.

Specific nature of organisation and complex administrative competencies of different levels of the government in Bosnia and Herzegovina get in the way of development of assessment of both the total amount of financial assistance provided by the state to civil society organisations and the share of participation of the state in total funding provided to NGOs.

According to the latest available data²³, close to 10,000 NGOs are registered in Bosnia and Herzegovina, but the number of active organisation is estimated to less than half of that number. This and other information from the above noted study suggest that the size of the nongovernmental sector in BiH reflects the international average in all aspects, except of the aspect of voluntary work, which, at 5.36%, is substantially below the European average.²⁴ In practice, the funds for nongovernmental organisations in BiH are allocated at municipal, canton, entity and state level, that is, from close to 220 different budgets. Moreover, due to specific nature of laws regulating the issue of registration of nongovernmental organisations, different types of organisations are all placed within this sector, including: sports, humanitarian, religious and other types of organisations and the specific nature of different bookkeeping regulations in effect additionally impedes consolidation of data. Generally speaking, all of the above has an effect on minimum transparency of provi-

19 "To date, we did not have much to brag about when it comes to the role of civil society in general development of Bosnia and Herzegovina. By the act of signing of this Agreement, we have actually become witnesses to the beginning of creation of institutional and legal system for assistance to and development of civil society in BiH, and at the same time, we are also witnesses to the role of civil society in Bosnia and Herzegovina." Excerpt from the speech of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of BiH, Dr. Nikola Špirić, on occasion of signing of the Agreement.

20 Source: <http://www.jhu.edu/~cnp/pdf/comptable4.pdf>

21 We can cite the example of the *Analysis of Services* and *Analysis of Customer Satisfaction* of the Social Innovation Fund operating under the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy of the Republic of Serbia. For more details, see: <http://www.sif.minrzs.sr.gov.yu/>

22 As an example, we can note grants for institutional building of NGOs provided by the Civil Society Development Foundation of the Republic of Croatia. For more details, see: <http://zaklada.civilnodrustvo.hr/>

23 Qualitative Study 3 "Employment, Social Service Provision and the Non Governmental Organisation Sector: Status and prospects for BiH, Analyses and Policy Implications", 2005

24 It is very interesting to note such a high percentage of voluntary engagement recorded in a country whose legislation does not know of the term of voluntary work in the internationally accepted sense of the word.

sion of funding to NGOs from government sources and negligible capacities of the state for integration of experiences into the reform processes.

In order to eliminate these weaknesses, it is necessary to strengthen both the support provided to the non-governmental sector and the capacities of the state to analytically monitor and direct this process. To that end, the experiences of a large number of states in the region are important to BiH in establishment of bodies responsible for distribution of financial support and analysis of results of operations of the nongovernmental sector, such as:

- Social Innovation Fund, operating under the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy of the Republic of Serbia,²⁵
- Civil Society Development Foundation of the Republic of Croatia,²⁶
- National Civil Society Fund of the Republic of Hungary,²⁷
- Civil Society Development Foundation of the Czech Republic,²⁸
- Social Development Fund of the Republic of Slovakia.²⁹

What are the positive experiences in operations of these foundations?

If we introduce a provisional categorisation of civil society organisations operating in the area of social inclusion into *organisations providing services* and *advocacy organisations*,³⁰ it becomes clear that advocacy organisations are faced with very sensitive issues. They have to do with organisations themselves (whether receipt of funding would affect our independence?), but also with the state as well (why should we support organisations prone to expressing criticism of us?). The state, especially the one designing its policies with the view of long term effects, certainly has interest in supporting advocacy organisations, which is primarily reflected in timely influence of interested groups of citizens on development of policies and access to expert resources available in the nongovernmental sector.³¹ Creating such models of support to these organisations, which do not put their independence at risk, is also in the interest of the state. Observing possible models of support to organisations involved in provision of services (in this context, limited to development of new, innovative types of services³²), the state also has interest in creating a model in which the decision-making process would be shared with organisations, potential recipients of funds.

Previously listed foundations represent one of possible models which meet these requirements:

- In terms of their legal position, the foundations often take the form of quasi-NGOs; they are placed outside direct state hierarchy, which increases their flexibility, partial independence and ability to raise funds from other sources.
- As a rule, management structure (steering boards) include representatives of state bodies and representatives of civil society, which results in shared responsibility for the process of cooperation,
- The combination of central funding and local implementation of projects enables generalisation of examples of good practice and their integration into state systems and legislation.

Comparison of the above examples with the experiences from BiH puts specific features of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the spotlight again. Over the past years, most of the funding available to NGOs in BiH was provided by the international organisations. During the time of the post-war reconstruction, this situation has had a substantial impact

25 More details available on : <http://www.sif.minrzs.sr.gov.yu/>

26 More details available on: <http://zaklada.civilnodrustvo.hr/>

27 More details available on: <http://www.nca.hu>

28 More details available on: <http://nros.beneta.cz/english-info>

29 More details available on: <http://www.fsr.sk>

30 Comparative analysis of European policies and practice in cooperation between NGO sector and the state, Nilda Bullain and Radost Toftisova, The International Journal of Not-for-Profit Law, September 2005

31 Ibid

32 If we are dealing with the strategic approach of the state to positioning of the nongovernment sector as a contractual party in provision of services, the European experiences offer several models, such as: the German model which prefers responding to specific needs as close as possible to the place they originated in (*subsidiarity*), to normative model (for instance, in Hungary), according to which the state covers the cost of provision of services in the domain of its competencies to all adequate service providers and the amount is proportionate to the number of beneficiaries, and competitive system (in the UK and Poland), according to which nongovernment organisations compete in tenders with stakeholders from other sectors. More detailed analysis of these models is not the subject of this text.

on development of the nongovernmental sector, but also on its "alienation" from state and public institutions. A more active role of both the nongovernmental sector and the state bodies in elimination of these problems represents an imperative. Establishment of bodies (in the form of quasi-NGOs or otherwise) which would enable the state to demonstrate its dedication to development of the nongovernmental sector, sharing at the same time ownership of and responsibility for the process with civil society organisations, could represent a good model for building trust.

Instead of Conclusion

Harmonisation of principles of cooperation between state and civil society organisations in BiH with European standards is subject to requirements which result from the process of stabilisation and accession into the European Union. The principle of social inclusion, as a part of the EU policy, partly provides both a framework and an opportunity to bring the results of BiH into the context of success of other countries, EU members and member candidates. That substantially decreases the risk of *disorientation in development of policies* as well as possibilities to *relativise possible failures*.

The act of signing the *Agreement on Cooperation between the Council of Ministers and the nongovernmental Sector in BiH*, as well as sporadic participation of the nongovernmental sector in development of strategic documents, indicate that certain steps have been taken in line with the positive European practices; however, with considerable delay. The coming activities which represent a logical continuation of the activities implemented to date are a unique opportunity for strengthening of partnership between the nongovernmental and government sector. This particularly applies to participation of civil society in development and monitoring of implementation of the *National Social Inclusion Strategy*,³³ establishment and defining the scope of work of the *Office for the Nongovernmental Sector* and the *Civil Society Council*, success of the Initiative to establish the *Social Inclusion Fund in BiH*,³⁴ as well as to different initiatives to change regulations in the domain of strengthening of civil society organisations. Having in mind the nature of these activities, state bodies, civil society organisations and representatives of the international community have a joint responsibility for improvement of the existing relations. Through an open dialogue, consideration of examples of good European practices and joined effort of all forces, the percentage of 50.32% of socially excluded persons of BiH³⁵ would no longer have to remain a grim reality of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

33 BiH Directorate for Economic Policy Planning is responsible for strategy development. For more details, see: <http://www.dep.gov.ba>

34 See the text in continuation of this Chapter

35 Source: *Report on Human Development – Social Inclusion in BiH*, IBHI and UNDP, 2007.

Case Study

Social Inclusion Fund in BiH

Dženan Trbić
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The initiative to establish the Social Inclusion Fund in Bosnia and Herzegovina was made under the *Swiss Programme of Support to Nongovernmental Organisations in BiH*, a project the aim of which implies *professionalization of nongovernment organisations and involvement of state institutions in municipal systems of social protection in order to ensure adequate social and health protection for beneficiaries*¹. In addition to the Independent Bureau for Humanitarian Issues, an implementing agency for the programme, 22 other organisations from across Bosnia and Herzegovina took part in this initiative. Following development of a platform, the initiative was presented to a large number of nongovernment organisations, government and public institutions and international organisations. As a result, the platform was improved, through large number of constructive suggestions and adapted to real needs of organisations and institutions – future recipients of the Fund's resources.

The main focus of the initiative is to establish a Social Inclusion Fund in BiH and it implies contribution to decrease of social exclusion in Bosnia and Herzegovina, through provision of funding for projects in partnership of stakeholders from nongovernment, government and private sector at local and sectorial level, aiming to provide immediate assistance to vulnerable categories of population and accumulate knowledge, experience and expertise to work on prevention and decrease of consequences of social exclusion.

Two main goals can be recognised in formulation of the desired impact:

- Create legal and financial mechanism which would stimulate integration of efforts of civil society organisations in promoting principles of social inclusion with efforts made by institutions in other sector, by providing financial and professional support. Meet financial prerequisites to encourage stronger self-organisation of socially excluded groups and contribute to changing the nature of their relationship with specialised public institutions: instead of being *recipients* their role of *partners* would be emphasised.
- Establish an expert body responsible for analysis of success and possibilities of replication of models developed within projects funded by the Fund. Integration of individual elements of proven project models into state systems of social protection, healthcare, education and other systems would contribute to sustainability of specific services and their wider and more lasting availability to socially excluded groups.

The specific nature of the mission of the Fund is the result of methodological determiners which bring into focus *needs* rather than *services/rights/measures*, which results in horizontal integration of activities currently falling under the competencies of different sectors, such as: education, healthcare, social protection, environment protection, gender and other sectors.

In outlining the idea of the Fund, the Initiative highlights the importance of the following aspects:

- Transparency: both in the process of advocating establishment of the Fund, and in actual operation of the Fund, following its establishment,

1 The project is funded by the Swiss Development and Cooperation Agency (SDC)

- Use of lessons learned during the course of establishment of similar funds in other, primarily neighbouring countries,
- Harmonisation of mission and principles of operation of the Fund with the principles of the European Union.

Different strategic documents – which resulted from the effort of state bodies to conceive strategic development of BiH², also contain explicitly defined requirements for integration of capacities of civil society organisations into development and reform processes. However, it is often the case that such requirements do not become integrated in operational and action documents resulting from strategies. There are several reasons why that is so. One of important reasons lies in lack of knowledge (know-how) on methodological association of partners with different capacities, methods of operation, principled conditionality and motivation, without getting them at the same time formally connected by the common hierarchy.

To overcome this weakness, it is necessary to define specific mechanisms to encourage partnership and establish models of cooperation. The analyses of the prior practices, not only in BiH but elsewhere, can lead to identify important risks to effectiveness of implementation of strategies, followed by inadequate operational planning³. In this context, the Social Inclusion Fund plays an important role. Having in mind the expectations placed on BiH in the process of stabilisation and accession into the EU, the importance of Fund will grow considerably.

2 For instance: Strategy (and action plan) of Development of Information Society (2004), Medium Term Development Strategy of BiH (2004 – 2007), Strategy of Integration of BiH into the European Union (2005), Roma Strategy (2005), Strategy on Juvenile Delinquency (2006), Strategy of Social Inclusion (underway), etc.

3 “Its weakness lies in the section on social exclusion, in which the theoretical approach proved insufficient and in which the need for practical plan of implementation was articulated”. Vesna Leskošek on the subject of implementation of the Programme of Struggle against Poverty and Social Exclusion of the Republic of Slovenia in publication under the title “Labyrinths of Care – The Relevance of the Ethics of Care Perspective for Social Policy” – Institute for Contemporary Social and Political Studies.

From Projects to System Changes: The Government and the Nongovernmental Sector in the Reform of Social Protection and the Role of Social Innovation Fund

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Introduction

The text represents a short review of the reform of the social protection system in Serbia and the specific role the Social Innovation Fund (SIF) is playing in that process. This represents the view of participants in the change process and is not an independent and critical evaluation. As much as it was possible, the author has tried to offer an objective picture of the changes and show the theoretical and practical context in which those changes are developing within. At the same time, the text itself focuses on problems and difficulties and less on successes and positive experience, since the author is of the opinion that more can sometimes be learnt from the difficulties and mistakes than from „examples of good praxis.“

Legacy

Like other socialistic countries, Serbia faced the crash of socialism with a state-based social policy. The state provided services which were often unequal in quality, yet available to all: free education and health protection, rent subventions for social apartments, very often subventions for other services (transportation, food, clothing and other), a policy of full employment was practiced and the companies themselves were the agents in social policy (in the fields of employment and also of housing policy). Social protection was offered by the centers for social work (CSW), institutions for settlement of beneficiaries (children without parental care, children and adults with development disorders, elderly and other), as well as other institutions of social protection (shelters, shelter stations, clubs and other).

The post-socialist transformation brought numerous difficult reforms in the social, economic and political fields. Roughly, those changes included the introduction of subventions for the unemployed, restrictions of many subventions (for housing for example), the privatisation of some services (education, health care, pension care), the transfer of some responsibilities to the local level, gradual introduction of a third sector in the domain of social services providers, as well as the transformation of big institutions for settlement of beneficiaries into services provided at the place of origin of the beneficiary.

These changes had in Serbia more serious consequences than in many other east European countries, above all because of the wars, sanctions but also because of the delays in market and political reforms. This is why the beginnings of the real reforms found Serbia with a weakened social protection system which consisted mainly of centers for social work and institutions for the settlement of beneficiaries but also a significant number of nongovernmental organisations, NGOs – old associations for self-help and modern ones which grew as a result of new needs or from initiatives or with the help of international donors.

Current System of Social Protection – The Dominant Role of CSW and Institutions for Placement of Beneficiaries

The current system is not very different from the previous one and it consists of CSWs, institutions for settlement of beneficiaries and other institutions (shelter, shelter stations and other) as well as NGOs which provide services and advocate the rights of beneficiaries. One part of right to services is financed municipally and the other part from the republic budget. The CSW has the dominant role in the implementation of the social protection in the municipality – it is founded by the municipality and financed from the local and republic budget. The role of the CSW has not changed and it is still administrating most of the social benefits, coordinating the provision of the social work service and is administrating the legal rights regarding protection of adults, children and family.

Such an operating structure of the CSW involves a number of administrative tasks that disturbs the balance between the work of the administration and the experts in the functionality of the centers for social work (PRSP, 2003: 102). In the last decade of the 20th century, the typical CSW was under enormous pressure from its beneficiaries and torn between their growing needs and the decreasing financial and human resources. When the international development programs started, the centers were often left out and most of the programs focused on the nongovernmental sector, although it is hard to say whether the cause of this was the fact that the public sector was not prepared or whether the donors were not willing to work with the public sector. In anyway, the changes in 2000 found the centers for social protection staffed by people whose professional development was not being invested in sufficiently, with underdeveloped programs and a low motivation of expert staff.

The other side of the work of the CSWs is the *coordination* and *planning* of local social protection. For those programs, for which the local self-management is responsible, such as shelters, daily centers, help and care at home and other, the municipality itself is formally in charge for planning, budgeting and control. In practice, those processes develop in a different way: either the municipality assigns the CSW to develop a working plan and a budget for the next year or the CSW itself is lobbying for certain programs and financial support from the local budget (cf. Vuković, Jovanović, Čalošević, Janša, 2005; Babović and Cvejić, 2005), while the municipal leadership itself stays on the margins of the planning and the implementation of local social politics.

Finally, the CSW provides also the social service – preventive actions, diagnostics, treatment and counseling-therapy work – which aims to provide expert help to individuals, families and social groups in order for them to solve the difficulties of their lives or help in organising local and other communities to prevent social problems and soften the consequences (ZSZ, paragraph 48. article 1). Regarding these services, analysis showed that those services do not have a very good outreach toward the beneficiaries, they are not open to the society and that in most of the Serbian municipalities, they are not developed enough (cf. PRSP, 2003: 107; Government RS, 2005; Matković, 2006: 44 and further).

Special attention should be given to services which take place outside of institutions or the CSW, in the place of residence or in the apartment of the beneficiary, i.e. all activities which service providers use to reach the beneficiary without expecting the beneficiary to reach him (the service) in order to receive the service (outreach activities). These are actually, field services (for example, programs for reduction or control of harm among children on the street, young people who use psycho-active substances) and they represent the weak point of the CSW work. They are underdeveloped due to the lack of funds in the city and municipality budgets, lack of interest for the social protection system, as well as inertia of the system itself and lack of motivation among professionals. That has caused the favoring of institutional settlement even when it is not necessary (cf. RS Government, 2006:14).

In providing services of social protection, the NGO sector has an important role. As in many countries of central and Eastern Europe, the NGO sector in Serbia is not a very developed social service provider, but sometimes is more dynamic and understanding of variable needs of the beneficiaries than are the static and often conservative public sector. Still, the NGO sector is not completely autonomous in planning the services; that process is strongly influenced by donors, both local and international sources. The result of this is a very partial model of activity – the availability of social services provided by NGOs depends more on the location than on the analysis of social needs within the community

(PRCP, 2003:113). Services created in such a way are not permanent thereby causing multiple damage due to increased but not achieved expectations; organisations and beneficiaries do not succeed to improve services, to generate the lessons learned from their practice, which is relevant for the improvement of the work and other providers, first of all the CSW. Finally, that is how the culture of dependence and inactivity or reactivity among the organisations themselves and local-self-governments is created.

Dominant Public Sector vs. Combined Social Policies: The Role of the State and the NGO in Social Protection

In the socialist system of social protection, the state has financed and provided services through the public sector. The one who requests the service is at the same time the who that provides the service and there is no independent control of the needs of the beneficiary, not is there an independent quality control (*cf.* Fox and Goettestam, 2003). This system has received criticisms of being bureaucratic, inefficient and uninnovative (*cf.* Bezovan, 2000) and moreover, as is the case in many modern public sectors, staff does not have systematic incentives to utilise public funds in the most efficient way while politicians and public officials are not motivated to open services that are aimed for the most jeopardized society groups and the beneficiaries are not encouraged to rationally use those services (*cf.* Reddy and Pereira, 1998). In order to avoid the negative aspects of the state as a service provider, semi-market mechanisms are used in order to improve the system of service provision. One of the approaches accepted in Serbia is the model of ordering – providing the service, which includes the pluralisation of service providers and the development of the so-called, *combined social politics* (*cf.* RS Government, 2005: 45, 56). Namely, it is expected that the state orders services and, at the same time, supports the introduction of numerous new types of services by opening this space to NGOs, profit companies and individuals. This way, services are better adjusted to the beneficiary needs, are cheaper, take place in a natural environment, strengthen the capacities of the beneficiaries, reduce the level of dependence and all together are of better quality.

NGOs as Service Providers

Many countries have a long tradition in providing social protection services by NGOs (USA, France, Holland, Germany and others), while some developed countries, for example Scandinavian countries, mainly rely on the public sector to provide those services. The advocates of the first strategy claim that NGOs are more flexible, adjusted to solving individual problems, and that they better understand the problems certain groups are facing because they are in direct contact with them. Individuals have a hard time approaching government institutions because of bureaucratic obstacles and because many of those institutions do not have branches in remote areas and they do not deal directly with the problems people in those area face (*cf.* Newman, 1999:2-7). Apart from that, it is often claimed that the services provided by the NGO sector are much cheaper and more efficient and that the “mentality” of the public sector is not client-friendly (Fox and Goettestam, 2003:7).

However, there are other opinions which underline the bad sides of the NGO sector as social protection service provider and, as the most important, they point out the issue of *quality, efficiency and prices* of services. Some analysis show that the NGO sector can achieve a higher quality of services, greater efficiency and lower price when it implements *narrowly defined projects* in areas where it has significant experience and expertise. Contrary to that, when they deal with widely defined development programs and complex multi-sector programs, implemented by state institutions (those that also require huge management mechanisms which are, of course, more expensive than the simple NGO organisational structures), the NGO sector shows poorer results (Clayton, 1996:7-11).

Finally, some of the advances of NGOs in providing social services arise from their connections to the clients and their roots in the community. However, in many countries state funds meant for certain types of social services go to new, highly specialized NGOs, which managed to win over public institutions and old NGOs which were established “in the community”. This way, the *grassroots* character of NGOs was lost (*cf.* Clayton, 1996:12-19), and they adopted the bad

characteristics of the public sector. Those NGOs which have *contracts* with the state rarely deal with politically controversial issues (criticize state programs, represent interests of certain groups etc.) and this way the critical and independent role of the representatives of the rights and interests of certain beneficiary groups is lost.

The process of contracting services by the state as well as the donor strategy of financing of projects lead to the "NGO-isation" of the civil society¹ thanks to which this scene is dominated by highly specialized organisations which are focused on employment, have clear organisational structure, high management capabilities etc (cf. Bagić, 2004; Stubbs, 2007 and others). In some way, all those are characteristics of the profit sector and, therefore, it is logical to ask the question: Has there been a switch of roles? Lampert offers a direct answer: the key role of a professional NGO is not to provide services in the social sector because companies are much more effective in providing services. The role of the NGO is to develop ideas and models and to force the government and the private sector to finance and implement them (Lempert, 2007:13).

If it is the government's imperative to contract services and there is no private sector, then one has to take into consideration that a professionalized and specialized NGO sector does not have direct boosts to increase the efficiency as the private sector but that it, at the same time, does not have the basis of wide social movements or civil initiatives. If, however, the government relies on the public sector, the reasons for giving up engagements of other service providers (*outsourcing*) are not the same for not reforming the public sector and not improving its *accountability*.

The Capacity of the State to Govern Changes

The practical and theoretic background of the idea of introducing NVOs into service provision is found in ideas about *new public management*. Namely, in the 80-ies and the 90-ies of the 20th century, the reform process of the public administration started in the USA, Great Britain and other developed countries. Those changes could be briefly described as a transition from centralized, bureaucratized and hierarchy-based state administrations to decentralized models of decision making and service providing, with a greater focus on results and efficiency, and an introduction of private profit and non-profit sector into the service providing and contracting services by the state (Mathiasen, 1999). The changes were motivated by practical reasons, i.e. the desire to decrease the costs of public administration and increase efficiency, but also by the ideological influence of neo-liberal ideas about minimal state and market.

This model was, under the influence of donors, gradually transplanted both into developing and in countries in transition. Still, its implementation has faced obstacles such as weak administrative capacities, corruption, an undeveloped private sector etc. (for some examples, cf. World Bank, 1997, Polidano, 1999; regarding the administrative capacities of local self-governments in Serbia to apply the local social policy, similar results are presented by Cavosevic, 2006). The World Bank has also acknowledged this problem in its development report from 1997, claiming that the development project which relied on the state failed but also that the same thing would have happened with any project that does not engage the state. In the report, it is emphasized that significant capacities and the will to prepare and to implement contracts are necessary, especially in the field of social services where results are difficult to specify. States that are less capable of implementing complex contracts and have weak bureaucratic control which would limit arbitrary behavior under flexible systems of management, must be careful (World Bank, 1997: 87). That is why the World Bank experts warn that the reform should not be focused only on improvement of measures but that they have to strengthen the institutional environment in which such measures will be implemented (World Bank, 1997:33).

Studies conducted in former socialistic countries offer similar results. According to experiences from Russia, in order to contract services, the state needs a source of financing, a fair and open process of bidding, a good contract and capability of local authorities to follow the implementation of the contract in order to hold the ones who implement it accountable. As an obstacle, a lack of competency and experience of local self-governments is seen (Stuyrk, 2003: 5,67-71). Analysis from Serbia points out problems regarding the irresponsibility of the authorities, incapability to implement

1 Talking about women movement, Aida Bagić claims that the phrase NVO-isation implies two things. The first relates to the greater tendency of the state to contract NGOs to deal with social problems for which the state believes it is not capable of or has a lack of will to solve. The second interpretation relates to the process of the transformation of social movements into professional organisations (Bagić, 2004:19).

public and legal obligations, as well as the lack of mechanisms of pressure and representation by the beneficiaries or citizens (Lempert, 2007; Matkovic, 2006; Calosevic, 2006, etc).

New Services and New Providers: A Reform Strategy

The social protection strategy reform in Serbia, adopted in 2005, foresees that the CSW decides about beneficiary rights, i.e. most complete services which could be provided by the public institutions, NGOs or private companies and which the majority of services are not provided in institutions but in the natural environment of the beneficiary. Still, it is necessary to have a variety of changes that relate to the transformation of institutions and to the development of alternative services in the natural environment of the beneficiary in order for such system to start functioning. Prerequisites for such changes are administrative and fiscal decentralisation, introduction of quality standards and system of licensing providers of services, strengthening of professional, administrative and management capacities of local self-government and service providers, as well as the introduction of an independent control of public sector's work.

From Institution to Community: Transformation

Unlike former socialistic countries, since the second half of 20th century, professional public in Western Europe countries and USA favor more and more the transition from institutional settlement to the community-based services, i.e. open types of protection. The most important factor, which contributed to the transition to alternative types of protection, is the price of services: different studies have shown that the price of non-institutional care is smaller compared to institutional care. In Romania, the price of institutional settlement for a child is more than double compared to the price of open types of protection and professional foster families, while the price of adoption or re-integration into the family is 10 times smaller (*Cf.* Tobis, 2000: 30). In Serbia, the average price of institutional settlement is about 30% higher; i.e. the price of accommodation is 201 Euros monthly and the average price of family settlement is 152 Euros. The highest price is in homes for children deprived of parental care (238 Euros), followed by homes for elderly and pensioners (198 Euros) and homes for persons with development problems (167 Euros), being the cheapest. Because these data do not include health protection expenses, equipment and investments (*cf.* Lišanin, 2005), the difference in price between institutional care and protection in natural environment is actually far greater.

Also, it is believed that settlements in open types of protection are better for beneficiaries because institutions are characterized by the lack of individual care, strictly organized daily activities, isolation and stigmatisation. Some studies conducted in Russia showed that that one third of children who leave institutions becomes homeless; one quarter has a criminal record and every 10th child committed suicide. Even more indicative is the fact that 1 out of 10 delinquent minors have been raised in an institution (Tobis, 2000:33).

Strategy for social protection development in Serbia foresees the transformation of institutions for the settlement of beneficiaries and emphasizing the social protection services at the place of origin and supporting the biological family (open types of protection prevent or delay the institutional settlement of beneficiaries and, on the other hand, enable beneficiaries to return from institutions to the place of origin). During 2006, Ministry of Labor, Employment and Social Policy have created individual plans of treatment for all children deprived of parental care who are placed in institutions, and by the end of the year they were suppose to create a mid-term plan for the transformation of institutions, as well as the special plans for transformation for each institution (Government of RS, 2005:49-50). Except for the significant increase in the number of children in foster families (3500 compared to 1700 in institutions, according to UNICEF, 2007:31), we have not seen any significant changes in the system so far.

Local Self-government: An Important but Unreliable Factor

An important step in the creation of a new system based on community services is local self-governments. According to the Law on social protection and provision of social security, it is the duty of local self-government to provide different types of social protection open services: home assistance, daycare, temporary shelter settlement, equipping

the beneficiary for the settlement in institution or different family, as well as one-time help. The municipality or the city have a legal obligation to provide rights in the field of social protection for citizens, but the law does not foresees the mechanism that would force local self-governments to fulfill their duties. Beneficiaries don't have much of the possibilities to force the state to respect their rights.

There are only few municipalities who completely fulfill their duties in the field of social protection. Reasons for that are: constant lack of finances, lack of control of the implementation of rights which local self-government is obliged to provide, as well as the lack of established criteria regarding the minimal rate of municipal budget's allocations for social protection (RS Government, 2005:44). Apart from that, the municipal administrations themselves rely on the capacities of the CSW to plan and propose measures, while some CSWs do not have a proactive approach, do not boost the opening of services (*cf.* Vukovic, Jovanovic, Calosevic, Jansa, 2005). Finally, due to the fact that the system is not based on beneficiaries' rights and the explicit possibility for them to sue the state, that mechanism of boosting the establishment of adequate services also does not exist (*cf.* Lempert, 2007:94 *ff.*). Thanks to such circumstances, according to some data (RS Government, 2005:45), in over hundred municipalities there are no services of support for elderly and disabled persons in natural environment.

Support for the Development of a Service Network in the Community: The Role of the Social Innovation Fund

Until 2002, investments into the development of local social services in Serbia have not been coordinated with the national policy (which, at the time, was not yet formulated in a unified strategic document) and to a great extent were directed toward the NGOs. This situation, of course, did not result in the reconstruction of the public sector and the establishment of a network of services capable to absorb the growing needs of the population. This is why the Ministry for Social Affairs at the time established two funds – Social Innovation Fund and the Fund for Financing Organisations for Persons with a Disability (FOSI)² – with multiple goals: to provide the opening of new services and the inclusion of new beneficiaries into the system of social protection, to raise the quality of services and the capacity of service providers, to provide equal geographic development of services, as well as to provide information for the creation of new measures.³

Organisational Structure and Status: Temporary Solutions and Dilemmas

The Social Innovation Fund is a program of the Ministry of labor and social politics of Serbia. Its work is directed by the Ministry, the Management unit and the Program council. The Management unit of the SIF has partial autonomy from the respective ministry, which is a result of the partnering engagement of the UN Development Program (UNDP) and the respective ministry on the establishment and management of this program. The Program Council of the SIF gives strategic directions for the work of the SIF and is comprised, above all, of representatives of the ministry, donors and of civil society organisations, as well as of the Fund's staff.

So far, evaluations have shown that, thanks to the relative independence of its work, the SIF was able to express greater flexibility, lower bureaucracy, a better response to individual initiatives and needs, more simplified administrative rules and speed and, immunity to frequent political changes. At the same time, such a status also represents a weakness, because the SIF does not have the attributes of a legal institution, nor does it have the entitlements of a ministry or some of its parts. It does not achieve program and strategic consistence, nor is it accountable to the beneficiaries, i.e.

2 Those two funds annually invest up to 3,5 million Euro into the development of local services for vulnerable categories which, on annual level, contributes to the opening or implementation over 200 services and projects. Otherwise, the total expenses of local self-governments for social protection amount to cca 22 million Euros.

3 Analyses so far have established that the SIF was a mechanism for the involvement for the NGO sector into the processes of poverty reduction for the EAR and the UNDP, and for the Ministry for social policy it represented a mechanism for the improvement of the system of services (*cf.* Allen, 2005; Bagic and MacKellar, 2007), which gradually turned from "innovations" to "investments" (Lempert, 2007). Such multilayer of the mission has led to numerous difficulties in the work, which we will mention later.

to the citizens (for details, *cf.* Lempert, 2007; Bagic and MacCellar, 2007). The funds for social investments of the World Bank show that great autonomy prevents the harmonisation of activities with the activities of other government institutions and that it creates great bureaucratic structures that, with time, themselves begin to suffer from the lack of state bureaucracy (*cf.* Tendler, 2000)⁴. Unfortunately, not even the creation of project implementation units has not produced better results since it regularly led toward the loss of responsibility and initiative of the respected ministries for the implementation of the changes. This leaves particularly negative consequences in politically fragile and institutionally weak environments.

The current status is designed as a transitional solution⁵ in the state of expected political uncertainty and unclear role, which the SIF would have in the future system of social protection. Until now, a few suggestions occurred regarding the permanent solutions of the SIF status – from its incorporation into the ministry, through inclusion into the newly established Institute for social protection, all the way to independence. Each of these solutions has its weaknesses and benefits, which depend on the context and especially of the desired goals of the fund. That is why it is important to mention that the decision regarding the goals of the fund definitely and logically precedes the issue of the legal status and ideally an appropriate organisational structure and decision model should be created.⁶

Support for Projects

Since its establishment at the end of 2002, the Social Innovation Fund has funded 212 projects implemented by the CSR, NGO and other actors from over 70 municipalities in Serbia. Apart from that, SIF has continuously worked on the improvement of professional and management capacities of CSR, NGO and institutions for providing services through numerous seminars, manuals, instructions, meetings, etc. So far, over 600 experts have undergone SIF education (both from organisations which receive funds for the projects, as well as from those not successful) and several manuals have been published.

SFI has financed projects that introduce new working methods in public institutions, educate staff and introduce new service providers as well as new beneficiaries. Many of the services were tested and developed for the first time in Serbia thanks to SIF resources (mediation, multi- sectoral programs for the prevention of domestic violence, activities in remote communities etc.). Most of the projects were supposed to develop social protection services in the community. The biggest problem service providers faced was sustainability of the services financed by the municipality. About half have switched to temporary or permanent municipal budget, while the rest are still financed on project basis or were

4 The argumentation of J.Tendler is based on the analysis of south American investment funds which have multiply higher average budgets than the SIF. Still, this does not diminish the significance of this argument which could also be based on the simple bureaucracy inertial, specially in circumstances of multiple sources of financing.

5 Moreover, SIF itself has been defined as a transitional mechanism in its foundation acts.

6 Regarding the decision models and their application on different goals, the discussion about models between Sah and Stiglitz seems very interesting (Sah, Stiglitz 1986). They point out that when decision in the hierarchic structures are made (in which only one person or small number makes the decisions, such as, for example in bureaucratic systems), there is less probability that a bad project will be accepted and at the same time there is higher probability of making a mistake of rejecting a good project. On the contrary, when decisions are made in a poligarchic system, (in which there are multiple decision makers, who independently decide like for example on the market), there is a higher probability of making a mistake of accepting a bad project but also there is a probability of a good project to be accepted as well. Their consideration has relevance both for the defining of an internal organisation of funds, as well as for their positioning in a wider legal and institutional environment. At the level of the organisational structure, if the goal is innovation it is more appropriate to implement polyarchic decision making and if the issue is targeted investment into the public sector, hierarchic decision making is probably more appropriate. Similar logic in the establishment of mechanisms for decision making on projects that are to be financed is also proposed by Jack: if the aim of a certain intervention through projects is to reach a special category of those jeopardize and the overflow of funds is tolerable, then a straight hierarchy is desired. If, however, budget limitations are strict, then the model of decision making with a higher degree of consensus is required. (Jack, 2000: 7).

seized.⁷ This example also shows that one of the key issues of the social protection system reform is how to make sure that local self-governments finance those services that are in their jurisdiction.⁸

Some authors (*cf.* Smale, 1998) believe that local and pilot projects represent a good way to develop innovation, but not a method for the disbursement of new types of work, because they lean on the false presumption that good experiences from projects will be built into new solutions and bad experience will be left out. The last SIF evaluation has shown that there is not much transfer of new approaches to the national level and that the reason for this is that the respective ministry has no structures for coordinating measures in order to achieve the implementation at the level of the entire country, nor has, as a necessary precondition, a fiscal decentralisation been implemented (Bagic, MacKellar, 2007:19). A later analysis of the legal and institutional environment in the field of social protection in Serbia has identified key *legal changes* which should be made in order for innovations and new models of work, developed through some SIF projects, to be wider applied (*cf.* Lempert, 2007). Successes so far can be attributed to factors outside of the system – the only concrete factor is the activity of service providers – and not the changes in law or the model of service financing.

Despite the lacks on the central level, we have to ask ourselves why municipalities are reluctant to be proactive in this field. It is hard to point out one factor that mainly influences this situation in the field of local social protection. The position of municipal administration is influenced by political priorities (and in this regard there is a lot of competition in which social protection issues can hardly manage to become a priority), the capacity of municipal administration and the CSW, as well as the level of municipal budget allocation for social protection (usually municipalities allocate 1.8%, i.e. from 0.1% to 5%, *cf.* Lisanin, 2005). The other important factor is the widespread position of municipal government to implement programs of providing financial support to the jeopardized population, rather than financing the opening of services⁹. In principle, these programs are visible and have a greater political effect.¹⁰ Apart from those contingency factors, there are also system factors. Actually, the system of financing social protection services is created in such a way that it does not offer any boost to municipal governments to develop social protection services. Most of the services are provided in institutions and the republic's government is responsible for the financing of institutions. That's why local governments and the CSW have no interest in keeping the beneficiary in the community and in providing their service to him or her there because they do not finance the accommodation. In addition to this, sending the beneficiary to the institution also decreases the CSW's scope of work.

Alternative Strategies: Projects, Planning and Public Sector Reform

In the first two years of their work, the SIF was devoted to promoting initialisation of local programs opened to reforms, support for CSWs and institutions to improve their administrative and government capacities in order for them

7 The analysis performed for the needs of the SIF has shown that services which managed to sustain, did so thanks to local CSWs. They turned out to be more successful lobbyists than the NGOs, thanks to the special position the CSW has toward the local self-government (Stojadinovic and Lucic, 2006).

8 Much better results have been achieved in the field of management and professional capacity improvement of organisations providing those services. Although this statistical presentation draws a parallel between the capacity of the organisation and suitability to the donors requests, (*cf.* Bagic, 2004), the initial SIF support has led to the fact that the percentage of formally incorrect qualifications (being one of the criteria for the organisation capacity to run the programs) has dropped from one quarter in 2003 to a constant 12-13 % in the last few years. Numerous trainings of experts from the public and the NGO sectors as part of the projects that were implemented should also be added.

9 During 2005, the dominant services financed from municipal and city budgets were one-time financial help (55.762 families) and one-time help in goods (18.124 families), while help at home was provided to 3.858 persons, 647 persons were given temporary accommodation in a shelter or shelter station and daily accommodation was given to 1.977 persons (MRZSP, 2006:14).

10 The situation in Hungary is similar, where the funds for local services of social protection and social help are linked in one budget line. This represents a boost for the governments to provide social help to citizens since, this way, they decrease the costs of the services, so that the financial benefit the local population has is almost equal to the amount the municipality spends. This approach is also politically profitable. On the other hand, if they wish to open services, local self-governments have to pay taxes and contributions, so that the financial benefit the population has is lower than half of what the municipality spends (Tauzs, 2003:61).

to be able to more effectively apply for funds, and organisation of professional seminars and education. At the end of this period, numerous social protection services were developed in the community. The geographic coverage was insufficient but still included under average developed municipalities (*cf.* Vukovic, 2007). All services depended on the interest of the local self-governments to include them into their regular municipal budgets (keeping in mind that, apart from sporadic and insignificant donations to the NGO sector, other mechanisms such as planning, negotiations and similar, did not exist). Finally, this period of work was marked by a lack of a clear strategy for managing the processes on the national and local level. This was the first phase in the work of SIF called the *project financing and staff education* phase.

Since 2005/2006, the respective ministry and SIF have focused on work with local self-governments with the idea of creating an alliance of local self-governments for the improvement of local services through processes of strategic planning at the municipal level¹¹. The process of local social policy planning has covered over two thirds of the municipalities in Serbia. That process is additionally financed through grants for the implementation of one or more priorities from local strategies. This is the second phase in the work of the SIF, the phase of local *social planning*. This process enables a stronger inclusion of local self-governments into the social policy but, at the same time, it faces system difficulties regarding the adequate representation of beneficiary groups and involvement of new actors in the domain of service providers.¹² Finally, it does not represent a long-term response due to the lack of basic legal changes, careful transition of authorities, boosting of the service provider market in other ways but by subventions of the offer etc.

An interesting example is municipal coordination boards for social policy, which were supposed to provide a transparent local planning, and service negotiations. The analysis provided for the SIF needs, (Calosevic, 2006) has shown that most of the time they do not lead to the changes of municipal budgets or long-term changes in the municipal administration. They are often seen only as a precondition for receiving donors help, being established as a temporary and not permanent mechanisms for planning, monitoring and governing of social policy on the territory of the municipality. That is why the process of establishing those bodies can be seen as “*the projectisation*” of something that was supposed to represent a long-term institutional policy. It was influenced by both the conditions for donors financing and the lack of legal changes that represent the basis for institutional changes in the Serb legal environment.

Since 2006, the respective ministry has adopted a number of system measures that unblock some of the reform processes. Namely, individual treatment plans have been created for children deprived of parental care in institutions, admission of children below 3 years of age was banned (which is a precondition for the deinstitutionalisation and various changes) and new foster families have been recruited. Currently SIF is financing 13 large projects whose goal is to create some preconditions for the transformation of institutions for children and within them to develop fostering (including specialized fostering), new services within the institutions (day centers, independent accommodation etc) and support for biological families. These programs have drawn great attention of institutions (62 % of the institutions submitted those programs and 45 % were covered by projects), they have increased the motivation of some professionals, but at the same time, have led to strong resistance among the institutions. They have been followed by different messages from the national level and an insecure future in 2008. As a partial continuation of those activities, the SIF will as of 2007/8 finance the development of 16 regional centers for fostering and equipment of apartments for independent living and the support programs implemented in them.

This is the third phase in the work of the SIF, the *public sector reform* phase. Its characteristic includes a direct investment into the programs of the respective ministries. This is followed by numerous unsolved issues: Is this a transformation of institutions? Is this an opening of a market for new services and new service providers? Which legal and

11 Local social planning was designed at the same time as a tool for stronger involvement of local authorities in the field of social policy and for the pluralisation of service providers through municipal project, i.e. service tenders.

12 The SIF analysis show that programs based on (local) requirements have significant problems with the articulation of needs and priorities. When the community defines its needs, it often goes against the real needs of the poorest among the population (e.g. Tendler, 200:118), and decisions are often influenced by the administration, entrepreneurs or influential individuals. Logically, it could be concluded that the choice of project activities performed by local SIF partners can also more in the interest of the service providers than a direct response to the interest of most jeopardized groups (similar comment was given by Lempert, 2007).

system changes are required for maintaining the effects of investments so far? Which mechanisms for the protection of beneficiary rights are foreseen?

Lessons Learned

The process described so far offers more subjects for discussion than prescriptions for which way should be taken and which should not be taken. Many of those subjects are linked to painful changes in the public sector, such as changes in the money flow, but also the increase of control by beneficiaries of various services. The question, which may also be a framework for the changes, is: what is not functioning well in the public sector, or in other words which of the needs or rights of the beneficiaries is the public sector not fulfilling and what is the remedy (new standards, new providers, reform of public sector and financing system, strengthening of existing solidarity networks, education reform etc.)? Until now, the work of the Fund for social protection is not providing answers to all these questions, because the role of the Fund in the reform of social protection was limited. Apart from that, for the overall evaluation, time and personal distance is necessary, which this author does not have. However, some indications do exist.

Innovations and Changes

The support for innovations is not the same as support for investments. The support for innovations requires, above all, a specific and independent fund which will be closer to the field of research and development than to the public management, as well a strong state apparatus which will be capable of evaluating innovations and eventually turn them into system solutions. A support for the investments requires a clear and long-term strategic frame and a capable public apparatus which will implement them. Both concepts can be legitimate but require different organisational structures and different funding status that will implement them. At the level of projects, evaluations of SIF work have shown that it is wrong to expect one project to develop an innovative idea, implement it through the project and show that it will have a long-term effect and, on the basis of that, to provide the sustainability of the service (Lempert, 2007:22). This way, three tasks are combined: *innovation*, *implementation* and transformation into a *stable systemic solution* (sustainability).

Project support does not lead to systematic changes unless the state makes effective mechanisms for good solutions a regular practice. Those mechanisms can be different: fiscal, administrative and sectoral decentralisation, a change of the way the services are financed, inter-sector cooperation, boosting of independent civil initiatives, creation of a legal frame in which citizens and beneficiaries will put pressure on the state to improve its work, etc. Still, findings and conclusions gained from implemented projects can definitely serve as recommendations for further work and strategies. Unless there is no absorption power at the central level, something we can call a *horizontal transfer* occurs - experts and organisation spontaneously take over good models of work and incorporate them in their practice. Grants offer support to the supply side, for which also a complementary measure of legal and other changes is needed that would remove obstacles and open the market of service providers. A need for services would be established, which would boost the most efficient and most efficient providers (for details, cf. Lempert, 2007:62 ff.).

Finally, focusing on respected ministry and service providers, (from the public or private sector), without the involvement of professional public, media, other sectors etc, results are only partially effective. The opening of a public discussion about the policy and measures can be a painful initiative, especially for the conservative public government based on hierarchy that we inherited from socialism. However, short-term it contributes to greater responsibility and effectiveness.

Development of Services in the Community

One of the most important strategies concerning the development of local services is that they are equally developed in different parts of the country. The state is obliged to provide certain services and all citizens have those rights, regardless of where they live. That is why the state guarantees the minimum realisation of those rights and develops mechanisms for equal development of services and adequate allocation of central funds.

The establishment of a network of local services requires, apart from good laws, a gradual decentralisation and harmonisation of the service financing system with the desired outcomes. In a decentralized system, some of the services should be provided on a municipal level, some should always remain on the central level¹³, and some should be established on the inter-municipal level. Shelters and shelter stations, as well as some specialized services which, because of the economy of the scope should be established for bigger units (for example, services for certain categories for disabled persons, regional or inter-municipal service for support of foster families and fostered children, as well as a service for the training of personal assistants and disabled persons for the role of employers of personal assistants) could be included into the third group of services. In order for such a system to be established, it is necessary for an effective third level of government (region) to exist or for a sufficiently strong system boost from the central level that would motivate municipalities and local service providers to cooperate¹⁴.

Conclusion

In Serbia, the social protection system reform is taking place continuously for five years, since the establishment of the first democratically elected government and the beginning of real social reforms. Political support to the reforms, from within, as well as from outside, did not decrease during this period. Social protection managed to attract significant international financial and expert aid. According to the current situation, this intensive help to the state will be available for at least another three years. In spite of that rather bright picture, the system of social protection in Serbia, the respective ministry and the professional public is facing numerous difficult questions. We referred to some of them in this text. In the coming period, the system itself will face new problems: new social problems and new beneficiaries will appear, programs for the transformation of institutions should start, new operation models will be introduced into the public sector, complicated operations of the creation of new financial flows will be launched, etc. Those changes could produce resistance and will require clear measures and institutions capable of implementing them. That is why it appears that the most important issue the actors of the changes will face is: will the next reform cycle be an opportunity to change the structural framework in which the reforms are conducted or is the frame already satisfactory (i.e., it offers enough competencies, motivations and efficiency) for the changes immediately to continue?

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13 The experience of countries in transition is that institutions should remain under the auspices of the central government. If the auspices is transferred to municipal governments, those do not have the boost to close them and open alternative services, since this way they keep a higher level of employment (Fox and Goettestam, 2003:19-23). The development strategy of social protection foresees that only highly specialized services are financed by the republic level (RS Government, 2005:20). In connection to this, G.Matkovic suggests that fostering should remain to be financed by the republic level in order to provide regular payment for foster parents and this way the foster family network to be maintained, since the existence of that network is necessary for further transformation of institutions for accommodation of children deprived of parental care (Matkovic, 2006:60).

14 An example of the inter-municipal shelter in Priboj financed by the SIF shows that such services are not sustainable without and adequate legal environment. Namely, after the financing by the SIF ceased, neighbouring municipalities begun, based on a contract with the municipality of Priboj, paying services for beneficiaries from their territory but after a while they stopped doing that. Since there was no mechanism for the implementation of agreement into an act, the regional shelter was for some time financed by the municipality of Priboj. Today, however, it covers only the territory of the Priboj municipality.

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Case Study

Street Children

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The Centre for Youth Integration has been running the facility named “Shelter for Street Children” in Belgrade since 2007. The Shelter is intended for children aged between 14 and 18 who do not have adequate parental care and who suffer from behavioural problems. In addition, the Shelter provides services to children aged 4 or more, as well as to youth of up to 26 years of age. These children and youth live, work and spend nights on the street, in vacant facilities, manholes, garbage disposal sites, under bridges etc. Experience of the Centre in the field indicates that these children and youth in most cases live in groups and have already had experienced institutional treatment or placement in the past. Due to their prior negative experience, even now that they have information, they still have problem using the services offered to them. In addition, certain number of services they would benefit from are not available to them in most cases, because they do not have personal identification documents.

Problems they face, range from social problems (poverty, inadequate nourishment and accommodation, limited choices available, violent environment, juvenile prostitution and an increased risk of becoming the victim human trafficking), to health problems (inadequate nourishment, high risk of injury, sexual and reproductive health problems, drug abuse, alcoholism, health conditions, etc.) and mental health problems (growing up in stressful environment, lack of stable and healthy relations with adults, abuse of psychoactive substances etc.).

For the street children, the law sets forth shelter services with or without a transit centre. On the territory of Belgrade, children aged between 7 and 18 years have access to a shelter with 16 beds, which operates within the Institute for Education of Children and Youth in Belgrade. According to the regulations currently in effect, the primary goal of this institution is to provide placement and short-term accommodations of children and youth found wandering the streets or begging, provided that the current status of such children requires social intervention. In addition, the shelter provides temporary and long-term care for children with behavioural problems, referred to the shelter by courts or centres for social work. About 430 beneficiaries pass through the shelter annually, and the most frequent type of discharge recorded, noted in about half of the cases, is running away.

Analyses indicated that these services, and other services and activities provided by the institutions do not meet all the needs of the beneficiaries, do not encourage beneficiaries to request services to which they are entitled, nor do they inform the beneficiaries of availability of those services. Instead, the beneficiaries are isolated in these institutions and repressive measures are taken following an escape. According to experts of the Centre for Youth Integration these practices represent violation of rights guaranteed by the Convention on the Rights of the Child. In addition, representatives of the Centre for Youth Integration point out that lack of post-institutional support and monitoring represents particularly weak link in the chain of protection of juvenile persons.

For that reason, in the early 2007, the project of the shelter for “street kids” was initiated to provide temporary accommodation and meet other basic needs such as food, hygiene, security and safety. Working both in the field and in the Shelter, experts and volunteers of the Centre for Youth Integration act in compliance with principle of a *non-judgemental* attitude of adults towards children, on principles of respect for choices made by children, principles

of confidentiality of information and principle of individuality and gradualism in planning, with a strong emphasis on participation of the child in the decision-making process which is importance to him or her. That substantially builds trust of beneficiaries in the Shelter and the field workers in it. The added benefit is reflected in the fact that the field workers are active in the streets for three years and that their age and their cultural background makes them closer this population in comparison to the rest of the adult population, which makes it easier for them to communicate and establish contact with beneficiaries.

In the Shelter, children receive basic medical treatment, participate in different workshops (educational, psychological, creative, etc.) and receive assistance and support in dealing with different problems. The project team collaborates with other organisations and institutions and informs these organisations about characteristics of this population, in efforts to create new ways of ensuring that the needs of beneficiaries and their urgent crises receive an effective response. Their efforts will result in an establishment of a support network for this population of children and youth. Through the activities of the social worker, the Shelter provides support in renewing contacts with families and encourages children to exercise their rights within the system of social protection (One of the partners in project implementation is the City Centre for Social Work in Belgrade).

During the first three months of its operation, 157 beneficiaries passed through the Shelter (initially, it was planned that 100 beneficiaries should benefit from the Shelter over the period of 9 months). Children visit the Shelter on an everyday basis, and during the course of the day, as many as 40 of them may be found on the premises of the Shelter.

Operation of the Shelter attracted a lot of attention not only of the media and the public, but also of the relevant ministry and the city administration. In addition, several voluntary fundraising actions were initiated to contribute to the operation of the Shelter such as: a humanitarian action of Belgrade stock brokers and an organisation of different cultural events for which the organisers paid part of the proceeds from sale of tickets to the Shelter, etc. Since tenants of the building in which the Shelter is located in protested, the representatives of the Centre for Youth Integration agreed that the premises were not fully adequate for provision of this type of services, hence negotiations were initiated with the republic and the city administrations to try to find a more appropriate permanent solution.

Case Study

Association for Promoting Inclusion

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Association for Promoting Inclusion, a nongovernmental organisation, was founded in 1997 with a goal to encourage the process of deinstitutionalisation of persons with intellectual and developmental disabilities and development of community based support services.

The Association was founded with the financial support and encouragement of the Open Society Institute Croatia and the Open Society Mental Health Initiative.

At the beginning, the Association gathered experts from the Education-Rehabilitation Faculty and the Rehabilitation Centre Zagreb, so that the first deinstitutionalized persons were the beneficiaries of the Rehabilitation Centre Zagreb.

From the very start, good will and cooperation with competent state bodies existed, the Ministry of labour and social protection of that time, so that in the year 2000, the supported housing program was included in the regular system of financing of social protection services through the first home for independent living in Zagreb that provides every-day support to persons with intellectual disabilities living in apartments (most often rented on the market). Throughout the following years, the supported housing program expanded to the cities Osijek, Bjelovar and Slavonski Brod.

Life in the community requires inclusion into different areas of every-day life; therefore, the need arose to develop a program which would provide housing support to persons with intellectual disabilities, including support in finding employment and support in free-time activities. The programs are developed upon motivation and in cooperation with persons with intellectual disabilities since the aim is to satisfy their needs.

The Association pays most attention to the rights of persons with intellectual disabilities and the fulfilment of those rights, thus, the persons with intellectual disabilities, by being included in some of the Association's programs, are also included in the program of self-determination and self-advocacy so that they are able to, as much as possible, make decisions about their own lives.

The practical experience of the Association was a good basis for influencing changes in the legislature. First, a type of institution called home for independent living was included in the social protection system providing services in apartments to a smaller group of persons with intellectual disabilities, and in 2003, a new type of institution called organized living became integrated in the social protection system providing support to persons with intellectual disabilities in their every-day lives, with the housing units being occupied by one to five persons at the most.

Parallel with the development of expert support services for adults with intellectual disabilities, support programs for children have been developed deinstitutionalizing them so they can live in foster families.

A clear vision and mission of the founders aimed towards deinstitutionalization and development of community based expert support services for children and adults with intellectual disabilities has greatly contributed to the growth of this Association.

Good organisation and personnel policy are also some of the crucial factors of success of an organisation such as the Association for Promoting Inclusion is today.

Today, the Association for Promoting Inclusion is, among associations, the largest, private service provider in the segment of social protection and a true alternative to the traditional institutionalization of persons with intellectual disabilities in Croatia. More than 100 deinstitutionalized adults live in four Croatian cities and receive the community based housing support while more than 30 deinstitutionalized children have exercised their right to live in a family.

Through its programs and services, but also through active advocating of rights to a life in a community, the Association has greatly contributed to social inclusion and civic equality of persons with intellectual disabilities in Croatia.