

ŠTA DA SE RADI?

SOCIJALNA UKLJUČENOST I CIVILNO DRUŠTVO – PRAKTIČNI KORACI

WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

SOCIAL INCLUSION AND CIVIL SOCIETY – PRACTICAL STEPS



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Šta da se radi?

Socijalna uključenost i civilno društvo – praktični koraci

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Predgovor ili pogled iznutra

Šta je civilno društvo u Bosni i Hercegovini?

To je ono što živimo, ono što radimo i ono nešto što nas povezuje. Postoji u svoj svojoj „veličini“ pitanja, nedoumica i strahova.

Nećemo se ovdje, i sada, baviti definicijama kojih je mnoštvo „prihvatljivih“ i na kojima teorija počiva.

Tokom proteklih 13 godina probali smo razne uvezene modele i, na kraju, zbunjeni i zasićeni (ne) naučenim lekcijama i greškama u koracima, stigli smo do faze „Šta da se radi?“.

Civilno društvo u BiH nema prednosti, a ni mane. Međutim, ima zidove sagrađene od predrasuda i prepreke nametnute od onih koji ne razumiju, ne žele i ne prihvataju da postoji nešto drugo i drugačije. Može biti zanemareno, ignorisano, ali ne može biti izbrisano. Trenutni njegov uticaj na stvarne društvene tokove je toliko slab koliko su slabe njegove unutrašnje žile i nejak partnerski odnosi.

Često se stavlja znak jednakosti između nevladinih organizacija i civilnog društva. NVO-i jesu bitan, neodvojivi dio civilnog društva, ali ne jedan i jedini. Potrebno je otvoriti postojeći prostor civilnog društva za dijalog i partnerstvo unutar njega samog, kako bi bilo ozbiljno prihvaćeno u drugom, vanjskom, dijelu društva.

Civilno društvo u društvu...? U čemu se sastoji njihova bliskost uprkos strahovitoj udaljenosti? U onome što je najprije upadljivo. Biti socijalno angažovan. Okrenuti se onome zbog koga postojimo, građaninu. Pretočiti riječi u akciju. Napraviti i najmanji korak, ali zajednički, za sve one koji, doista, od toga zavise.

Bili oni rudari, penzioneri, osobe s invaliditetom, siromašni ili obespravljeni, i svi socijalno isključeni, imaju pravo na normalan i dostojanstven život daleko od margine na koju su gurnuti i ostavljeni.

Moguće je uključivanje građana i u najšire društvene probleme, ali samo kroz konkretne aktivnosti. To je realan način i put kojim bi civilno društvo jačalo sopstveni uticaj i pomoglo demokratskom razvoju BiH.

BH vlasti su inicirale pripremu Strategije socijalne uključenosti (SSU), što predstavlja važan korak u harmonizaciji socijalnog razvoja BiH sa standardima EU. Njena implementacija će zahtijevati značajnu ulogu civilnog društva, a posebno NVO sektora, njihov koordiniran razvoj i fokus na najugroženije grupe BH društva. Stoga, formiranje NVO Fondacije za

socijalno uključivanje u BiH (NVO FSU) je praktičan korak i predstavlja svojevrsan odgovor na realne potrebe marginalizovanih, odnosno socijalno isključenih, a i samog civilnog društva u BiH.

To je mehanizam za jačanje uloge NVO-a u unapređenju pristupa socijalnom uključivanju, njihovom organizacionom jačanju i fokusiranju na stvarne potrebe socijalno isključenih. Proces strukturiranja i pozicioniranja NVO FSU u širi BH kontekst je baziran na punom učešću 225 aktera iz svih sektora (vladinog, nevladinog, privatnog, medija, donatora, itd.) i analizi primjera dobre prakse u zemljama regiona i EU.

Ova publikacija nije „odgovor u boci“, niti rješenje za postojeću mutnu sliku našeg civilnog društva, ali je pokušaj da se svi odvojeni dijelovi ovog tijela dožive i žive kao cjelina. To je nada za novu budućnost civilnog društva u BiH i praktični koraci ka jačanju njegove uloge, značaja i uticaja na stvarno uključivanje u društvo.

Vjerujemo da će vas autori ove publikacije odvesti u sasvim „novi svijet“ našeg civilnog društva, i pripadajuće mu realnosti, obojen nekim drugim svijetlim bojama. Njihova iskrenost će vas razoružati, a snaga argumenata i analiza izaziva želju za „ljepšim buđenjem“, makar i u ovom zamršenom kotlu. Bude nam nadu i daju vjeru da će mrak otići i da, ipak, postoji neko hrabar da nam pokaže da vrijedi svaki trenutak utrošen u borbu za promjene. Svaki korak napravljen za nas same je dragocjen.

Evo moje tajne!

Ona je veoma jednostavna.

Dobro vidimo samo srcem.

Suština je nevidljiva očima.

Antoine de Saint – Exupéry (Mali princ)

Ranka Ninković-Papić

JAČANJE CIVILNOG DRUŠTVA

NAUČENE LEKCIJE IZ PROCESA PRIPREME BIH STRATEGIJE SOCIJALNOG UKLJUČIVANJA

UVOD

Bosna i Hercegovina je još uvijek, i pored značajnih pomaka koje je napravila u posljednjem desetljeću, suočena sa mnogobrojnim problemima od kojih siromaštvo i šire socijalno isključivanje pripadaju kategoriji najznačajnijih. Pored odanosti ideji da smanji siromaštvo i obezbijedi punu socijalnu sigurnost svim građanima, Bosna i Hercegovina je potpuno odana i ideji da ostvari preduslove za pridruživanje BiH Evropskoj Uniji. Iako principi socijalne politike EU, zbog drugačijeg ekonomskog statusa zemalja članica EU, i BiH, nisu u ovom trenutku u potpunosti primjenjivi, kod nas je potrebno, pored smanjenja siromaštva, obezbijediti i poštivanje osnova socijalne politike EU kako bi naše aktivnost u toj oblasti planirali u skladu sa tom politikom.

Kako je u toku 2008. godine oficijelno završen mandat Srednjoročne razvojne strategije BiH 2004.-2007. (PRSP) BiH se nalazi u toku procesa pripreme novih strateških dokumenata: Strategije razvoja BiH (Country Development Strategy-CDS) 2008.-2013. i Strategije socijalne uključenosti (SSU). Proces izrade navedenih strateških dokumenata je odobren od Koordinacionog odbora za ekonomski razvoj i evropske integracije Vijeća ministara BiH, te je parafriranjem Sporazuma o stabilizaciji i pridruživanju Evropskoj Uniji dobio na značaju zbog predpristupnih aktivnosti, koje podrazumijevaju pripremu značajnog broja dokumenata čija osnova su gore pomenute strategije. Pored toga, značaj pomenutih strateških dokumenata je u tome što će isto tako predstavljati osnovu za Strateški okvir usklađenosti, potreban za planiranje IPA fondova (Instrument predpristupne pomoći/Instrument for Pre-Accession Assistance-IPA) kada BiH postane zemlja kandidat¹. Ove dvije strategije će također predstavljati osnovu za pripremu BiH Razvojnog plana (National Development Plan-NDP) i Zajedničkog Memoranduma o uključivanju (Joint Inclusion Memorandum-JIM) u periodu kada se na predpristupnom putu BiH ka EU steknu uslovi za to.

Odgovornost za koordinaciju aktivnosti pripreme CDS i SSU je data Direkciji za ekonomsko planiranje BiH (DEP) pri čemu će se koordinacija odvijati u partnerstvu sa Vijećem

¹ U skladu sa članom 154 Pravilnika broj 718/2007 koji implementira Vijeće za regulaciju (EC) broj 1085/2006 uspostavljajući mehanizam za predpristupnu pomoć IPA.

ministara BiH, Vladama Federacije, Republike Srpske i Brčko Distrikta BiH te velikim brojem učesnika vladinog sektora i civilnog društva.

1. SOCIJALNA POLITIKA EU

BiH odana ideji članstva u EU i kao buduća članica obavezna je da preuzme sve vrijednosti i ispunji sve obaveze koje proističu iz te činjenice. Zbog toga SSU treba da definiše ciljeve i prioritete čija implementacija će imati za rezultat reformu socijalne politike u skladu sa odlukama i dokumentima EU. *Integracijski cilj* socijalne politike EU je poboljšanje životnih i radnih uslova, stimulisanje zapošljavanja, jednake šanse za sve i obezbjeđenje minimalne socijalne zaštite. Socijalna politika je sastavni dio ostvarenja slobode kretanja radnika. Principi su definisani u Ugovoru o osnivanju Evropske zajednice i Protokolu o socijalnoj politici.² Način rada se zasniva na programima koje donosi Zajednica, koordinaciji i kooperaciji država-članica i usvajanju legislativnih mjera za unapređenje ujednačenosti nacionalnih propisa u oblasti socijalne politike.

Koncept „*socijalna dimenzija*“ jedinstvenog tržišta se odnosi na napor da se unutrašnjem tržištu i EU u cjelini, pridoda humana i socijalna dimenzija.

Socijalna dimenzija evropskih integracija se svodi na *socijalni dijalog*, odnosno na ideju da se za isti stol dovedu socijalni partneri i da se među njima postigne konsenzus u pogledu politikâ Zajednice.

Osnovni dokumenti koji promoviraju ove ideje su Jedinstvena evropska povelja³ (1986.) i Povelja o osnovnim socijalnim pravima radnika⁴, iz 1989. godine, čiji ciljevi su obuhvatili:

- aktivnosti Zajednice u borbi protiv nezaposlenosti,
- poticanje zapošljavanja mladih,
- poticanje zapošljavanja žena,
- izrada lokalnih programa za otvaranje novih radnih mjesta,
- sprječavanje dugotrajne nezaposlenosti,
- podsticanje integracije ili ponovnog uključenja žena u aktivan život.

Nova velika reforma je učinjena usvajanjem Ugovora o EU (Mastriht, 1993.), kao i usvajanjem „Rezolucije o rastu i zapošljavanju“ od strane Evropskog savjeta (Amsterdam, 1997.). U Rezoluciji je naglašena potreba za modernizacijom sistema socijalnog osiguranja i usklađivanjem ekonomskih politika. Tim dokumentima zemlje članice prihvatile su, između ostalog, osiguranje socijalne kohezije i integriteta.

Poslije niza aktivnosti vezanih za proces pridruživanja EU, početkom 2004. godine, Komisija

² EC Treaty: Preamble, Articles: 2, 3i, 3j, 48-51, 117-125, 130b, 130d; Protocol on social policy.

³ Prihvaćena su dva nova člana Ugovora o EEZ. Prvi je opredijelio odlučivanje kvalifikovane većine na području radne okoline i zdravlja, te sigurnosti na radu. Drugi je definisao osnove socijalnog dijaloga na nivou Zajednice. Pored ovoga, dodano je i novo poglavlje o ekonomskoj i socijalnoj koheziji kojim je Zajednica pokušala spriječiti nastanak regionalnih razlika koje bi se mogle pojaviti zbog uvođenja zajedničkog tržišta.

⁴ U programu je navedeno 47 mjera koje obuhvataju 12 područja socijalnih prava navedenih u Povelji.

je prezentirala svoje prvo Evropsko partnerstvo sa Bosnom i Hercegovinom koje je Vijeće usvojilo 14. juna 2004. godine. Dokument, koji se odnosi na BiH, navodi kratkoročne i srednjoročne prioritete za pripremu zemlje za daljnje integriranje u Evropsku uniju. Od zemlje se očekuje da odgovori na Evropsko partnerstvo time što će pripremiti plan sa vremenskim rasporedom i specifičnim mjerama u pogledu načina na koji namjerava odgovoriti na prioritete Evropskog partnerstva. Te mjere svakako podrazumijevaju i ispunjavanje obaveza koja proističu iz socijalnih prava definisanih pomenutim dokumentima EU.

2. STRATEGIJA SOCIJALNE UKLJUČENOSTI

Bosna i Hercegovina prvi put priprema ovaj tip strateškog dokumenta. Vijeće ministara BiH se, pored Strategije razvoja BiH, odlučilo i za pripremu Strategije socijalne uključenosti zbog toga što raspoloživi pokazatelji ukazuju na činjenicu da je procenat siromašnih u zemlji visok, a broj socijalno isključenih još značajno veći od procenta siromašnih.

Procenat siromašnih u BiH, zasnovano na potrošnji domaćinstva, je 17,8%. Hrana čini samo 34% ukupnih potreba siromašne populacije, što upućuje na značaj ostalih neprehrambenih komponenti u preživljavanju. Oko 30% stanovništva je iznad linije siromaštva odnosno u riziku od siromaštva. Ova kategorija stanovništva ulazi i izlazi iz siromaštva ovisno od uslova u kojima se nalazi u određenom trenutku. U BiH je pristup smanjenju siromaštva još uvijek kroz socijalne transfere, što su pasivne mjere socijalne politike. Iskustva i prakse EU ukazuju da su ove mjere neefikasne i teško održive, pogotovo u periodima ekonomskih kriza, i da ih je potrebno zamijeniti mjerama aktivne socijalne politike.

Procenat socijalno isključenih članova društva prvi put je izračunat na osnovu Indeksa socijalne isključenosti. *Opšti indeks socijalne isključenosti* (HSEI) u BiH je prvi put izmjeren (UNDP) 2007. godine i iznosi 50,32%. Prema razvijenoj metodologiji indeks se računa na osnovu pet kategorija isključenosti i na osnovu sedam indikatora; *životni standard* (indikator: 1. stanovništvo koje živi ispod praga siromaštva; 2. dugoročna nezaposlenost); *zdravstveni status* (indikator: 3. osobe bez zdravstvenog osiguranja); *obrazovanje* (indikator: 4. osobe starije od 15 godina koje nisu završile osnovnu školu); *sudjelovanje u društvu* (indikator: 5. osobe koje ne glasaju na izborima; 6. one koje ne sudjeluju u organiziranim društvenim aktivnostima); *pristup službama i uslugama* (indikator: 7. domaćinstva bez telefona). Pored toga 21,85% BH populacije je isključeno iz osnovnih procesa i potreba (HSEI-1; indeks ekstremne socijalne isključenosti), a 47% BH populacije je isključeno dugoročno (indeks dugoročne socijalne isključenosti).

Očito je da je reforma u socijalnoj oblasti neophodna. Obezbijediti reformski pristup u ovoj oblasti, efikasno i sistemski implementirati proces socijalne uključenosti nije moguće bez sagledavanja sveukupnog procesa i bez potpuno novog pristupa zasnovanog na realizaciji EU zahtjeva, ciljeva ali i ključnih principa implementacije tog procesa.

Ključni principi implementacije procesa socijalne uključenosti za čije poštivanje se opredijelila BiH u toku pripreme i implementacije SSU-a su:

- a. Participativni pristup,
- b. Integrirati ekonomske i socijalne politike tako da utiču na smanjenje socijalne isključenosti,
- c. Aktivirati predstavnike vlasti na svim nivoima,
- d. Definirati procedure i mehanizme koordinacije,
- e. Definirati odgovorne institucije,
- f. Unaprijediti socijalni dijalog i partnerstvo,
- g. Aktivno uključiti socijalne partnere i organizacije civilnog društva kao i one koji pružaju socijalne usluge u proces,
- h. Unaprijediti korporativnu socijalnu odgovornost.

Zbog svega navedenog *osnovni cilj i ideja* Strategije socijalne uključenosti⁵ je da ona treba obezbijediti kreiranje uslova za uključenost u društvene procese svih građana. Strategija također mora biti što je moguće više usklađena sa EU zahtjevima i ciljevima, kako bi se:

- a. Olakšao pristup visoko kvalitetnim poslovima i socijalnim uslugama kao i drugim dobrima i resursima,
- b. Spriječio rizik socijalne isključenosti i siromaštva,
- c. Pomoglo najugroženijim kategorijama stanovništva,
- d. Angažovali svi relevantni akteri,
- e. Obezbijedila osnova za pripremu dokumenata, a prije svega JIM-a (Joint Inclusion Memorandum – Zajednički memorandum o uključivanju), za ispunjavanje predpristupnih obaveza za članstvo u EU.

S obzirom da će Strategija socijalne uključenosti biti osnova za pripremu JIM-a, tokom njene pripreme treba imati u vidu i *Strukturu Zajedničkog memoranduma o uključivanju* koji bi trebao sadržavati sljedeće elemente:

1. Ekonomska situacija i zapošljavanje
2. Socijalna situacija

⁵ Ključni termini su definisani prema definicijama iz Zajedničkog Izvještaja o socijalnoj uključenosti Evropske unije, usvojenog 2004. (European Commission Joint Report on Social Inclusion):

Siromaštvo – Ljudi smatraju da žive u siromaštvu ako su njihovi prihodi i ostali resursi nedovoljni da im obezbijede da imaju standard koji se smatra prihvatljivim u društvu u kojem žive. Zbog njihovog siromaštva pojedinci mogu da iskuse mnogobrojne prepreke kroz nezaposlenost, nizak nivo prihoda, loše uslove stanovanja, neadekvatnu zdravstvenu zaštitu, prepreke obrazovanju, kulturi, sportu i rekreaciji. Često su ovakve grupe marginalizirane i isključene iz različitih društvenih aktivnosti (ekonomskih, socijalnih i kulturnih) koje inače predstavljaju normu za druge društvene grupe a pristup osnovnim pravima za ovako marginalizirane grupe može biti ograničen.

Socijalna isključenost – Socijalna isključenost je proces u kojem su određene grupe gurnute na ivicu društva i spriječene da u njemu u potpunosti učestvuju, uslijed njihovog siromaštva, nedovoljnog nivoa obrazovanja, životnih vještina ili kao rezultat diskriminacije. Ovo ih udaljava od mogućnosti zaposlenja, zarade i obrazovanja kao i od uspostavljanja socijalnih i društvenih mreža i aktivnosti. Ovakve grupe imaju nedovoljno pristupa tijelima moći koji su donosioci odluka te se stoga često osjećaju bezmoćno ali i nesposobno da vrše kontrolu nad odlukama koje utiču na njihov svakodnevni život.

Socijalna uključenost – Socijalna uključenost je proces koji osigurava da oni koji žive u riziku od siromaštva i socijalne isključenosti dobiju mogućnost i potrebne resurse da u potpunosti učestvuju u ekonomskom, socijalnom i kulturnom životu i da uživaju u životnom standardu koji se smatra normalan i prihvatljiv za zajednicu u kojoj žive. To osigurava da isto tako imaju i veće učešće u procesu donošenja odluka koje utiču na njihov život.

3. Ključni izazovi
4. Politički izazovi
5. Promovisanje ravnopravnosti spolova
6. Statistički sistemi i indikatori
7. Podrška kroz IPA fondove (predpristupne instrumente)
8. Zaključci.

DEP, koji koordinira pripremu oba razvojna dokumenta (CDS i SSU), istovremeno treba također uzeti u obzir i vrijednosti promovisane kroz *Otvoreni metod koordinacije* kao osnovni princip saradnje između EU i zemalja članica i onih koje to žele biti. Takav pristup omogućava da se, uzimajući u obzir ekonomsku situaciju i ekonomske mogućnosti zemlje, glavni problemi i ciljevi socijalne politike stave u širi regionalni kontekst, a na nivou BiH obezbijedi konzistentan i efikasan pristup raspodjeli limitiranih resursa za provedbu neophodnih reformskih procesa sa aspekta socijalne uključenosti.

Glavni akteri u procesu pripreme SSU-a su:

- Relevantne vladine institucije na svim nivoima vlasti
- Pružaoci usluga iz javnog sektora
- Socijalni partneri
- Organizacije civilnog društva
- Predstavnici ugroženih i isključenih kategorija.

Najznačajni koraci u procesu pripreme tih strateških dokumenata su:

1. Priprema opšte situacione analize sa prijedlogom radnih ciljeva i prioriteta,
2. SWOT analiza,
3. Priprema scenarija (optimistični, pesimistični, reformski),
4. Detaljna situaciona analiza neophodna za definisanje strateških ciljeva i prioriteta,
5. „Benchmarking“ (testiranje performansi) i definisanje indikatora monitoringa,
6. Obezbeđivanje participativnosti i transparentnosti procesa (Konferencija, vizioniranja, javne rasprave),
7. Uspostavljenje radnih grupa za pripremu CDS-a i SSU-a (predstavnici vladinih institucija, civilnog društva, donatorske zajednice),
8. Priprema prve verzije razvojnih CDS-a i SSU-a,
9. Ex-ante evaluacija,
10. Javna rasprava,
11. Priprema konačne verzije strateških dokumenata,
12. Definisanje modela monitoringa i evaluacije,
13. Proces usvajanja na Vijeću ministara BiH, entitetskim vladama i Vladi Brčko distrikta BiH kao i obezbeđivanje podrške od strane Parlamentarne skupštine BiH.

Da bi proces pripreme strateških dokumenata bio participativan i mogao biti adekvatno implementiran mora uključiti sve navedene korake. Uloga Situacione analize je da definiše trenutno stanje u socio-ekonomskim sektorima i da se na osnovu definisanog stanja i definisanih razvojnih potreba za planski period obezbijedi definisanje tzv. „radnih ciljeva“ ciljeva strateških dokumenata. Ti ciljevi služe kao osnova za dalji rad na razvojnim dokumentima. Radni ciljevi trebaju dalju provjeru i dublji analitički pristup što se radi

putem SWOT analize. Rezultat SWOT procesa i benchmarking-a treba da daju jasan pogled na stanje u određenim oblastima i pozicioniranje BiH u europskom i regionalnom kontekstu sagledavanjem prednosti, slabosti, mogućnosti i prijetnji realizaciji postavljenih radnih ciljeva. Paralelno sa SWOT analizom radi se izrada scenarija razvoja (pesimističnog, optimističnog i realističnog). Rezultat ovog analitičkog procesa treba da omogući korekciju radnih ciljeva, obezbijedi preduslove za definisanje realnih *strateških ciljeva* koji su osnova na kojem se gradi određena strategija. Rezultati ovog analitičkog procesa će također poslužiti za artikulisanje politika koji treba da ojačaju poziciju zemlje za realizaciju definisanih ciljeva razvoja.

Participativni pristup je veliki izazov i ambiciozan zadatak ,koji je zahtijevao uključenost svih relevantnih aktera društva u proces pripreme strateških dokumenta. U tom pogledu potrebno je obezbijediti široko zasnovanu javnu raspravu, ali i učešće socijalnih partnera u procesu pripreme strateških dokumenta.

Ex ante evaluacija je analitički proces koji nam daje procjene o mogućnosti implementacije strateškog dokumenta, kao i procjenu efekata ili povrata investiranog novca u određene procese. Obzirom da određeni parametri u toku evaluacije nisu poznati oni se predpostavljaju. Ova vrsta evaluacije je bitna jer daje uvid u mogućnost implementacije planiranih reformskih procesa i treba se raditi poslije pripreme prve verzije dokumenta. Kako je SSU složen i slojevit dokument definisan na nivou zemlje, a implementacija mjera iz akcionog plana tog dokumenta će se, zbog administrativne strukture BiH, vršiti na entitetskom i nižim nivoima bilo bi nerealno očekivati da se *ex ante* evaluacija, u raspoloživom vremenskom roku za pripremu Strategije, može uraditi za cijeli dokument. Zbog toga je u praksi realno uraditi opštu ocjenu dokumenta i izabrati određeni ključni segment ili segmente za koje će se uraditi *ex ante* evaluacija.

Ovako proveden analitički proces u sljedećim fazama pripreme SSU-a treba poslužiti kao osnova radnim grupama prilikom definisanja realnih ključnih reformskih mjera, termina i budžetskih planova za njihovu implementaciju.

3. CILJEVI STRATEGIJE SOCIJALNE UKLJUČENOSTI

Bosna i Hercegovina je do sada definisala radne ciljeve SSU-a, a analitički proces kojim se treba izvršiti definisanje strateških ciljeva je u završnoj fazi. Prema dosadašnjim analizama, radni ciljevi su dobro definisani i prilikom definisanja strateških ciljeva neće pretrpjeti značajne izmjene. Također je vidljivo da je broj definisanih radnih prioriteta za neke ciljeve prevelik i u tom dijelu očekuju se promjene. Definisani radni ciljevi SSU-a su⁶:

1. Poboljšati penzionu politiku,
2. Poboljšati zaštitu porodica sa djecom,
3. Poboljšati zdravstvenu zaštitu,
4. Poboljšati obrazovanje,

⁶ Radni ciljevi definisani su u dokumentu Situacione analize za Strategiju razvoja BiH 2008.-2013. i Strategiju socijalne uključenosti. Dokument pripremljen od strane DEP i LSE koja je davala stručnu podršku DEP-u.

5. Poboljšati zaštitu osoba sa invaliditetom,
6. Zapošljavanje i socijalne politike.

3.1. Poboljšati penzionu politiku⁷

Starija populacija (+65) u BiH učestvuje u oko 15% stanovništva, a udio žena je nešto veći nego muškaraca. Postoji razlika i u geografskom području, u Republici Srpskoj je skoro 5% veći udio starih u populaciji u odnosu na Federaciju BiH. Prema podacima UNDP-a u BiH u 2005. godini je bilo 13,7% osoba preko 65 godina, a procjenjuje se da će ih u 2015. godini biti 16,3%.

Penzioni sistem je instrument koji garantuje socijalna prava građanima. Sva prava korisnika penzija i osiguranika su određena Zakonom o penzijsko-invalidskom osiguranju. Penzionim sistemom u BiH⁸ su pokrivena sva lica koja su bila u radnom odnosu. Penzioni sistem u BiH se sastoji od dva penziona sistema, zasnivajući se na tri tipa penzija: starosna penzija, invalidska penzija, „survivor“ penzija, a osigurava se kroz jednostavan sistem doprinosa. Ukupan broj penzionera je 508.000 što čini 13% ukupne populacije. Međutim polovina populacije iznad starosne dobi 65 (ruralno stanovništvo, samozaposleni sa niskim primanjima, žene) su isključeni iz penzionog osiguranja. Odnos radnika i penzionera u BiH 1:1,29.

Oko 60% ukupnih penzionih naknada obezbjeđuje Federacija, a oko 40% Republika Srpska. Udio penzionera u ukupnom stanovništvu je isti u oba entiteta – jedna osmina (12,5%) ukupne populacije. Razlike u penzijama po pitanju različitih tipova penzija su beznačajne. Udio korisnika starosnih penzija je neznatno iznad 41%, a udio korisnika prava na porodične penzije je neznatno niži od 40%.

Tri zajednička glavna cilja koja se odnose na obezbjeđenje penzija kao dijela socijalnog sistema su:

- Finansijska održivost penzionog sistema,
- Osiguranje odgovarajućeg nivoa penzija i
- Modernizacija penzionog sistema.

U odnosu na te ciljeve bosansko-hercegovački penzioni sistem zadovoljava prvi cilj – solventan je. Sistem penzijskog i invalidskog osiguranja, kako FBiH tako i RS, organiziran je u skladu sa načelom međugeneracijske solidarnosti, te pripada sistemima koji se nazivaju PAYG (Pay As You Go – u slobodnom prijevodu „tekuće finansiranje“). Finansiranje sistema se odvija putem obaveznih doprinosa za socijalno osiguranje, koji su proporcionalni platnoj osnovici. Entitetskim zakonima o penzionom/penzijskom i invalidskom osiguranju utvrđeno je da se iz doprinosa na ovo osiguranje izdvaja je u FBiH 24% na bruto plaću (iz plaće 17% i na plaću 7%) a u RS-oj 24% na neto plaću. Finansijska održivost penzionog sistema je postignuta time što je Zakon o penzijsko-invalidskom osiguranju vezao isplatu penzija sa raspoloživim sredstvima. Međutim i taj sistem može postati manje održiv u slučaju rasta plata i dohodaka, ukoliko broj aktivnih osiguranika ostane isti a broj penzionera se poveća.

⁷ Za razradu ciljeva SSU-a (3.1-3.6) korišteni podaci iz produbljenih analiza urađenih na osnovu SWOT radionica u FBiH.

⁸ UNDP: Pension Reform and Social Protection System in BiH.

Obzirom na globalnu ekonomsku krizu ovo je velika i realna prijetnja jer postoji opravdana bojazan da će se broj uposlenih smanjiti i da će pritisak na penzionni sistem porasti. Pored toga ono što također može narušiti održivost sistema je starenje populacije koje je evidentno i u BiH.

Što se tiče nivoa penzija, ekonomska i finansijska situacija u BiH je takva da su primanja po osnovu penzionih prava u apsolutnom i relativnom iznosu vrlo niska. Tako su mnogi primaoci beneficija iz penzionog osiguranja ugroženi siromaštvom i velika je vjerovatnoća da žive u siromaštvu. Pored tih primalaca, postoji veliki broj stanovnika koji nemaju zaposlenje ili drugi vid prihoda (iz socijalnog sistema po osnovu naknade za nezaposlenost ili nekog drugog vida primanja). Problem penzija u BiH ne može se odvojiti od problema siromaštva ili obrnuto – problem siromaštva se ne može rješavati bez rješavanja problema u penzionom sistemu.

Tabela 1. Prosječna penzija⁹ za 2007 i 2008 godinu u BiH

	2007	2008
Federacija BiH	284 KM	334 KM
Republika Srpska	230 KM	281 KM
Brčko distrikt BiH	244 KM	298 KM

Što se tiče trećeg cilja – modernizacije, ovakav sistem je teško prihvatljiv zbog njegovog sadašnjeg fiskalnog opterećenja i slabe perspektive nivoa beneficija koje će sistem u budućnosti biti u stanju da obezbijedi. To je jedan od glavnih razloga zašto modernizacija bosansko-hercegovačkog penzionog sistema mora biti provedena. Reformski procesi u toj oblasti su već počeli i definisani su kriteriji za ocjenjivanje prihvatljivosti reforme penzionog sistema kao i sljedeća ograničenja koja treba imati u vidu:

1. Promjene ne smiju pogoršati javno-finansijsku situaciju i moraju biti dugoročno održive,
2. Prava koja su već stečena ne smiju se mijenjati tako da njihov finansijski iznos bude manji,
3. Prava i novi ili reformisani pravni instituti moraju imati isto jemstvo kao i dosadašnji,
4. Sve promjene bi se morale uvoditi paralelno u oba entiteta, ili bi se morao iznaći drugi način da se reformom izbjegne dalje razjedinjavanje penzionih sistema u BiH.
5. Zakonska regulativa BiH bi morala sprečiti postojeću diskriminaciju korisnika.

Opcije za *reformu* su:

- uvesti dodatno osiguranje, obavezno ili dobrovoljno, kolektivno i/ili individualno,
- mogućnost uvođenja 3 stuba kao u zemljama regiona,
- sprovesti reformu nad institucijama penzionog sistema,
- razmotriti opciju uvođenja penzionog sistema na nivou BiH.

Iz ovog kratkog pregleda trenutnog stanja u ovoj oblasti kao i kriterija i smjernica za buduću reformu vidljivo je da će reforma penzionog sistema biti težak i zahtjevan proces.

⁹ Podaci iz PiO/MiO FBiH i RS

3.2. Poboljšati zaštitu porodica sa djecom

Djeca u BiH čine jednu trećinu ukupnog stanovništva, a prema podacima UNICEF-a, u 2006. godini trenutno stanje djece u BiH je slijedeće:

- Jedna petina djece nije u potpunosti vakcinisana;
- Samo otprilike 5% dojenčadi od 0 do 3 mjeseci života isključivo se hrane dojenjem;
- Prilike za obrazovni razvoj u ranom djetinjstvu u porodicama koje su prošle obuku u oblasti roditeljstva i vještina povezanih s roditeljstvom ili kroz predškolsko obrazovanje, ograničene su, posebno u ruralnim područjima;
- 90% romske djece nema zdravstveno osiguranje, a ni djeca nezaposlenih roditelja ili onih koji rade bez beneficija, takođe nisu pokrivena osiguranjem, te ih efektivno isključuje iz sistema zdravstvene zaštite;
- Procjenjuje se da 50% interno raseljenih lica i povratnika još uvijek plaćaju zdravstvene usluge za svoju djecu.

Ovaj cilj koji se odnosi na zaštitu djece i porodica sa djecom stavlja zaštitu djece u kontekst ukupnih planova razvoja i socijalnog uključenja u BiH. Dokument uspostavlja paralelu između politika usmjerenih na smanjenje siromaštva, politika za siromašne (kako su definirane u Milenijumskoj deklaraciji i Srednjoročnoj razvojnoj strategiji BiH), i definicija socijalne zaštite i socijalne inkluzije kako ih je definirala Evropska Unija. Pozivajući se na Konvenciju o pravima djeteta (CRC) i globalni program ljudskih prava, SSU posmatra djecu i porodice kao primarne nositelje prava u oblasti socijalne zaštite, a kroz principe odgovornosti države, operativne mehanizme rukovođenja i vlasti iste uspostavlja kao nosioce dužnosti. Također uključuje i osnovne faktore socijalnog isključenja i ugroženosti djece, širi okvir socijalne zaštite i njegovu reformu, uključujući finansijske, administrativne, institucionalne i aspekte politika djelovanja u procesu reforme.

Prilikom uspostavljanja koncepta dječje/socijalne zaštite, potrebno je razumjeti osnovne pokazatelje dječije dobrobiti, ključne faktore koji doprinose dobrobiti djece kao i specifičnu ovisnost djece o odgovornostima roditelja i države naročito u oblastima socijalne pomoći, zdravstva i obrazovanja. Također se ispituju i okviri monitoringa i evaluacije, uključujući monitoring i definisanje vulnerabilnih grupa na principima i indikatorima CRC.

Pristup zasnovan na ljudskim pravima koristi se da bi se odredile funkcije, kompetencije, uloge i odgovornosti u osnovnim sektorima socijalne zaštite, kao i u širem kontekstu društvenih politika. Ovaj pristup omogućava da se utvrde slabosti i jazovi koji postoje u sistemu.

Dosadašnji analitički proces tokom pripreme SSU-a, u oblasti zaštite djece i porodica sa djecom, ukazao je na *tri ključna prioriteta* koji impliciraju potrebu za kratkoročnim i srednjoročnim mjerama:

1. Ojačati status porodica sa djecom koje žive iznad linije siromaštva kako bi se spriječio njihov pad ispod linije siromaštva;
2. Razviti programe socio-ekonomske podrške kako bi se porodice u stanju socijalne ili ekonomske isključenosti uključile u socio-ekonomske tokove u BiH;

3. Ostvariti dugoročne pretpostavke za promociju rasta nataliteta kroz osmišljavanje programa koji će pratiti razvoj, osposobljavanje mladih (od rane adolescencije) kako bi bili u socio-ekonomskoj mogućnosti za roditeljstvo.

3.3. Poboljšati zdravstvenu zaštitu

Uživanje najvećeg mogućeg standarda zdravlja jedno je od fundamentalnih prava svakog čovjeka bez obzira na rasu, religiju, političko vjerovanje, ekonomske i socijalne uvjete¹⁰. Svjetska zdravstvena Organizacija (SZO) definira zdravlje kao fizičko, mentalno i socijalno blagostanje, a ne samo odsustvo bolesti. Pojam „zdravlja“ značajno prevazilazi okvire zdravstvenog sektora, jer njegove glavne determinante kao što su starost, spol i nasljeđivanje koreliraju sa uvjetima življenja, faktorima okoliša, stilovima života, socio-ekonomskim faktorima, faktorima vezanim za odgoj, obrazovanje i kulturu, te funkcioniranje sistema zdravstvene i socijalne zaštite. Zdravlje je rezultat aktivnosti koje uključuju mnoge sektore društva, kao i populaciju u cjelini, kroz individualne i kolektivne odluke i akcije. Interesantno je uočiti da se direktni doprinos medicinskih usluga, u smislu poboljšanja zdravlja stanovništva, procjenjuje na svega 10%, dok je ostalih 90% rezultat drugih procesa¹¹, pa je saradnja između sektora zdravstva i ostalih sektora veoma bitna. Prema Ottawskoj deklaraciji, a s ciljem osiguranja zdravlja stanovništva, u obzir treba uzeti sljedećih pet područja: kvalitetne javne politike, okruženje, aktivnosti zajednice, unapređenje znanja i vještina pojedinca u oblasti javnog zdravstva i preusmjeravanje zdravstvene službe.¹²

Povezanost između zdravlja, obrazovanja i životnog standarda je očigledna. Siromaštvo i socijalna isključenost rezultiraju težim pristupima zdravstvenim uslugama i posebno visokom stopom smrtnosti djece. Na osnovu ovoga, SZO naročito insistira da se zdravstvena politika usmjeri na smanjenje isključenosti, neravnopravnosti u zdravlju i zdravstvenoj zaštiti između regija unutar zemlje, kao i između različitih socijalnih grupa. Za jednakost i ujednačenost, tri sljedeće komponente su bitne u BiH:

- Jednakost zdravstvenog stanja svih socijalnih grupa stanovništva;
- Jednakost u finansiranju zdravstvene zaštite u skladu sa potrebama, kako regionalno tako i unutar određenih socijalnih grupa;
- Jednakost u smislu pristupa i dostupnosti usluga zdravstvenih ustanova, kako geografska tako i u smislu jednako dostupnih svim ranjivim grupama.

Sistem zdravstvene zaštite se ne može posmatrati izolovano od konteksta u kojem je smješten kao što su demografsko, ekonomsko, političko, zakonsko i regulatorno, epidemiološko, socio-kulturološko, ekološko i tehnološko okruženje. Kako svaka zemlja i svaki zdravstveni

¹⁰ Constitution of the World Health Organization – 1948

¹¹ Dahlgren G., The Need for Intersectoral Action for Health. The European Health Policy Conference: Opportunities for the Future – Potreba međuresornog djelovanja u svrhu zdravstvene zaštite. Evropska konferencija o zdravstvenoj politici, WHO Regional Office for Europe – Regionalni ured WHO za Evropu, Kopenhagen, 5-9. decembra 1994., str. 18

¹² (WHO, European Health Care Reform. Analysis of Current Strategies. WHO Regional Publication, European Series, No. 72 -Evropska reforma zdravstvene zaštite. Analiza postojećih strategija. Regionalna publikacija za Evropu broj 72, Kopenhagen, 1997.

sistem imaju sopstvenu istoriju koja utječe na putanju razvoja sistema, analizom konteksta se utvrđuje i politička ekonomija zdravstvenog sistema, koja utiče i na broj osoba koje su zdravstveno osigurane.

Tabela 2. Proporcija stanovništva pokrivenih javnim zdravstvenim osiguranjem¹³

ZEMLJE	2005	2006	2007	Index (94%=100)
BiH	n.a	81%	n.a	86,29
Hrvatska	n.a	n.a	97,93%	104,32
Makedonija	n.a	n.a	92,7	98,75
Bugarska	n.a	n.a	92%	98,01
Rumunija	84% ž; 80% m	n.a	n.a	88,42
Mađarska	100	n.a	n.a	106,53
Slovačka	97,6	n.a	n.a	103,97
EU-27	n.a	n.a	n.a	-

Tabela 3. Ukupna potrošnja na zdravstvo po glavi stanovnika (US\$ PPP)

ZEMLJE	2005	Index (878\$=100)
BiH	779	88,69
Hrvatska	1001	113,97
Makedonija	569	64,78
Bugarska	734	83,57
Rumunija	507	57,72
Mađarska	1329	151,31
Slovačka	1130	128,65
EU-27	2468	280,99

Iz navedenih podataka je evidentno da je situacija u zdravstvenoj zaštiti u BiH nezadovoljavajuća kako u samoj zemlji tako i pri regionalnoj usporedbi. Dole navedene *mjere*, koje su rezultat dosadašnjeg analitičkog procesa u pripremi SSU-e, trebaju biti uzete u razmatranje prilikom definisanja prioriteta u ovoj oblasti jer bi njihova provedba obezbijedila prevazilaženju slabosti evidentiranih u zdravstvenom sistemu:

- Povećati obuhvat stanovništva zdravstvenim osiguranjem;
- Poboljšati pravičnost u financiranju zdravstvene zaštite;
- Uspostaviti mehanizme prenosa prava po osnovu zdravstvenog osiguranja između kantona u Federaciji BiH i između entiteta;
- Osigurati dodatne izvore financiranja zdravstvene zaštite;
- Nastaviti aktivnosti na usvajanju osnovnog paketa zdravstvenih prava;
- Uspostaviti prošireno i dobrovoljno zdravstveno osiguranje;

¹³ Za tabelu 2. korišten je Zajednički dogovoren indikator za državni nivo, a za tabelu 3. Zajednički dogovoren indikator za državni nivo + Sveobuhvatni indikator

- Uvesti nove načine ugovaranja i plaćanja zdravstvenih usluga;
- Nastaviti aktivnosti na unapređenju primarne zdravstvene zaštite;
- Definirati mrežu zdravstvenih ustanova, vodeći računa o specifičnostima svakog entiteta, kantona/regije, a u cilju poboljšanja jednakosti, kao i dostupnosti, zdravstvene zaštite;
- Jačati preventivno-promotivne aktivnosti;
- Usklađivanje zakonodavnog okvira sa propisima EU;
- Uspostaviti efikasno upravljanje u zdravstvu;
- Uspostaviti mehanizme planiranja zdravstvenog kadra u skladu sa potrebama zdravstvenog sistema i reformskim opredjeljenjima;
- Promovirati i jačati multisektorsku odgovornost za zdravlje;
- Uspostaviti prikupljanje podataka iz oblasti zdravstva na državnom nivou i poboljšati prikupljanje podataka na entitetskim i nižim nivoima;
- Provoditi mjere protiv korupcije u zdravstvu.

3.4 Poboljšati obrazovanje

Tri glavna stuba na koja se globalizacija, kao osnova savremenog ekonomskog razvoja, oslanja su informacija, znanje i inovacija. Razvoj ljudskih potencijala i reorganizovanje obrazovanja da bi se zadovoljili zahtjevi društva, znanja postaju neophodni uslovi za svaku naciju u ili državu koja želi da se nosi sa ekonomskom nesigurnošću, tehničkim inovacijama i kulturološkom promjenom.

Osnovni temelji globalnog razvoja i pristupa obrazovanju, koji služi kao osnova svim zemljama svijeta, definisani su Milenijumskim razvojnim ciljevima (Millenium Development Goals-MDGs). U ovom dokumentu je pristup obrazovanju doveden u direktnu korelaciju sa siromaštvom i sveukupnim razvojem. Ujedinjene Nacije su prezentirale Akcioni plan za dostizanje MDGs, čime je definisana globalna strategija u ovoj oblasti.

Obzirom da je BiH opredjeljenja za članstvo u EU potrebno je naglasiti i da je EU odlučila da postane „najkonkurentnija i najdinamičnija privreda zasnovana na znanju u svijetu, koja je u stanju da održivo ekonomski raste sa većim brojem i boljim radnim mjestima i većom društvenom kohezijom“. Dostizanje ovog ambicioznog cilja traži „ne samo radikalnu transformaciju evropske ekonomije, nego i izazovne programe za modernizaciju sistema društvene skrbi i obrazovanja“.

Nije pretjerano reći da će država biti uspješna, stabilna i složna samo onoliko koliko su to i njene škole i druge obrazovne institucije. Ako učenici i studenti, budući građani, steknu obrazovanje kojim se promovira tolerancija, uvažavanje složenih evropskih identiteta i građanskog učešća u društvenom i javnom životu, kao i svijest o potrebi doživotnog učenja, BiH će imati daleko veće šanse da ojača u ekonomskom i demokratskom pogledu. Svjesna činjenice da je najbolji i najsigurniji način izlaska iz socio-ekonomske krize upravo obrazovanje, BiH je u svojim razvojnim reformama definisala obrazovanje kao jedan od ključnih cilljeva.

Tabela 4. Stanje u obrazovanju u Bosni i Hercegovini¹⁴

Predškolski odgoj i obrazovanje	Šk. 2005. god.	Šk. 2006. god.
Ukupan broj predškolskih ustanova	193	197
Ukupan broj djece	12.989	13.384
Ukupan broj djevojčica	6.112	6.299
Redovno osnovno obrazovanje	Šk. 2005. god.	Šk. 2006. god.
Ukupan broj škola (osmogodišnje i devetogodišnje)	1.887	1.888
Ukupan broj učenika	380.696	374.725
Ukupan broj učenica od ukupnog broja učenika	184.872	182.319
Osnovno obrazovanje za djecu s posebnim obrazovnim potrebama	Šk. 2005. god.	Šk. 2006. god.
Ukupan broj škola za djecu sa posebnim potrebama	66	64
Ukupan broj učenika	1.370	1.261
Ukupan broj učenica od ukupnog broja učenika	580	498
Srednje obrazovanje	Šk. 2005. god.	Šk. 2006. god.
Ukupan broj srednjih škola	303	304
Ukupan broj učenika	164.743	162.434
Broj učenica	81.985	80.976
Broj učenika koji je završio srednju školu	44.773	43.363
Visoko obrazovanje	Šk. 2005. god.	Šk. 2006. god.
Broj visokoškolskih ustanova	113	137
Ukupan broj studenata	84.475	91.201
Broj upisanih redovnih studenata	62.233	66.939
Broj upisanih vanrednih studenata	22.242	24.262
Broj studenata koji su završili studij	8.127	10.003

Primarni cilj obrazovne reforme u BiH se može sažeti u dvije riječi: *kvalitet i modernizacija*. Nažalost, dosadašnje reforme obrazovnog sistema u BiH nisu dale očekivane rezultate jer se odvojeni obrazovni sistemi zasnivaju na političkoj ili vjerskoj/kulturalnoj podjeli, promovirajući etničko razdvajanje i nepovjerenje. Kao rezultat komplikovane administrativne strukture koju je uspostavio Dejtonski mirovni sporazum, obrazovni sistemi, kao uostalom i drugi društveni sektori, pod nadležnošću su 13 ministarstava a svako od njih ima svoje odvojene legislativne i izvršne uloge kao i neuravnotežene budžete. Ovakva administrativna struktura odrazila se i na brzinu i kvalitet reformi u obrazovanju. Reforme su nedopustivo spore i neujednačene kako po obrazovnim nivoima tako i po kvalitetu. Da bi se napravio brži i značajniji pomak u ovoj oblasti pretpostavke su stalno naglašavanje društvene i ekonomske dimenzije obrazovanja kao najisplativije investicije; unaprijeđenje, prilagodljivost i fleksibilnost obrazovnog sistema, njegovu prohodnost i osiguranje kvaliteta, po ugledu na dobre prakse u zemljama Evropske unije; implementacija načela cjeloživotnog učenja. Pored ključnog zahtjeva – *ubrzati reformske procese* – do sada definisane *preporuke specifičnih prioriteta* i prioriternih aktivnosti SSU-a za postizanje navedenih vrijednosti u obrazovanju su:

¹⁴ Statistički izvještaj Agencije za statistiku BiH (Statistika obrazovanja, Saopćenje br. 1/2007).

- Obezbijediti sve potrebne preduslove za podizanje opšteg obrazovnog nivoa, kao i za edukaciju i obuku u oblasti ključnih kompetencija;
- Restruktuisati obrazovni sistem kako bi se sačuvali resursi koji će biti direktno iskorišteni za reformu i prevazilaženje loših rezultata obrazovanja;
- Poboljšati efikasnost obrazovnog sistema na svim nivoima;
- U srednjem obrazovanju, „odmaći se“ posebno od trogodišnjih usmjerenih programa;
- Povećati školarinu za studente što bi trebalo povećati sredstva za visoko obrazovanje i uticati na efikasnost studiranja;
- Povećati kvalitet primarnog i sekundarnog obrazovanja;
- Implementirati mjere koje će poboljšati uslove studiranja i brzinu završavanja fakulteta;
- Podići nivo svijesti o potrebi cjeloživotnog učenja kao preduslova za zapošljavanje i zadržavanje posla;
- Reformisati javnu upravu;
- Razvijati statistiku obrazovanja u BiH u skladu sa procedurama i zahtjevima EUROSTAT-a.

3.5. Poboljšati zaštitu osoba sa invaliditetom

Jedna od grupa u BiH društvu koja je dodatno pogođena siromaštvom i socijalnom isključenošću su *osobe sa invaliditetom* (OSI). Detaljna analiza¹⁵ je utvrdila da u BiH invaliditet povećava mogućnost postanka siromašnim za 18% i da su, u poređenju sa ostatak populacije, izdvajanja osoba sa invaliditetom za zdravstvenu njegu veća i češća, mobilnost i transport je mnogo više otežan, pismenost niža usljed smanjenog pristupa obrazovanju, a zapošljavanje otežano iz niza razloga. U BiH je prisutan i visok stepen diskriminacije kako među pojedinim grupama osoba sa invaliditetom, tako i između osoba sa invaliditetom svih uzrasta i ostatka populacije. Dakle, invalidnost predstavlja snažan određujući faktor siromaštva i socijalne isključenosti. Pozitivni primjeri mnogih zemalja EU (posebno skandinavskih zemalja i Slovenije) upućuje na sistematsku implementaciju mjera, institucija za koordinaciju i mehanizama koji su u svojoj suštini multisektorski i usmjereni ka aktiviranju, a ne zbrinjavanju.

Iskustva EU u pogledu legislative i prakse u oblasti invalidnosti od velikog su značaja za BiH. Odgovornost i obaveza zemlje članice leži u prilagođavanju domaćeg zakonodavstva. BiH teži da ispuni sve zahtjeve koje EU postavlja u ovoj oblasti i obavezu da se ponaša u skladu sa najvažnijim direktivama u ovoj oblasti. U skladu sa tom težnjom i jednim od ključnih prioriteta bosanskohercegovačkih vlasti, koji se odnosi na stav da se ekonomski rast učini korisnim grupama koje su u riziku od siromaštva te da se marginaliziranim grupama omogućiti da aktivno učestvuju u socio-ekonomskom razvoju, Vijeće Ministara BiH je, 08.05.2008. godine, usvojilo Politiku u oblasti invalidnosti u BiH i podržalo njen pristup izjednačavanja mogućnosti osoba sa invaliditetom. Izjednačavanje mogućnosti osoba sa invaliditetom označava proces kojim različiti sistemi društva i okoline (kao što su službe, djelatnosti, informisanje i dokumentacija) postaju dostupni svima, posebno osobama sa

¹⁵ Procjene analize koju je Svjetska Banka radila za BiH na osnovu LSMS rezultata za 2001. g. „Invalidi i siromaštvo: rezultati bazirani na istraživanju o mjerjenju životnog standarda u BiH“, S. Tsurunyan, WB, prezentovano 2005.

invaliditetom. Cilj Politike u oblasti invalidnosti Bosne i Hercegovine je da omogući svim osobama sa invaliditetom da dostignu najviši kvalitet životnog potencijala, poštivanja i digniteta, nezavisnosti, produktivnosti i jednakog učešća u društvu u produktivnom i što pristupačnijem okruženju.

U 2007.g. prema procjenama iz evidencije resornih entitetskih ministarstava, navedeni su sljedeći podaci o broju osoba sa invaliditetom¹⁶:

- **Broj ratnih vojnih invalida:** u FBiH 45.327 lica; u RS 38.246 lica.
- **Broj civilnih žrtava rata:** u FBiH je uvedeno u pravo ukupno 9.298 korisnika i to 4.197 korisnika osobne invalidnine, 325 korisnika osobnog novčanog primanja (silovane i seksualno zlostavljane osobe) i 4.776 korisnika obiteljske invalidnine; u RS 1.858 lica.
- **Broj civilnih invalida:** u FBiH ukupno uvedeno u pravo 36.516 korisnika; u RS 24.400 lica.
- Udruženja osoba sa invaliditetom u BiH cijene da je broj osoba sa invaliditetom u novembru 2007.g. iznosio 165.000 te da se taj broj u 2008.g. zbog proširenih zakonskih mogućnosti (posebno u FBiH) za proširenje broja korisnika, povećao na oko 250.000.

Po pitanju ekonomskog položaja osoba sa invaliditetom ili domaćinstava gdje žive OSI rezultati ukazuju na činjenicu da invalidnost veoma snažno utiče na njihov ekonomski položaj¹⁷:

Tabela 5. Stanje siromaštva u domaćinstvima sa osobama sa invaliditetom i ostalim domaćinstvima

LSMS 2001	Domaćinstva sa članovima OSI	Ostatak domaćinstava
Stanje siromaštva	23%	19%
Dubina siromaštva	5,9%	4,3%
Pad siromaštva	26%	23%

U Srednjoročnom okviru rashoda za period 2006.-2008., ukupna konsolidovana izdvajanja za socijalnu brigu i zaštitu u 2007.g. u FBiH su bila predviđena u iznosu od 1.565.100 KM ili 14,1% BDP-a, a za 2008. g. 1.682.500 KM. Budžetsko ograničenje na potrošnju na socijalnu zaštitu iz budžeta FBiH postavljeno je u 2006. godini na 446,5 mil. KM, što predstavlja povećanje od 31,5% u odnosu na 2005, a rezultat je uvođenja naknada za dječiji doplatk, naknada za civilne žrtve rata, neratne invalide i nosioce posebnih ratnih odlikovanja.

Izdvajanja u socijalnom sektoru u Republici Srpskoj, izražena u % BDP-a, niža su od regionalnog prosjeka s tim da penzije predstavljaju skoro pola izdvajanja. dok izdvajanja za veterane predstavljaju većinu preostalih izdvajanja. Transferi osobama uključuju transfere vojnicima i ratnim veteranima sa namjenskim izdvajanjima za njihove porodice, transfere civilnim invalidima kao i transfere izbjeglicama i raseljenim osobama. U periodu 2006.-2008.

¹⁶ Projekat "Podrška razvoju Politike u oblasti invalidnosti", Ministarstvo vanjskih poslova BiH i Ministarstvo vanjskih poslova Republike Finske, „Godišnji Izvještaj 2007.“, str. 21

¹⁷ "Invalidnosti i siromaštvo u BiH", Svjetska Banka i I.C "Lotos", 2006. Korišteni su podaci iz LSMS 2001.

godine, projekcije za ove transfere su se kretale od 136,6 miliona KM, odnosno 9,7% ukupnog budžetskog okvira ili 3% BDP-a u 2006., do 132,6 miliona KM, odnosno 8,6% ukupnog budžetskog okvira, ili 2,6% BDP-a u 2008. g. Izdvajanja u RS-u u ovu svrhu imaju silazni trend u apsolutnom iznosu, što je posljedica smanjenja transfera za izbjeglice i raseljene osobe.

Do sada registrovane osnovne slabosti u oblasti zaštite osoba sa invaliditetom su:

1. Zakonski okvir se nedovoljno primjenjuje i prava OSI su neujednačena,
2. Procjena stepena invalidnosti je neujednačena,
3. Različitost u prisustvu obzirom na porijeklo invalidnosti,
4. Programi i budžeti vlada nisu senzitivni na potrebe OSI,
5. Nesenzibilnost društva i pružaoca usluga,
6. Nedostatak gender senzitivnih indikatora i baza podataka,
7. Neuređen obrazovni sistem i nedostatak obrazovnih programa za OSI,
8. Nedostatak novih tehnologija i znanja u procesu obrazovanja OSI,
9. Nedostatak odgovarajućih službi podrške,
10. Neodgovarajuća zastupljenost OSI u institucijama vlasti,
11. Slaba koordinacija različitih aktera,
12. Neujednačeni kapaciteti krovnih i lokalnih organizacija osoba sa invaliditetom (OOSI),
13. Svrstavanje prava OSI samo u socijalne kategorije,

Usaglašene su *mjere* čija bi implementacija mogla pozitivno uticati na poboljšanje socijalne uključenosti osoba sa invaliditetom u BiH. Broj usaglašanih mjera je veliki, ali se mogu grupisati u sljedeće kategorije kojima će se u SSU-u posvetiti potrebna pažnja:

- Unapređenje procesa otkrivanja, registracije i evidencije,
- Realokacija novčanih sredstava i nadoknada,
- Povećanje zapošljavanja osoba sa invaliditetom,
- Unapređenje inkluzije osoba sa invaliditetom,
- Socijalna i zdravstvena zaštita.

3.6. Zapošljavanje i socijalne politike

Svjetski Ekonomski Forum (World Economic Forum-WEF) je u publikaciji „Lisbon Review 2008“ objavio indeks po kojem je rangirao zemlje članice EU kao i zemlje Zapadnog Balkana i Centralne Azije u pogledu 8 indeksa po kojim se mjeri uspješnost zemlje u ostvarenju Lisabonskih ciljeva. Među starim EU članicama najbolje rezultate (ali svakako i posmatrano sa nivoa EU27) ubjedljivo u oblasti socijalne inkluzije pokazuju skandinavske zemlje, Danska, Finska i Švedska dok su najlošije Italija (Rang 25 od ukupno 27) i Grčka. Od novih članica najbolje rezultate su pokazale Kipar (Rang 8), Malta (Rang 11), Češka R. (Rang 12) i Slovenija (Rang 16).

Međutim, kako bi shvatili koliko daleko je BiH u pogledu socijalnog uključivanja od EU standarda, WEF je posmatrao BiH u grupi zemalja Centralne Azije i Zapadnog Balkana i

rangirao BiH na zadnjem mjestu. Zemlje koje su nešto bolje od BiH su Makedonija, Turska, Kirgistan, Srbija i Albanija.

U pogledu zaposlenosti, BiH značajno zaostaje za zemljama članicama EU ali i za zemljama kandidatima za EU članstvo. Stopa zaposlenosti u BiH je u 2007. g. iznosila 31,2%¹⁸ što je među najnižim stopama u regiji i više od 2 puta manja nego u zemljama članicama Evropske zajednice (za istu godinu prosjek za EU-27 iznosi 65,4%)¹⁹. Međuentitetske razlike u stopi zaposlenosti su sljedeće: zapošljavanje u RS je za 3,7% veće od prosjeka za BiH.

Tabela 6: Stopa zaposlenosti u BiH po entitetu²⁰

	BiH			FBiH			RS			BD BiH		
	Total	M	Ž	Total	M	Ž	Total	M	Ž	Total	M	Ž
2006.	29,7	39,9	20,0	29,1	40,3	18,8	30,9	39,6	22,7	23,7	33,7	14,0
2007.	31,2	42,3	20,8	29,2	40,9	18,3	35,1	45,4	25,4	23,4	30,6	16,4
2008.	33,6	44,9	23,1	31,8	43,3	21,1	37,3	48,0	27,2	25,1	34,9	15,6

Neka od osnovnih obilježja tržišta rada u Bosni i Hercegovini su:

- u formalnom sektoru je zaposlena radna snaga sa dugogodišnjim radnim iskustvom, dok je mlađim radnicima otežan pristup poslovima u istom sektoru;
- stvarna nezaposlenost je mnogo manja od evidentirane nezaposlenosti;
- „crno“ tržište rada je prisutno u značajnom obimu;
- učešće žena u radnoj snazi je među najnižim u regiji, ali razlika u platama između muškaraca i žena nije velika;
- otvaranje radnih mjesta i preraspodjela poslova je mala, kao i mobilnost i fleksibilnost radne snage;
- evidentni su veliki porezi i otežan pristup kreditima, što uz administrativne barijere, usporava razvoj poduzetništva;
- većina firmi ne prijavljuje puni iznos plata zaposlenih zbog visokih stopa doprinosa na plate;
- privatni sektor je puno dinamičniji u pogledu otvaranja novih radnih mjesta.

Ako bi se BiH htjela približiti najnižoj stopi zaposlenosti u EU (Malta 55,7%), uzimajući u obzir broj nezaposlenih lica u 2007. g (347.000)²¹, te broj neaktivnih (1,5 mil), kao i trenutnu stopu zaposlenosti 29% u BiH, onda bi BiH morala udvostručiti svoju stopu zaposlenosti kreiranjem oko 665.000 novih radnih mjesta što bi značilo uposliti sve trenutno nezaposlene (347.000) i podići 1/5 stanovništva iz neaktivnosti, tj stvoriti još dodatnih 318.000 radnih mjesta. Za ovakav dugoročan cilj, BiH bi trebala staviti jači fokus na politike obrazovanja (prije svega srednjeg obrazovanja), razvijati oblike formalnog i neformalnog obrazovanja

¹⁸ ARS 2007: Agencija za statistiku BiH

¹⁹ Eurostat

²⁰ Izvor: ARS BiH 2006/2007/2008 (preliminarni podaci za 2008 g)

²¹ ARS 2007.

koji će omogućiti brže prekvalifikacije te lakšu integraciju na tržištu rada, kao i podržati razvoj poduzetništva, te preorijentirati socijalnu potrošnju prema socijalnim investicijama.

Analiza postojećih domaćih politika u oblasti socijalne zaštite ukazuje na činjenicu da se sistem socijalne zaštite u BiH može ocijeniti izuzetno neefikasnim zbog nedovoljnog fokusiranja na individualne potrebe korisnika, nerazvijenosti sistema, nedovoljnih kapaciteta centara za socijalni rad, nepostojanja jedinstvene socijalne politike, niti jednakih standarda i kriterija.

Sistem socijalne zaštite u oba entiteta u BiH je nezadovoljavajući jer ga trenutno karakterizira i materijalna ugroženost većine stanovništva i stalno pogoršanje socijalnih uvjeta, što proizvodi stalni rast broja ljudi koji traže socijalnu pomoć (izbjeglice, civilne žrtve rata, povratnici, demobilisani borci i dr.), neostvarivanje zakonom utvrđenih socijalnih prava, kao i slaba uvezanost nosioca socijalne zaštite na općinskom i entitetskom nivou u RS. Finansiranje oblika socijalne i dječije zaštite na nivou kantona u FBiH praćeno je ozbiljnim poteškoćama, zbog nedovoljnih sredstava u budžetima kantona.

U smislu stvaranja aktivnog *tržišta rada* usmjerenog na jačanje uključenosti, potrebno je poduzeti sljedeće *mjere*:²²

- promovirati direktna strana ulaganja kroz poboljšano poslovno okruženje;
- proširivati, bolje povezivati i koristiti domaću štednju kroz poboljšanje domaćeg bankarskog sistema i razvijanje ključnih tržišta koja nedostaju (komercijalnog lizinga npr.);
- fokusirati se na otvaranje novih radnih mjesta kroz selektivne poticaje (porezne i druge) i ključna javna ulaganja;
- osigurati viša i kvalitetnija ulaganja u ljudske resurse;
- pomoć pri traženju zaposlenja i prevencija dugoročne nezaposlenosti;
- podrška poduzetništvu i unapređenje ozračja pokretanja poslovanja;
- promoviranje sposobnosti prilagođavanja stalnim promjenama, kako zaposlenika tako i poslodavaca;
- osiguravanje boljeg i kvalitetnijeg ulaganja u ljudske resurse (npr. cjeloživotno učenje);
- povećanje mogućnosti zapošljavanja i podrška aktivnome „trećem dobu“;
- pružiti podršku ravnopravnosti spolova u smislu zapošljavanja i plaća;
- borbu protiv diskriminacije, posebice diskriminacije ugroženih grupa;
- zatvaranje ‘zamke prihoda’ i unapređenje finansijskih poticaja kako bi se smanjila neaktivnost i ovisnost o socijalnoj pomoći;
- smanjiti neformalno tržište rada kroz pružanje podrške tranziciji iz neformalnih u formalni sektor, uključujući i mjere poput jednostavne osnovne registracije malih preduzeća;
- osigurati podršku kako bi se omogućila geografska i mobilnost kvalificirane radne snage;
- smanjiti barijere između regionalnih tržišta rada.

Pored toga, potrebno je izgraditi *specijalizirane mjere* namijenjene posebno ugroženim grupama:

- Za osobe s invaliditetom;
- Nacionalne manjine, uključujući i Rome;
- Mlade.

²² Vidi SWOT matrica i NHDR 2007, ibid.

Za razvijanje istinski uključivog sistema *socijalne zaštite* u BiH potrebna je reforma koncepta politike u toj oblasti. Svaka socijalna politika mora se temeljiti na individualnim potrebama korisnika i vaninstitucionalnih službi socijalne zaštite, i širiti mrežu službi i uloge socijalnog sistema. Partnerstvo sa korisnicima predstavlja temelj ovakvom pristupu, jer od korisnika pravi subjekte podrške koju pruža društvo i angažirajući ih u zadovoljavanju njihovih potreba. Ovi zahtjevi pomjeraju fokus, sa isplate socijalne pomoći do socijalne uključenosti; što znači i bolju procjenu stvarnih potreba, odnosno testiranje potencijalnih korisnika. U takvom pristupu je veoma značajna uloga organizacija civilnog društva, s obzirom da one veliki broj usluga mogu pružiti efikasnije od javnih institucija.

Posebni koraci u konkretnoj inkluzivnoj reformi su:

- reforma cjelokupnog socijalnog sektora, posebno rada i zapošljavanja, te penzionog i invalidskog osiguranja;
- reforma socijalnih službi koja vodi ka smanjenju broja klijenata i podršci njihovoj reintegraciji u redovnu radnu snagu (formiranje Instituta za medicinsko vještačenje, uspostavljanje baze podataka svih osoba sa invaliditetom);
- socijalnu zaštitu je potrebno prilagoditi tako da uključuje najugroženije kategorije stanovništva i osigurati jednaka prava svim korisnicima kojima je takva pomoć potrebna;
- unapređenje efikasnosti socijalnih službi kroz organizacione promjene, imajući u vidu norme, standarde i pojednostavljenje procedura u centrima za socijalni rad (CSR), u skladu sa međunarodnim standardima;
- u oblasti razvoja socijalne politike uzeti u obzir iskustvo socijalnih službi koje su krenule u reformske procese;
- potrebno je djelovati i na općinskom nivou, gdje većinu individualne podrške pružaju lokalni centri za socijalni rad.

4. ULOGA NEVLADINOG SEKTORA U JAČANJU SOCIJALNOG UKLJUČIVANJA

4.1. Podrška nevladinog sektora monitoringu i implementaciji SRS BiH

Jedna od ključnih odrednica koja utiče na pripremu kvalitetnih razvojnih dokumenta i uspješnu implementaciju mjera i aktivnosti iz akcionih planova tih dokumenta, predhodnih i budućih, odnosi se na *sudjelovanje javnosti i participativno planiranje*. Osnovni preduslov za sudjelovanje javnosti ili uključivanje građana, odnosno zajednice u sisteme odlučivanja jest razvijena demokratska struktura. Proces u formiranju demokratske strukture u društvu je proces uspostavljanja građanskog ili civilnog društva uz izgradnju njegovih temelja, odnosno demokratije, vladavine prava, zaštite osnovnih ljudskih prava, višestranačja, jednakosti građana, slobodnih medija, itd. Participativno planiranje je proces odlučivanja i rješavanja problema koji uključuje pojedince i grupe koji zastupaju različite interese, ekspertizu i tačke gledišta te koji djeluju u ime i za dobro svih onih na koje se te odluke i akcije koje slijede nakon njih odnose. Uključivanjem javnosti većina stanovnika

postaje „*vlasnikom*“ ostvarenih postignuća, pa ih i čuva i brine o njima. Planovi i strategije razvoja u kojima surađuje zajednica imaju puno bolju mogućnost za uspjeh.

Uloga nevladinog (NVO) sektora u ovoj oblasti može se posmatrati na više nivoa, ali je važno istaći da ove organizacije kako bi što bolje mogle odgovoriti na potrebe u zajednici prilikom svog rada i provođenja svojih programa moraju sarađivati sa:

- državnom upravom na svim nivoima,
- poslovnim sektorom,
- medijima.

Ova saradnja može biti prozor u svijet gdje će se NVO afirmisati uz istovremeno praćenje efikasnosti, transparentnosti i odgovornosti rada državnog aparata, ali i omogućiti regrutiranje potencijalnih suradnika, volontera i privlačenje potencijalnih izvora sredstava.

U BiH je već Srednjoročna razvojna strategija BiH 2004.-2007. (MTDS/SRS BiH) prepoznala, a revizija tog dokumenta potvrdila, da nevladin sektor treba igrati važnu ulogu u strateškom planiranju, implementaciji i monitoringu mjera razvojnih politika. U praksi ovo učešće podrazumijeva suradnju NVO i državnih institucija u procesu konsultacija i uključivanja nevladinih i drugih organizacija, kao i naučnih radnika, predstavnika sindikata, mladih i privatnog sektora u sve faze razvojnog procesa.

Na sektorskom nivou, u toku SRS BiH procesa, grupa nevladinih organizacija je radila praćenja implementacije politika u oblasti socijalne zaštite, obrazovanja i zaštite okoliša. One su kroz rad sa korisnicima usluga prikupljale informacije o uočenim problemima u provedbi sektorskih politika.²³ Zahvaljujući ovim aktivnostima sredine u kojima su djelovale NVO koje su bile uključene u ove procese imale su veće uspjehe, u inače sporom rješavanju problema u ovim oblastima, nego sredine u kojima takvih vidova aktivnosti nije bilo ili su oni bili znatno slabiji.

Organizacije civilnog društva, u cilju poboljšanja suradnje vladinog i nevladinog sektora u BiH su predložile:

- Uspostavu mehanizma koji će osigurati da se održava dijalog između zakonodavne i izvršne vlasti i aktera civilnog društva uz odgovarajuće izmjene u poslovnici o radu;
- Razmatranje mogućnosti uspostave zakonskog okvira koji će omogućiti učešće nevladinih organizacija u tenderima za implementaciju socijalnih ili obrazovnih programa i sl.;
- Razmatranje uspostave pravnog okvira i konkretnih rješenja, kako bi akteri civilnog društva mogli obavljati ulogu neovisnog monitora, uz istovremenu uspostavu mehanizma unutar tijela vlasti koji će biti osposobljeni za prihvatanje, analizu i procesuiranje njihovih informacija, kao i informacija o efektima na stanovništvo ili određenu grupu stanovništva;
- Omogućavanje transparentnog djelovanja vlasti, uz obavezu dosljedne primjene Zakona o slobodi pristupa informacijama, kao i drugim zakonima koji obavezuju na javnost u radu.

²³ Izvještaj nevladinih organizacija o toku provedbe Razvojne strategije BiH, u oblasti obrazovanja, socijalne zaštite i okoliša – ICVA januar 2005.

4.2. Važnost nevladinog sektora za socijalnu inkluziju

Svi napori i prijedlozi NVO-a su pomogli da državne institucije shvate nevladine organizacije kao osnovu za razvoj demokratskih načela i kao bitan faktor u razvoju društva u različitim područjima socijalnog, ekonomskog, kulturnog i političkog života ali i kao dobrog partnera u ovakvoj saradnji. Iako država nije u mogućnosti odgovoriti na sve potrebe građana i uvijek ponuditi efikasnu i kvalitetnu uslugu, naročito socijalnoj kategoriji stanovništva, određeni pomaci u međusobnom razumijevanju i saradnji vladinog i nevladinog sektora, zakonskoj regulativi, institucionalnoj podršci i saradnji su napravljeni u proteklih šest godina od kada su se NVO-e aktivno uključile u proces strateškog planiranja na državnom nivou. Ovakav razvoj događaja obezbijedio je dobru osnovu za adekvatno uključivanje NVO i u proces pripreme i implementacije novih razvojnih dokumenata BiH (CDS i SSU) i još aktivnije učešće u ublažavanju i prevazilaženju problema socijalne isključenosti.

Sa aspekta socijalne inkluzije institucije nevladinog sektora imaju mnogo bitnih funkcija koje se mogu svrstati u sljedeće kategorije²⁴:

- Da obezbijede prostor za mobilizaciju i artikulaciju interesa pojedinaca i grupa;
- Da obezbijede institucionalno sredstvo za posredovanje između konfliktnih interesa i socijalnih vrijednosti;
- Da daju mogućnost za iskazivanje i praktikovanje društvenih, religioznih i kulturnih vjerovanja i aktivnosti;
- Da daju mogućnost za ograničavanje tendencije države da proširi svoju kontrolu;
- Da ograniče potencijal biznisa da bude bez kontrole.

Da bi u potpunosti shvatili veliku važnost NVO-a za socijalnu inkluziju, pored već navedenog, potrebno je uzeti u obzir i rezultate internacionalne uporedne analize koju je uradio John Hopkins. Analiza je pokušaj da se uoče bitni elementi vezani za ogromnu pažnju koje nevladine organizacije privlače zadnjih godina. Prema ovoj analizi dva su osnovna razloga: prvi je taj što je došlo do krize države u svim djelovima svijeta, a drugi je da je odnedavno doveden u pitanje neoliberalni stav da se socijalni problemi najbolje rešavaju u tržišnoj privredi. Zahvaljujući ovome, politički lideri iz mnogih država su pokušali da nađu nove puteve koji će povezati efikasnu tržišnu koordinaciju sa prednostima socijalne zaštite u građanskom društvu. To je pomoglo da se nevladine organizacije nametnu kao partneri u traženju srednjeg puta između isključivog oslanjanja na tržište ili na državu. Projektom John Hopkins-a su obuhvaćene 22 zemlje. Projekat je počeo 1990.g. i izvještaj Lestera Salomona iz 1999.g. na bazi druge faze projekta za period 1995.-1999.g. je također izuzetno značajan. Rezultati izvještaja mogu da se sažmu u sljedećim stavovima:

1. Nvladin (neprofitni) sektor postaje jedan od najvažnijih ekonomskih činilaca;
2. Postoje bitna odstupanja između zemalja i regija;
3. Nvladinim sektorom dominiraju socijalne službe;
4. Najveći dio prihoda potiče od taksi i državnog sektora, a ne od filantropa;
5. Neprofitni sektor je najveći generator zapošljavanja.

²⁴ Izlaganje na temu „Mesto i uloga nevladinih organizacija u razvoju civilnog društva“, autora Milana Miloševića

Realno je očekivati da će implementiranjem reformi i jačanjem našeg društva i ekonomije situacija biti slična i kod nas. Mjesto i ulogu raznih formi organizovanja u civilnom društvu je nužno osnažiti na ovim prostorima ukoliko želimo da budemo dio zajednice modernih država, a mi to svakako želimo jer pripadnost modernim društvima znači sposobnost da kreiramo viši kvalitet života u raznim sferama naših života, na poslu, u porodici, u trenucima rekreacije... znači socijalnu inkluziju.

5. ULOGA FONDACIJE ZA SOCIJALNO UKLJUČIVANJE U IMPLEMENTACIJI STRATEGIJE SOCIJALNOG UKLJUČIVANJA

Jedan od značajnih problema funkcionisanja i razvoja velikog broja NVO-a je samoodrživost i, zbog sistema finansiranja putem najčešće dvogodišnjih ili trogodišnjih projekata, mogućnost kontinuirane podrške srednjoročnim reformskim procesima. Pored toga, donatorske organizacije, koje su najznačajnija finansijska i ekspertska podrška aktivnostima nevladinog sektora u BiH također mijenjaju svoj strateški pristup u kojem je dominirao odnos u kojem je određena međunarodna institucija podržavala aktivnosti određene NVO. Prema novom pristupu, donatorske institucije, u skladu sa svojim strateškim opredjeljenjima, žele udružiti sredstva kako bi finansirali projekte nevladinog sektora koji trebaju da podrže ovu fazu razvoja BiH. Fondacija za socijalnu inkluziju bi trebala da bude organizacija koja će objedinjavati donatorska sredstva i putem odabira najkvalitetnijih projekata NVO-a podržavati implementaciju SSU-e. Lokalne institucije zajedno sa predstavnicima donatora trebaju učestvovati u ocjeni koji su projekti bitni za reforme, u ovom slučaju socijalnog sektora, i koju NVO treba podržati kako bi implementirala projekat kojim je aplicirala za sredstva Fondacije. Ovakav pristup u potpunosti promovira implementaciju vrijednosti Pariške deklaracije, a objedinjavanjem finansijskih resursa većeg broja donatora obezbjeđuje preduslove za formiranje izvora sredstava koji će biti u mogućnosti da podrže zahtjevnije reformske procese koji će trajati, ukoliko je potrebno, cijeli vremenski period u kojem će se implementirati SSU. Važan aspekt ovog pristupa je transparentnost implementacije procesa podržanih od strane donatorske zajednice kao i podjela odgovornosti između svih učesnika, međunarodnih i domaćih, za trošenje sve teže dostupnih finansijskih sredstava iz ovih izvora. Ovaj pristup bi trebao da podrži i učešće NVO-a iz malih sredina u kojima su informacije o mogućnostima za apliciranje, zbog jezičkih barijera i IT komunikacija, često bile manje dostupne. Aspekt izgradnje kapaciteta u oblasti pripreme projekata i apliciranja za finansijska sredstva također nije zanemariv. Pored već navedenog značajna uloga ove Fondacije je i podrška razvoju i jačanju uloge nevladinog sektora u adresiranju socijalne inkluzije i jačanju partnerstva između javnog i nevladinog sektora.

Stvaranje institucionalnog mehanizma saradnje vlade i civilnog društva²⁵ u funkciji je *kontinuiteta i održivosti* ove saradnje; njime se osnažuje *partnerstvo* vlade i civilnog društva i jačaju njegovi *kapaciteti*. Za vladu je uspostavljanje partnerstva i jačanje kapaciteta civilnog društva važno iz nekoliko razloga: 1) *uloge civilnog društva u modernim demokratijama i Evropskoj uniji* (organizacije civilnog društva omogućavaju građanima da stalno artikuliraju,

²⁵ Institucionalni mehanizam saradnje vlade i civilnog društva – Nacrt

brane i zagovaraju svoje legitimne interese u javnom i političkom životu, a ne samo u vrijeme izbora); 2) *rasterećenja državnog aparata* (pružanje socijalnih i drugih usluga od strane organizacija civilnog društva, u cilju stvaranja jeftinijeg i kvalitetnijeg sistema socijalne zaštite, značajna uloga organizacija civilnog društva u gotovo svim društvenim oblastima); 3) *uloge civilnog društva u procesu evropskih integracija*.

Civilno društvo igra ili bolje rečeno treba da igra važnu ulogu u procesu *evropskih integracija* zemalja *Zapadnog Balkana*. Novi *Instrument za pretpristupnu pomoć* za ove zemlje (IPA program) predviđa za razdoblje od sedam godina izdvajanje *od 11,467 milijardi eura*. Ono što IPA donosi kao *novinu*, u odnosu na dosadašnje pretpristupne instrumente pomoći, jeste znatno *veće učešće države* u programiranju i predlaganju projektnih prioriteta, i preuzimanje odgovornosti za njihovu realizaciju. Ovo će zahtijevati mobilizaciju *svih raspoloživih resursa*, uključujući i onih sa kojima raspolaže *civilno društvo*. S tim u vezi, u *Izveštaju o napretku zemalja Zapadnog Balkana* na putu ka EU, kojeg je Evropska komisija objavila u martu 2008. godine, ukazuje se na *značaj civilnog društva u procesu sveobuhvatnih reformi* u ovim zemljama, i *nužnost stvaranja* odgovarajućih *institucionalnih uslova* za razvoj i delovanje organizacija civilnog društva.

Fondacija, koja je već po svojoj ulozi određen institucionalni mehanizam koji je, bar u početnoj fazi, organizaciono negdje "između vladinog i nevladinog sektora" treba stvoriti preduslove za osnaženje i buduće kreiranje institucionalnih mehanizama saradnje vlada i civilnog društva. Kako Fondacija treba podržati implementaciju SSU, njena uloga, ukoliko se njen rad organizira na adekvatan način, može biti značajan faktor podrške reformskih procesa u toj oblasti kroz implementaciju projekata i programa za prevazilaženje i ublažavanje problema socijalne isključenosti u BiH.

JAČANJE SOCIJALNOG UKLJUČIVANJA I NVO-A – ULOGA NVO FONDACIJE ZA SOCIJALNO UKLJUČIVANJE –

UVOD

Ovaj dokument¹ je strukturiran u dva dijela. Prvi dio daje kratak pregled okvira i karakteristika socijalne situacije u BiH, posebno socijalne isključenosti u Bosni i Hercegovini; analizu NVO sektora u BiH i moguće uloge koje organizacije civilnog društva u BiH mogu imati u smislu identifikacije onih za koje se smatra da 'odstupaju od glavnih tokova društva' kao i sprječavanja i smanjivanja uzroka i posljedica socijalne isključenosti i analizu NVO sektora u Bosni i Hercegovini. U drugom dijelu *Dokument* daje okvir za uspostavljanje specifičnog mehanizma, NVO Fondacije socijalnog uključivanja (NVO FSU), s ciljem olakšavanja procesa jačanja uključenosti organizacija civilnog društva u borbi protiv socijalnog isključivanja uz osiguravanje efektivne implementacije BiH Strategije socijalne uključenosti (BiH SSU). Proces profiliranja inicijative za uspostavljanje NVO FSU je do sada uključio brojne debate sa akterima iz svih sektora, vladinog, nevladinog, javnog i privatnog.

I DIO UVODNE INFORMACIJE

1. SOCIJALNA SITUACIJA U BOSNI I HERCEGOVINI

Smatra se da polovina BiH stanovništva živi u nekom obliku socijalne isključenosti (indeks socijalne isključenosti za BiH u 2006. bio je 50,32%), 22% stanovništva se smatra „izuzetno socijalno isključenim“. U 2004. 17,8% BiH stanovništva (ili 681.000 građana) je živjelo ispod donje linije siromaštva. Procenat stanovništva izloženog visokom stepenu rizika od siromaštva je procijenjen na 30%.

Socijalna uključenost je osnova koncepta socijalnih politika u zemljama Evropske Unije (EU), kao i njihove zajedničke koordinacije na nivou EU. Obaveza je zemalja koje su u procesu pridruživanja EU da usklade svoje politike sa ovim konceptom. Pored toga, problem socijalne isključenosti u BiH, kao što ćemo vidjeti u tekstu, je prilično velik i kao takav zahtijeva razvoj i implementaciju, odgovarajućih politika.

¹ Ana Abdelbasit, Dženan Trbić i Ranka Ninković-Papić su doprinijeli pripremi ovog dokumenta za šta im dugujem veliku zahvalnost.

Socijalno uključivanje je proces koji osobama koje su izložene riziku od siromaštva i socijalne isključenosti pruža prilike i resurse neophodne za potpuno učešće u ekonomskom, socijalnom i kulturnom životu i da žive u blagostanju po standardima njihovog društva. To znači njihovo veće učešće u procesima donošenja odluka koji utiču na njihove živote, te pristup osnovnim pravima.

Socijalno isključivanje je pojam širi od siromaštva. To predstavlja proces u kojem su određene grupe gurnute na margine društva i onemogućene da u potpunosti učestvuju u društvu uslijed svog siromaštva, neadekvatnog obrazovanja, životnih vještina, ili uslijed diskriminacije. Radi se takođe i o nemogućnosti pristupa adekvatnom stanovanju, facilitaciji specifičnih potreba koje proizlaze iz različitih sposobnosti, nedostatka adekvatnog stanovanja, osnovnih savremenih infrastruktura, transporta, informacione tehnologije (IT), itd. To smanjuje njihovu šansu za zapošljavanje, ostvarivanje dohotka i prilike za obrazovanje, kao i društveno povezivanje i učešće u aktivnostima u okviru zajednice. Grupe imaju malo šanse za pristup vladajućim i tijelima za donošenje odluka; često su bespomoćni i bez šanse da utiču na odluke koje se tiču njihovih svakodnevnih života. Ured za međunarodni razvoj Vlade Velike Britanije (DFID UK) definiše socijalnu isključenost kao: „Socijalna isključenost opisuje proces po kojem su određene grupe sistematski u nepovoljnom položaju jer su diskriminirane na osnovu nacionalnosti, rase, vjerske ili seksualne orijentacije, staleža, porijekla, spola, starosti, invalidnosti, HIV statusa, migracijskog statusa ili mjesta prebivališta. Diskriminacija se javlja u javnim institucijama kao što su pravni sistem ili obrazovanje i zdravstvene usluge, kao i socijalnim institucijama kao što je domaćinstvo“. EU posmatra isključenost drugačije od materijalnog siromaštva, u posljednje vrijeme poznatog kao rezultat raspodjele, gdje je isključivanje relacijski proces opadanja učešća, solidarnosti i pristupa.

Siromaštvo: Ljudi žive u siromaštvu ako su njihovi prihodi i resursi utoliko nedostatni i sprječavaju ih da imaju životni standard koji se smatra prihvatljivim u društvu u kojem žive. Zbog njihovog siromaštva oni mogu iskusiti sve vrste nedaća kao što su nezaposlenost, niski prihodi, loši uslovi stanovanja, neadekvatna medicinska zaštita i prepreke u obrazovanju, kulturi, sportu i rekreaciji. Vrlo često su marginalizovani i isključeni iz učešća u različitim aktivnostima (ekonomskim, kulturnim i društvenim) koje su standardne za ostale ljude; njihov pristup osnovnim ljudskim pravima može biti ograničen. Siromaštvo je takođe definisano kao deprivacija, nedostatak pristupa, isključivanje, oskudica (EU Vijeće, Zajednički izvještaj Komisije i Vijeća o socijalnoj isključenosti, 5. mart, 2005, Brisel).

Analiziranje procesa socijalne isključenosti i višestrukih deprivacija usmjereno je ka odnosu između siromaštva i socijalne isključenosti, kao i ljudskih prava i isključenosti. U prvom slučaju, siromaštvo je determinanta i rezultat socijalne isključenosti, dakle odnos je dvostran. U drugom slučaju, isključivanje predstavlja oblik uskraćivanja prava. Razumijevanje ovih veza daje rješenja za prekidanje opakog kruga u koji su isključeni često uhvaćeni.

Metodologija za izračunavanje indeksa socijalne isključenosti je razvijena po prvi put u BiH u Izvještaju o humanom razvoju o socijalnoj uključenosti, koji je izdao Razvojni program ujedinjenih nacija (UNDP).² Već pomenuta definicija socijalne isključenosti opisuje ovaj

² Za više detalja pogledati: UNDP/IBHI "Izvještaj o humanom razvoju 2007 – Socijalno uključivanje u Bosni i Hercegovini", Sarajevo 2007.

fenomen u smislu međuzavisnosti između siromaštva, dugoročne nezaposlenosti, socijalne izolacije i obrazovanja. U pokušaju analize socijalne isključenosti, usvojen je nešto širi pristup koji je ustanovio međuzavisnost između sljedećih faktora: životnog standarda, zdravstvenog statusa, obrazovanja, učešća u društvu i pristupa uslugama.³

Podaci o socijalnoj isključenosti (2006.)

Na osnovu istraživanja urađenog 2006. na reprezentativnom uzorku i drugim procjenama, indeks opšte socijalne isključenosti za 2006. godinu bio je na 50,32. To pokazuje da je polovina BiH stanovništva isključeno iz društva na neki način. Interesantno je napomenuti da ne postoji bitna razlika između urbane i ruralne populacije, što postavlja pitanje o različitim stereotipima o samoj socijalnoj isključenosti. Takođe, ne postoje veće razlike između Federacije BiH (FBiH) (51,01) i Republike Srpske (RS) (49,50).

Indeks ekstremne socijalne isključenosti u BiH za 2006. procijenjen je na 21,85, što znači da oko 22% BiH stanovništva može biti opisano kao 'ekstremno socijalno isključeno'. Razlike između FBiH (24,53) i RS (20,01) su vidljive, kao i između urbanog (19,75) i ruralnog (23,57) stanovništva. Izraženo u procentima, ruralno stanovništvo je za 19% više ekstremno socijalno isključeno od urbanog stanovništva.

Indeks dugoročne socijalne isključenosti je takođe izračunat. Razlikuje se od drugih indeksa po tome da mjeri segment BiH stanovništva koji je izložen riziku od dugoročne isključenosti, čiji je uzrok nedostatak mogućnosti za samonapredovanje. Biti zaposlen ali još uvijek biti izložen velikoj nesigurnosti i nedostatku mogućnosti može dovesti do buduće dugoročne isključenosti. Vrijednost ovog indeksa za BiH u 2006. bila je 47,31, odnosno 47,31% ljudi u BiH koji su zaposleni su izloženi riziku da ostanu u dijelu dugoročno socijalno isključenih. Ne postoje veće razlike između ruralnog (47,14) i urbanog (47,54) stanovništva u ovom smislu, niti između entiteta (FBiH 47,14 i RS 47,32).

Tokom proteklog poslijeratnog desetljeća, BiH se suočila sa velikim povećanjem broja socijalno isključenih osoba. Postojeće stanje je rizično jer može štetiti već slaboj socijalnoj koheziji. Neophodno je reagovati kako bi se riješili problemi rastućeg broja marginaliziranih pojedinaca ili grupa koji su u potpunosti isključeni iz svakodnevnog života zajednice.

Podaci o siromaštvu (2007.)

U skladu sa posljednjim podacima iz BiH Ankete o potrošnji domaćinstava za 2007⁴, 18,6% BiH stanovništva (ili 639.781 građana) je živjelo ispod donje linije siromaštva (FBiH – 17,39%; RS – 20,23%; Brčko Distrikt BiH (BD BiH) – 25,3%). Ovo je smanjenje u poređenju

³ Sedam alternativnih indikatora je korišteno: za životne standarde: 1) stanovništvo koje živi ispod praga siromaštva i 2) dugotrajna nezaposlenost; za zdravstveni status: 3) osobe bez zdravstvenog osiguranja; za obrazovanje: 4) osobe starije od 15 godina koje nisu završile osnovnu školu; za sudjelovanje u društvu: 5) osobe koje ne glasaju na izborima i 6) one koje ne sudjeluju u organizovanim društvenim aktivnostima; za pristup uslugama: 7) domaćinstva bez telefonskog priključka.

⁴ Pogledati Agencija za statistiku BiH, Federalni zavod za statistiku, Republički zavod za statistiku RS, „Anketa o potrošnji domaćinstava (APD) u BiH za 2007. godinu: siromaštvo i uslovi života“, Sarajevo, decembar 2008.

sa situacijom iz 2001. gdje je ranije pomenuti procenat bio 19,5% i manje povećanje u poređenju sa situacijom u 2004. kada je procenat bio 17,8%.

Stopa siromaštva varira u ovisnosti od starosti glave domaćinstva. Tri starosne skupine: 35-49, 50-64 i „preko 64“ imaju respektivne stope siromaštva: 29,6%, 32% and 30,4%. Najveća stopa siromaštva je u kategoriji mladih punoljetnih osoba (posebno u FBiH) i kategoriji najstarijih građana (posebno u RS).

Siromaštvo se povećava sa povećanjem broj djece u domaćinstvu. Stopa siromaštva u domaćinstvima sa dvoje djece je 30,7% (FBiH – 30,8%; RS – 29,8% i BD BiH – 36,8%) dok u domaćinstvima sa troje ili više djece u BiH stopa se penje do 43% (u FBiH – 41,4%, u RS – 46,2% i u BD BiH – 51,9%).

Stopa siromaštva zasnovana na trenutnom statusu aktivnosti glave domaćinstva pokazuje sljedeće: u BiH, 16,4% zaposlenih je siromašno (FBiH – 16,38%; RS – 15,99% i BD BiH – 25,66%); 26,76% nezaposlenih (FBiH – 25,86; RS – 27,61% i BD BiH – 31,15%); i 35,15% nesposobnih za rad (FBiH – 30,28%; RS – 39,98% i BD BiH – 25,20%).

Važno je napomenuti da je 16,4% zaposlenih osoba siromašno, te da je daleko najveći procenat siromašnih iz grupe osoba nesposobnih za rad, odnosno, osoba sa invaliditetom.

Siromaštvo je direktno povezano sa nivoom obrazovanja glave domaćinstva; od osoba bez obrazovanja u BiH, 31,1% je siromašnih (u FBiH – 30,20%; RS – 38,39% i BD BiH – 19,6%); sa osnovnim obrazovanjem 24,17% (FBiH – 24,1%; RS – 23,77% i BD BiH – 32,21%); sa srednjim obrazovanjem 15,45% (FBiH – 14,74%; RS – 16,4% i BD BiH – 23,33%); i sa višim obrazovanjem 3,23% (FBiH – 3,14%; RS – 3,33% i BD BiH – 4,09%).

Prethodni podaci pokazuju da su sljedeće grupe najsiromašnije:

- porodice sa više od 2 djece,
- starije osobe,
- osobe koje nisu sposobne za rad, odnosno osobe sa invaliditetom,
- nezaposleni, i
- osobe sa niskim nivoom obrazovanja.

Anketa je takođe pokazala da je siromaštvo najdugotrajnije u poljoprivredi (25,26%), industriji (20,95%) i građevinarstvu (26,48%).

Važan dio analize siromaštva su nejednakosti: siromašni u BiH (skoro 20% stanovništva) su odgovorni za samo 7,2% ukupnih konzumacijskih izdataka, dok najbogatijih 20% konzumira više od 39% ukupnih izdataka.

Kada procjenjujemo nivo siromaštva u BiH, moramo imati u vidu značajan dio stanovništva koje je izloženo riziku od brzog pada ispod donje linije siromaštva, prije svega radnici u neformalnom sektoru i njihove porodice. Procenat stanovništva izložen visokom riziku od siromaštva procijenjen je na 22,9% (789.385 građana).⁵

To znači da je 41,5% stanovništva ispod donje linije siromaštva ili su vrlo blizu siromaštvu (to je 1.429.166 građana).

⁵ Pogledati APD (ibid)

Vrlo je važno analizirati siromaštvo u BiH sa stajališta uzroka. Radi se najčešće o „novom siromaštvu“, povećanom u poređenju sa predratnom situacijom, koje je najviše pogodilo bivši srednji stalež uslijed posljedica rata i tranzicije. Iz tog razloga, javno viđenje siromaštva više je naglašeno nego u tradicionalno siromašnim zemljama.

Važan razlog fokusiranja BiH vlasti i međunarodnih donatora na socijalno uključivanje i siromaštvo bila je Konferencija o socijalnoj uključenosti, koji su organizovali UNDP, DFID, Direkcija za ekonomsko planiranje BiH (DEP BiH), Delegacija Evropske Komisije u BiH i Švicarska agencija za razvoj i saradnju (SDC) u Sarajevu od 28. do 29. novembra, 2006.

2. USKLAĐIVANJE SOCIJALNOG RAZVOJA SA EU STANDARDIMA

Usklađivanje sa EU standardima u socijalnom razvoju zahtijevaće reformu socijalnih politika – od pasivne socijalne zaštite do aktivnog socijalnog uključivanja. Proces stabilizacije i pridruživanja će zahtijevati od Bosne i Hercegovine da koristi EU metode planiranja socijalnog razvoja i usklađivanja sa zajedničkim ciljevima.

Proces Stabilizacije i pridruživanja EU predstavlja osnovu za jačanje socijalnog uključivanja u BiH, ne samo zbog potrebe za EU standardima koji će se implementirati u okviru konteksta socijalne isključenosti i politika za njeno smanjenje, već i zbog toga što odražava važnost reformisanja ustavne, institucionalne i pravne strukture zemlje u onu koja promoviše i kreira opšte uslove za socijalno uključivanje.

Dio situacije koju analiziramo su takođe i mehanizmi i standardi EU u uvođenju politika socijalnog uključivanja, koje su sljedeći korak na putu integracije BiH u EU. U posljednjoj deceniji prošlog vijeka, socijalna politika EU počela se razvijati na osnovu smanjenja socijalne isključenosti. Početna tačka bilo je uvođenje termina ‘socijalna isključenost’ u preambulu Evropske socijalne povelje (1989.) i njenu izmjenу i dopunu (1996.), kada je uvedeno novo pravo, ‘Pravo na zaštitu od siromaštva i socijalne isključenosti’.

Na Lisabonskom Evropskom Vijeću u martu 2000., formulisana je zajednička vizija o zajednici kao najkonkurentnijoj i najdinamičnijoj ekonomiji zasnovanoj na znanju, i stavljanju fokusa na razvoj i zapošljavanje. Instrument za implementaciju socijalnih dimenzija Lisabonskih ciljeva podržan je kroz Evropsku socijalnu agendu i Strategiju za borbu protiv socijalne isključenosti korištenjem ‘Otvorenog metoda koordinacije’, koji uključuje pet ključnih elemenata: zajednički ciljevi; Nacionalni akcioni planovi za socijalno uključivanje (NAP), Zajednički memorandum o uključenosti (JIM); zajednički izvještaji o socijalnoj uključenosti; zajednički dogovoreni indikatori socijalne isključenosti (Laeken indikatori); i razmjena naučenih lekcija. Samit Vijeća u Nici u decembru 2000. usvojio je zajedničke ciljeve za borbu protiv socijalne isključenosti i siromaštva.

Zajednički ciljevi EU Strategije socijalnog uključivanja su:

1. promovisati učešće u zapošljavanju i pristupu svim dobrima, uslugama, resursima i pravima;
2. spriječiti socijalnu isključenost;

3. podržati najugroženije;
4. mobilizirati sva relevantna tijela.⁶

Iako su zasnovane na zajedničkim ciljevima, politike EU članica se donekle i razlikuju, tako da se neke od njih usko fokusiraju na tržište rada i mreže socijalne sigurnosti, dok druge obuhvataju mnogo širu oblast, u zavisnosti od njihovih unutrašnjih političkih i institucionalnih uređenja, kao i prirode pitanja koja se tretiraju.

Nacionalni akcioni planovi za socijalno uključivanje, ili NAP/incl, su glavni kanali kroz koje zemlje članice EU realizuju zajednički dogovorene ciljeve. One analiziraju prirodu i obim siromaštva i socijalne isključenosti, identifikuju glavne tokove i izazove, i shodno tome skiciraju detaljne političke mjere koje se planiraju. Zajednički memorandum o uključenosti, ili JIM, prethodi NAP/incl procesu za pristupajuće ili kandidatske zemlje prije njihovog članstva u EU. JIM-ovi analiziraju situaciju socijalne isključenosti, identifikuju ključne izazove, prave pregled efektivnosti postojećih politika i identifikuju ključne prioritete za budućnost.

JIM proces ima za cilj da pripremi pristupajuće ili kandidatske zemlje za učešće u OMK poslije pristupanja. Proces takođe ima za cilj da izgradi statističke kapacitete za praćenje siromaštva i socijalne isključenosti. JIM proces je obvezujući za sve zemlje koje pristupaju EU.

Indikatori socijalne uključenosti su poznati pod nazivom 'Laeken indikatori'. Oni obuhvataju tri nivoa: (1) deset primarnih indikatora finansijskog siromaštva i materijalne deprivacije, zapošljavanje, zdravstvenu zaštitu i obrazovanje (2) sekundarne indikatore, koji su komplementarni primarnom setu indikatora, ali ih detaljnije elaboriraju; (3) indikatore koje zemlje članice same odluče uključiti u svoje NAPs/incl, i koji im pomažu u reinterpetaciji primarnih i sekundarnih indikatora i/ili rasvjetljavanju specifikuma pojedinačnih oblasti.

Poslije potpisivanja Sporazuma o stabilizaciji i pridruživanju (SSP), BiH će, u skladu sa Predpristupnim instrumentima (IPA), imati mogućnost da dobije podršku za jačanje socijalnog uključivanja u kontekstu razvoja ljudskih potencijala s ciljem jačanja ekonomske i socijalne kohezije u oblastima zapošljavanja, obrazovanja i obuke i socijalnog uključivanja.⁷ U isto vrijeme, unapređenja u ovim oblastima su preduslovi za dobijanje statusa kandidata. Sa ovim statusom, BiH će imati obavezu da pripremi JIM, uskladi ga i potpiše sa Evropskom Unijom. U ovom kontekstu, priprema BiH Strategije socijalnog uključivanja i njena implementacija su vrlo važni koraci i značće reformu socijalnog sektora. Usklađivanje zakona, politika i praksi BiH sa onim EU biće ozbiljan i težak proces. Što prije otpočne biće lakši i efikasniji.⁸

⁶ Mora se imati na umu da su sveobuhvatni ciljevi Otvorene metode koordinacije (OMK) za socijalnu zaštitu i socijalno uključivanje sljedeći: a) socijalna kohezija, jednakost između muškaraca i žena i jednake mogućnosti za sve kroz adekvatne, pristupačne, finansijski održive, prilagodljive i efikasne sisteme socijalne zaštite i politike socijalnog uključivanja; (b) efektivna i međusobna interakcija između Lisabonskih ciljeva, većeg ekonomskog razvoja, većeg broja i boljih poslova i veće socijalne kohezije, i EU Strategije održivog razvoja; (c) dobro upravljanje, transparentnost i uključenost aktera u dizajniranje, implementaciju i praćenje politike. Za više detalja pogledati: http://ec.europa.eu/employment_social/spsi/common_objectives_en.htm

⁷ Pogledati Uredbu komisije (EC) br. 718/2007 (12. juni 2007.) o implementaciji Uredbe Vijeća (EC) br. 1085/2006 o uspostavljanju Predpristupnih instrumenata (IPA), Član 151.

⁸ DEP BiH, uz podršku DFID-a, započeo je proces unapređenja upravljanja socijalnom politikom u 2006./2007. Vlade FBiH, RS i BD BiH osnovala su Savjetodavne grupe za socijalnu politiku (SPAG-ovi) koje su

3. STRATEGIJA SOCIJALNE UKLJUČENOSTI BOSNE I HERCEGOVINE

Priprema i usvajanje Strategije socijalne uključenosti (SSU) 2008.-2013. je važan korak u usklađivanju socijalnog razvoja u BiH sa EU standardima. Implementacija SSU će zahtijevati snažnu ulogu NVO-a, njihov koordiniran razvoj i bolji fokus, posebno na ugrožene grupe.

BiH Srednjoročna razvojna strategija (SRS/PRSP) 2004-2007. bila je prvi razvojni dokument te vrste u BiH, a njena implementacija je završena krajem 2007. NVO-i su bili uključeni samo u monitoring i implementaciju PRSP-a, ali ne i u fazu pripreme nacрта ili njene implementacije.

BiH vlasti su donijele odluku o početku pripreme, za period 2008-2013., dva komplementarna strateška dokumenta; Razvojna strategija BiH (RSBiH) i Strategija socijalne uključenosti. Pripremu ova dva dokumenta koordinira DEP BiH i trenutno je u toku, a NVO-i su takođe uključeni u proces konsultacija. Uključivanjem stručnjaka, Nezavisni biro za humanitarna pitanja (IBHI) je direktno uključen u pripremu SSU.

Uzevši u obzir karakter koncepta socijalne uključenosti, jasno je da se SSU ne može uspješno implementirati bez uključivanja NVO-a u njenu implementaciju. SSU je državni dokument, ali će biti implementiran na svim nivoima vlasti u BiH (entiteti su odgovorni za socijalnu politiku, zapošljavanje, obrazovanje itd., dok su ovlasti države BiH minimalne ili ne postoje uopšte). U isto vrijeme, jačanje socijalne uključenosti nije moguće bez uključivanja svih građana, posebno ugroženih grupa, u proces donošenja odluka i razvoja politike, kao i implementaciju politike. U tom kontekstu, uloga NVO-a, njihovo osnaživanje i fokusiranje na socijalnom uključivanju ima veliku važnost. U tom kontekstu, DEP BiH je bio aktivno uključen u razvoj koncepta od samog početka procesa osnivanja Fondacije za podršku NVO-ima u jačanju socijalne uključenosti. Sa druge strane, na SWOT radionici za pripremu SSU 2008-2013, održanoj 21. jula 2008. u Sarajevu, koju je organizovao DEP BiH, između ostalog, dva zaključka su usvojena kao važne mogućnosti za implementaciju SSU:

- „Uključivanje NVO-a u rješavanje problema socijalne isključenosti“
- „Jačanje saradnje između vladinih institucija i NVO-a kao što je Fondacija socijalnog uključivanja“

U nastavku pripremnog procesa za SSU i Akcionog plana za njenu implementaciju, kao i u finalnim tekstovima ovih dokumenata, očekuje se uvođenje Fondacije za podršku NVO-ima u jačanju socijalne uključenosti i razrađivanje mjera podrške za taj mehanizam od strane Vlade u Akcionom programu.

U ovom procesu, treba voditi računa o uključivanju DEP-a BiH, NVO-a, entitetskih vlada i drugih ključnih aktera u razvoj koncepta.

Značaj i realne mogućnosti Fondacije su opravdano vezane za relevantnost NVO sektora u BiH i njegovu bitnu ulogu u organizaciji i uključivanju građana, posebno ugroženih grupa.

4. NVO SEKTOR U BOSNI I HERCEGOVINI

NVO sektor u BiH je relativno razvijen, prije svega kroz podršku međunarodnih donatora. Održivost NVO sektora ne sadrži samo finansijske aspekte nego i preusmjerenje sa donatorskih programa radaka aktivnostima u skladu sa lokalnim potrebama, partnerstvom sa javnim i privatnim sektorom, unaprijeđenim fokusom na jačanje socijalne uključenosti i ljudskih prava, posebno za ugrožene grupe. NVO Fondacije za socijalno uključivanje nije samo mehanizam za jačanje finansijske održivosti NVO-a, nego i značajna poluga u razvoju kvaliteta NVO-a u BiH.

Ukupan broj registrovanih NVO-a u BiH u 2005. godini bio je 9.095, dok ih je tek pola u stvarnosti aktivno tj. 4.629.⁹ U poređenju sa ostalim zemljama, ovaj broj se ne može ignorisati. Uzimajući u obzir broj registrovanih NVO-a u BiH, može se konstatovati da na jedan NVO dođe 417 građana, dok je u Velikoj Britaniji na jedan NVO 426 građana, a u Mađarskoj 250. Ova slika je svakako privlačna i ako se uzmu u obzir samo aktivni NVO-i. U tom slučaju, 820 građana je za svaku nevladinu organizaciju.

Procjena ukupnog iznosa prihoda NVO sektora u BiH je 4,5% bruto domaćeg proizvoda (BDP), dok potrošnja u NVO sektoru iznosi 2,4% BDP-a.

Ukupan broj zaposlenih koji rade puno radno vrijeme u NVO sektoru je 26.668 (ako uzmemo u obzir i broj zaposlenih na pola radnog vremena), odnosno 2,3% aktivne radne snage. Ako ovom broju dodamo i broj volontera koji rade puno radno vrijeme – 63.129, što je 5,36% aktivne radne snage – možemo dobiti jasnu sliku: 7,66% aktivno radnih građana u NVO sektoru, za platu ili volonterski. Prihod u BDP-u samo od volontera iznosi 3,2%. U poređenju sa međunarodnim standardima, ove brojke su vrlo visoke. Analize zaposlenosti (za platu ili volonterski) u 24 zemlje pokazuju da je prosjek 7,30%, od 20,6% u Nizozemskoj do 0,6% u Meksiku.

NVO-i u BiH pružaju usluge za 29% građana BiH, i to nije slučaj samo za usluge, jer se time ilustruje i prenos donatorskog novca korisnicima. Navedeno je vezano za informaciju da 60% NVO-a radi na nivou lokalne zajednice, što je vrlo slično situaciji u Velikoj Britaniji gdje 70% NVO-a takođe radi na nivou lokalne zajednice.

Ovi podaci potvrđuju značaj NVO sektora u BiH i pružaju vlastima u BiH novu i stvarnu sliku o statusu NVO sektora i civilnog društva. Drugim riječima, NVO sektor se ne smije dalje podcjenjivati i držati na marginama društvenog razvoja. Stoga njegov značaj zahtijeva definisanje razvojne politike NVO sektora. To takođe pokazuje da se socijalna politika može čvrsto osloniti na NVO sektor. U proteklih deset godina, razvoj NVO sektora u BiH je zavisio i, u velikoj mjeri, finansiran od međunarodne pomoći direktno od donatora, ili međunarodnih NVO-a (INGO-a).

⁹ Vidi: DFID, IBHI, Birks Sinclair & Associates (BSAL) "Kvalitativna studija 3 – Zapošljavanje, pružanje socijalnih usluga i nevladin sektor: Status i perspektivi za BiH, analiza i implikacija za politike", maj 2005.

Razvoj partnerstva između NVO sektora i vladinog sektora u BiH je od posebnog značaja jer, s obzirom na umanjene strane donacije, lokalni NVO-i će imati ozbiljan problem sa vlastitom održivosti. Sa druge strane, mnogi NVO-i su usmjereni ka donatorima i u tom smislu nemaju vlastitu razvojnu politiku koja je podređena lokalnim programima, nego prate novac i mijenjaju svoj fokus. Zato postoje NVO-i koji se jedne godine bave socijalno isključenim ženama žrtvama seksualnog nasilja, a druge godine rade na ekonomskoj strategiji. Ovi NVO-i su bez plana i programa rada, nisu se trenutno obvezali da pomažu lokalnoj zajednici zbog vlastitih neadekvatnih ljudskih resursa i nefokusiranosti na stvarne potrebe.

Zbog navedenog razloga, finansijska održivost NVO sektora nije cilj samo po sebi, preusmjerenost ka domaćim izvorima sredstava će privući NVO-e usmjerene lokalnim potrebama i omogućiti puno vlasništvo nad NVO aktivnostima.

Izdvajanja vladinog sektora za nevladin sektor u BiH za 2007. godinu

Prilikom pripremnog procesa NVO FSU koncepta, IBHI je tokom 2007. i 2008. godine proveo Anketu o izdvajanjima vladinih institucija za NVO sektor. Za ciljnu populaciju ankete, izabrano je 214 vladinih institucija (od ukupno 280 institucija). Uzorak sačinjavaju određena ministarstva na nivou BiH, FBiH i RS, Vlade BD BiH, te kantonalna ministarstva u FBiH i opštine u FBiH i RS. Kriterij za izbor ministarstava je njihova resorna oblast i pretpostavka da u okviru te oblasti izdvajaju sredstva za NVO sektor. Reprezentativnost procjene izdvajanja je postignuta na nivou države, entiteta, ukupno svih kantona i opština po entitetima.

Stopa odgovora

Od ukupno 214 vladinih institucija, 195 je odgovorilo, odnosno finalna stopa odgovora je 91,1% što je omogućilo ekstrapolaciju rezultata na nivou populacije.

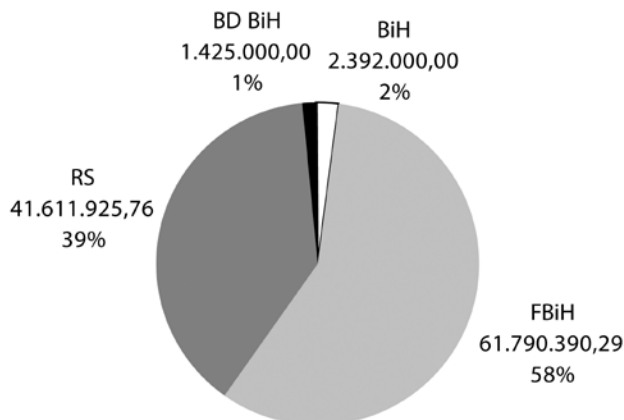
Osnovni nalazi ankete

Ekonomski pokazatelji

- Ukupna planirana sredstva za NVO u vladinim (ministarstva, kantoni, opštine) budžetima na svim nivoima u 2007. godini iznosila su 107.219.316,05 KM¹⁰ (0,56% BDP-a za 2006. godinu). Ukupna planirana izdvajanja anketiranih institucija u FBiH iznosila su 61.790.390,29 KM¹¹ a u RS 41.611.925,76 KM.

¹⁰ Vrlo slični rezultati (110.473.802 KM) dobijeni su u Studiji „Analiza institucionalne saradnje između vladinog i nevladinog sektora u BiH” (G. Žeravčić, Kronauer Consulting; Sarajevo, septembar 2008). Razlika je u rasponu statističke greške, što je uobičajeno sa anketama ove vrste.

¹¹ Entitetske procjene uključuju podatke iz ankete za entitetska ministarstva, kantonalna ministarstva u FBiH i opštine. Prema Izvještaju o realizaciji budžeta Vlade Federacije BiH, izdvajanje za grantove neprofitnim organizacijama u 2007. godini iznosi 46.375.920,44 KM. Ovaj iznos se razlikuje od onog dobijenog u IBHI anketi (za nivo FBiH Vlade 14.805.847,00 KM) iz razloga što Izvještaj o realizaciji budžeta u neprofitnim organizacijama uključuje kao primaocje vladine i javne institucije (npr. Zavod za javno zdravstvo, Tuzlanski aerodrom, itd.) dok se IBHI studija fokusirala samo na grantovima koji se daju fondacijama i NVO-ima. U skladu sa podacima Vlade FBiH, izdvajanja za grantove za neprofitne organizacije u 2007. godini iznosila su 46.375.920,44 KM. Iznos se odnosi na sve institucije Vlade FBiH, te je stoga veći od iznosa prijavljenog u okviru ankete za nivo Vlade FBiH (14.805.847,00 KM) koji se

Grafikon 1: Ukupna planiranja izdvajanja anketiranih vladinih institucija za 2007. godinu (u KM)

- Ukupan broj aktivnih, neprofitnih organizacija u BiH, kao što je već rečeno, je procijenjen na 4.629¹², što iznosi 23.163 KM po organizaciji iz domaćih budžeta. Ukupan godišnji prihod NVO-a u 2004. godini procijenjen je na 552.709.876 KM (u prosjeku 119.402 KM po organizaciji), iz svih izvora (strane donacije, domaći budžeti, članarine, itd.).
- Razlika u ukupnom procijenjenom godišnjem prihodu iz 2004. godine i procijeni prihoda od vladinih institucija u 2007. godini iznosi 96.239 KM po organizaciji. Ovu razliku čine međunarodne i lokalne donacije, članarine i trgovina uslugama i dobrima. Kvalitativna studija navodi da 21% prihoda NVO-a čine sredstva vlade¹³ što je u osnovi komplementarno podacima IBHI-jeve ankete za 2007. godinu.
- Ukupan broj zaposlenih koji rade puno radno vrijeme u neprofitnom sektoru, kao što je već rečeno, je procijenjen na 26.668¹⁴, to iznosi 4.021 KM po zaposleniku iz domaćih izvora. Ukoliko se u broj zaposlenih uvrsti i broj volontera koji rade puno radno vrijeme (63.129 u 2004. godini), iznos iz domaćih izvora po zaposlenoj osobi je 1.194 KM.
- Operativni troškovi za NVO sektor su procijenjeni na 300.673.358 KM u 2004. godini, dok je prihod procijenjen na 552.709.876 KM. Sredstva dodijeljena u 2007. g. od strane vladinih institucija iznose 35,7% operativnih troškova i 19,4% prihoda NVO sektora iz 2004. godine.

Izdvajanja po administrativnim nivoima i kategorijama NVO-a

- Sredstva opštinskih vlasti čine najveći udio (60%) finansiranja vlade za NVO sektor u BiH.

odnosi na federalne institucije koje su direktno nadležne za podršku socijalnom sistemu BiH. Ova razlika je osnovica koju su institucije koristile kako bi došle do iznosa, što znači da ove dvije brojke ne mogu biti direktno uspoređivane i kao takve trebaju se uzimati s rezervom. www.fmf.gov.ba/budzet-07/izvjestaj%20o%20izvrs%20budzet.html

¹² Procjena za 2004. godinu. Podatak iz DFID, IBHI, BSAL "Kvalitativna studija 3 – Zapošljavanje, pružanje socijalnih usluga i nevladin sektor: Status i perspektivi za BiH, analiza i implikacija za politike", maj 2005.

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ *Ibid.* Procjena za 2004. godinu, koja se odnosi na 1,45% aktivnog stanovništva BiH u 2004.g.

- Velike razlike u izdvajanjima sredstava za organizacije su očigledne, posebno na opštinskom nivou. Razlike su rezultat budžetskih kapaciteta pojedinačnih opština i do određenog nivoa, broja organizacija koje su aktivne na određenoj teritoriji. Većina organizacija locirana je u većim gradovima (Banja Luka, Sarajevo, Zenica i Tuzla), a 60% njih usmjerava svoje aktivnosti na specifično geografsko područje. Ti NVO-i su usmjereni na lokalne potrebe u opštinama i njihova finansijska održivost je sve više i više zasnovana na lokalnim budžetima.
- Od ukupnog prijavljenog iznosa dodijeljenog NVO sektoru za 2007. godinu, 42,9% je namijenjeno udruženjima građana UG/NVO-ima; 44,1% sportskim organizacijama i 13,0% boračko-invalidskim organizacijama i drugim srodnim organizacijama.
- Od ukupnog iznosa izdvojenog na opštinskom nivou: u FBiH je 44% izdvojeno za UG/NVO, 39% za sportske organizacije i 17% za boračko-invalidske organizacije; u RS je 25% izdvojeno za UG/NVO, 65% za sportske organizacije i 10% za boračko-invalidske organizacije.

Tenderske procedure i izvještavanje

- 25,3% (49) od 195 institucija koje su učestvovala u istraživanju za 2007. godinu dodjeljuju sredstva putem javnih poziva; 41,0% (80) ne upražnjava proceduru objavljivanja javnih poziva, a od tog procenta, većina raspoređuje sredstva u skladu sa pripremljenim godišnjim budžetom; 14,9% (29) objavljuje javne pozive za dio sredstava raspoloživih NVO sektoru. Činjenica da skoro polovina anketiranih institucija ne objavljuje javne pozive je pokazatelj da se u određenim slučajevima sredstva dodjeljuju ad hoc. Transparentnije politike se trebaju uvesti koje bi pomogle vlastima da unaprijede finansijsko praćenje i planiranje aktivnosti. Od preostalih institucija, 7,2% (14) ne dodjeljuje sredstva nevladinim organizacijama dok 11,8% (23) nije dostavilo traženi podatak.
- Ukupno je 24.318.866,11 KM (22,7%) dodijeljeno bez tenderske procedure (npr. putem planiranih, godišnjih, programa rada).
- Od institucija koje su učestvovala u anketi, 78,5% (154) zahtijevaju podnošenje izvještaja od strane UG/NVO-a, dok dodatnih 3,1% (6) institucija planira uvesti proceduru izvještavanja u 2008. godini. U većini slučajeva, podnošenje finansijskog izvještaja je uslov za dodjeljivanje sredstava u idućoj godini.
- 48,7% (96) institucija koje su učestvovala u anketi sprovodi analizu programskih i/ili finansijskih rezultata (3,1% (6) institucija vrši djelomičnu analizu rezultata). Indikatori za analizu nisu harmonizirani ali u brojnim slučajevima postoje kriteriji za izvještavanje po kojima se vrši analiza. Kao glavni razlog za neprovođenje analize, citira se nedostatak kadrova a potom nedostatak potrebe za vršenjem detaljne analize implementiranih aktivnosti i utroška sredstava zbog malog iznosa dodijeljenih sredstava.

Održivost NVO sektora – Kako pomoći tranziciju sa stranih na domaće izvore?

Održivost i tranzicija sa stranih na domaće izvore finansiranja nije samo finansijsko pitanje. To podrazumijeva „reformu“ aktivnosti NVO sektora u sljedećim pravcima:

- sa programima i planovima rada usmjerenim ka donatorima na programe i planove rada usmjerenim ka lokalnim potrebama,
- bolje i dugotrajnije fokusiranje aktivnosti NVO-a, što omogućava takođe razvoj adekvatnih ljudskih resursa,
- jačanje partnerstva NVO-a sa javnim i privatnim sektorom,
- fokusiranje na jačanje socijalne uključenosti građana, pogotovo ugroženih grupa,
- razvoj inovativnih pristupa u radu sa isključenim grupama,
- primjeren rad, lobiranje i zagovaranje, borba za ostvarivanje ljudskih prava svih građana,
- jačanje uticaja civilnog društva na politike, posebno u oblasti socijalnog razvoja.

Održivost je dakle multidimenzionalan proces; finansijska održivost je uslov za spomenutu „reformu“ aktivnosti NVO sektora. U isto vrijeme, ta „reformu“ je i uslov za finansiranje NVO-a iz domaćih izvora, dakle uslov za održivost.

NVO FSU je, dakle, ne samo poluga za jačanje finansijske održivosti NVO-a, nego takođe i važna poluga za preusmjeravanje njihovih aktivnosti na stvarne potrebe, jačanje partnerstva sa javnim i privatnim sektorom, fokusiranje na jačanje socijalne uključenosti, borbe za ljudska prava, itd. Zbog toga, struktura NVO FSU uključuje „Odjeljenje za obuku i istraživanje”.

U ovom kontekstu, NVO FSU može podržati NVO-e u boljoj identifikaciji isključenih grupa i razvoju zajedničkog pristupa sa lokalnim CSR u tom procesu identifikacije. Ova iskustva mogu biti osnova za institucionalizaciju unaprijeđenog i zajedničkog pristupa u identifikaciji stvarnih potreba isključenih osoba

Značajan dio navedenog je uključivanje socijalno isključenih, posebno u opštinama, u proces donošenja odluka vezanih za stvarne potrebe i finansijsku podršku.

Realistične mogućnosti za predložene promjene/tranziciju mogu se ilustrovati sljedećim primjerima „najboljih praksi”.

Primjer 1: SDC

Važni elementi za odgovor na pitanje – kako podržati tranziciju sa stranih na domaće izvore finansiranja za NVO-e u BiH? – leže u vrlo dobrim iskustvima SDC *Programa podrške NVO u BiH (2004.-2008.)*. U okviru četiri kruga, *Švicarski program podrške NVO u BiH 2004. – 2008.*, podržao je projekte 25 različitih NVO-a koji su implementirali projekte u 37 različitih, geografski vrlo široko rasprostranjenih opština. Ukupan broj Programom podržanih projekata je 66. Tokom svog trajanja, *Program* je bio u potpunosti fokusiran na postizanje svog glavnog cilja *profesionalizacije lokalnih NVO-a i uloge vlada u opštinskim sistemima socijalne zaštite s ciljem pružanja adekvatne socijalne i zdravstvene zaštite korisnicima*.

U prvom krugu Programa, projekti lokalnih NVO partnera bili su uglavnom fokusirani na pružanje socijalnih usluga, često bez bitne interakcije sa akterima iz drugih sektora (vladin, javni, privatni). Fokus je na jačanju kapaciteta lokalnih NVO partnera u uspostavljanju strateškog partnerstva sa važnim akterima u zajednici. Ovo je realizovano kroz:

- treninge (odnosno, mješoviti model socijalne zaštite i orijentisan ka klijentu, strateško planiranje),

- razmjenu iskustava između partnerskih organizacija,
- stalne konsultacije kroz implementaciju projekata,
- osmišljavanje prerekvizita za učešće u Programu (odnosno od trećeg kruga nadalje, partnerstvo sa javnim institucijama u implementaciji projekata bilo je obavezno za sve partnere),
- partnerstvo u zajedničkim aktivnostima (odnosno pokretanje Inicijative za uspostavljanje Fonda/Fondacije za socijalno uključivanje u BiH, učešće autora iz partnerskih organizacija u pripremi publikacija Civilno društvo u jačanju socijalne uključenosti u BiH).

Prezentirana strategija rezultirala je bitnom promjenom pristupa lokalnih NVO partnera. Aktivnosti u trećem i četvrtom krugu Programa osmišljene su i implementirane u punoj saradnji sa relevantnim akterima u lokalnim zajednicama (centri za socijalni rad CSR, škole, općinske uprave, drugi NVO-i). Jednako važno je da su partnerski projekti u samo nekoliko slučajeva ostali na nivou pružanja usluga. Uticaj projekta rezultirao je:

- jačanjem pozicije i zagovaračkog kapaciteta NVO partnera kroz pripremu anketa/istraživanja/publikacija/statističkih analiza, pokretanje i/ili učešće u različitim kampanjama i zagovaranjima.

Osnova ovog koncepta je partnerstvo između NVO-a i javnih institucija (centara za socijalni rad, itd.) u implementaciji projekata, što je u skladu sa EU standardima i razvojem mješovitog sistema socijalne zaštite. On takođe pokazuje izvrsno uključivanje relevantnih institucija i saradnju između tri sektora: javno–privatno–civilno, kao što je praksa u EU zemljama. U konačnom smislu, to je bio razvoj *matching* koncepta, usklađivanja SDC donatorskih sredstava sa domaćim i drugim donatorskim sredstvima za svaki od projekata u Programu.

Koncept omogućava partnerstvo između javnih institucija (CSR, na primjer) i odgovarajućih NVO-a u malim „konzorcijima“ tokom trajanja projekta. Institucije i organizacije učestvuju u aktivnostima u skladu sa njihovim kompetencijama i sposobnostima. Na taj se način postiže sinergija kao i bolji rezultati za korisnike, u poređenju sa uobičajenim odvojenim aktivnostima. Takođe, stvaraju se prilike za uključivanje privatnog sektora (privatne škole i vrtići, donacije, itd.).

Preciznije, iskustvo SDC matching/partnerskog koncepta pokazalo je sljedeće rezultate u smislu korištenja domaćih resursa za finansiranje NVO-a.

Ukupna sredstava SDC-a u sve četiri kruga Programa koja su iznosila 3.378.696 KM pokrenula su finansiranje iz domaćih sredstava u iznosu od 3.891.409 KM (zajedno sa sredstvima drugih donatora koja su ukupno iznosila 1.787.354 KM).

Tačnije, od ukupno 9.057.460 KM, doprinos SDC sredstava iznosio je 37,3%, domaćih sredstava 42,9% i drugih izvora 19,7%.

Tabele koje slijede pokazuju podatke:

Tabela 1. (u KM)

Krug	Period implementacije	Domaći – Vladin sektor	Domaći – NVO sektor	Domaći – Ostali	Domaći – Ukupno	Međunarodni – SDC	Međunarodni – Ostali	Međunarodni Ukupno	Ukupno
1	01.07.2004. – 31.12.2005.	205.613,50	657.478,90	391.809,00	1.254.901,40	983.410,63	746.485,50	1.729.896,13	2.984.797,53
2	01.01.2006. – 31.12.2006.	309.848,88	550.615,03	239.912,60	1.100.376,51	1.171.700,60	437.274,00	1.608.974,60	2.709.351,11
3	01.03.2007. – 29.02.2008.	217.466,32	729.186,31	143.304,40	1.089.957,03	739.961,55	383.658,65	1.123.620,20	2.213.577,22
4	01.03.2008. – 31.10.2008.	78.145,00	244.333,95	123.696,00	446.174,95	483.623,41	219.936,64	703.560,05	1.149.735,00
	Ukupno	811.073,70	2.181.614,19	898.722,00	3.891.409,89	3.378.696,19	1.787.354,79	5.166.050,97	9.057.460,86

Tabela 2. (u KM)

Krug	Period implementacije	Domaći – Vladin sektor	Domaći – NVO sektor	Domaći – Ostali	Domaći – Ukupno	Međunarodni – SDC	Međunarodni – Ostali	Međunarodni Ukupno	Ukupno
1	01.07.2004. – 31.12.2005.	6,89%	22,03%	13,13%	42,04%	32,95%	25,01%	57,96%	100,00%
2	01.01.2006. – 31.12.2006.	11,44%	20,32%	8,85%	40,61%	43,25%	16,14%	59,39%	100,00%
3	01.03.2007. – 29.02.2008.	9,82%	32,94%	6,47%	49,24%	33,43%	17,33%	50,76%	100,00%
4	01.03.2008. – 31.10.2008.	6,80%	21,25%	10,76%	38,81%	42,06%	19,13%	61,19%	100,00%

Izvor: IBHI proračuni na osnovu projektne dokumentacije.

Primjer 2 : DFID

Vrlo slična su pozitivna iskustva zasnovana na partnerstvu i usklađivanju domaćih i stranih sredstava iz brojnih međunarodnih projekata, što možemo ilustrovati primjerom DFID-ovog Projekta „Reformisanje sistema i struktura režima centralne i lokalne socijalne politike u Bosni i Hercegovini“, implementiranog u četiri pilot opštine (Gornji Vakuf-Uskoplje, Zenica, Banja Luka, Trebinje) u periodu 2001.-2005.

Projekti aktivnosti u zajednici (PAZ-ovi) donijeli su inovaciju i održivost ohrabrujući aktivno učešće korisnika u osmišljavanju i implementaciji aktivnosti. Kroz pristup zasnovan na korisniku, lokalni akteri postali su sve više uključeni u finansiranje PAZ-ova u periodu trajanja projekta. Od tri kruga PAZ-ova, Projekat (DFID) je u potpunosti finansirao 1. krug; 2. krug su zajednički finansirali opština/Grad i Projekat (50%-50%); a u 3 krugu opština/Grad finansirali su 64% ukupnog budžeta svih PAZ-ova. Na kraju Projekta (maj, 2005.), opštine/Grad su u potpunosti preuzeli finansiranje PAZ-ova. U četvrtoj godini, sve četiri opštine su u potpunosti preuzele finansiranje svojih aktivnosti kroz opštinske budžete. Nakon završetka Projekta, sve četiri opštine su osigurale sredstva za 4. krug iz opštinskih budžeta.

Sljedeći podaci, koji pokrivaju sva tri kruga u toku tri godine, pokazuju važnost PAZ-ova za korisnike i reformu:

Ukupne brojke za sve pilot opštine/Grad su sljedeće:

- Ukupan budžet 109 PAZ-ova bio je 2.751.762 KM. Doprinos Projekta bio je 1.746.760 KM (63,5%), a opština / grada 1.005.002 KM (36,5%).
- U njihovoj implementaciji učestvovalo je 277 organizacija / aktera (uz određena preklapanja), uključujući 150 NVO-a, 107 javnih institucija i 20 privatnih poduzetnika.
- Broj direktnih korisnika tokom trogodišnjeg perioda (imajući u vidu da su kriteriji specifični po oblasti) je 20.703.

Važno je napomenuti da su se lokalni/opštinski budžeti za socijalnu zaštitu povećali na preko 1 milion KM kroz specifične budžetske linije za Projekte aktivnosti u zajednici koje je finansirao DFID. Nadalje, razvile su se mreže partnerstava, sa većom ulogom NVO-a i javnih institucija, i ekspanziju usluga privatnog sektora, uključujući vrtiće u privatnom vlasništvu i doprinose za socijalnu zaštitu, kako u naturi tako i u novcu. Ove mreže i povećana svijest o potrebama specifičnih marginaliziranih grupa su karakteristike koje su se održale i poslije trajanja Projekta.

Predstavljeni primjeri, kao i prethodno analizirana situacija u NVO sektoru u BiH, pokazuju važnost NVO FSU u daljem razvoju NVO sektora u BiH, prije svega u kvalitativnom smislu, te njegov fokus na lokalne potrebe, prije svega uključivanje i ljudska prava isključenih grupa. U pitanju je mehanizam koji nije samo usmjeren na finansijsku održivost već ima aktivnu ulogu u „reformi“ NVO aktivnosti kroz politike usmjeravanja sredstava, budžeta i standarda i istraživanje u oblastima koje su važne za dalji kvalitativni razvoj NVO-a.

II DIO

KONCEPT ZA NVO FONDACIJU SOCIJALNOG UKLJUČIVANJA

Koncept u drugom dijelu je razvijen kao podrška nevladinim organizacijama u a) jačanju njihove uloge u boljem tretiranju socijalne uključenosti, b) razvoju partnerstva između NVO i javnog sektora i c) jačanju BiH civilnog društva u kontekstu evropskih integracija. Ključni elementi koncepta su dodatna *matching* sredstva, dobra koordinacija između svih uključenih aktera, transparentni i efikasni mehanizmi za dodjeljivanje sredstava posvećenim NVO-ima, aktivnim u socijalnoj domeni.

Imajući u vidu pozadinske informacije u prvom dijelu ovog dokumenta, NVO Fondaciju socijalnog uključivanja (NVO FSU) treba posmatrati kao efikasan mehanizam za:

- jačanje uloge NVO-a u boljem pristupu socijalnom uključivanju kao i njihov razvoj i bolje fokusiranje na stvarne potrebe isključenih grupa,
- jačanje finansijske održivosti NVO sektora u BiH u osnaživanju socijalnog uključivanja kroz *matching* (NVO FSU) sredstva i sredstva iz lokalnih budžeta,
- koordinirano korištenje donatorskih sredstava i domaćih sredstava vezano za implementaciju SSU (bolji fokus na glavne probleme i pronalazak rješenja),
- jačanje profesionalizma i kvalitete NVO-a,
- jačanje inovativnog pristupa u skladu sa EU standardima u oblasti socijalne politike i zakonodavstva vezanog za NVO-e (istraživanja zasnovana na aktivnosti, dokumenti politika, izgradnja kapaciteta, itd.).

Vezano za jačanje finansijske održivosti NVO sektora koji je uključen u jačanje socijalnog uključivanja, procjenjuje se da bi NVO FSU trebala biti bazirana na sljedećim osnovama:

- usklađivanju donatorskih sredstava i domaćih sredstava,
- partnerstvu između NVO-a i lokalnih institucija u aktivnostima podrške implementaciji SSU.

Konkretno, sredstva Fondacije bila bi:

1. Strane donacije. Preciznije, dokumenti NVO FSU (Politika, godišnji Plan rada, itd.) kao podrška implementaciji SSU i njenog Plana rada omogućiće donatorima da se usmjere na glavne aktivnosti, koordiniraju podršku, smanje sveukupne troškove implementacije u odnosu na troškove pojedinačnih projekata itd., te samim tim postignu veću produktivnost. To će unaprijediti veoma potrebnu, generalnu donatorsku koordinaciju.

2. Domaći budžeti za javne institucije (Vlada, druge javne institucije). Na sličan način kao što je ranije rečeno, to će omogućiti bolji fokus, koordinaciju u pružanju podrške NVO-ima u implementaciji SSU BiH Vlada i javnih institucija. To će takođe omogućiti napredak u koordinaciji NVO i njihovo bolje usmjeravanje.

3. Dodatno domaće finansiranje na vladinom i entitetskom nivou: Važno je imati u vidu da NVO FSU neće biti primarno fokusirana na postojeće domaće resurse za finansiranje NVO, već

na prikupljanje dodatnih domaćih sredstava, prvenstveno sredstava opština, BiH Vlade i entiteta.

Nije moguće, niti bi bilo racionalno pokušati kanalisati postojeća domaća sredstva (107 miliona KM) kroz NVO FSU. To su uglavnom opštinska sredstva (oko 60%) usmjerena na finansiranje lokalnih zajednica i lokalnih NVO-a. Teško je vjerovati da će opština dati sredstva iz svog budžeta NVO FSU kako bi se ista mogla koristiti, putem redovnih tenderskih procedura, za projekte u drugim opštinama. Nasuprot tome, imajući u vidu EU prakse međuopštinske saradnje, (sa IPA fondovima koji će biti uvedeni u BiH) moguće je inicirati, za neke opštine koje imaju slične regionalne interese, uspostavljanje njihove sopstvene NVO FSU s ciljem unapređenja regionalnog društvenog razvoja. NVO FSU može inicirati, sarađivati i učestvovati u finansiranju međuopštinskih, sličnih mehanizama/Fondacija ili Fondova.

Realno je očekivati da će ta lokalna sredstva biti skromna na početku rada NVO FSU. Takođe je realno očekivati da će se ista postepeno povećavati sa implementacijom SSU i njenog Akcionog plana.

4. Privatne i druge pojedinačne donacije od pojedinaca ili biznis sektora. Zaključeno je da i u ovom pogledu postoje realne mogućnosti, te da bi uz neophodno zagovaranje, mnoge kompanije ili građani željeli donirati sredstva NVO FSU, radije nego pojedinačnim NVO-ima koji često uzimaju sredstva na prilično netransparentan način.

Pored bolje koordinacije između NVO-a, u okviru donatorske zajednice i lokalnih vlasti, mehanizam NVO FSU će u velikoj mjeri doprinijeti koordinaciji i boljem usmjeravanju među NVO-ima, donatorima i lokalnim vlastima. Na taj način, vlasništvo će biti ojačano u procesu uvođenja EU standarda i razvoja politika socijalnog uključivanja u BiH zasnovanih na EU praksama i standardima. Generalno, ovo će biti veliki doprinos razvoju jakog i uticajnog civilnog društva.

Na taj način, u budžetu same NVO FSU, realizovaće se *matching* sredstva. Vrlo pouzdana i transparentna metodologija distribucije sredstava će se morati razviti i treba biti dostupna javnosti u svakom momentu kako bi se izbjegle moguće spekulacije. Transparentnost procedura biće zasnovana na EU standardima.

Vezano za ulogu NVO FSU u jačanju finansijske održivosti NVO-a u funkciji implementacije SSU, važno je i ključno da su NVO FSU sredstva usklađena sa drugim domaćim sredstvima (lokalni budžeti na svim nivoima) za šta je preduslov partnerstvo između NVO-a i javnih institucija u projektima koji će se implementirati.

Na taj način, NVO FSU bi direktno uticala na povećanje ukupnog nivoa finansiranja NVO-a iz domaćih izvora; proces sigurnog povećanja procijenjenog iznosa od 107 miliona KM u 2007. godini bi otpočeo. U finansijskom smislu, ovaj uticaj bi bio mnogo veći od ukupnog iznosa NVO FSU sredstava i kreirao bi pozitivne prakse u ovom sektoru kao što je bolje usmjeravanje NVO-a i njihovu koordinaciju, transparentne procedure, aktivnosti „vođene potrebama“ i sam razvoj NVO sektora.

S druge strane, postojeća i uvećana domaća sredstva bi samim tim bila bolje usmjerena i koordinirana u procesu implementacije SSU, što nije bio slučaj u prošlosti.

5. FOND ILI FONDACIJA?

U procjeni organizacijskog tipa mehanizma za podršku NVO-ima u jačanju socijalne uključenosti, imali smo u vidu dvije opcije: Fond ili Fondacija. Kroz najšire konsultacije sa NVO-ima i vladinim institucijama istraživali smo prednosti i nedostatke obje moguće organizacijske forme.

Koncept koji smo razvijali je podrška nevladinim organizacijama u:

- jačanju njihove uloge u boljem tretiranju socijalne uključenosti;
- razvoju partnerstva između NVO-a i javnog sektora;
- jačanju kvaliteta, profesionalizma i kapaciteta NVO-a (transparentne procedure, bolji fokus na isključene grupe, itd.);
- jačanju BiH civilnog društva u kontekstu evropskih integracija.

Karakteristike ova dva moguća modela, u skladu sa BiH zakonodavstvom, najkraće, su:

Fond za Bosnu i Hercegovinu je formiran kao dio vladinih institucija i s njim upravlja Vlada; Upravni odbor čine predstavnici vlada FBiH, RS i BD BiH, ministarstva ili Agencije Vijeća ministara BiH, i donatori. Donatorska sredstva se deponuju kroz Ministarstvo finansija i drže na računu u Centralnoj banci BiH. Upravni odbor odlučuje o kriterijima za tendere i o odabiru projekata koje će podržavati Fond.

Fondacija se registruje u skladu sa Zakonom o udruženjima i fondacijama BiH. Mogu je finansirati fizička ili pravna lica (NVO-i), ali ne i državni organi ili vlade na bilo kojem nivou. Fondacijom upravlja Upravni odbor koji se može sastojati od NVO-a, javnih institucija, vladinih predstavnika, donatora, itd. Upravni odbor je zadužen za kriterije za tendere i selekciju projekata koji će biti podržani. Sredstva Fondacije mogu biti strane donacije, grantovi/subvencije iz domaćih budžeta, itd.

Prilikom razmatranja jakih i slabih strana Fonda ili Fondacije, imali smo u vidu detaljnu analizu iskustva Fonda za reformu javne uprave (FRJU), koji postoji već dvije godine, i Fonda za implementaciju Gender akcionog plana (FIGAP), čije je osnivanje u toku.

Specifična struktura BiH vlasti se takođe treba imati u vidu, kao i postojeća politička pitanja u zemlji, pogotovo kada su u pitanju osnivanja institucija na državnom nivou za oblasti koje spadaju pod ovlast entiteta, kao što su socijalna politika i njeno finansiranje. Iz tog razloga, usvojeni strateški dokumenti (CDS, SSU, na primjer) će biti implementirani na entitetskom nivou. Zbog nedostatka političke volje, usvajanje bilo koje odluke vezano za finansiranje na BiH nivou, zahtijeva dogovor entitetskih vlada.

Fond

Prednosti

- Percepcija veće sigurnosti za strane donatore,
- Osnazivanje uloge BiH države u socijalnoj politici,
- Jačanje koordinacije unutar entitetskih i među-entitetskih vladinih institucija.

Nedostaci

- Postoje različite entitetske politike za jačanje uloge države u socijalnoj politici, pogotovo vezano za uspostavu novih institucija. Može se očekivati da će RS biti protiv; manje pesimističan je rizik da će procedura uspostavljanja Fonda biti veoma duga (ili će biti odgođena zbog najavljenih konstitutivnih promjena). Iz tog razloga, može se očekivati otpor uvođenju Fonda u SSU i njen akcioni plan.
- NVO-i ne bi bili u mogućnosti da aktivno učestvuju u donošenju odluka o politikama, godišnjim planovima i projektima koje podržava Fond, što bi bilo suprotno samoj svrsi uspostavljanja Fonda za podršku NVO-ima u jačanju socijalne uključenosti.
- Pravna osnova Fonda je Memorandum o razumijevanju (MoR) (ili Dogovor o zajedničkom finansiranju – DZF – koji je slabija verzija) koji mora usvojiti Vijeće ministara BiH, Vlade RS, FBiH i BD BiH, i donatori sa druge strane. MoR je kao pravni akt o uspostavljanju vrlo detaljan; opisuje organizacionu strukturu, procedure donošenja odluka, itd. Procedura pripreme i usvajanja ovog dokumenta zahtijeva neophodan dogovor svih lokalnih vlada i zahtijevaće duži vremenski period, čak i u stabilnijem političkom okruženju.
- Procedura usvajanja odluke od strane Upravnog odbora Fonda zahtijevala bi saglasnost Vlada RS, FBiH, BD i Vijeća ministara BiH, što bi u velikoj mjeri umanjilo efikasnost rada Odbora.
- Fond bi morao biti dio Ministarstava ili Agencije na BiH nivou i zahtijevao bi specijalni administrativni servis (sekretarijat). Na primjer, administracija FRJU se sastoji od 25 članova osoblja; predviđeno je 45 (trogodišnji budžet za FRJU je 4,5 miliona Eura). U procesu osnivanja FIGAP-a, prvobitna tri člana osoblja povećano je na devet (trogodišnji budžet, za sada, je 1 milion Eura). Očekuje se da bi entiteti mogli zahtijevati sopstvene administrativne servise za rad Fonda (kao što je slučaj u FRJU i FIGAP).
- Finansijske operacije Fonda se rade putem Ministarstva finansija i trezora BiH, što može znatno usporiti njihovu dinamiku.

Fondacija

Prednosti

- Omogućava puno učešće NVO-a u upravljanju Fondacijom i ne isključuje učešće vladinih predstavnika (BiH, FBiH, RS, BD BiH) i, svakako, donatora.
- Mnogo brža procedura uspostavljanja.
- Otvoren pristup ka svim NVO-ima u BiH, odnosno, jačanje unutar entitetske i među-entitetske koordinacije NVO-a, odnosno, civilnog društva.
- Može se izvesti zaključak da je realno da BiH, FBiH a posebno Vlada RS neće imati političkih prigovora, niti poteškoća, u pružanju podrške Fondaciji, a naročito ne njenom uvođenju u SSU i Akcioni plan.
- Neovisno od registracije i pravnog statusa, Fondacija će imati svoju legitimnost u SSU i Akcionom planu; dakle, imaće službenu podršku svih vlada.

- Opšti MoR može biti potpisan sa DEP-om BiH ili Vijećem ministara BiH, koji će podržati Fondaciju (ova vrsta MoR bila bi usvojena u hitnoj proceduri, odnosno brže, i mogla bi biti finalizirana nakon što Fondacija počne sa radom).
- Finansijske operacije izvršava Izvršna agencija, uz kontrolu donatora i relevantnih domaćih institucija.
- Fondacija je strukturno vrlo precizno definisana odgovarajućim zakonom (Fondovi se formiraju ili posebnim zakonom ili MoR), koji garantuje sigurnost i transparentnost njenog funkcionisanja.

Nedostaci

- Skepticizam stranih donatora, pošto neki od njih ne mogu biti u potpunosti svjesni konstitutivnih i političkih prepreka u BiH.
- Rezerve konzervativnih pojedinaca u domaćim institucijama koji očekuju jačanje civilnog društva u BiH kroz Fondaciju.
- Kašnjenje u usvajanju SSU i njenog Akcionog plana.
- Manje formalan oblik u institucionalnom smislu od Fonda.

Gore navedene stavke su glavni razlozi za predlaganje uspostavljanja Fondacije. DEP BiH je takođe učestvovao u formiranju ovog mišljenja.

6. NVO FONDACIJA SOCIJALNOG UKLJUČIVANJA (NVO FSU)

Dosadašnje aktivnosti Inicijative za uspostavu Fondacije za socijalno uključivanje bile su vrlo participativne i uključivale su brojne NVO-e i javne institucije.

- Inicijativa koju su pokrenuli IBHI i 22 partnerske organizacije sredinom 2006. u okviru Švicarskog programa podrške NVO u BiH 2004.–2008.;
- Do sada je Inicijativa raspravljana na:
 - 15 regionalnih okruglih stolova (5 u 2007. i 10 u 2008. godini) sa 485 predstavnika vladinih i javnih institucija, međunarodnih organizacija, NVO-a i drugih organizacija civilnog društva, širom zemlje;
 - Regionalnoj Konferenciji sa više od 150 učesnika;
 - Brojnim bilateralnim sastancima sa NVO-ima, vladinim i javnim institucijama, međunarodnim i donatorskim agencijama.
- Rezultat tog procesa je Platforma Inicijative za uspostavu Fondacije socijalnog uključivanja u BiH i publikacija Civilno društvo u jačanju socijalne uključenosti u BiH.

Važno je napomenuti da je tokom trajanja posljednjih osam okruglih stolova (2008. godina) održanih u oba entiteta (4 u FBiH, 4 u RS), učesnicima podijeljen upitnik. 78% se opredijelilo za Fondaciju, a 22% za Fond; 86% NVO predstavnika opredijelilo se za Fondaciju (14% za Fond); 65% učesnika iz javnih institucija opredijelilo se za Fondaciju (35% za Fond).

Specificirajući ime u *NVO Fondacija za socijalno uključivanje u BiH (NVO FSU)*, mi predlažemo ovu pravnu formu organizovanja mehanizma za jačanje socijalne uključenosti, ulogu, održivost i vlasništvo NVO-a u procesu.

Vizija za BiH

Aktivno i vitalno civilno društvo sa posvećenim i funkcionalnim NVO-ima promoviše jednake mogućnosti i potpuno ostvarivanje ljudskih prava za sve građane. Poštivanje ljudskih prava i transparentnost u procesima donošenja odluka i u procedurama su osnova za participativnu demokratiju u BiH i punu implementaciju Strategije socijalnog uključivanja.

Misija NVO FSU

Fondacija socijalnog uključivanja povećava kapacitet i ulogu nevladinog sektora u jačanju socijalne uključenosti i implementaciji SSU. Stoga, ona doprinosi prevenciji i smanjenju uzroka i posljedica socijalne isključenosti u BiH. Takođe, imajući u vidu da se socijalna situacija u BiH proteklih godina nije promijenila, kao i negativne posljedice trenutne finansijske krize u svijetu na stvarnu ekonomiju (u BiH takođe) i socijalni razvoj, sprječavanje mogućeg pogoršanja socijalne isključenosti i siromaštva dobija na važnosti.

Ciljevi

- Doprinijeti sprječavanju i smanjenju uzroka i posljedica socijalne isključenosti u BiH kroz promociju partnerstva aktera iz vladinog, nevladinog, javnog i privatnog sektora u implementaciji SSU.
- Pružiti direktnu pomoć pravilno identifikovanim socijalno isključenim kategorijama stanovništva.
- Olakšati razmjenu znanja, iskustava i ekspertize za aktivnosti vezane za socijalnu uključenost te samim tim i socijalnu zaštitu, obrazovanje, zdravstvenu zaštitu, zasnovanu na punom ostvarivanju, zaštititi i poštivanju ljudskih prava.
- Unaprijediti kvalitet rada NVO-a i prilagoditi ga određenim standardima tj. profesionalizacija. U tom kontekstu, u saradnji sa NVO-ima, biće razvijeni dokumenti koji će osigurati unapređenje kvaliteta rada (Priručnik za aktivnosti na socijalnom uključivanju, Software za finansijski menadžment, itd.) i specifični oblici certifikacije NVO-a za ove aktivnosti (NVO Povelja ili Certifikacija kvalitete rada, itd.) Iz tog razloga, treninzi i istraživanja, kao i monitoring i evaluacija, biće važan dio aktivnosti FSU.
- Povećati dostupnost sredstava NVO-ima iz budžeta lokalnih vlada kroz njihovu finansijsku podršku Fondaciji.
- Efektivno primjenjivati pristup matching sredstava kojim će projekti biti dijelom finansirani od strane Fondacije a dijelom iz lokalnih (opštinskih, kantonalnih...) budžeta sa tendencijom povećanja finansijskog učešća opština.
- Poboljšati pristup informacijama građanima vezano za pitanja lokalne zajednice.
- Povećati transparentnost procesa donošenja odluka uključujući kako se donose opštinski budžeti s ciljem uspostavljanja fer i transparentnog sistema NVO finansiranja, koje je oslobođeno ličnih, subjektivnih i nepotističkih implikacija.

Pitanje od najveće važnosti za NVO FSU je biti aktivan dio procesa usmjerenog boljoj socijalnoj uključenosti u BiH, to jeste, implementaciji Strategije socijalnog uključivanja, i

njenoj integraciji i usklađivanju sa ključnim partnerima i strateškim razvojem koji proizlaze iz pozicije BiH u evropskim integracijama.

7. UMJESTO ZAKLJUČKA

Civilno društvo u BiH, u mjeri u kojoj postoji, suočeno je sa velikim problemima koji su različiti u odnosu na probleme iz ranijih godina. Na neki način civilno društvo se nalazi na raskrsnici, potrebi da uđe u novu, zreliju fazu razvoja. To je potreba BiH društva u cjelini, posebno njenih građana. Postoji opšta saglasnost o slabom uticaju civilnog društva na stvarne društvene tokove uprkos njegove relativne, kvantitativno gledane veličine. Osnovno je pitanje kako povećati uticaj civilnog društva i odgovor na to pitanje određuje i različite pravce koji vode sa pomenute raskrsnice.

Sa druge strane, često se civilno društvo reducira na NVO-e; mediji, sindikati, asocijacije poslodavaca, akademska zajednica se zaboravljaju i ostavljaju nekim drugim konceptima. NVO-i samo su dio civilnog društva; koliko god bili važan dio, nisu cjelina. Možda dio problema slabog uticaja civilnog društva, pa i NVO-a, leži upravo u toj reduciranoj interpretaciji civilnog društva.

U toku su različite aktivnosti u pripremama strategija razvoja civilnog društva, sektorskog umrežavanja NVO-a, jačanja zakonodavnog i institucionalnog osnova razvoju NVO-a prije svega. Uspostava NVO FSU komplementarna je tim aktivnostima, pri čemu u pristupu ide korak dalje i praktičnije, polazeći od sljedećeg:

1. NVO-i se ne mogu institucionalno kruto umrežiti niti imati svoj „headquarter“ jer je to, u osnovi, u suprotnosti sa suštinom civilnog društva tj. slobode udruživanja. To je najmanje moguće u opštem smislu, u odnosu na NVO sektor u cjelini.
2. „Sektorsko“ umrežavanje, ako bi pasivno pratilo osnovu aktivnosti NVO-a, te „sektore“ razumjelo kao registracijsku poziciju, bavilo se opštim problemima „sektora“, izloženo je riziku da postane „NVO sindikat“, sektor, na primjer, socijalnih usluga, te da tako traži dijalog sa vlastima samo o svojim problemima. Kad je riječ o opštim problemima NVO-a koji se tiču zakonske regulative, poreskog sistema, načina finansiranja, oni su važni za sve NVO-e, a ne „sektorske mreže“; dakle, NVO-i u cjelini su „treći sektor“. Dosadašnji pokušaji „umrežavanja“, formiranja raznih NVO Odbora i Savjeta koji su trebali da predstavljaju NVO-e, nisu pokazali nikakav rezultat.
3. Potrebno je razvijati akcione oblike saradnje za specifične veoma važne aktivnosti od opšteg društvenog značaja. Takvi oblici NVO saradnje, akciono mogu biti usmjereni na, na primjer, implementaciju Strategije socijalnog uključivanja i ulogu NVO-a u tome, u partnerstvu sa javnim institucijama i vladinim sektorom. Ovdje se ne radi o stvaranju „sektorske mreže NVO-a“ kao cilja za sebe, već ako neko voli, to bi značilo „umrežavanje“ ali bi ono imalo cilj, svrhu i strategiju aktivnosti, bilo bi praktične naravi i fleksibilno. Najkraće, saradnja između NVO-a i zastupanje njihovog interesa nisu prije svega „organizaciono“ pitanje već su prije svega akciono pitanje, umrežavanje nije organizaciono pitanje već je pitanje aktivnosti i ciljeva a dokazuje se rezultatima.

4. U ovom kontekstu, pristup formiranju NVO FSU jeste akcioni, usmjeren na Strategiju socijalne uključenosti, jeste partnerski u smislu saradnje sa javnim sektorom i u smislu konsultacija unutar NVO-a koji rade u socijalnom sektoru. Može formirati „mrežu aktivnosti NVO-a“ vezano za implementaciju Strategije.

Osnovni problemi NVO-a i civilnog društva u nastupajućoj „zreloj“ fazi njihovog razvoja mogu se rješavati samo kroz akcije sa ciljem programsko/strateške orijentacije u direktnoj vezi sa nekim od važnih pitanja bosanskohercegovačkog društva. Ne smijemo zaboraviti da su NVO-i, kao i civilno društvo u cjelini, samo dio društva u BiH, dakle, nisu poseban „entitet“ koji stalno treba organizovati i reorganizovati i baviti se samim sobom.

Dakle, NVO-i postoje zbog građana i njihovog uključivanja u sve društvene tokove. Uključivanje građana nije prije svega stvar organizacionog karaktera, edukacija za ovo ili ono, širenje svijesti o važnosti svega i svačega, te stalne izgradnje kapaciteta NVO-a, itd. To je, sve korisno, ali na tome su potrošene godine. Ali ako se ostane na tome, pomenuti „put sa raskršća“ vodi u dalju marginalizaciju.

Uključivanje građana moguće je samo kroz konkretne aktivnosti, od problema lokalne zajednice do najširih društvenih problema. To je jedini put koji stvarno može jačati uticaj civilnog društva i pokrenuti demokratski razvoj BiH.

Najvažniji su praktični koraci, „sa riječi na djela“ kako je davno rečeno.

118 MILIONA KORAKA DO SARADNJE

Civilno društvo kao djelokrug za povezivanje pojedinačnog, društvenog i ekonomskog razvoja je potencijal svakog društva čiji je cilj demokratizacija i poštivanje ljudskih prava. U suštini, razvoj civilnog društva se treba zasnivati na iskorištavanju potencijala za postizanje zajedničkog interesa. U državi u kojoj je zajednički interes podijeljen na političkom, ekonomskom i socijalnom planu, očigledno je da je pod upitnikom smjer u kojem će se razvijati civilno društvo.

Uz direktne potrebe društva, smjer civilnih inicijativa je uvjetovan akterima koji ga vode i predstavljaju u javnosti i mogućnostima finansiranja (i samim tim donekle agendama izvora finansiranja). U post-ratnom periodu, fokus aktivnosti nevladinog sektora kao jednog dijela civilnog društva u Bosni i Hercegovini, pomjerao se od potreba za rješavanjem humanitarne krize, pružanja usluga najugroženijim kategorijama i samog razvoja organizacionih kapaciteta nevladinih organizacija, ka širem rješavanju održivog razvoja i socio-ekonomskih problema. U posljednje vrijeme, ovo zadnje se u velikoj mjeri odnosi na pitanje siromaštva i socijalnog uključivanja marginaliziranih grupa i pojedinih uspješnih primjera rada na pružanju pomoći određenim kategorijama stanovništva (osobe sa invaliditetom, podrška liječenim ovisnicima, žrtve nasilja u porodici).¹

Zbog velikih potreba za fizičkom i društvenom rekonstrukcijom, nevladin sektor se od 1995. godine donekle profilirao kao čimbenik koji može popuniti rupe u aktivnostima vladinog sektora sa ciljem dosezanja onog dijela stanovništva koji je bio najugroženiji. Prolaskom vremena i ublažavanjem direktne humanitarne krize, nametnula se prirodna evolucija nevladinog sektora kao partnera vladinog sektora u postizanju „zajedničkog interesa“ poboljšanja društva. Proces evolucije, mada u samom začetku, potaknuo je niz pitanja (osim onog očiglednog o nejasnoj definiciji zajedničkog interesa): potrebom za definiranjem i formaliziranjem uloge nevladinih organizacija kao partnera institucionalnom sistemu, potrebom za uzajamnim prepoznavanjem korisnosti, mogućnosti za nuđenjem usluga, potrebom za definiranjem jedinstvene i u javnosti prepoznatljive misije civilnih inicijativa i zbog svega navedenog, mogućnostima za finansijsku održivost.

Može se argumentirati da je usmjerenje usluga nevladinog sektora donekle nametnuto programima donatorskih (većinom stranih) izvora finansiranja, to jest uspješnosti „jačih“ nevladinih organizacija da „projektiraju“ u skladu sa donatorskim željama. Postavlja se pitanje u kojoj su mjeri ti programi usklađeni sa „zajedničkim interesom“ inicijativa, pojedinca, mreža

¹ UNDP/IBHI, *Izveštaj o humanom razvoju 2007 – Socijalno uključivanje u Bosni i Hercegovini* (Sarajevo: UNDP BiH, 2008. godina).

i institucionalnih programa Bosne i Hercegovine i sukladno tome, u kojoj se mjeri interes civilnog društva može izraziti i može li ono odgovoriti na realne društvene potrebe.²

Jedno od ključnih pitanja koje se postavlja je zbog čega bi vladine institucije trebale davati finansijsku podršku nevladinom sektoru u Bosni i Hercegovini. Nevladin sektor u Bosni i Hercegovini postepeno razvija ulogu inovatora u obliku novih metoda pružanja usluga građanima. Možda je još rano da se zagovara bilo koji konkretan model korištenja nevladinih organizacija u ove svrhe, da li za pilotiranje inovativnih modela pružanja socijalnih usluga (što bi moglo biti svojevrсна zamka za nevladin sektor) ili će vlada kontinuirano i otvoreno angažirati nevladine organizacije (na primjer, umjesto centara za socijalni rad) za obavljanje nekih aktivnosti usmjerenih na korisnike (ili će se primjeniti neki od miješanih modela koji se trenutno primjenjuju u Evropi).

Predpristupni proces Bosne i Hercegovine će zahtijevati dodatno profiliranje nevladinog sektora, kao i ostalih komponenti civilnog društva, obzirom da će Bosna i Hercegovina morati zadovoljiti određeni stepen uključivanja civilnog društva u proces odlučivanja. U nadolazećem periodu kada je za očekivati da Evropska Unija preuzme ulogu najvećeg „stranog“ donatora za razvoj civilnog društva zbog prepoznate potrebe da ono zauzme dinamičnu ulogu u demokratskom društvu, vrijeme je da i vlasti Bosne i Hercegovine definiraju svoj stav prema civilnom društvu.

Zanemarimo li utjecaj koji vladin sektor i političke partije mogu imati, i u velikoj mjeri imaju, na određene komponente civilnog društva (akademska zajednicu, medije), saradnja nevladinog i vladinog sektora mora biti zasnovana na mogućnosti građana da sudjeluju u definiranju svojih izbora. Više puta je u javnosti navedeno da se vladin sektor odnosi prema nevladinom kao „rivalu“. Formalni vidovi saradnje su još uvijek nedovoljno razvijeni, a oni primjeri gdje je saradnja uspješna, nedovoljno prepoznati. Međutim postoje indikacije da se taj trend mijenja.

Istraživanje koje je proveo Nezavisni biro za humanitarna pitanja (IBHI) u 2007. godini, procijenilo je da je u 2007. godini vladin sektor izdvojio 107 miliona konvertibilnih maraka za nevladine organizacije u Bosni i Hercegovini.³ Podaci Kronauer Consulting-a za istu godinu procijenili su iznos na 110 miliona konvertibilnih maraka.⁴ IBHI-jevo istraživanje za 2008. godinu procijenilo je iznos izdvajanja na 118 miliona konvertibilnih maraka, ukazujući na mogući trend porasta izdvajanja.⁵ Iznos je možda zanemariv ukoliko se posmatra kao udio bruto domaćeg proizvoda (BDP) Bosne i Hercegovine iz 2007. godine (0,50% za izdvajanja u 2007. godini i 0,55% u 2008. godini).⁶

² Gojko Bežovan, 'Čimbenik ili privjesak? - 1. dio', *H-Alter Hrvacka Alternativa*, (31/03/07) <www.h-alter.org/vijesti/arhiva-2007-1/cimbenik-ili-privjesak-1-dio> i 'Čimbenik ili privjesak? - 2. dio', *H-Alter Hrvacka Alternativa*, (06/04/07) <www.h-alter.org/vijesti/arhiva-2007-1/cimbenik-ili-privjesak-2-dio> [očitano 30/01/09].

³ IBHI, *Izdvajanja vladinog sektora za nevladin sektor u Bosni i Hercegovini za 2007. godinu*, (Sarajevo: IBHI, juli 2008. godine).

⁴ Goran Žeravčić, *Analiza institucionalne saradnje između vladinog i nevladinog sektora u Bosni i Hercegovini* (Sarajevo: Kronauer Consulting, 2008. godina).

⁵ IBHI, *Izdvajanja vladinog sektora za nevladin sektor u Bosni i Hercegovini za 2008. godinu*, (Sarajevo: IBHI, februar 2009. godine).

⁶ Preliminarna procjena BDP-a za 2007. godinu iznosi 21.641 u milionima KM. Podatak Agencije za statistiku BiH, <www.bhas.ba> [očitano 01/02/09].

Ako se izdvajanja institucija vlasti u Bosni i Hercegovini uspoređi sa podacima nekih zemalja iz okruženja, situacija poprma drugačiju sliku. Vlada Republike Hrvatske je u 2007. godini izdvojila oko 329 miliona konvertibilnih maraka (1.247.434.000 HRK),⁷ što je iznosilo 0,45% BDP-a Republike Hrvatske u 2007. godini.⁸

Prema analizi Centra za razvoj neprofitnog sektora, organizacije Transparentnost Srbija (TS) i osam partnerskih organizacija, Vlada Republike Srbije je u 2007. godini izdvojila 110 miliona konvertibilnih maraka (5,3 milijardi RSD)⁹ za finansiranje nevladinih organizacija, sportskih udruženja, političkih stranaka i vjerskih zajednica (0,23% BDP-a Republike Srbije u 2007. godini).¹⁰

Broj *registriranih* nevladinih organizacija u Bosni i Hercegovini u 2008. godini procijenjen je na 12.000,¹¹ dok je procijenjen broj *aktivnih* nevladinih organizacija u 2004. godini prema IBHI/BSAL istraživanju iznosio 4.629.¹² Broj registriranih nevladinih organizacija u Republici Hrvatskoj iznosi oko 34.149 organizacija (broj aktivnih nije poznat)¹³ a u Republici Srbiji broj registriranih nevladinih organizacija je znatno manji od broja u Bosni i Hercegovini i Hrvatskoj i iznosi oko 2.000 organizacija.¹⁴

Navedeni podaci, a posebno iznos izdvajanja vladinog sektora u Bosni i Hercegovini kao udio BDP-a, ukazuju na to da prepoznatljivost nevladinog sektora kao mogućeg partnera vlade nije na toliko nezavidnom nivou u odnosu na zemlje u okruženju. Naravno, potrebno je uzeti u obzir odnos izdvajanja za određene kategorije neprofitnih organizacija. IBHI-jevo istraživanje za 2008. godinu procijenilo je da je od ukupnog planiranog iznosa izdvajanja vladinog sektora za nevladin sektor, 37,1% bilo namijenjeno sportskim udruženjima, 14,7% boračko-invalidskim udruženjima i drugim srodnim organizacijama, 13,6% organizacijama koje pružaju neku vrstu socijalnih usluga građanima i 34,6% ostalim udruženjima građana/nevladinim organizacijama (u 2007. godini, od ukupnog prijavljenog iznosa dodijeljenog nevladinom sektoru, 44,1% je planirano za sportska udruženja, 13% boračko-invalidskim i drugim srodnim organizacijama i 42,9% udruženjima građana/nevladinim organizacijama).

⁷ Ured za udruge – Vlada Republike Hrvatske, <www.uzuvrh.hr/defaulthrv.aspx> [očitano 30/01/09].

⁸ Godišnji obračun BDP-a Republike Hrvatske za 2007. godinu iznosi 275.013 miliona HRK (72.586 miliona KM). Podatak Državnog zavoda za statistiku Republike Hrvatske, *Statistički ljetopis za 2008. godinu*, <www.dzs.hr> [očitano 01/02/09] str. 209.

⁹ Blic Online, *Iz budžeta u 2007. godini 60 miliona evra za stranke, crkve, NVO...*, (30/09/08) <www.blic.rs/ekonomija.php?id=59093> [očitano 30/01/09].

¹⁰ Godišnji obračun BDP-a Republike Srbije za 2007. godinu iznosi 2.329.400 miliona RSD (48.601 miliona KM). Podatak Republičkog zavoda za statistiku Republike Srbije, *Tabela: Bruto domaći proizvod (BDP) Republike Srbije 1997-2007*, <webzr.stat.gov.rs/axd/drugastrana.php?Sifra=0001&izbor=odel&tab=30> [očitano 01/02/09].

¹¹ Podatak Kronauer Consulting-a.

¹² IBHI/BSAL, *Kvalitativna studija 3: Zapošljavanje, pružanje socijalnih usluga i nevladin (NVO) sektor: status i perspektive za Bosnu i Hercegovinu – analiza i implikacije za politike*. Studija pripremljena u okviru DFID-ovog projekta, Radne i socijalne politike u BiH: razvoj politika djelovanja i mjera ublažavanja negativnih utjecaja privatizacije, (Sarajevo/Banja Luka: IBHI/BSAL, maj 2005. godina).

¹³ Tomislav Tadić, 'Jedna udruga na 129 stanovnika', <www.vjesnik.hr>, (16-17/02/08) <www.vjesnik.hr/pdf/2008/02/16/06A6.PDF>, [očitano 30/01/09].

¹⁴ Centar za razvoj neprofitnog sektora, <www.crnps.org.yu>.

Jedan od značajnih pokazatelja napretka razvoja civilnog društva i odnosa prema njemu, je poboljšanje transparentnosti poslovanja i procedura dodjeljivanja sredstava. U odnosu na izdvajanja vladinih sredstava za nevladin sektor u Bosni i Hercegovini, pomanjkanje transparentnosti je često spomenuta boljka. Posebno pozitivan pokazatelj je podatak da je broj ministarstava i općina koji dodjeljuju kompletan iznos ili dio sredstava putem javnih poziva u porastu u 2008. godini u odnosu na 2007. godinu. Broj institucija koje su izjavile da ukupan iznos ili dio sredstava dodjeljuje putem javnih poziva, porastao je za skoro 16 procentnih poena. Također ohrabrujuće je da je broj institucija koje zahtijevaju podnošenje formalnih narativnih ili finansijskih izvještaja porastao za 9 procentnih poena. Međutim, treba imati na umu da zahtijevanje transparentnosti vladinog sektora treba imati paritetnu transparentnost u poslovanju nevladinog sektora.

Uz iznose sredstava kojima udruženja raspolažu i načina na koji se raspolaže sredstvima, posebno je važno dobiti i odgovor na to za koje vrste aktivnosti su sredstva dodijeljena.¹⁵ Kao predstavnik građanskih inicijativa, nevladin sektor može djelovati na ispunjavanju prava korisnika i kao takav treba usmjeravati sredstva na njihove direktne potrebe bez pretenzija da ima ulogu predstavnika individualnih težnji i promociju donatorskih usmjerenja. Impuls za stvaranje njegovih programa i aktivnosti treba biti krajnji korisnik, čije potrebe su prepoznate kao osnova razvoja društva od strane vladinih i međunarodnih donatora. U periodu kada se broj međunarodnih donatora znatno smanjuje, a vlasti trebaju preuzeti značajniju ulogu u finansiranju nevladinih organizacija, potrebno je definirati moguće propuste u usmjeravanju nezanemarljivog upliva sredstava koje je Bosna i Hercegovina primila kroz strane donacije – naravno sa ciljem definiranja konstruktivnih lekcija za razvoj pravilnog sistema usmjeravanja sredstava na realne potrebe u društvu, tj. na osnovu potrebe krajnjeg korisnika usluga.

Pozitivan trend rasta izdvajanja vladinog sektora za nevladin sektor od 2007. do 2008. godine se lako može okrenuti u 2009. godini uslijed globalne ekonomske krize koja neće zaobići Bosnu i Hercegovinu. Smanjenje izdvajanja vladinog sektora za nevladin sektor je stoga realna opasnost u 2009. godini i u okruženju gdje se iznosi stranih donacija također smanjuju. Postavlja se pitanje krajnjeg utjecaja takvog trenda na smanjenje siromaštva i socijalnu uključenost marginaliziranih grupa, gdje nevladin sektor može imati pozitivan učinak. Ukoliko vlasti ne prepoznaju puni potencijal nevladinog sektora, nedostatak podrške kariki koja svojim aktivizmom direktno utiče na poboljšanje socio-ekonomskog stanja u državi može samo rezultirati još većom krizom siromaštva.

Civilne inicijative nude prostor za humanizaciju društva, razvijanje inovativnih metoda, slobodu djelovanja (sa ciljem demokratizacije i liberalizacije društva) i, posebno važno u narednom periodu, razvijanju dijaloga. Jasno je da civilno društvo može biti partner institucionalnom sistemu u „crnim rupama“ razvoja. Civilno društvo u Bosni i Hercegovini, i nevladin sektor kao njegov dio, svoje uporište i djelovanje treba razvijati na univerzalnim vrijednostima i zajedničkom interesu građana. Koliko je građana spremno za aktivizam i angažman na artikuliranju općeg dobra je poseban problem i zahtjeva odvojenu analizu i istraživanje.

¹⁵ Toni Gabrić, 'Ured za udruge pokrenuo novu web stranicu', *H-Alter Hrvacka Alternativa*, (11/10/07) <www.h-alter.org/vijesti/arhiva-2007-2/ured-za-udruge-pokrenuo-novu-web-stranicu> [accessed 31/01/09].

ULOGA I ZNAČAJ LOKALNIH ZAJEDNICA U PROCESU SOCIJALNOG UKLJUČIVANJA

I UVODNE NAPOMENE

Čovjek koji osjeća da negdje i nekom pripada, koji osjeća da ga okružuju rođaci, prijatelji, kolege, dobronamjernici, koji ima mogućnost da se čuje, kaže, pita, učestvuje, angažuje, da rješava probleme koji se tiču njega i njegovog okruženja, je čovjek koji je u stanju da proizvodi energiju i ideje na kreativan i maštovit način, razvija strategije za rješavanje problema i prevazilazi teškoće koje mu svakodnevni život donosi. Takav čovjek je čovjek zajednice, nosilac lične i porodične sigurnosti, solidarnosti prema drugima i proizvođač demokratskih procesa u jednom društvu. To nije socijalno isključen čovjek, to je građanin koji ima izravno ljudsko pravo da učestvuje u svom životu, svojoj porodici i svom okruženju. Svako ko mu stoji na tom putu sprečava ga u ostvarenju osnovnih ljudskih prava što predstavlja društveno neprihvatljivo i kažnjivo ponašanje.

Obaveza je društava i država da stvaraju uslove za realizaciju čovjeka: za zadovoljavanje svih njegovih potreba (od egzistencijalnih do samoaktualizacije), za angažman i učestvovanje, za vođenje, za razvoj. Lokalne zajednice predstavljaju prostorni i društveni okvir za ostvarenje funkcija koje su u interesu svih članova, koje omogućavaju zadovoljavanje većine ljudskih potreba i ostvarenje univerzalnih demokratskih principa kojima se garantuju izvorna prava građana. Lokalne zajednice su istovremeno: mjesto u kojem čovjek najlakše postaje socijalno isključen i najbolje mjesto u kojem participira, rješava probleme i postaje dio društva.

U administrativno-političkom smislu lokalna zajednica se u Bosni i Hercegovini poistovjećuje sa jedinicom lokalne samouprave koja je prema važećim zakonskim propisima opština. Pored toga što je administrativno-teritorijalna jedinica, opština je „teritorijalna zajednica građana koji neposredno i posredno putem demokratski izabranih predstavnika ostvaruju svoja politička i ekonomska prava odlučujući o svim društvenim poslovima koji su u njihovom zajedničkom interesu“.¹

U postojećim teorijskim, ali i praktičnim razmišljanjima, nije posvećeno dovoljno pažnje značaju lokalnih zajednica u socijalnom uključivanju. Uvijek se na problem gleda globalno, akcentira se država, pojedini sistemi, sektori, itd., pri čemu se zaboravlja da svaki čovjek živi u konkretnom okruženju koje mu ili omogućava socijalnu uključenost, odnosno sprečava ga

¹ Pejanović, M., Zlokapa, Z., Zolić, H., Arnautović, S. (2006.). Opštine/Općine u Bosni i Hercegovini – demografske, socijalne, ekonomske i političke činjenice, Sarajevo: Promocult.

u tome. Zato je od izuzetne važnosti da se osvijetle mogućnosti lokalne zajednice u rješavanju problema socijalne isključenosti, koji u Bosni i Hercegovini ima globalne razmjere, jer je više od 50% stanovništva socijalno isključeno.²

II ODREĐENJE POJMA LOKALNE ZAJEDNICE

Odnos čovjeka i njegovog okruženja ispunjen je međusobnim povezivanjem i dinamičnom razmjenom resursa, energije, informacija, što njegovu zajednicu čini svojevrsnim „živim prostorom“ u kome pored fizičke komponente snažno pulsira društveni prostor ispunjen međuljudskim odnosima, aktivnostima, institucijama.³

Potpuno je razumljivo zašto taj „živi prostor“ izaziva izuzetno interesovanje teoretičara, političara i mislilaca kroz vijekove, i što su njihova opredjeljenja u definisanju lokalne zajednice uslovljena mjestom i vremenom. U naučnom proučavanju ovog fenomena nema saglasnosti među istraživačima i teoretičarima. Stiče se utisak da koliko je pisaca toliko je i opredjeljenja i definicija. George Hillery je, prema Eugenu Pusiću, samo na engleskom govornom području sakupio 94 opredjeljenja i razvrstao ih na osnovu karakterističnih elemenata.⁴

1. Sociološke perspektive određenja lokalne zajednice

Janez Šmidovnik, iz njegove klasifikacije, ali i iz drugih, definiše bitne elemente lokalne zajednice: određena teritorija, ljudi na toj teritoriji, potrebe ovih ljudi, djelatnost za zadovoljavanje ovih potreba, te svijest ljudi o zajednici kojoj pripadaju.⁵ Ovi elementi su izraz sociološke perspektive koja lokalnu zajednicu shvata kao opšti pojam kojim se označava društvena grupa koja živi relativno trajno na određenom prostoru, čije članove povezuje prostorna blizina i njome uslovljene zajedničke potrebe i aktivnosti radi zadovoljenja tih potreba.⁶ Odnose među članovima grupe karakterišu i po kvalitetu i intenzitetu različite interakcije i osjećaji pripadništva i identifikacije sa vrijednostima i normama zajednice.⁷

Prostor kao osnovni element lokalne zajednice opredjeljuje i prvi dio imena ovog pojma. Međutim, on stvara i najviše dilema i nedoumica. Koliki je taj prostor, kako se on ograničava, kakva su to i kolika naselja i sl.? Lokalna zajednica je i selo koje ima nekoliko desetina stanovnika, i kvart u gradu, i mali i veliki grad. Postoji bezbroj tipova lokalnih zajednica među kojima je malo toga zajedničkog. U razrješavanju dilema često se koriste administrativno-teritorijalna stanovišta i granice koje su određene na taj način, ali u današnjem vremenu velikih promjena i kretanja ljudi koji često žive u jednom gradu, rade u drugom, a porodica im je u trećem, ili žive na rubnim područjima i svakodnevno zadovoljavaju potrebe u lokalnim zajednicama koje su im bliže, ovo stanovište ne razrješava probleme i ustupa mjesto društvenim elementima. Osnovno u društvenom određenju jeste

² UNDP/IBHI (2007.). *Izveštaj o humanom razvoju 2007 – Socijalna uključenost u Bosni i Hercegovini*, Sarajevo: UNDP.

³ Marinković, R. (1998.). *Lokalna samouprava – stare i nove nedoumice*, Beograd: Institut za političke studije.

⁴ Pusić, E. (1963.). *Lokalna zajednica*, Zagreb: Narodne novine.

⁵ Šmidovnik, J. (1999.). *Lokalna Samouprava*, Sarajevo: Univerzitetska knjiga.

⁶ Marinković, R. (1998.). *Lokalna samouprava – stare i nove nedoumice*, Beograd: Institut za političke studije.

⁷ Milosavljević, M. & Brkić, M. (2005.). *Socijalni rad u zajednici*, Beograd: Socijalna misao.

da se radi o zajednicama ljudi čiji je život ispunjen nizom elementarnih problema, te ih treba zajednički rješavati kako bi se omogućio zajednički život na tom području.

Ljudi su drugi osnovni element određenja lokalne zajednice. Jedan broj autora (Šmidovnik, 1999., Marinković, 1998.) smatra da zajednicu čine ljudi koji su stalno naseljeni na određenoj teritoriji. U današnjem vremenu brzih i neočekivanih promjena teško je govoriti o trajnoj naseljenosti, jer ljudi u zadovoljavanju svojih potreba mijenjaju mjesto života i rada. Međutim, postoje i potrebe koje se zajednički zadovoljavaju, kao što su potrebe za zdravljem, obrazovanjem, za zdravom životnom sredinom, za sigurnošću, kulturne potrebe, potrebe za rekreacijom i sportom i druge potrebe koje se mogu zadovoljiti u lokalnoj zajednici.⁸ Upravo zadovoljavanje zajedničkih potreba vezanih za opšte uslove života i rada je moguće obezbijediti u selu, u gradu, znači na trajnijem mjestu življenja ljudi.

Da bi se potrebe zadovoljile, nužne su aktivnosti, „jer tek kroz aktivnosti radi zadovoljavanja potreba, ljudi stupaju u međusobne veze i odnose, formiraju određene službe i institucije, ukratko formira se lokalna zajednica kao entitet, koji čini jedinstvo naprijed navedenih elemenata“⁹. Aktivnosti se realizuju kroz neformalne, porodične, komšijske, dobrovoljne doprinose ili se odvijaju u organizacionim oblicima „koje djeluju stručno i planski kao javne institucije koje organizuje i održava institucionalna vlast u lokalnim zajednicama, npr. opština“¹⁰.

Pored navedenih elemenata, jedan broj sociologa ističe i druge elemente kao što su kulturni obrasci, običaji, sistem vrijednosti, a među njima, posebno se ističe element: svijest ljudi o pripadnosti kraju, odnosno društvenoj zajednici tog kraja. Janez Šmidovnik smatra da zajedničke potrebe na uskom prostoru rađaju i zajedničku svijest ljudi koji tu žive zajedno. To je svijest da pripadaju prostoru, da ih vezuje sudbina za isti prostor, svijest određenog jedinstva i međusobne solidarnosti, svijest interesne povezanosti, a ujedno i različitosti od drugih ljudi.¹¹

Navedene sociološke perspektive nas izvorno približavaju odrednicama lokalne zajednice koje opredjeljuju i njene uloge u procesu socijalnog uključivanja. To su zajednice života ljudi koji imaju niz problema i koje treba zajednički rješavati da bi se omogućio kvalitetan i zajednički život na određenom prostoru. Tražeći rješenja, ljudi stupaju u međusobne interakcije, što ih onemogućava da budu izolovani, isključeni i zaboravljeni, nego ih obavezuje na aktivnost koja predstavlja zajedništvo na zadovoljavanju potreba.

2. Funkcionalni pristup u određenju lokalne zajednice

Kontakti ljudi u zajednici i njihova direktna participacija kroz inicijative i aktivnosti, nas uvode u funkcionalni teorijski pristup koji smatra da zajednica mora da je u funkciji svojih stanovnika, stoga Warren proširuje prostorno određenje zajednice, uvodeći pojam funkcija koje se ostvaruju na definisanom području. Ovaj autor je izdvojio pet ključnih funkcija zajednice. To su:

⁸ Lakićević, M. & Gavrilović, A. (2008.). *Socijalni razvoj i planiranje*, Beograd: Fakultet političkih nauka u Beogradu.

⁹ Marinković, R. (1998.str.27). *Lokalna samouprava – stare i nove nedoumice*, Beograd: Institut za političke studije.

¹⁰ Šmidovnik, J. (1999.). *Lokalna Samouprava*, Sarajevo:Univerzitetska knjiga

¹¹ ibid.

1. Lokalna participacija u proizvodnji, distribuciji i razmjeni neophodnih dobara i usluga u industriji, privredi, zdravstvu, obrazovanju, socijalnoj zaštiti, religijskim organizacijama.
2. Socijalizacija i transmisija znanja, društvenih vrijednosti i obrazaca ponašanja na članove zajednice posredstvom porodice, škole, religijskih organizacija i drugih sistema u zajednici.
3. Socijalna kontrola kao sredstvo uticaja na ponašanje članova i njihovo konformisanje sa vrijednostima i normama zajednice. Nosioci socijalne kontrole su porodica, sudstvo, policija, škole, religijske organizacije i socijalne službe. Osnovno sredstvo za ostvarivanje socijalne kontrole su zakoni sa kojima se štite vrijednosti zajednice.
4. Socijalna participacija u različitim aktivnostima zajednice koja se ostvaruje kroz porodične, srodničke, prijateljske, kolegijalne grupe, religijske i volonterske organizacije, državne programe i socijalne službe.
5. Uzajamna i višestruka podrška članovima zajednice u periodima kada im je neophodna pomoć i zaštita zbog zdravstvenih problema, ekonomskih poteškoća, i svih drugih životnih situacija koje ugrožavaju njihov opstanak i razvoj. Pomoć i podrška se pružaju od strane različitih grupa i institucija u zajednici kao što su: porodične i rođачke, susjedske, prijateljske, religijske i volonterske grupe, socijalne službe, osiguravajuće kompanije i sl.¹²

Waren-ovo funkcionalno određenje daje mogućnost punog uvida uloga lokalne zajednice u procesu socijalnog uključivanja zbog njenih funkcija uzajamne i višestruke podrške članovima, usljed određenih problema, kao i socijalne participacije u različitim aktivnostima zajednice i socijalizacije koju svaki pojedinac ostvaruje učestvujući u vezama i odnosima u zajednici.

3. Politički pristupi određenja lokalne zajednice

Posmatrajući lokalnu zajednicu kao resurs u procesu socijalnog uključivanja, nužno je razmotriti shvatanje političke nauke koja smatra da lokalna zajednica predstavlja područje odvijanja različitih političkih procesa, uspostavljanja različitih političkih odnosa, nastanka, mijenjanja i nestanka određenih političkih struktura.¹³ Područje je izuzetno promjenjivo, često nestabilno i uslovljeno tipom i karakterom zajednice, te uticajem mnogo širih unutrašnjih i spoljnih struktura i odnosa, kako unutar zajednice tako i iz okolnih zajednica, i viših oblika političkog organizovanja i distribucije vlasti.

Različite političke strukture koje se organizuju i žive u lokalnoj zajednici uslovljene su opštim političkim kontekstom jedne zajednice i povjerenim ulogama koje su ostvarile u političkoj utakmici. Osnovne aktivnosti političkih struktura obuhvataju vršenje vlasti, upravljanje poslovima zajednice, strukture i nadležnosti lokalne vlasti i institucionalno definisanje načina političkog organizovanja i djelovanja.

U lokalnim zajednicama lokalnu vlast vrše građani, neposredno i putem svojih slobodno izabranih organa. Budući da se volja građana iskazuje na slobodnim izborima, lokalni izbori (izbori za lokalne organe vlasti) javljaju se kao prvi i jedan od najbitnijih elemenata

¹² Milosavljević, M. & Brkić, M. (2005., str.34). *Socijalni rad u zajednici*, Beograd: Socijalna misao.

¹³ Milosavljević, M. & Brkić, M. (2005.). *Socijalni rad u zajednici*, Beograd: Socijalna misao.

lokalne demokratije, odnosno kao prvi i najviši oblik participacije građana u vršenju javnih poslova u lokalnoj zajednici. U savremenim državama izbori su uređeni izbornim zakonom. U svim evropskim zemljama izbor članova predstavničkih organa (skupštine, vijeća, parlamenta i sl.) vrši se neposredno i na državnom i na lokalnom nivou. U više zemalja i izbor gradonačelnika (načelnika opština) vrši se po modelu neposrednog izbora.

Mnoštvo političkih interesa organizovanih kroz političke partije (pluralizam oblika političkog organizovanja i udruživanja) nadmeću se u političkoj utakmici po unaprijed utvrđenim procedurama, koje onemogućavaju nametanje nećijih interesa, i građani slobodno biraju političku opciju koja najbolje odgovara njihovim opredjeljenjima, interesima i potrebama. Na ovaj način se suverenost pripisuje građaninu koji ima pravo da je delegira na lokalnu zajednicu, odnosno njenim organima koji su izabrani demokratskim putem. Prema Marinkoviću, ta suverenost je istog kvaliteta kao i državna, a razlika je u tome što su njen domen lokalni poslovi kao javni, za razliku od državnih.¹⁴

Ljudi u lokalnim zajednicama imaju pravo na upravljanje dijelom poslova koji se tiču njihovih ličnih i zajedničkih interesa. To je pravo lokalne samouprave i ono nije stvar ustava i zakona, nego izvorno demokratsko pravo, a obaveza je da pozitivni pravni akti zajamče i razgraniče domene državne i lokalne vlasti, kako se ove vlasti ne bi međusobno sukobljavale. To je legitimacijska osnova lokalnih zajednica kao samoupravnih zajednica za šta se opravdanje nalazi u zajedničkim potrebama njihovih članova, čije se zadovoljavanje (od uređivanja do izvršavanja) obavlja preko organa i institucija lokalnog nivoa. Lokalna samouprava kao izraz samoupravnosti lokalne zajednice je racionalnija i efikasnija u obavljanju takvih poslova, a i demokracičnija, jer je u pogledu izbora i funkcionisanja moguće veće učešće, uticaj i kontrola građana.

U okviru političkog poimanja lokalne zajednice posmatra se i uloga građanina i njegovo učestvovanje u njenom životu i njenim poslovima. Od toga koliko je građanin aktivni participant života svoje zajednice, zavisi njen demokratski aspekt. Ukoliko se građanin samoorganizuje i udružuje, kako bi zadovoljavao svoje potrebe i zajedničke potrebe i interese svih koji žive na tom prostoru, utoliko je razvijeniji i nivo civilnog društva. A ukoliko je razvijenije civilno društvo, veća je i socijalna uključenost građana.

Pored izbora, postoje i drugi vidovi participacije građana u lokalnim zajednicama i oni predstavljaju političko-socijalni element procesa socijalnog uključivanja, te će kroz resurse zajednice biti posebno objašnjeni.

4. Lokalna samouprava, decentralizacija i jedinica lokalne samouprave

U kontekstu teme, lokalnu zajednicu treba posmatrati i kao institucionalnu strukturu društveno političkog sistema jedne države kojoj su važećim ustavima, zakonima i drugim pravnim aktima utvrđene odgovarajuće nadležnosti i odgovornosti prema građanima, državi i društvu.

Prema M. Pejanoviću i drugima¹⁵ „kada se u jednoj lokalnoj zajednici, a to znači u jednom ili više povezanih naselja, obrazuje političko-pravna i sistemska institucija, onda ta lokalna

¹⁴ Marinković, R. (1998.). *Lokalna samouprava – stare i nove nedoumice*, Beograd: Institut za političke studije.

¹⁵ Pejanović, M., Zlokapa, Z., Zolić, H., Arnautović, S. (2006. str. 17). *Opštine/Općine u Bosni i Hercegovini – demografske, socijalne, ekonomske i političke činjenice*, Sarajevo: Promocult.

zajednica stiče status lokalne samouprave. Ta lokalna samouprava konstituiše se u obliku opštine, kao osnovne jedinice lokalne samouprave“.

Lokalna samouprava se konstituiše u okviru lokalne zajednice i sama po sebi, lokalna zajednica bez elemenata samoupravnosti ne predstavlja lokalnu samoupravu, te se ta dva pojma ne mogu poistovjećivati. Lokalna zajednica stiče status i položaj lokalne samouprave aktom države, najčešće zakonom čije su pravne osnove u ustavu.

Za lokalnu samoupravu se veže termin decentralizacije, koji u najjednostavnijem značenju upućuje na to da osim centralnih organa koji djeluju na cijeloj teritoriji države, postoje i organi čija se nadležnost prostire na jedan dio teritorije države i država kao nosilac vlasti, dio vlasti, odnosno dio javnih zadataka koji su od lokalnog značaja prenosi u ruke lokalnih samoupravnih zajednica, koje načelno obavljaju ove zadatke samostalno radom svojih organa i svojim sredstvima, ali pod određenom kontrolom centralnih državnih organa. Pored poslova od lokalnog značaja država može prenijeti i dio svojih poslova i nametnuti lokalnim samoupravnim zajednicama da ih obavljaju za njih.

Koja je mjera raspodjele svih „državnih“ poslova, a time i raspodjele vlasti, odnosno upravljanja poslovima između države kao centralizovane organizacije i lokalne zajednice kao decentralizovane organizacije, opredjeljeno je političkim uređenjem države. „Delikatnost pronalaženja prave mjere u tome je što ona, na jednoj strani, treba da pokrene ljude, njihovu inventivnost i sve resurse i potencijale sa kojima raspolaže, a na drugoj strani, da ne dovede u pitanje ono što svaka država mora da garantuje svojim građanima“.¹⁶ Većina teoretičara, još od Monteskeja i Džona Loka, smatra da je bolji onaj sistem državne vlasti u kojoj nadležnosti nisu skoncentrisane na jednom mjestu, nego su raspodijeljene među nosiocima svih funkcija vlasti, jer se tako omogućava sprečavanje nadmoći i obezbjeđuje uzajamna kontrola.

Osnovna teritorijalna jedinica lokalne samouprave je opština. Ona je u ustavnim sistemima evropskih država, ustanovljena kao politički pojam – osnovna lokalna zajednica ljudi, najčešće kao samoupravna zajednica.

Opštine kao jedinice lokalne samouprave imaju svojstva javnopravnih ličnosti zato što polažu određena prava prema državi s jedne strane, odnosno pojedinci prema njima imaju ona prava za čije su ih izvršenje organizovali. Kao javnopravnoj ličnosti država je opštini povjerila vršenje određenih segmenata svoje upravne funkcije. Pored povjerenih poslova, opština posjeduje pravo upravljanja i naređivanja na jednom dijelu državne teritorije. Ona to pravo ostvaruje preko predstavničkog tijela donošenjem opštih akata kojima uvodi opšte obavezujuće norme za sve svoje stanovnike, dakle, vlada na svojoj teritoriji u skladu sa zakonom i svojim potrebama, a ne po uputstvima centralne vlasti.

III SOCIJALNA ISKLJUČENOST

Prva asocijacija na razumjevanje termina socijalna isključenost je društvena uskraćenost. Kad postoji uskraćenost bilo koje vrste, kod svakog čovjeka počinju da dominiraju osjećanja

¹⁶ Lakićević, M. & Gavrilović, A. (2008., str. 274). *Socijalni razvoj i planiranje*, Beograd: Fakultet političkih nauka u Beogradu.

nesigurnosti, straha, odbačenosti, neravnopravnosti, diskriminacije. Zbog čega postoji društvena uskraćenost? Odgovor na ovo pitanje pomoći će u objašnjenju socijalne isključenosti.

Među različitim autorima i definicijama socijalne isključenosti postoji saglasnost o tri osnovna sastavna elementa ovog pojma koja su međusobno povezana i isprepletena, te jedan drugi produkuje. Prvi element je nezaposlenost i time isključenost sa tržišta rada, stvaranja dohotka i obezbjeđenja socijalne sigurnosti pojedinca i porodice. Nemogućnost zaposlenja ili gubitak zaposlenja vodi prema nemanju prihoda i pogoršanju životnog standarda, što je u krajnjem rizik siromaštva, a što predstavlja drugi element socijalne isključenosti. Život u siromaštvu pun je uskraćenosti: teško pronalaženje posla i mogućnost dugotrajne nezaposlenosti, nemanje sredstva i stigmatizacija zbog toga, nemogućnost učestvovanja u društvenim aktivnostima i osjećanje izolovanosti od zajednice, stres, gubljenje socijalnih veza, što sve vodi u treći element: ka socijalnoj izolaciji. Ako se takvo stanje održi u dužem periodu pojaviće se problemi unutar porodice, bračne i porodične svađe, što može dovesti do raspada bračne i porodične zajednice. Neučestvovanje u radu i siromaštvo izoluju pojedinca i od drugova sa posla, smanjuju izlaske iz kuće, vode ka gubljenju veza sa prijateljima, širom porodicom, susjedima. To povećava nemogućnost zapošljavanja, jer su izgubljene i veze i informacije koje im obezbjeđuju pristupe tržištu rada. Čovjek koji se ne potvrđuje kroz rad, gubi samopoštovanje, autoritet i moć da stvara i doprinosi, gubi mogućnost razvoja, napredovanja i samopotvrđivanja, što ga može dovesti do depresije i drugih mentalnih poremećaja. I tu se krug ne završava, stanje se prenosi na sve članove u porodici, čime se reprodukuje i vodi ka višestrukoj i dugotrajnoj isključenosti pojedinaca i cijelih porodica.

Navedeni proces, u teoriji poznat kao „začarani krug“ socijalne isključenosti i siromaštva, pokazuje višedimenzionalnost, društvenu uslovljenost i kompleksnost socijalnog isključivanja. Ona pogađa i ekonomske i socijalne komponente čovjekovog bitisanja, uskraćuje i obuhvata i zajedničko i pojedinačno i nije posljedica samo ličnih nedostataka i problema isključenih, nego je uzrokovana nizom institucionalizovanih nejednakosti poput nejednakih obrazovnih mogućnosti, nejednakog pristupa zdravstvenim i socijalnim uslugama, kulturološkim komponentama i interpersonalnim resursima.

IV SOCIJALNO UKLJUČIVANJE I LOKALNA ZAJEDNICA

Socijalna isključenost postaje masovan i zabrinjavajući proces koji upozorava da se unutar društva događaju ozbiljne promjene koje mogu imati dugotrajne i teške posljedice na pojedince, porodice, grupe i društvo u cjelini. Nesuočavanje sa problemom socijalne isključenosti može pospješiti proces i produbiti ga. Zato je potrebna široka društvena akcija koju treba da predvode oni koji su socijalno uključeni, sve državne organizacije i organi, organizacije civilnog društva, preduzeća, statističke i istraživačke institucije, sindikati, lokalna samouprava, odnosno, svi oni koji nose razvojnu funkciju u jednom društvu. Vezivanje procesa socijalnog uključivanja za jednu instituciju ili sektor, ne može dati rezultate u njenom prevazilaženju. Čak ni država kao nosioci cjelokupnog procesa i kao najmoćniji akter, ne može, niti je sposobna nositi se sa masovnim socijalnim problemima koji opredjeljuju socijalnu isključenost. Država može pružiti stabilan zakonodavni okvir,

socijalnu infrastrukturu i u saradnji sa građanima ustanoviti vladavinu prava. Međutim, mjere moraju biti na svim nivoima, u svim sektorima, višestruke i sistemske i kreću se od praćenja i istraživanja, preko radne aktivacije i zapošljavanja, smanjenja i ublažavanja siromaštva, mjera obrazovanja, do antidiskriminacijskih mjera i mjera koje senzibilizuju javnost za socijalne probleme i jačaju društvenu solidarnost i filantropiju.

Lokalna zajednica kao samoupravna zajednica, je jedan od izuzetno važnih nosilaca procesa socijalnog uključivanja. U njenoj djelatnosti i na njenim prostorima se realizuje većina mjera koje imaju za cilj prevazilaženje socijalne isključenosti. U lokalnoj zajednici žive ljudi koji ne zadovoljavaju svoje potrebe i prava: na rad, pristojan životni standard, socijalnu sigurnost, obrazovanje, zdravu životnu okolinu, uslovno stanovanje, zdravstvenu zaštitu, sigurnost, pristupačnost i slično. Lokalna zajednica je odgovorna da stvara uslove za njihovo zadovoljavanje i da efikasnim, ekonomičnim i jednostavnim mjerama i aktivnostima odgovara na potrebe svojih stanovnika. Opština u funkciji lokalne zajednice u kojoj se ostvaruje lokalna samouprava u obavezi je da svojim građanima obezbjeđuje viši stepen materijalnog, socijalnog i kulturnog razvoja, društvenu stabilnost, primjenu demokratskih tradicija u unutrašnjem uređenju, legitimnost, legalnost, ravnopravnost i jednakost, pravnu sigurnost, vladavinu prava i zaštitu ljudskih sloboda i prava. Da bi to uradila opština mora da ima uslove i resurse koji su joj neophodni da bi predstavljala zajednicu života, rada, stvaranja svakog čovjeka.

Evropska povelja o lokalnoj samoupravi¹⁷ je međunarodni pravno-politički dokument koji je utemeljio i standardizovao status lokalne samouprave u Evropi. Bosna i Hercegovina je ratifikovala Evropsku povelju i time prihvatila obavezu da je inkorporira u svoje pravno uređenje. Ona je to najvećim dijelom i učinila kroz zakone o lokalnoj samoupravi koji su doneseni u oba entiteta. Osnovni principi na kojima počiva ovaj dokument utvrđuju prava i odgovornosti opštine, kao lokalne zajednice prema svojim građanima s jedne strane, odnosno mogućnosti građana da učestvuju u upravljanju lokalnim poslovima, s druge strane. Principi koji su neposredno u funkciji učešća građana i zadovoljavanja njihovih potreba su:

- Javni poslovi se po pravilu vrše od strane onih vlasti koje su najbliže građanima na efikasan, transparentan i participativan način;
- Lokalne vlasti, kao produkt lokalne samouprave, imaju pravo da u granicama zakona, regulišu i rukovode određenim dijelovima javnih poslova, na osnovu sopstvene odgovornosti i u interesu lokalnog stanovništva;
- Građanin je subjekt demokratije i on ima pravo da učestvuje u obavljanju javnih poslova, što je osnovno demokratsko načelo. Građanin ga ostvaruje u prvom redu na lokalnom nivou;
- Lokalna vlast treba da razvija upravu koja je bliža građanima i sa većim stepenom efikasnosti;
- Vlast u lokalnim zajednicama vrše savjeti ili skupštine koje čine građani-članovi izabrani na slobodnim izborima, tajnim glasanjem, na osnovu neposrednog, opšteg i jednakog biračkog prava. Skupštine imaju izvršne organe koji su im odgovorni;

¹⁷ *Evropska povelja o lokalnoj samoupravi*, (1985.), na sajtu <http://www.bbnet.org.yu/blnet/yug/povelja.htm>, očitano 20.03.2006.

- Lokalne vlasti imaju pravo na odgovarajuće sopstvene izvore finansiranja koji su primjereni njihovim dužnostima i sa njima slobodno raspolažu u okviru svojih ovlaštenja;
- Lokalne vlasti, u vršenju svojih dužnosti međusobno sarađuju i udružuju se sa drugim lokalnim vlastima, radi vršenja poslova od zajedničkog interesa.

1. Političke aktivnosti u lokalnoj zajednici u funkciji socijalnog uključivanja

U upravljanju poslovima lokalne zajednice građani učestvuju na dva načina.

Prvi način je neposredno učešće građana i on je u direktnoj zavisnosti od nivoa razvoja demokratije u zemlji. U našoj političkoj praksi građani neposredno odlučuju putem referenduma, mjesnih zborova građana, građanskih inicijativa i udruženja građana. Participacija građana u upravljanju javnim poslovima u lokalnoj zajednici određuje i sadržaj i kvalitet demokratskih procesa i odnosa.

Referendum je masovni oblik političkog učešća i odlučivanja građana o vitalnim pitanjima u životu lokalne zajednice. Odluka o raspisivanju referenduma je u nadležnosti izabranih građana u lokalnim parlamentima (skupštinama opština ili opštinskim vijećima), a procedura raspisivanja i provođenja referenduma se utvrđuje dokumentima ovih organa (statuti i odluke).

Mjesni zborovi građana omogućuju građanima učešće u raspravama o svim pitanjima iz nadležnosti lokalne zajednice i oni su najčešće primjenjivani oblici učešća građana u javnim lokalnim poslovima. Na osnovu rasprave, građani mogu predlagati načine rješavanja određenih pitanja i pokretati inicijative za promjene.

Građanska inicijativa je oblik učešća građana u definisanju pojedinih propisa i drugih akata u cilju rješavanja određenih pitanja, a na osnovu potpisa određene skupine građana. Na ovaj način oni se organizuju, definišu zajedničke potrebe i probleme i pokreću inicijativu za njihovo rješavanje. Po prihvatanju njihove inicijative nastavljaju sa aktivnošću zagovaranjem i lobiranjem kod donosioca odluka.

Različiti oblici organizovanja i udruživanja građana oko rješavanja zajedničkih problema i ostvarenja zajedničkih interesa omogućavaju slobodnu artikulaciju interesa građana u oblastima od posebnog interesa za zajednicu. To su pitanja djece, mladih, ljudskih prava, zaštite okoline, osoba sa invaliditetom, manjina, itd. Na ovaj način se omogućava okupljanje građana, udruživanje, uključivanje u probleme, aktivnosti, što sve doprinosi većoj participaciji u odlučivanju o javnim poslovima, a time i njihovoj većoj socijalnoj uključenosti.

Drugi način učešća građana u vršenju poslova lokalne samouprave je preko svojih izabranih predstavnika u lokalnim parlamentima. Kao sastavni dio ovog načina učešća građana u praksi funkcioniše neposredno učešće građana na sjednicama lokalnih parlamenata. Svi oni koji žele da direktno prate rad parlamenta mogu posredstvom mjesnih zajednica da prisustvuju, raspravljaju i predlažu, ali ne mogu da odlučuju.

U posljednje vrijeme, kroz proces strateškog planiranja u lokalnim zajednicama, razvio se još jedan vid učešća građana širokog obima u poslovima lokalne zajednice. Prilikom izrade strategija razvoja lokalne zajednice, formiraju se partnerski timovi koji su sastavljeni od svih

segmenata zajednice. U procesu analize potreba, definisanju prioriteta, postavljanju ciljeva i razvoju strategija, organizuju se na različitim područjima mnogi sastanci, fokus grupe, javne tribine, te se na taj način omogućava potpuno učešće stanovništva, time i ugroženih grupa kao što su Romi, povratnici, osobe sa invaliditetom i sl. Na ovaj način se proces lokalnog planiranja odvija po principima jednakosti i socijalne uključenosti.

2. Mjesne zajednice u funkciji rješavanja problema i socijalnog uključivanja

Mjesne zajednice, pored prostornog određenja lokalne zajednice, predstavljaju lokalnu društvenu infrastrukturu u kojoj se može realizovati niz mjera koje obezbjeđuju direktno učešće ili participaciju građana u političkom i socijalnom životu. Organizovani oko zajedničkih interesa i potreba na manjem lokalitetu, gdje se većina međusobno poznaje i sreće, uz podršku lokalnih vlasti kroz obezbjeđenje prostornih i materijalnih uslova, građani mogu organizovati i razviti različite aktivnosti koje su u službi zadovoljavanja njihovih potreba. Na taj način mogu obezbijediti radni i socijalni angažman koji bi doprinio smanjenju socijalne izolacije, povećavanju prihoda, povećanju vlastitih sposobnosti, te komunikacijskih i drugih vještina.

U praksi su vrlo česti slučajevi gdje se u mjesnim zajednicama identifikuje jedan broj građana koji postaju glavni volonterski resurs te zajednice koji pomaže u integraciji problema zajednice u svim sektorima i nivoima odlučivanja. Sistem socijalne zaštite se oslanja na njih u otkrivanju korisnika, širenju informacija o pravima i uslugama, za brza djelovanja i hitne intervencije, u procesima procjene i implementacije planova, te organizovanja socijalnih akcija. Takođe i drugi sektori, kao što je komunalna djelatnost, kulturne i sportske institucije, ekološke aktivnosti, uključuju građane na ovaj način u identifikaciji iz svojih oblasti, procjeni potreba i u rješavanju problema.

Mjesne zajednice mogu imati izuzetno veliku ulogu u slučajevima kad na njihovom području žive naglašeno marginalizovane i socijalno isključene grupe, kao što su Romi, povratnici, raseljena lica i izbjeglice i sl. U tim situacijama one mogu biti nosioci inicijativa za aktivnosti oko rješavanja stambenih pitanja, popravki kuća, izgradnje komunalne infrastrukture, uključivanja djece u školu i sl.

3. Lokalna zajednica, radna aktivacija i zapošljavanje – put ka socijalnom uključivanju

Zapošljavanje je jedan od najbitnijih načina smanjenja siromaštva i socijalne isključenosti, koji se reflektuje na sve druge elemente. Sticanje vlastitih prihoda po osnovu rada vodi porodicu iz siromaštva, pruža uslove djeci za obrazovanje, „izvodi“ pojedinca iz socijalne izolacije i zaboravljenosti, uključuje ga u radni ambijent i u šire okruženje i samorealizuje. Koristi koje ima društvo takođe su višestruke.

Kako lokalna zajednica može uticati na aktivizaciju nezaposlenih i na taj način povećati zaposlenost i podstaći niz drugih procesa koji vode ka socijalnom uključivanju?

Lokalne zajednice mogu razvijati vlastite strategije zapošljavanja koje bi sadržavale posebne mjere za grupe nezaposlenih, koje imaju smanjene mogućnosti zapošljavanja, zbog čega su u

povećanom riziku socijalne isključenosti. To su osobe starije od 50 godina, nekvalifikovane osobe, starije žene, osobe sa invaliditetom, dugotrajno nezaposleni i sl. Primjeri takvih aktivnosti su:

- U okviru budžeta lokalnih zajednica mogu se izdvojiti posebna sredstva za stimulisanje radne aktivizacije koja bi se dodjeljivala kao kreditna sredstva, a u nekim slučajevima i donatorska. Uslovi za korištenje tih sredstava bi sadržavali posebne kriterijume za grupe nezaposlenih koji su socijalno isključeni. Kriterijumi bi uključili i angažovanje dodatnih izvora sa kantonalnog i entitetskog nivoa kao i korištenje beneficija iz drugih sistema, npr. zapošljavanje osobe sa invaliditetom se stimuliše i sredstvima Fonda za zapošljavanje i profesionalnu rehabilitaciju tih osoba, kroz poreske i carinske olakšice za uvoz opreme i sl.
- Na osnovu analiza radnih kompetencija nezaposlenih i potražnje za radnom snagom, lokalne zajednice mogu ustanoviti i podržavati posebne programe savjetovanja i obrazovanja najugroženijih grupa sa ciljem unapređenja njihovog samopouzdanja, vještina traženja posla i prekvalifikacije za određena zanimanja koja su u saglasnosti sa potražnjom poslodavaca.
- Lokalne zajednice mogu u saradnji sa zavodima za zapošljavanje formirati posebna koordinirajuća i savjetodavna tijela koja bi pratila stanje u oblasti zapošljavanja, sa akcentom na teško zapošljive grupe, koja bi predlagala poslove korisne za zajednicu, a uključivala nezaposlene.

4. Lokalna zajednica i mjere vezane za ublažavanje siromaštva

Siromašni građani očekuju od svoje lokalne zajednice i od lokalnih vlasti različite vrste podrške za ublažavanje siromaštva i sprečavanje dejstva rizika koji ih vode u još veće siromaštvo. Prvo obraćanje siromašnih je upravo institucijama lokalne zajednice i ne pomaže objašnjenje da nešto nije zakonom uređeno ili da su država ili entitet za to odgovorni. Lokalna vlast mora imati razvijene vlastite programe kojima reaguje prema siromašnima, a posebno onima koji su ispod linije apsolutnog siromaštva. Programe za borbu protiv siromaštva lokalna zajednica uglavnom implementira kroz sistem socijalne zaštite, angažovanjem nevladinih organizacija koje pružaju usluge siromašnima, te ugovorima sa službama za zapošljavanje ili obrazovnim institucijama kako bi se poboljšale mogućnosti siromašnih i nezaposlenih za vraćanje u svijet rada.

Osnovne mjere koje trebaju realizovati lokalne zajednice u ovoj oblasti su:

- Razvoj i finansiranje malih projekata za ekonomsko osnaživanje siromašnih putem kojih se siromašne porodice i pojedinci pomažu da sagledaju vlastite resurse, steknu osnovna znanja i vještine za izradu projekata, biznis planova, komunikacije sa donatorima i kreditorima, upoznavanje tržišta, mogućnostima pružanja usluga pojedinim kategorijama socijalno ugroženog stanovništva i slično, te odluče za počinjanje porodičnog i ličnog biznisa;
- Programi socijalne pomoći siromašnim i socijalno isključenim osobama, kao što su programi minimuma standarda, pomoći za najteže invalide, manjine, porodice

sa više djece, itd. kojima bi se omogućavalo zadovoljavanje potreba i osnaživanje za jačanje vlastitih kapaciteta;

- Rješavanje stambenih problema socijalno-ugroženih porodica i poboljšanje uslova stanovanja predstavlja oblast koja nije u odgovornosti ni jednog nivoa vlasti. Lokalne zajednice su najpozvanije da razviju mjere koje subvencioniraju troškove stanovanja pojedinih ugroženih grupa, adaptiraju i prilagođavaju stanove za invalide i obezbjeđuju stanovanje najugroženijih;
- Usklađivanje socijalnih davanja na lokalnom nivou sa rastom troškova života;
- Obavezno osnivanje i jačanje kapaciteta centara za socijalni rad kao osnovnih institucija u oblasti socijalne zaštite i koncentracija informacija u ovim ustanovama, tako da potencijalni korisnici mogu dobiti informacije o svojim pravima u različitim oblastima socijalne sigurnosti. Centri treba da razvijaju svoje kompetencije koordinacije različitih sistema i aktera, što bi obuhvatilo i koordinaciju različitih programa organizacija civilnog društva, javnih institucija, lokalnih vlasti, drugih donatora, preduzeća i pojedinaca na planu socijalnog uključivanja;
- U okviru socijalne zaštite, lokalna zajednica ima mogućnosti i treba da stimulise razvoj socijalnih usluga kojima se zadovoljavaju različite potrebe građana u stanju socijalne potrebe i omogućava život u prirodnom okruženju bez institucionalizacije i boravka u zatvorenim ustanovama;
- Stvaranje uslova za rad i djelovanje različitih oblika udruživanja građana i nevladinih organizacija koje prate i analiziraju potrebe, pokreću inicijative i pružaju različite usluge kako bi imali pristup finansijskim izvorima i mogle da razvijaju svoje programe;
- Lokalne zajednice bi trebalo da pokreću inicijative za decentralizaciju i preraspodjelu javnih prihoda u korist većeg učešća lokalnih zajednica u transferima za zadovoljavanje socijalnih potreba siromašnih.

5. Lokalna zajednica i mjere za bolje obrazovanje

Obrazovanje predstavlja osnovni način koji može dovesti do izlaska iz kruga siromaštva i socijalne isključenosti. Višim obrazovanjem stiže se prilika dobijanja bolje plaćenih poslova, time i većih prihoda, većeg korištenja resursa zajednice i veće socijalne uključenosti. Socijalna isključenost se može umanjiti kroz obrazovne programe na više nivoa: u oblasti predškolskog obrazovanja, promjenama u školskom sistemu, te obrazovanjem odraslih.

- Predškolskim obrazovanjem se postiže najbolji mogući razvoj ličnosti djeteta i priprema za polazak u osnovnu školu, te se polažu temelji cjeloživotnog učenja. Sa predškolskim obrazovanjem započinje i proces obrazovnog uključivanja, a njegov izostanak može nepovoljno djelovati u kasnijem školovanju. Razvijena društva teže što većem obuhvatu djece predškolskim vaspitanjem i obrazovanjem do potpunog obuhvata sve djece u godini prije polaska u školu.
- Odgovornost za predškolsko obrazovanje u Bosni i Hercegovini je u isključivoj nadležnosti lokalnih zajednica na koju oni treba da odgovore osnivanjem dovoljnog broja predškolskih ustanova, stvaranjem uslova za njihov rad i otvaranjem prostora za privatni sektor u ovoj oblasti na koji način bi se povećali kapaciteti dječijih ustanova, omogućio veći obuhvat djece i poboljšao kvalitet rada i usluga kroz konkurenciju.

Predškolske ustanove u postojećim kapacitetima nisu dovoljno pristupačne i otvorene za djecu sa smetnjama u razvoju i zato treba uvesti i razviti u svakoj ustanovi programe u koje će se moći uključiti i ova djeca.

- Poznato je da u Bosni i Hercegovini sistem predškolskog obrazovanja obuhvata djecu zaposlenih roditelja koja uglavnom nisu siromašna niti socijalno isključena. Zato bi i posebno polje aktivnosti lokalne zajednice bilo subvencioniranje troškova boravka siromašne djece u predškolskim ustanovama i na taj način povećanja pristupačnosti ovog resursa siromašnoj djeci.
- I ako je odgovornost za osnovno i srednje obrazovanje u Bosni i Hercegovini kod države i entiteta, lokalne zajednice treba da su u obavezi da stvaraju uslove za rad škola kroz različite vidove materijalne podrške, da prate da sva djeca pohađaju osnovno obrazovanje, da uvedu mehanizme koji će omogućiti da sva djeca nastave srednje obrazovanje, da pomažu škole u razvoju programa učenja i dodatnih obrazovnih aktivnosti i organizovanog korištenja slobodnog vremena za djecu iz socijalno isključenih porodica, da pomažu socijalno isključene porodice i porodice koje su u riziku kako bi imale jednak pristup obrazovanju putem programa ili namjenskih fondova i da promovišu inkluzivno obrazovanje za svu djecu, a posebno djecu sa smetnjama u fizičkom i psihičkom razvoju.
- Kroz partnerstvo sa nevladinim sektorom, lokalna zajednica može razviti i implementirati projekte koji promovišu pravo na nacionalne, kulturne i fizičke razlike i na taj način doprinositi jačanju socijalne kohezije.
- Obrazovanje odraslih je u Bosni i Hercegovini je potpuno zanemareno i povećava se nepismenost i broj onih koji napuštanjem redovnog procesa obrazovanja ostaju bez kvalifikacija i osnovnih vještina za bilo kakav posao. Lokalne zajednice treba da razviju mjere kojima bi se odraslim nezaposlenim građanima povećala mogućnost zapošljavanja. Takve mjere su osnivanje institucija koje bi kroz skraćene i prilagođene programe organizovale različite škole, kurseve, seminare, itd. za sticanje različitih znanja i kvalifikacija, zatim pravljenje sporazuma sa službama za zapošljavanje o obavezi upućivanja nekvalifikovanih nezaposlenih na kurseve i profesionalne prekvalifikacije prema potrebama tržišta i sl.

6. Kulturološke, antidiskriminacijske i informacione mjere u lokalnoj zajednici kojima se povećava socijalno uključivanje

Institucije lokalne vlasti i lokalne zajednice svakodnevno mogu da prate događaje i aktivnosti koje dovode do diskriminacije pojedinaca i grupa kako u njima, tako i na području cjelokupne zajednice. Na svaku situaciju trebaju reagovati, a na one koje se ponavljaju i koje postaju svakodnevne, lokalne vlasti trebaju razviti posebne strategije koje bi sadržavale mjere sistemskog sprečavanja diskriminacije, uticaja na svijest i kulturu stanovništva i sistemskog uključivanja diskriminiranih grupa. Sistemske mjere se mogu razvijati u različitim oblastima:

- Informisanje omogućava obavještenost i uključenost građana u događaje, programe, aktivnosti u svim segmentima života lokalne zajednice. Obaveza je lokalnih vlasti da

organizuje lokalnu informativnu mrežu koju sačinjavaju mediji, informisanje putem mjesnih zajednica, odgovarajući informativni i propagandni materijal, Internet informisanje, izvještaji, službeni glasnici itd. i da građani svakodnevno imaju kroz ovu mrežu potrebne informacije;

- Socijalno isključenim i ranjivim grupama institucije lokalne zajednice treba da osiguraju pristup informacijama i besplatnu pravnu pomoć o pravima, postupcima, zaštiti, instituciji žalbe i dr.;
- Organizovanje edukativnih seminara u javnim institucijama za zaposlene s ciljem prevencije diskriminatornog ponašanja i promocije ljudskih prava;
- Organizovanje edukativnih seminara za novinare sa ciljem njihovog osposobljavanja za praćenje siromaštva, socijalne isključenosti i drugih socijalnih problema i valjano upoznavanje javnosti o njima;
- Otklanjanje arhitektonskih barijera i stvaranje fizičke pristupačnosti svim osobama koje imaju probleme sa kretanjem;
- Stvaranje uslova za prijem informacija kod svih osoba (slijepi, gluhi, stranci);
- Isticanje i objavljivanje pozitivnih primjera u javnosti koji promovišu solidarnost, humanost, osjetljivost ranjivih grupa kako bi se povećala senzibilizacija cjelokupnog stanovništva i uvođenje priznanja na nivou lokalne zajednice za takve slučajeve;
- Organizovanje socijalnih akcija koje uključuju lokalno stanovništvo u rješavanju problema isključenih i siromašnih pojedinaca, porodica i grupa;
- Podržavanje lokalnih inicijativa za samoorganizovanje i udruživanje građana oko rješavanja zajedničkih problema od strane svih institucija lokalne zajednice.

V SOCIJALNO UKLJUČIVANJE U LOKALNIM ZAJEDNICAMA – PRIMJERI DOBRE PRAKSE

1. Podrška organizacijama civilnog društva

U svim lokalnim zajednicama koje predstavljaju jedinicu lokalne samouprave osnovano je i radi više različitih udruženja čiji su ciljevi ostvarivanje i zaštita određenih individualnih, grupnih i opšte-društvenih interesa. Najčešća udruženja su udruženja grupa ljudi koje vežu zajednički problemi, a kroz javni sektor i institucije sistema nema dovoljno mjera i mehanizama koji pružaju potrebnu pomoć da bi se problemi rješavali. Od socijalno isključenih grupa, udruženja organizuju osobe sa invaliditetom, stare osobe, posebno penzioneri, zastupnici interesa djece, mladi, manjine (Romi, povratnici), žene i dr., i svi oni svojim aktima utvrđuju misiju udruženja.

Praksa je opština da podržavaju rad ovih udruženja kroz opštinske budžete. Blizu 60% sredstava koje ostvaruju organizacije civilnog društva se akumulira iz opštinskih budžeta.¹⁸ Prema istom izvoru, najveća finansijska podrška se pruža sportskim organizacijama (44,1%), a udruženjima građana ona iznosi oko 42,9% ukupnih sredstava za finansiranje udruženja građana i drugih oblika organizovanja i udruživanja građana.

¹⁸ SDC/IBHI (2007). *Civilno društvo u jačanju socijalne uključenosti*, Sarajevo: SDC&IBHI.

Podrška se odvija na dva načina. Prvi je uobičajena praksa naslijeđena od ranije da se jedan broj organizacija stalno podržava i to bez posebnih procedura. To su uglavnom udruženja osoba sa invaliditetom, udruženje penzionera, Crveni krst i neke druge organizacije. Njima se u lokalnim budžetima svake godine izdvajaju sredstva za redovnu aktivnost (zaposleni, materijalni troškovi), odnosno neke specifične aktivnosti za koje se procjenjuje da su od značaja za organizaciju. Tako je u 2007. godini 22,7% sredstava u BiH (isti izvor), od kojih je najviše iz lokalnih izvora, dodijeljeno bez procedure javnih nabavki, uglavnom putem programa i planova. Na ovaj način jedan broj organizacija je privilegovao, jer dobijaju sredstva bez valjanih programa, a praćenje trošenja sredstava nije razvijeno i sistemski se ne odvija. Pored podrške koju dobijaju iz budžeta lokalne zajednice, vrlo često im se obezbjeđuje prostor za rad, kao i neke druge beneficije.

Drugi način se posljednjih godina sve više implementira u lokalnim zajednicama i on podrazumjeva finansijsku podršku udruženjima za finansiranje određenih projekata za koje opština utvrdi da odgovaraju na potrebe stanovnika, a kroz redovne aktivnosti lokalnih organa i institucija se ne mogu obezbijediti. U ovim slučajevima opština raspisuje javni poziv u kome definiše ciljeve i detaljne uslove koji su usklađeni i sa zakonima o javnim nabavkama i udruženja konkurišu na poziv projektima čije aktivnosti zadovoljavaju konkretne potrebe. Ovo je put kojim se omogućava jednak pristup budžetskim sredstvima svih udruženja koja žele da se bave lokalnim potrebama s jedne strane, odnosno zadovoljavaju se potrebe lokalnog stanovništva, s druge strane.

Navedeni primjeri imaju status prakse u opštinama Bosne i Hercegovine i njihov uticaj na socijalno uključivanje je višestruk:

- Lokalne zajednice kroz obezbjeđivanje finansijskih izvora i drugih uslova pomažu rad udruženja građana koja okupljaju socijalno isključene i na taj način oni izlaze iz izolacije i počinju participirati u životu zajednice: u planiranju mjera kojima se odgovara na njihove potrebe, utiču na donošenje odluka, šire informacije prema drugim socijalno isključenim, promovišu druge obrasce i modele života i rada i pomažu aktivnosti zajednice u rješavanju problema, ali i u primjeni vlastite građanske odgovornosti.
- Stvaranje uslova za pristup sredstvima javne potrošnje organizacijama civilnog društva pomaže održivost ovih organizacija i promoviše transparentnost u trošenju javnih sredstava i princip jednakosti, te motiviše interes i aktivnosti članova ovih organizacija.
- U mnogo većoj mjeri se zadovoljavaju potrebe socijalno isključenih, čime se takođe pomaže njihova integracija.

2. Projekti aktivnosti u zajednici – partnerstva i uključivanje

Projekti aktivnosti u zajednici (PAZ-ovi) su lokalne inicijative, zasnovane na potrebama zajednice, usmjerene na pružanje socijalnih usluga ugroženim i socijalno-isključenim grupama definisanim u opštinskim planovima razvoja sistema socijalne zaštite u pilot opštinama u kojima se realizovao projekat „Reformisanje sistema i struktura režima centralne i lokalne socijalne politike u Bosni i Hercegovini“, podržan od strane DFID-a (Odjeljenje za međunarodni razvoj Vlade Velike Britanije). Projekat je implementiran u četiri lokalne zajednice (Zenica, Gornji Vakuf-Uskoplje, Banja Luka i Trebinje) u periodu

2002-2005. godina i razvio je praksu izrade i implementacije malih projekata kojima se pružaju usluge u punom partnerstvu vladinog, nevladinog i privatnog sektora. Ovi projekti se nadograđuju na postojeće aktivnosti u lokalnoj zajednici i na terenu ispituju nove modele pružanja i poboljšanja socijalnih usluga, čime se omogućuje kvalitetnija socijalna zaštita.

U vrijeme trajanja projekta implementirano je oko 100 PAZ-ova sa različitim učešćem u finansiranju od strane lokalnih zajednica. U prvo vrijeme, projekat ih je podržavao u potpunosti, da bi lokalne zajednice počele sa svojim učešćem prvo sa 50%, zatim sa 70%. Po završetku projekta nastavljen je njihova aktivnost u pilot opštinama kao redovna dobra praksa. Neke opštine i danas izdvajaju sredstva za ove projekte i u potpunosti ih finansiraju. Tako npr. Opština Trebinje svake godine finansira od 7-10 novih projekata po istom modelu.

Pozitivna iskustva ovih projekata su bila značajna u reformi sistema socijalne zaštite na lokalnom nivou u Bosni i Hercegovini tako što su unaprijedila pružanje socijalnih usluga, koje su zanemarene u dosadašnjoj praksi, povećan je obuhvat korisnika i pristup socijalnim pravima, uključen je veći broj korisnika preko udruženja u aktivnosti, kao i nekoliko stotina novih volontera i razvijena je nova praksa koja je postala održiva.

Sami projekti, u većem broju, sadržavali su aktivnosti koje su predstavljale mjere za socijalno uključivanje. To su projekti koji su promovisali inkluziju osoba sa invaliditetom, posebno djece, aktivnosti građana u mjesnim zajednicama na otkrivanju i mapiranju potreba, susjedske pomoći, dnevnih usluga (klubovi i dnevni centri za stare i osobe sa invaliditetom), aktivnosti različite podrške siromašnim porodicama sa djecom i sl.

Pored direktnog uticaja na sistem socijalne zaštite i kvalitet usluga korisnicima, značajan doprinos PAZ-ova je i u: razvoju transparentnih procedura za izradu i implementaciju programa, izrade procedura za selekciju, motivisanje organizacija civilnog društva za socijalne potrebe, partnerstvo kao novi pristup u načinu rada javnih institucija, što je sve do tada bilo nepoznanica u radu lokalnih zajednica.

Model PAZ-ova pokazuje kako lokalne zajednice mogu kroz učenje da upotrebe vlastite resurse na način koji mnogo više odgovara potrebama svojih stanovnika. Korištenje navedenih iskustava u budućim aktivnostima lokalnih zajednica u procesu socijalnog uključivanja moguće je u više oblasti za različite grupe socijalno isključenih. To su programi koji su usmjereni na zapošljavanje socijalno isključenih kao što su starije osobe i osobe sa invaliditetom, koji se mogu zasnovati na ovim iskustvima i kroz partnerstvo i zajedničko korištenje svih resursa poboljšati zaposlenost. Npr. starije nezaposlene žene sa nižim kvalifikacijama posao mogu pronaći u sektoru socijalne zaštite (njega starih i nepokretnih), a lokalne zajednice zajedno sa zavodima za zapošljavanje i drugim podsticajnim izvorima sredstava za zapošljavanje mogu finansijski podržavati institucije socijalne zaštite u njihovom osposobljavanju za taj posao i zapošljavanju. Na taj način korisnici usluga iz pozicije pasivnog primaoca postaju stvaraoci koji vlastitim radom obezbjeđuju svoju sigurnost umanjujući siromaštvo i socijalnu isključenost.

Pored pilot opština koje su implementirale i implementiraju PAZ-ove i druge opštine su ovo koristile kao dobru praksu i razvile procedure za podršku sličnih programa.

3. Pouke iz primjera dobre prakse i Fondacija za socijalno uključivanje

Na osnovu iznesenih primjera koji su široko rasprostranjeni u lokalnim zajednicama Bosne i Hercegovine, može se zaključiti da postoje lokalni finansijski izvori koji se sada koriste za niz aktivnosti koje doprinosi prevazilaženju siromaštva i socijalne isključenosti. Sredstva koja se distribuiraju iz lokalnih zajednica po ovom osnovu su značajna (više desetina miliona KM godišnje). Korištenje i distribucija ovih sredstava nije koordinirano ni sa jednog nivoa vlasti u Bosni i Hercegovini. Nema preciznih evidencija o njihovoj upotrebi, a sistemski i stručno se ne prate efekti upotrebe ovih sredstava i koristi za korisnike. Kriterijumi za njihovu raspodjelu se razlikuju od zajednice do zajednice i razvijenije sredine (kako ekonomski, tako i kroz izgrađenu strukturu demokratskih procedura i odnosa) su stvorile značajan resurs za lokalni razvoj, dok nerazvijene sredine sporadično pribjegavaju ovoj praksi.

Nema istraživanja koja bi dokumentovala sve lokalne izvore koja bi direktno bila u funkciji procesa socijalnog uključivanja i smanjenja socijalne isključenosti. Takođe, nema ni istraživanja koja pokazuju koja još sredstva lokalne zajednice mogu „povući“ uz vlastita sredstva za ove namjene. Samo na jednom istraživanju finansiranja nevladinih organizacije utvrđeno je da Bosna i Hercegovina godišnje ulaže oko 107.000.000,00 KM¹⁹ u podršku nevladinom sektoru (udruženja građana, NVO, sportske organizacije, boračke organizacije). Sve ove organizacije kao institucije civilnog društva su u direktnoj funkciji socijalnog uključivanja.

Kada bi se ovim sredstvima dodala sredstva međunarodnih organizacija za finansiranje projekata civilnog društva što je procenjeno na oko 25 miliona KM vidjeli bi da to predstavlja izuzetan resurs za krupne socijalne programe na smanjenju siromaštva, rješavanju pitanja zapošljavanja i uopšte socijalnog uključivanja.

Jedan od načina da se ostvare promjene i sredstva organizovano stave u funkciju, bio bi i formiranje jedinstvene institucije (zvali je fondacija ili nekako drugačije) koja bi imala višestruke uloge:

- Praćenje i otkrivanje izvora koji se mogu angažovati, i angažuju se, u procesu socijalnog uključivanja socijalno isključenih pojedinaca, porodica i grupa;
- Koordinacija aktera, programa, izvora i kriterijuma različitih organizacija u razvoju i vođenju politika socijalnog uključivanja;
- Finansijska podrška organizacijama za programe socijalnog uključivanja;
- Izrada kriterijuma za korištenje sredstava: samostalno finansiranje, udruživanje sredstava, lobiranje i zagovaranje kod donatora itd., rad u partnerstvu, prioritetni korisnici i sl.;
- Razvijanje mehanizama praćenja upotrebe sredstava, implementacije projekata i planiranje programa;
- Stručna podrška lokalnim zajednicama u planiranju i razvoju programa, pristupima donacijama i fondacijama i drugim izvorima;
- Informativno-istraživačko-analitička i izdavačka djelatnost bi obuhvatila informacioni sistem, širenje informacija, promocije i propagandu, istraživanja stanja i kretanja socijalne isključenosti ranjivih grupa, te štampanje i distribuciju različitih izvještaja, analiza i uspješnih primjera.

¹⁹ IBHI (2008.). *Izdvajanja vladinog sektora za nevladin sektor u Bosni i Hercegovini za 2007. godinu*, Sarajevo: SDC, FOD BiH i IBHI.

ULOGA CIVILNOG DRUŠTVA U OSIGURANJU I ZAŠTITI PRAVA NA SOCIJALNU UKLJUČENOST

UVOD

Socijalna isključenost je jedan od ključnih društvenih problema u Bosni i Hercegovini. Obzirom na razmjere problema isključenosti građana iz kulturnog, socijalnog, ekonomskog i političkog života, pred civilnim društvom stoji veliki izazov kako djelovati na razvoju stabilnih demokratskih institucija kada je više od polovine stanovnika isključeno iz ključnih oblika života u zajednici. Značajnije aktivnosti ka njegovom smanjivanju problema došle su u prvi plan nakon objavljivanja UNDP/IBHI Izvještaja o humanom razvoju: *Socijalna uključenost u Bosni i Hercegovini* u 2007. godini. Od objavljivanja ovog izvještaja desile su se dvije važne promjene, na prvom mjestu je pokrenuta izrada Strategije socijalnog uključivanja, a istovremeno su nevladine organizacije pokrenule inicijativu za uspostavljanje Fondacije za socijalno uključivanje.

Ovaj kratki esej ima za cilj da ukaže na ulogu i mogućnosti civilnog društva u integraciji građana u svim sferama života, istovremeno nastojeći ukazati na činjenicu da bez napretka u ovoj oblasti ne možemo očekivati značajniji uspjeh u stvaranju stabilnih demokratskih institucija koje mogu garantovati poštivanje ljudskog dostojanstva, socijalne pravde i solidarnosti i koje mogu osigurati život u toleranciji, nenasilju, pluralizmu i nediskriminaciji.

U ovom radu se govori o ostvarenom napretku i izazovima koji stoje pred civilnim društvom u osiguranju i zaštiti prava na socijalnu uključenost. Ova uloga civilnog društva ima svoju primarnu svrhu da doprinese reduciranju nejednakosti između ljudi i da doprinese većoj socijalnoj stabilnosti, sigurnosti i uključenosti građana. Kako bi sagledali mogućnosti civilnog društva u osiguranju i zaštiti prava na socijalnu uključenost, u prvom dijelu govorimo o ostvarenom napretku na razvoju civilnog društva kao mehanizma uključivanja građana u tranzicijskom procesu. Napredak koji je ostvaren na polju razvoja civilnog društva je značajan faktor u razumijevanju kapaciteta civilnog društva da spriječi isključivanje građana, te da doprinese njegovom uključivanju, prvenstveno iz razloga identifikacije vremenskog okvira u kojem su kapaciteti civilnog društva bili sposobni da se aktivno i značajno suprotstave rastućem fenomenu socijalne isključenosti. U drugom dijelu govorimo o ljudskim pravima kao ključnom argumentu civilnog društva u osiguranju i zaštiti prava na socijalnu uključenost građana. Na ovom mjestu dat je prikaz razlika između ljudskih prava garantovanih u Ustavu Bosne i Hercegovine i stvarnog stanja poštivanja ovih prava

u praksi, te prikaz uticaja disproporcije između garantovanih i poštovanih ljudskih prava na isključenost građana iz najvažnijih oblika društvenog života. U trećem dijelu nastojimo ukazati na ključne pravce djelovanja civilnog društva u cilju povećanja uključenosti građana. Zadržavajući se na principima ljudskih prava u ovom dijelu nastojali smo ukazati na ključne barijere i izazove koji u narednim godinama stoje pred civilnim društvom.

RAZVOJ CIVILNOG DRUŠTVA KAO MEHANIZMA UKLJUČIVANJA

Proteklih sedamnaest godina Bosna i Hercegovina nastoji izgraditi civilno društvo – kičmu demokratije. Na ovom zadatku ima još mnogo posla, obzirom da se Bosna i Hercegovina svrstava u kategoriju hibridnih režima koji su tek na polovini tranzicijskog puta ka stabilnom demokratskom društvu. Prema posljednje objavljenim podacima Freedom House, ostvareni napredak je približan napretku Ukrajine, Gruzije i Moldavije, država kojima su zbog njihovog sporog tranzicijskog napretka i dalje zatvorena vrata ka članstvu u Evropskoj Uniji.¹ Ostvareni napredak u stvaranju stabilnih demokratskih institucija ključni je pokazatelj koliko je Bosna i Hercegovina uspjela osigurati neophodno uključivanje građana u političkom, ekonomskom, socijalnom i kulturnom životu, te koliko je sposobna osigurati poštivanje ljudskih prava i zaštitu od negativnih posljedica isključivanja.

Kako bi u potpunosti razumjeli ulogu civilnog društva u uključivanju građana sa stanovništva ljudskih prava i prava na socijalnu uključenost važno je na samom početku razumjeti uslove za djelovanje civilnog društva u početku demokratske tranzicije. Prije 1991. godine civilno društvo nije igralo nikakvu značajniju ulogu u procesu uključivanja građana, a država nije dozvoljavala bilo kakvo uplitanje ne-državnih aktera u zaštitu i ispunjavanje ljudskih prava, a samim tim i prava na socijalnu uključenost. Vladajući sistem je sam po sebi trebao obezbijediti potpunu uključenost građana u svim segmentima života i priznavanje potrebe za vanjskim mehanizmima uključivanja građana značilo bi priznavanje da sistem nije takav kakav ga promoviše država. Ovakve vrijednosti koje su nametnute od strane političke vlasti su veoma uspješno prihvaćene u društvu, obzirom da je civilno društvo igralo marginalnu ulogu u pripremi i provođenju demokratskih promjena u zemlji, koje su započete 1990. godine.

Civilno društvo nakon rata

Loša iskustva u početku demokratske tranzicije nisu poslužila kao znak da Bosna i Hercegovina ne može bez snažnog civilnog društva provesti demokratske reforme i stvoriti društvo koje neće kršiti ljudska prava i u kojem će velika većina stanovništva biti uključena u svim sferama života. U godinama nakon rata, vođena prioritetima inostranih donatora, uloga civilnog društva bila je primarno fokusirana na humanitarni rad i pomoć u procesu poslijeratne obnove što je dodatno uticalo stvaranju slike da je civilno društvo neophodno samo u posebnim slučajevima tranzicije. U takvom ambijentu čak međunarodna zajednica kao lider u razvoju civilnog društva nije dovoljno doprinijela jačanju svijesti o značaju

¹ Freedom House Europe: Nations in Transit 2007: Bosnia-Herzegovina

civilnog društva za razvoj demokratskih institucija, već je neke od ključnih funkcija civilnog društva kao što su kreiranje javnih politika i zastupanje interesa građana i zaštite njihovih ljudskih prava rezervisala prvenstveno za sebe. I pored toga, prvenstveno zahvaljujući podršci međunarodne zajednice, civilno društvo je uspjelo u prvih pet godina poslijeratne obnove i rekonstrukcije obezbijediti podršku za razvoj svojih kapaciteta i razvoj svijesti stanovništva da civilno društvo može uspješno uticati na stvaranje pozitivnih promjena u zemlji.

Zahvaljujući Evro-demokratskom valu koji je zahvatio cijeli balkanski prostor uključujući Srbiju, Albaniju, Bugarsku pa čak i Tursku,² civilno društvo je od 2000. godine dobilo ozbiljniji prostor da učestvuje u aktivnostima koje omogućavaju uključivanje građana u procese odlučivanja, ali i u procese suštinskih reformi u društvu koje bi trebale, između ostalog, uticati na veći stepen poštivanja ljudskih prava i uključivanja građana. Zahvaljujući ovome, doba kada se nevladina organizacija smatrala protiv-vladinom organizacijom je bilo završeno. Ovaj val promjena omogućio je provođenje veoma značajnih reformskih procesa u Bosni i Hercegovini koji su unaprijedili izborni proces, ojačali ulogu civilnog društva i nezavisnih medija suštinski doprinoseći promjeni percepcije uloge civilnog društva u rješavanju problema sa kojima se suočavaju građani. Izborom pro-demokratske vlade na opštim izborima u oktobru 2000. godine dat je signal da je otvoren prozor za aktivno učešće civilnog društva u ključnim reformskim procesima. Pored same promjene političkog okruženja, novoizabrane vlasti su započele sa definisanjem strateškog pristupa u rješavanju ključnih problema koje otežavaju tranzicijske procese kao što su siromaštvo i nepoštivanje ljudskih, a posebno ekonomskih i socijalnih prava, te su širom otvorile vrata civilnom društvu da aktivno učestvuju u kreiranju politika koje bi trebale ukloniti ove barijere. Učešće u izradi Strategije za smanjenje siromaštva BiH-PRSP je značajno za civilno društvo po tome što je omogućilo predstavnicima civilnog društva učešće u procesu njegove izrade, ali i u tome što su se domaće vlasti po prvi put javno obavezale da će obezbijediti promjene koje će omogućiti veću ekonomsku i socijalnu integraciju društva kroz partnerstvo vladinog, nevladinog i privatnog sektora.

U ovom periodu dolazi do snažnog naglašavanja potrebe donošenja odluka u partnerstvu sa civilnim društvom, čak i nakon 2002. godine kada su nacionalne stranke ponovo preuzele vlast, posebno na lokalnom nivou. Civilno društvo se počinje ozbiljnije baviti pitanjem kako osigurati minimum standarda ljudskih prava i kako sve grupe u društvu, a posebno marginalizovane, uključiti u ekonomski, socijalni, politički i kulturni život. Proces saradnje civilnog sektora sa državnim institucijama je značajno podržan od strane Međunarodne zajednice koja je stavila fokus na provođenje institucionalnih reformi koje su se mogle provesti isključivo u partnerstvu sa domaćim vlastima. Obzirom da je Međunarodna zajednica glavni oslonac razvoja civilnog društva u zemlji, promjena strategije međunarodne zajednice prema domaćim vlastima direktno je značila i promjenu strategije naspram nevladinih organizacija, u okviru koje je zahtijevano da civilno društvo svoje aktivnosti planira i provodi u *bliskoj* saradnji sa predstavnicima vladinih institucija.

Ovaj vremenski period je ključan sa stanovišta uloge civilnog društva u uključivanju građana. Prvenstveno, omogućen je ulazak u tijela koja su donosila vladine odluke, čime je

² Freedom House: Freedom in the World in 2007.

civilnom društvu otvorena mogućnost da svojim radom i zastupanjem izgradi kredibilitet neophodan za zastupanje prava na uključenost građana. Zahvaljujući ovom procesu počinju se javljati i prve nevladine organizacije koje su razvile svoje kapacitete zastupanja, koje su na nacionalnom nivou omogućile povećanje uticaja civilnog društva na proces donošenja odluka, ali uglavnom u oblastima koje nisu imale visok politički prioritet za domaće vlasti. Zbog nerazvijenosti demokratskih institucija, posebno unutar vladinih struktura, nedovoljnih iskustava unutar civilnog društva, ali i zbog snažnog uticaja međunarodne zajednice, civilno društvo do kraja 2005. godine ipak nije bilo u mogućnosti da osigura uključenost građana u kreiranje ključnih reformskih politika u zemlji. Uticaj civilnog društva na javne politike na nacionalnom nivou je prisutan, ali uglavnom formalne prirode, bez mogućnosti stvarnog uticaja na finalni izgled javne politike, što se najbolje pokazalo tokom donošenja odluka o reformi sistema indirektnog oporezivanja kada vlasti ni po koju cijenu i bez obzira na stavove civilnog društva nisu odustale od svog modela uvođenja PDV-a.

Buđenje civilnog društva

Kraj 2005. i početak 2006. godine nagovijestio je promjene koje su trebale dodatno utjecati na promjenu uloge civilnog društva u uključivanju građana. Reforme koje su bile u toku osigurale su ispunjenje većine uslova iz EU studije izvodljivosti, a pregovori o zaključivanju Sporazuma o stabilizaciji i pridruživanju sa EU su započeti. Reforma sistema indirektnog oporezivanja i proces reforme Ustava Bosne i Hercegovine su uticali na to da su pitanja poštivanja ljudskih prava i pitanja o modelima socio-ekonomskih politika postala značajnija od tzv. „nacionalnih pitanja“ koja su svih ovih godina bila ključna za osvajanje i održavanje političke vlasti u zemlji. Promjena političkih prioriteta sa „nacionalnih“ na „socio-ekonomska“ dolazi istovremeno sa zaokretom u politici djelovanja međunarodne zajednice. Ohrabrena demokratskim uspjesima, Međunarodna zajednica javno najavljuje prestanak uplitanja u proces donošenja odluka. Takođe je najavljeno zatvaranje Kancelarije Visokog predstavnika koji je trebao u jednogodišnjem tranzicijskim periodu osigurati potpuni prenos nadležnosti na domaće institucije vlasti. Nažalost, otvorena prilika za aktivnu i značajnu participaciju civilnog društva od strane domaćih vlasti nije dočekana raširenih ruku, što se najbolje manifestovalo tokom debate u vezi modela uvođenja sistema PDV-a kada su domaće vlasti potpuno ignorisale zahtjeve civilnog društva i pored brojnih dokaza da odabrana opcija sistema ima nedostatke koji će štetiti siromašnim.

Događaji s kraja 2005. i početka 2006. godine uticali su na promjenu strategije vodećih organizacija civilnog društva koje su bile nezadovoljne rezultatima saradnje sa vladinim sektorom i pristupom ključnim socio-ekonomskim pitanjima u zemlji. Nvladine organizacije koje predstavljaju najaktivniji dio civilnog društva su bile prinuđene da promjene strategiju po pitanju njihovog uključivanja i zastupanja interesa građana. Novi pristup, koji je započeo sa inicijativom Građanskog organizovanja za demokratiju (GROZD) inicirao je uspostavljanje principa da civilno društvo treba otvoreno zagovarati javni interes bez obzira na posljedice eventualnog neslaganja domaćih vlasti. Zahvaljujući iskustvima u zagovaranju na lokalnom nivou, nova strategija je trebala odgovoriti na pitanje kako se u novonastaloj situaciji treba postaviti civilno društvo, posebno sa aspekta rješavanja ključnih problema

svih stanovnika Bosne i Hercegovine. Tokom 2006. godine, zahvaljujući aktivnostima u okviru GROZD-a, promjena u pristupu je uticala na evoluciju svijesti unutar samog civilnog društva i građana uopšte naglašavajući da je učešće u procesima odlučivanja jedna od osnovnih funkcija civilnog društva, te da domaće vlasti jedino u saradnji sa civilnim društvom mogu efikasno uticati na poboljšanje životnog standarda stanovništva i nivoa blagostanja specifičnih socijalnih grupa u društvu.

Prepreke koje stoje na putu efikasnijoj ulozi civilnog društva

Pokušaj civilnog društva da značajnije utiče na krajnji ishod ključnih socio-ekonomskih reformi, te pokušaj koalicije GROZD da doprinese većem fokusiranju parlamentarnih političkih partija na rješavanje ključnih problema građana omogućilo je prepoznavanje nekoliko veoma važnih barijera koje sputavaju aktivnu i značajnu ulogu civilnog društva u zastupanju i uključivanju građana u politički život Bosne i Hercegovine.

Osnovna barijera koja je u ovom procesu prepoznata jeste nedostatak kapaciteta javne administracije da planira, kreira i implementira javne politike. Najveći broj vladinih odluka se donosi bez ikakvih procjena i analiza i na osnovu ličnih viđenja ključnih donosioca odluka (premijera i ministara, a na lokalnom nivou uglavnom od strane načelnika i lokalnih šefova vladajućih političkih partija). Nedostatak kapaciteta unutar vladinih institucija takođe je zabilježen i u zakonodavnim institucijama koje svoje odluke o prihvatanju ili odbijanju određenog prijedloga javne politike zasnivaju ne po tome koliko koristi će od takve odluke imati građani, već sud o značaju određenog prijedloga donose na osnovu toga ko je njen predlagач.

Druga barijera koja otežava učešće civilnog društva u procesima odlučivanja jeste postojanje brojnih oportunističkih grupa koje ne podržavaju bilo kakvu demokratizaciju unutar postojećeg sistema odlučivanja jer bi time prava i povlastice ovih grupa bile ozbiljno ugrožene, obzirom da su u pravilu ta prava ostvarena na štetu drugih. Najbolji primjer snage ovih grupa jeste primjer organizacija koje zastupaju boračke interese, koje otvoreno blokiraju bilo kakve promjene u procesu odlučivanja, izuzev promjena koje će omogućiti veći nivo beneficija za njihove članove. Koliko su snažne ove grupe najbolje pokazuje izjava člana Predsjedništva BiH u septembru 2006. godine da njegovo rušenje traže grupe izvan vlade „koje više ne mogu da odlučuju ko će biti ministar, sa kim će praviti koalicije na nivou države i ko će privatizovati koje državno preduzeće.“³

Treća barijera jeste neuspjeh dosadašnjih napora u reformi javne administracije u pravcu uklanjanja brojnih administrativnih prepreka koje su uglavnom donošene kako bi onemogućili učešće civilnog društva u političkom životu, te donošenje čisto formalnih rješenja koje samo stvaraju privid učešća javnosti u procesu donošenja odluka.

Ove barijere imaju veoma snažan uticaj na ulogu civilnog društva u procesu uključivanja građana i ispunjavanju prava na uključenost. U protekle dvije godine civilno društvo je pokrenulo niz inicijativa koje su usmjerene ka njihovom eliminiranju. Neke od njih su

³ Izjava člana Predsjedništva BiH Sulejmana Tihića u gostovanju na TV Hayat u septembru 2006. godine.

fokusirane na neke specifične vladine aktivnosti kao što je trošenje budžetskih sredstava dok su druge bile usmjerene na stvaranje institucionalnog okvira za saradnju između civilnog društva i vlasti. Iako su početni naponi u ovim aktivnostima postignuti – kao što je to primjer potpisivanja Sporazuma o saradnji Vijeća ministara i civilnog društva, uključenost civilnog društva u proces donošenja odluka i danas je veoma ograničenog dometa. Razlog nepostojanja vidljivih rezultata nije samo u činjenici da je potrebno da prođe određeno vrijeme od implementacije dogovorenih rješenja u praksi, već i u činjenici da su ojačale i snage koje nisu zainteresovane za suštinsko uključivanje civilnog društva u proces donošenja odluka.

Međutim, i pored toga što ove barijere značajno umanjuju efikasno djelovanje civilnog društva u praksi, može se konstatovati da je civilno društvo ostvarilo izuzetno veliki napredak u stvaranju mehanizma uključivanja i zaštite od socijalnog isključivanja. Od potpuno neorganizovane i marginalne grupe zagovornika civilnog i otvorenog društva do mreže od više stotina uvezanih organizacija civilnog društva koje su sposobne izgraditi zajednički stav i dobiti podršku većine stanovništva u ključnim socijalnim pitanjima prošlo je svega deset godina. Obzirom na ukupno političko stanje u zemlji, nerazvijenost demokratskih institucija, veliki uticaj grupa koje zastupaju „nacionalne interese“, dominantnost filozofije da je osnovni cilj osvajanja vlasti – vlast, a ne povećanje blagostanja svih, prisustvo međunarodne zajednice koje je iz procesa donošenja ključnih odluka „istisnulo“ civilno društvo, strahom velikog dijela stanovništva za vlastitu sigurnost zbog rastućeg nacionalizma na „drugoj strani“ – civilno društvo je napravilo izuzetan korak naprijed u ispunjavanju svoje uloge da promoviše, štiti i osigurava prava građana na uključenost u svim sferama političkog, ekonomskog i društvenog života.

LJUDSKA PRAVA – KLJUČNI ARGUMENT CIVILNOG DRUŠTVA

Trenutno, pred civilnim društvom stoji izazov kako principe koji su prihvaćeni u dijelu aktivnih nevladinih organizacija proširiti na ostale organizacije civilnog društva (mediji, političke grupe, strukovne i religijske organizacije) u cilju stvaranja demokratskih institucija koje će garantovati slobodu od isključivanja zbog interesa bilo koje grupe u društvu, bez obzira kakve zasluge tim grupama pripisuje istorija.

Ljudska prava kao neiskorišteni resurs

Pravo na uključivanje građana proizilazi iz Univerzalne deklaracije o ljudskim pravima koja garantuje da svako ima pravo da slobodno određuje svoj politički položaj i slobodno sprovodi svoj ekonomski, društveni i kulturni razvoj, a članom 21. Univerzalne deklaracije, garantovano je da svako ima pravo da neposredno učestvuje u upravljanju javnim poslovima u svojoj zemlji. Kako bi se spriječilo da vlasti nevidljivim ekonomskim, socijalnim i kulturnim barijerama onemoguće ispunjavanje ovog ljudskog prava, članom 22. Univerzalne deklaracije se zahtjeva od države da svakoj osobi osigura ostvarivanje ekonomskih, socijalnih i kulturnih prava koja su neophodna za potpuno uključivanje i slobodni razvoj svake osobe u svim sferama života.

Nažalost, ostvarivanje ovih prava nije definisano u obaveznim odredbama, obzirom da je pravo iz Člana 22. Univerzalne deklaracije uslovljeno „u skladu sa organizacijom i sredstvima svake države“, zbog čega građani različitih država nemaju isti nivo ekonomskih, socijalnih i kulturnih prava. U državama koje garantuju niži nivo ovih prava u pravilu dolazi do povećanja dijela stanovništva koje je isključeno iz različitih oblika društvenog života.

Poveljom Ujedinjenih naroda i Univerzalnom deklaracijom definisana je obaveza države da poduzimaju konkretne korake (do maksimuma svojih raspoloživih resursa) za postepeno ostvarivanje prava priznatih Univerzalnom deklaracijom, na način da ostvarivanje osnovnih ljudskih prava i sloboda bude definisano kao cilj razvoja. Za civilno društvo ovo je temeljni argument, ne samo u oblasti isključenosti već i u svim drugim oblastima u kojima se specifična ljudska prava ne mogu ostvariti bez odgovarajućih aktivnosti i planova razvoja. Pored ove primarne obaveze, za rad civilnog društva na uključivanju građana važna je i obaveza države da u svojim razvojnim aktivnostima poštuje dva fundamentalna principa ljudskih prava – ravnopravnost žena i muškaraca i zabrana diskriminacije po bilo kom osnovu, kao što su pol, jezik, vjeroispovijest, političko opredjeljenje i nacionalno, etničko ili društveno porijeklo. Svaka aktivnost koja se provodi ne poštujući ova dva principa rizikuje da doprinese povećanju isključenog dijela stanovništva.

Standardi ljudskih prava olakšavaju djelovanje i na polju socijalne isključenosti postavljajući i druge principe koji imaju vezu sa ljudskim pravima. Aktivnosti na polju uključenosti moraju biti usmjerene ka osnaživanju kapaciteta ljudi u svim oblastima i proširivanje njihovih mogućnosti izbora čak i u slučajevima kada je ekonomska isključenost najveći uzrok isključenosti većine građana. Zbog toga zahtjevi civilnog društva da država *da* prioritet borbi protiv isključenosti, siromaštva i poboljšanje položaja marginalizovanih grupa u društvu jeste zahtjev zasnovan na principu poštivanja ljudskih prava. Cilj civilnog društva jeste u tome da se razvoj vidi kao kombinovani ekonomski, socijalni, kulturni i politički proces koji ima za rezultat konstantno poboljšavanje dobrobiti čitave populacije i svih pojedinaca na osnovu njihovog aktivnog, slobodnog i suvislog učešća u razvoju.

Obzirom da je vlada najznačajniji akter (ili nosioc dužnosti) procesa osiguravanja uključenosti građana, za vladu obično većemo princip odgovornosti, (ne)opravdano prelazeći preko toga koliko ostali nosioci dužnosti (npr. privatni sektor) poštuju ovaj princip. Po pitanju uključenosti građana princip odgovornosti nam olakšava identifikaciju obaveza i odgovornosti državnih institucija koje su odgovorne po pitanju poduzimanja pozitivnih mjera na polju uključenosti građana (da štite, obezbjeđuju i unapređuju njihova prava), tako i negativne obaveze (da se uzdrže od kršenja prava građana). Odgovornost na ovom planu čini i obezbjeđenje prevođenja univerzalnih standarda u domaće standarde, politike i mjere na osnovu kojih bi se mogao mjeriti napredak u ostvarivanju ljudskih prava i obezbjeđivanje odgovornosti za njihovo sprovođenje i zaštitu. Ovakav pristup razvoju zahtjeva da ga prati odgovarajuća legislativa, administrativni postupci i prakse, institucije i mehanizmi koji bi djelovali u cilju obezbjeđenja i zaštite ljudskih prava, odnosno reagovali u slučajevima njihovog kršenja. U ovom domenu naročito je značajna uloga države koja mora putem političke volje i određenih mehanizama da obezbijedi potrebnu legislativu i administrativne i institucionalne mehanizme za njeno sprovođenje i zaštitu. Primarna odgovornost za uspostavljanje i sprovođenje sistema ljudskih prava je na državama, ali

je međunarodna zajednica takođe obavezna da obezbijedi međunarodnu saradnju u ovoj oblasti kao i razvijanje sistema ljudskih prava u zemljama u razvoju kojima nedostaju potrebni resursi i kapaciteti.

Treći princip koji je od velike važnosti za djelovanje civilnog društva na povećanje uključenosti jeste davanje prednosti strategijama koje osposobljavaju isključene građane. Ovaj pristup podrazumijeva da akcije države budu usmjerene na direktnu pomoć isključenom građaninu da on sam aktivno učestvuje u procesu uključivanja. Slikovito rečeno, cilj nije stvoriti savršen alat koji će uključiti građane, već osposobiti ljude da aktivno učestvuju u kreiranju sopstvenog života i života svoje zajednice. Poštivanje ovog principa zahtijeva stalni napredak u pristupu informacijama, institucijama, odlučivanju i kreiranju vladinih politika. Dalje, ovaj pristup podrazumijeva ugrađivanje specifičnosti određene sredine (lokalne, regionalne, nacionalne itd.) u formulisanje aktivnosti na polju uključivanja građana. Ovo znači da poduzete aktivnosti države moraju biti zasnovane na specifičnostima, interesima i potrebama ljudi koji žive u zajednici, umjesto prihvatanja modela i rješenja sa strane i receptata koji ne uvažavaju te specifičnosti okruženja.

Iz svih navedenih razloga standardi ljudskih prava predstavljaju fundamentalni alat civilnog društva u njihovim aktivnostima na polju uključivanja građana. Njihovom primjenom omogućava se provođenje mjera za eliminisanje uzroka isključivanja, te afirmativnih akcija za poboljšanje položaja pripadnika marginalizovanih grupa u društvu. U takvoj poziciji mogu biti žene, pripadnici određene rase, nacionalnosti, etničke grupe, starosnog doba, vjeroispovijesti itd. Vođeno principima ljudskih prava civilno društvo ima puno pravo zahtijevati da se u svakoj sredini, na lokalnom, regionalnom i nacionalnom nivou, ustanovi koje su to društvene grupe koje se najdrastičnije suočavaju sa problemom isključenosti, posebno oni koji nemaju pristupa efektivnoj zaštiti i ostvarivanju osnovnih, zagarantovanih prava. Korištenjem međunarodnih standarda ljudskih prava za usmjeravanje svojih aktivnosti u cilju poboljšanja položaja ljudi, posebno marginalizovanih grupa, smanjivanja siromaštva, ostvarenja rodne ravnopravnosti, stvaranja uslova za punu zaposlenost i regeneraciju zdrave životne sredine, civilno društvo će biti sigurno da njihove aktivnosti doprinose pozitivnim promjenama u cjelokupnom društvu i da domaćim vlastima ostaje obaveza njihovog podržavanja.

Naša realnost

Iako je svaka država članica UN-a obavezna poštovati ljudska prava sadržana u Univerzalnoj deklaraciji, očigledno je da praksa pokazuje suprotno. Prvenstveno zahvaljujući uzrocima isključenosti stanovništva iz različitih oblika društvenog života, relativno mali broj država se može pohvaliti da se u potpunosti pridržavaju međunarodnih standarda u poštivanju ljudskih prava. Uzrok ovakvog stanja uglavnom se ogleda u tome da zakonodavstvo većine zemalja nije prilagođeno potrebama progresivne realizacije ljudskih prava, posebno u dijelu ekonomskih i socijalnih prava koja su ključni mehanizam promocije društvenog napretka i poboljšanja uslova života. Ukoliko domaće zakonodavstvo ne osigurava svakom pojedincu minimum sigurnosti koji je neophodan za dostojanstven život, velika je vjerovatnoća da će država ograničiti svoja oskudna sredstva na ispunjavanje Univerzalnog deklaracijom

zagarantovanih ljudskih prava. U takvim okolnostima u posebno teškoj situaciji se mogu ispuniti ona ljudska prava čija realizacija zahtijeva značajnije izdvajanje raspoloživih sredstava države. Obzirom da su sva ljudska prava međuzavisna i međupovezana u slučaju da država poštuje priznata građanska i politička prava, a zanemaruje obavezu poštivanja skupih ekonomskih i socijalnih prava, u praksi dolazi do situacije da se indirektno ograničavaju i njihova građanska i politička prava.

Može se reći da ovaj opis odgovara našoj realnosti u Bosni i Hercegovini. U skladu sa Ustavom Bosne i Hercegovine država je dužna zaštititi, poštovati i progresivno ispunjavati sva ljudska prava. U praksi se ove odredbe Ustava uglavnom poštuju samo u dijelu građanskih i političkih prava, dok je široko prisutna praksa diskriminacije i onemogućavanja poštivanja minimuma ekonomskih i socijalnih prava, što se direktno manifestuje masovnom isključenošću građana iz ekonomskog ili socijalnog života, a indirektno i iz političkog života. To je naša realnost.

Ukoliko bi bilo kojeg vladinog zvaničnika pitali zašto Bosna i Hercegovina dopušta kršenje ekonomskih i socijalnih prava, vjerovatno bi odgovor bio povezan sa članom 22. Univerzalne deklaracije i glasilo bi *da se ekonomska i socijalna prava građana ostvaruju u nivou koji dozvoljavaju sredstva sa kojima raspolaže država*. U situaciji kada javna potrošnja u Bosni i Hercegovini prelazi polovinu bruto društvenog proizvoda i kada ni taj iznos nije dovoljan za garantovanje minimalnih ekonomskih i socijalnih prava, civilno društvo se često nađe pred zidom koji je izgleda nemoguće zaobići. Ovakav ili sličan odgovor vlasti mogao bi se prihvatiti kao opravdan za većinu zemalja koje, kao Bosna i Hercegovina, građanima ne garantuje njihova ekonomska i socijalna prava. Međutim, za Bosnu i Hercegovinu, ovakav argument nije opravdanje, ne zato što država možda ima dovoljno sredstava samo ih ne iskorištava na racionalan način, već zbog toga što Ustav zahtijeva od države da svim stanovnicima Bosna i Hercegovina u oba njena entiteta obezbijedi najviši nivo međunarodno priznatih ljudskih prava i osnovnih sloboda.⁴

Zahvaljujući međunarodno prihvaćenim standardima ljudskih prava civilno društvo je u stanju procijeniti da li se određena ljudska prava poštuju u minimalnom obimu, te da li je dostignut standardni nivo poštivanja ljudskih prava. Ukoliko se neko pravo obezbjeđuje u obimu koji je ispod minimalnog nivoa, takav nivo prava se ocjenjuje kao da to pravo uopšte nije garantovano. Dodatno za Bosnu i Hercegovinu čak i osiguranje minimuma međunarodno priznatih prava predstavlja kršenje ljudskih prava obzirom da Ustav propisuje najviši, a ne najmanji nivo ljudskih prava. U praksi to izgleda ovako: Svim ljudima u Bosni i Hercegovini su garantovana prava na socijalnu asistenciju ukoliko iz bilo kojih razloga pojedinac nema vlastite izvore prihoda. Ukoliko neki pojedinac ne radi, a ni on niti njegovi članovi porodice nemaju nikakve izvore prihoda, država je dužna osigurati socijalnu asistenciju (ili češće primjenjivan termin socijalna pomoć) koja će biti u takvom iznosu da omogućiti zadovoljavanje minimalnih egzistencijalnih potreba (trenutni iznos pomoći po ovom osnovu iznosi između 0 i 40 KM). Minimalni standard u poštivanju ovih prava jeste definisan kao dio iznosa minimalne plate i on je precizno utvrđen u iznosu od minimalno 15 procenata minimalne plate. U slučaju Bosne i Hercegovine priznalo bi se da država osigurava pravo na socijalnu asistenciju ukoliko bi pojedinac u stanju socijalne potrebe

⁴ Član 2. Tačka 1. Ustava Bosne i Hercegovine

primao 51 KM mjesečno.⁵ Ukoliko bi sva lica, koja se nalaze u stanju socijalne potrebe, imala ovaj minimalno garantovani iznos, tada bismo bili sigurni da uzrok isključenosti socijalno ugroženih građana ne leži u njihovim subjektivnim (ne žele da se uključe u društveni život) već objektivnim razlozima (ne mogu da se uključe u društveni život). Slično, moguće je primijeniti instrumente ljudskih prava kako bi utvrdili ključne uzroke isključenosti i drugih grupa u društvu, kao što su žene, nezaposleni, radnici, stariji ljudi, ljudi na selu ili bilo koja druga marginalizovana grupa u društvu.

CIVILNO DRUŠTVO – EFIKASNA BRANA OD ISKLJUČENOSTI GRAĐANA

Na slučaju Bosne i Hercegovine možemo vidjeti kako formalno priznavanje ekonomskih i socijalnih prava samo po sebi ne osigurava visok stepen uključenosti građana. Takođe, možemo zaključiti da nizak nivo poštivanja ovih prava dovodi do povećanja isključenosti i da poboljšanje poštivanja ovih prava može biti upotrijebljeno kao efikasna zaštita građana od isključenosti. Nažalost, vidimo da sâm pristup u poboljšanju pristupa ekonomskim i socijalnim pravima može biti problematičan i da se prepreke pojavljuju u cijelom lancu ispunjavanja prava od same deklaracije prava, preko procesa i procedura ostvarivanja, do raspoloživih resursa koji su potrebni za njihovo ostvarenje od strane države kao nosioca dužnosti za ostvarivanje ovih prava.

Djelovanje civilnog društva na polju uključivanja građana kroz veću zaštitu, poštivanje i ispunjavanje ljudskih prava ograničeno je specifičnim preprekama koje se ogledaju u:

- Nepreciznosti u definisanju prava i povlastica;
- Ograničavanju prava na samo određene kategorije;
- Nepostojanje minimalnih standarda u poštivanju prava;
- Nedovoljna količina javnih resursa (novac, osoblje, oprema) koja se alocira u cilju osiguravanja ovih prava;
- Fragmentacija odgovornosti između različitih nivoa vlasti;
- Izostanak cjelovite reforme unutar socijalnog sektora;
- Predrasude prema određenim grupama.

Sva ova i još mnogo drugih specifičnih pitanja otežavaju rad civilnog društva u osiguranju uključivanja građana u život zajednice. Zahvaljujući ovim barijerama, građanima je otežan pristup svim pravima koja su relevantna za dostojanstven i svrsishodan život i koji su zbog toga isključeni iz svih glavnih tokova života zajednice.

U svojim nastojanjima da doprinese eliminaciji barijera koje onemogućavaju uključenost građana, pred civilnim društvom stoji veoma težak zadatak da inicira i učestvuje u procesu koji će osigurati da svako, nezavisno o svom iskustvu i okolnostima, ostvari puni potencijal u životu. Samo u okviru ovog procesa biće moguće osigurati značajniji napredak po pitanju uključenosti građana u okviru kojeg je ekonomska uključenost (kroz osiguravanje adekvatnih

⁵ Obzirom da minimalna plata iznosi najviše 380 KM (343x15% = 51 KM).

prihoda i zaposlenosti) potreban ali ne i dovoljan uslov za punu i svrsishodnu uključenost građana. Na ovom putu pred civilnim društvom stoji izazov kako unutar ovog procesa osigurati poštivanje tri osnovna principa koji garantuju uključenost građana: jednakost, nediskriminacija i participacija. Bez poštivanja ovih principa moguće je da bilo koji napredak u poštivanju ljudskih prava (posebno ekonomskih i socijalnih) ne doprinese jednako povećanju uključenosti građana. Kao što smo vidjeli, uključenost građana zavisi od nivoa poštivanja njihovih prava i jačine procesa u okviru kojeg se žele ukloniti ključne barijere koje stoje na putu njihovog uključivanja i prihvaćenosti principa na kojima je proces uključenosti zasnovan. Primjena ovih principa u praksi znači da bi u svojim naporima na polju uključenosti građana civilno društvo u Bosni i Hercegovini trebalo biti fokusirano na:

- **Podršku razvoju isključenih građana.** Fokus na razvoj pojedinca je važan jer ljudi ne mogu biti razvijeni. Oni moraju razvijati sami sebe. Ljudi, uključujući i one koji su isključeni, trebaju biti prepoznati kao ključni akteri u svom vlastitom uključivanju, a ne kao pasivni korisnici ili prenosnici dobara i usluga.
- **Aktivno učešće isključenih građana.** Aktivno učešće isključenih građana u procesu uključivanja je ključno, i to ne samo kao krajnji cilj, već i kao sredstvo za njegovo ostvarivanje. Aktivno učešće građana u procesu uključivanja ne treba biti shvaćeno kao 'oni' učestvuju u 'našim' aktivnostima, već obratno. Iz perspektive ljudskih prava učešće je i potreban, ali i neophodan, aspekt procesa uključivanja iz razloga što je svaki pojedinac u društvu nosioc prava. Činjenica da je neko nosioc prava samo po sebi znači da učešće nije izbor već obaveza.
- **Osnaživanje isključenih građana.** Prema pristupu zasnovanom na poštivanju ljudskih prava, srž ljudskih prava podrazumijeva samopoštovanje i jednakost. Ovo podrazumijeva pristup uključivanju fokusiran na razvoj kapaciteta isključenih građana, u kojem podrška treba biti usmjerena ka jačanju/razvoju onih kapaciteta isključenih građana zbog kojih su došli u stanje isključenosti. Osnaživanje građana zapravo predstavlja jedan specifičan proces učenja i djelovanja koji ojačava kapacitete uključujući analitičke i organizacijske vještine i političku svijest koja je neophodna kako bi isključeni građani razumjeli smisao svojih prava i kako bi bili sposobni za slobodno udruživanje u cilju poboljšanja svog vlastitog kvaliteta života.

Već na prvi pogled može se zaključiti da se značajniji napredak po pitanju uključivanja građana ne može ostvariti oslanjanjem na tradicionalni pristup razvoja u kojem se pretpostavlja da ekonomski razvoj sam po sebi doprinosi eliminaciji isključenosti građana i da je ključ uspjeha osigurati efikasnu ulogu države u ekonomskom razvoju zemlje. Nažalost, bez obzira koliki uspjeh vlasti budu osigurale na polju ekonomskog razvoja, bez fokusa na razvoj pojedinca, njegovom učešću u razvojnim procesima i mjera koje će direktno biti usmjerene ka njegovom osnaživanju, problem isključenosti (ili strah od isključenosti) će i dalje biti ključni problem većine građana.

Kako dalje

Kako bi civilno društvo uspjelo u svojim naporima da doprinese povećanju uključenosti građana ono mora svoje aktivnosti na polju uključenosti tretirati zajedno sa pitanjem poštovanja, zaštite i progresivne realizacije ljudskih prava. Aktivnosti na polju razvoja kulturnih, ekonomskih, socijalnih, političkih i građanskih prava trebaju biti integrisane u aktivnosti usmjerene ka povećanju uključenosti građana. Kao što smo vidjeli na početku teksta, civilno društvo je ostvarilo veliki napredak na stvaranju vlastitih kapaciteta koji mogu biti usmjereni ka ovom zajedničkom cilju. Ovaj napredak stavlja pred civilno društvo dvostruki izazov koji treba odgovoriti na pitanje kako osigurati podršku za proces koji će doprinijeti eliminaciji barijera koje uzrokuju isključenost građana sa jedne strane, te kako osigurati podršku povećanju uključenosti građana u praksi. Dosadašnji ostvareni rezultati, posebno u pogledu donošenja Strategije socijalnog uključivanja, te u pogledu uspostavljanja NVO Fondacije za socijalno uključivanje u BiH daju nadu da će civilno društvo osigurati neophodnu podršku u svojim naporima ka stvaranju društva koje svoje građane neće isključivati iz bitnih aspekata života.

Ukoliko se svi predano posvetimo radu na Strategiji, Bosna i Hercegovina može ući u novo doba u kojem će težiti realizaciji dostojanstvenog života za sve njene stanovnike i čija implementacija bi trebala doprinijeti stvaranju društva u kojem će njeni građani živjeti u prosperitetu, miru, slobodi i sigurnosti. Ukoliko stvorimo uslove za efikasan rad Fondacije za socijalno uključivanje, civilno društvo će po prvi put imati na raspolaganju institucionalni sistem podrške koji će omogućiti dalji napredak civilnog društva na polju osnaživanja isključenih i jačanju njihovih kapaciteta, koji će podsticati razvoj organizacija civilnog društva koje će biti posvećene podršci isključenim grupama, te koji će omogućiti napredak u razvoju cjelokupnog društva kao društva koje će biti utemeljeno na saosjećanju, solidarnosti i osjećaju za pravdu.

Naravno, na kraju ne treba zaboraviti vrlo važno pitanje od kojeg će zavisiti da li će civilno društvo uz podršku Strategije i Fondacije napraviti iskorak na polju borbe protiv isključenosti građana – pitanje odgovornosti. Sa stajališta ljudskih prava, pojedinci i grupe su nosioci prava, dok su institucije vlasti i drugi, kao nosioci dužnosti odgovorni za realizaciju tih prava. To u stvari znači da uspjeh civilnog društva u borbi protiv socijalne isključenosti zavisi od spremnosti nosioca dužnosti da izbjegavaju samovoljno uplitanje u slobodno uživanje prava (poštivanje ljudskih prava), njihove sposobnosti za uspostavljanje mehanizama kojim će se treća strana spriječiti da krši i narušava ljudska prava (zaštita ljudskih prava), te njihove zainteresovanosti za izradu i usvajanje odgovarajućih mjera neophodnih za progresivnu realizaciju ljudskih prava u praksi (ispunjavanje ljudskih prava). Samo kroz istovremeno djelovanje i prema povećanju odgovornosti domaćih vlasti kao nosioca dužnosti i prema podršci kategorijama građana, koji su zahvaćeni problemom isključenosti, civilno društvo može uspjeti u svojim naporima na polju iskorjenjivanja isključenosti građana.

DRUŠTVO MANJINA

Svojevremeno, početkom 70-ih godina prošloga stoljeća, profesor Esad Ćimić, jedan od pionira sociologije religije u Bosni i Hercegovini, objavio je svoje istraživanje o korelaciji između etnokonfesionalne pripadnosti i spremnosti na sudjelovanje, odnosno stvarne uključenosti u društveni život stanovnika ove zemlje. Rezultati istraživanja pokazivali su, navodim po sjećanju, da je stupanj te spremnosti i zainteresiranosti najviši kod pravoslavaca (Srba), najniži kod katolika (Hrvata), a negdje u sredini između njih nalaze se Muslimani (današnji Bošnjaci). Za ono doba i za onaj sistem, u kojemu se etnokonfesionalna kompozitnost bosanskohercegovačkoga društva priznavala i afirmirala ali uglavnom načelno, na simboličko-političkom planu, već i sama ideja o ovakvim istraživanjima bila je heretična i tumačila se kao opasna subverzija u odnosu na proklamirane temeljne vrijednosti – nacionalnu *ravnopravnost* i *zajedništvo*.

Za temu socijalne uključenosti/isključenosti, s obzirom na povijesnu uvjetovanost Bosne i Hercegovine kao višeetničke i višekonfesionalne zajednice, dvije su važne stvari sadržane u Ćimićevom istraživanju, danas se pokazuje: vrlo anticipativnom. Jedno je to što je u njemu spremnost na sudjelovanje u društvenom životu kod različitih konfesija/etnijsa problematizirana konkretno analitički (nasuprot vladajućem diskursu, po kojemu je ta spremnost uzimana kao idealna i stopostotna), a drugo – u ovako postavljenoj istraživačkoj paradigmi postala je vidljiva različitost u socijalno-političkom ponašanju između triju konfesija/etnijsa, kao i to da ta različitost ima svoje povijesno utemeljenje i objašnjenje.

Mnogo od tih uvida, ali još više sam pristup, posjeduju analitičku vitalnost i danas, iako su se stvari stubokom promijenile nakon raspada jugoslavenskoga ideološkog i državno-političkog sistema, te nakon rata 1992-95. i uvođenja Dejtonskoga uređenja u Bosni i Hercegovini. Jedna od najvažnijih novina, relevantna za temu socijalne uključenosti/isključenosti, koju su u ovoj zemlji proizvela ta zbivanja, jest pojava etničkih/konfesionalnih manjina – u svim bosanskohercegovačkim sredinama, i u svim zamislivim kombinacijama i permutacijama.

Prije nego se pozabavimo tim aspektima, korisno je podsjetiti na jedan moment iz socijalne historije Bosne i Hercegovine. Sve do pred Drugi svjetski rat to je bila izrazito ruralna zemlja, s oko 70 posto seoskoga i 30 posto gradskoga stanovništva, pri čemu su te dvije sredine bile u svojim temeljnim crtama neznatno promijenjene od osmanskih vremena, kao i njihov međusobni odnos. Bio je to u socijalnom i kulturnom smislu odnos dvaju različitih, umnogomu autonomnih i međusobno udaljenih, nepoznatih svjetova. U pitanjima elementarnih životnih potreba među njima je vijekovima razvijan funkcionalan simbiotični odnos razmjene i komunikacije, ali je u srcu toga odnosa uvijek pulsirao izrazit

psihološki, kulturni i socijalni antagonizam. Grubo ga ocrtavajući, može se reći: grad je oholo prezirao selo kao necivilizirano i općenito manje vrijedno, selo je gledalo na grad s nepovjerenjem i strahom, a oba stava bila su prožeta jednakim potencijalom mržnje. Bitno je kod prikazivanja ovoga odnosa naglasiti, da na stupanj antagonizma nije prvenstveno utjecala religijska i etnička pripadnost *građana* i *seljaka*. Notorno su poznate, ali znanstveno veoma malo istražene i obrađene, forme socijalnoga i kulturalnoga odbijanja i *isključivanja* na ovoj relaciji unutar svake od etnokonfesionalnih zajednica. S obzirom na daleko najveću i najdugotrajniju socijalno-ekonomsku i kulturnu stratificiranost tradicionalnog muslimanskoga društva, može se reći da se taj odnos najizrazitije manifestirao baš u tom konfesionalnom komunitetu. Do najnovijega doba, na primjer, izraz *balija* bio je prvenstveno dio vokabulara muslimanskih građana ili feudalaca, kojim se uz snažnu prijezirno-pogrdnu konotaciju označavalo muslimanske seljake. *Ne zna balija što je halija* – samo je jedan od bezbroja idioma kroz koje je u jeziku izražen i memoriran taj odnos. (*Halija*, pers. – fini rutavi perzijski ćilim.) Tu pomalo kastinsku sliku statičnoga društvenog sustava potcrtava i odnos spram jedne marginalne ali zanimljive socijalne grupe. U starim bosanskim gradovima to su bili Cigani, generacijama već sedentarni, najčešće kovači. Živjeli su u izdvojenim mahalama, mogli su biti uvažavani kao dobri majstori, ali u pitanjima bilo kakvoga tješnjeg socijalnog miješanja, pogotovo orođivanja, praktično je vladala rigidna segregacija. Naziv *firaun*, *firaunka*, kojim su ih zvali, sadržavao je (i zadržao do danas) snažan pogrdni zvuk. Antagonizam selo : grad zadobio je snažniju političku i ideološku dimenziju, i još više se produbio, otkako se s devetnaestovjekovnim modernizacijskim procesima stari, statični osmanski sistem konfesionalno-političkih identiteta počeo raspadati, a na njihovo mjesto počeli stupati moderni politički nacionalni identiteti. Tamo, dakle, gdje su se takav *novi* seljak i *novi* građanin međusobno počeli prepoznavati još i kao *nacionalno* različiti, stara odbojnost porijeklom iz socijalne sfere lako je poprimala ideološki oblik i žestinu, utoliko više što je to uvijek bilo podgrijavano političkim aspiracijama i manipulacijama iz okolnih nacionalno-državnih središta. Sva metežna vremena u Bosni posljednjih stotintrideset godina pružaju o tomu mnoštvo primjera i tragičnih ilustracija. Veliki ustanak 1875-78. u početku sadržavao je značajnu socijalnu intenciju, dok se njegova energija, pod srbijansko-crnogorskim političkim utjecajima, nije počela okretati u nacionalno-politički smjer, te je vrlo neizvjesno kako bi se završio, da sve zajedno nije zapečaćeno austrougarskom okupacijom. Drugi primjer nam je bliži: nikada kod nas nije s ovoga ruralno-urbanog, socijalnog gledišta istražen splet pojava i procesa, u kojima se Titov partizanski pokret od 1943. ubrzano transformira, te se od avnojevske i zavnbihovske protodemokratske samolegitimiranosti, pretvara u vojsku i režim koji se na kraju rata i poslije njega s ogromnim viškom zle strasti iskaljuje na *građanskom elementu*, i gdje se nikad ne može jasno razlikovati pradačni socijalni od ideološko-političkoga, a ovaj od nacionalno-konfesionalnoga motiva. Napokon, u mnogim tumačenjima nečuvenoga vandalskog divljanja u posljednjemu ratu 1992-95, koje je za metu imalo gradove i njihovo stanovništvo, pojavljivala se teza o „ratu sela protiv grada“. Nitko ju nije fundirano istražio i do kraja uvjerljivo artikulirao, tako da je, nažalost, postala opće mjesto ispodprosječne publicistike, ali ju u svojim blistavim esejima, na primjer, veoma sugestivno zastupa Bogdan Bogdanović, veliki evropski znalac i mudrac urbanologije.

Među zemljama iz okvira nekadašnje Jugoslavije, Bosna i Hercegovina se politički razlikuje po mnogim što daytonskim što povijesno naslijeđenim „specifičnostima“, od kojih nažalost ni jedna ne predstavlja nikakvu komparativnu prednost. A jedna od takvih poslijeratnih, baš daytonskih specifičnosti potpuni je bosanski unikum, i ponaša se kao najopasniji društveni karcinom, koji ometa konsolidaciju na svim razinama života – od svakodnevnice do glavnih političkih procesa. Riječ je o novostvorenom odnosu etničkih manjina i većina, koji je u praksi, prešutno, postao nemilosrdno sveodređujućim faktorom i kriterijem. I ne samo to, nego se, poput prave socijalne metastaze, već pretvorio u više-manje standardnu crtu kolektivnoga mentaliteta. Ona djeluje tako, da „većinac“ više i ne osjeća ništa neprilično ni nepravedno u uživanju većih, kao bogomdanih prava, odnosno, ne osjeća ništa neprilično ni nepravedno u podređenosti „manjinaca“ u svojoj sredini. To ima i svoje naličje: obrnutu pojavu da „manjinac“ bez prevelikoga roptanja pristaje na podređenost kao na modus vivendi, kao na jedini raspoloživi oblik socijalizacije.

Često se mogu čuti tvrdnje da je u Bosni i Hercegovini uglavnom već dovršen proces etničke teritorijalizacije, te da je zemlja praktično razdijeljena na tri manje-više homogena etnička teritorija. Da te tvrdnje nisu lišene temelja, najbolje pokazuje etnički sastav Republike Srpske, u kojoj je nasilnim i krvavim sredstvima udio nesrpskoga stanovništva smanjen na simboličnu mjeru, a povratak nepoželjnih inovjeraca i inonarodnika se uspješno onemogućava sve do danas. No, istini za volju, Republika Srpska samo je najdrastičniji, ali ne i jedini primjer. Mnoge lokalne sredine pa i cijeli areali u Federaciji Bosne i Hercegovine također su etnički prekomponirani i homogenizirani, u hrvatskom ili u bošnjačkom smislu, te danas imaju posve drukčije etničko-demografsko lice nego što su ga imali do 1991/92. (Najkrupniji primjer takve prekomponiranosti, s apsolutnom bošnjačkom brojčanom većinom, upravo je glavni grad države – Sarajevo.)

Iako uglavnom tačna s politički apstraktnog i statističkog gledišta, ova predodžba ipak zahtijeva jednu važnu korekciju. Da bi se u potpunosti razumjela sva težina stvarnosti koju ovdje pokušavamo opisati, treba, sliku pogledati „odozdo“, iz konkretne perspektive svakoga mjesta, svake sredine. Tada slika postaje mnogo složenija i dramatičnija, jer u njoj najedanput ugledate ljudske sudbine i situacije, a ne više statističke rubrike. A to što vidite govori da, i pokraj sve masovnosti i upornosti najrazličitijih vrsta etničkih čišćenja, ona nigdje nisu uspjela „idealno“, nego su svugdje, manje ili više, ostavila za sobom jedan broj *drugih*, i svugdje se stvorio povijesno novi odnos većine i manjine. (Od toga su „pošteđene“ samo neke manje zone koje su uvijek i bile etnički skoro potpuno homogene.) Na taj način je nastala vrlo komplicirana i razvedena slika, u kojoj se od mjesta do mjesta i od regije do regije pojedine etničke zajednice, odnosno nacije, smjenjuju u ulogama *većina* i *manjina*: svaka je svakoj negdje većina, negdje manjina. Po CIA-inim procjenama u Bosni i Hercegovini ima 3,921.000 stanovnika, u odnosu na 4,377.033 s popisa iz 1991. godine. Bošnjaci su po tim procjenama na razini Bosne i Hercegovine danas najbrojnija nacija (čak 48 posto, u odnosu na prijeratnih 43,5%), ali su u *manjinski* podređenom položaju raspoređeni na velikom prostoru i u mnogim mjestima. Srba po istim procjenama ima 37,1 posto (spram prijeratnih 31,2%), apsolutno dominiraju na 49 posto teritorija Bosne i Hercegovine (Republika Srpska), ali ni oni nisu pošteđeni manjinskih situacija i frustracija. (Sarajevo je, na primjer, prije rata bilo jedan od dva-tri ne samo najveća, nego i identitetno najvažnija

srpska grada na svijetu; sada su u njemu i kao broj i kao faktor svedeni na – demokratski ukras i zanemarljivu veličinu.) Hrvati su, sa svojih katastrofalnih 14,3 postotaka (u odnosu na prijeratnih 17,4) i brojčano i tendencijski apsolutna manjina, ali čak i takvi, imaju neka svoja većinska mjesta i područja, a globalna manjinska i degradirajuća pozicija ne smeta im da u nekim od tih mjesta prakticiraju najrigidniju većinsku dominaciju i diskriminaciju. O cijeloj toj novoj slici Bosne i Hercegovine ponešto možemo znati samo empirijski, a pravi njezin izgled i dinamiku mogao bi dati samo službeni, valjano obavljen popis stanovništva, te stručne i dugoročne analize koje bi na osnovi njega mogle biti pravljene.

Ako je općenito aksiomatski prihvaćeno da o vrijednosti i kvaliteti društvenoga života i demokraciji neke sredine govori položaj i tretman manjinskih zajednica u njoj, tada je lako shvatiti zašto je za stvarni, dubinski uvid u stvarnost Bosne i Hercegovine relevantna ova druga, „donja“ perspektiva. Osobito zbog spomenutoga povijesnog novuma u odnosu etničke većine i manjine. O novumu, ali regresivnom, može se govoriti u tom smislu što u cijeloj modernoj povijesti ove zemlje (a to otprilike znači, barem normativno: od trenutka kada je otomanska vlast morala priznati građansku jednakost svim stanovnicima Carstva 1856. godine) nikada kao danas etnička pripadnost nije tako presudno i sveobuhvatno određivala čovjekov položaj i mogućnosti, dramatično ako je u poziciji pripadnika manjine.

Bosna i Hercegovina, s oba svoja entiteta, nominalno je laička država, u kojoj je vjerskim zajednicama otvoren prostor društvenoga djelovanja iz kojega su u socijalizmu bile protjerane (školstvo, kultura, humanitarni rad itd.), a uskraćeno im je bavljenje državopolitičkim poslovima. Obje strane, i političke strukture i vjerske zajednice, na riječima se zaklinju u privrženost temeljnom postulatu evropske demokracije, odvojenosti „crkve“ od države. Vlastita praksa ih, međutim, na svakom koraku demantira, i ta igra traje – s određenim oscilacijama i malim promjenama – od početaka višestranačja u jesen 1990. godine. Od mnogih autora opisan je taj srdačni *pas de deux*, a da se nikada zapravo nije moglo precizno reći tko u toj igri vodi a tko je vođen, tko manipulira a tko je manipuliran. Jedino je sigurno da obje strane u zagrljaj ulažu jednaku strast i neposustalost.

Da u prostoru društvene i političke konkurencije vjera i vjerski izjavljen identitet u Bosni i Hercegovini imaju daleko veću važnost nego u „normalnim“ demokratskim društvima, ništa ne svjedoči plastičnije nego jedan element javne komunikacije, s kojim ćete se susresti na svakom koraku, a osobito je vidljiv u vremenima pred izbore, kada političari panično vagaju svaku riječ boreći se za pridobijanje, ili barem neodbijanje glasača. U njihovim javnim istupima tada možete čuti i doživjeti svašta, svađat će se između sebe kao kočijaši, potezati najprljavije podvale, neće ih zadržavati ni sunarodništvo ako su im stranački i osobni interesi sukobljeni, dapače, tući će se s udvostručenom žestinom... Jedino što unutar jednoga etničkog/konfesionalnog miljea ostaje izvan svađe i zaštićeno od bilo kakve primjedbe, to su tzv. vjerski autoriteti. A ako u uskom i nedovoljno artikuliranom ali još uvijek postojećem dijelu kritičke javnosti netko postavi pitanje o nelegitimnom ulaženju vjerskih dostojanstvenika u politički život, dobija uvijek isti odgovor, stereotipan ali dobar da pitaocu začepi usta. U raznim varijacijama, on se svodi na sofizam: *da, vjerske zajednice se ne trebaju miješati u politiku, ali kada se radi o najkrupnijim pitanjima opstanka našega naroda, vjere, kulture (to troje se varira već prema prilikama), onda ne samo da se moramo umiješati nego smo to upravo*

dužni, itd, itd... Prividno, takav odgovor je uvijek na mjestu, jer su u Bosni i Hercegovini i dan-danas otvorena sva pitanja, a sva su uvijek, neizostavno – pitanja od tzv. vitalnoga nacionalnog interesa, te praktično još uvijek ne postoji mogućnost racionalnoga vođenja normalne građanske politike. Ujedno, u citiranoj argumentaciji može se najbolje vidjeti kako je etnopolitika, kao vrhovni kriterij i *ratio* politike u današnjoj Bosni i Hercegovini, u se usrkala i sebi podložila i vjeru i kulturu, spremne i „sretne“ da joj mogu služiti. Između triju glavnih bosanskohercegovačkih religija/konfesija (islama, pravoslavlja, katoličanstva) postoje velike konceptualne i još veće povijesno-kulturalne razlike, postoje i razlike u intenzitetu i oblicima političkoga djelovanja, ali u svakodnevnoj praksi sve one pokazuju da im je zajednički stav o etnopolitici kao apsolutnom prioritetu.

Samo tako – prevlašću etnopolitičkih nad duhovno-vjerskim razlozima i nalogima – moguće je objasniti jednu slijepu mrlju u ponašanju vjerskih organizacija, koja sa stanovišta etičkoga univerzalizma, deklarativno svojstvenoga svima njima, predstavlja mučan i, zapravo, skandalozan paradoks. Radi se o pomanjkanju bilo kakvoga, a najmanje aktivnoga i konkretno izraženog suosjećanja spram pripadnika druge vjerske (i nacionalne) zajednice u uvjetima gdje su u manjini, slabi i ugroženi.

Tako, moglo bi se govoriti o nijemom, bezdušnom odnosu Srpske pravoslavne crkve spram muslimana ili katolika, tragično malobrojnih, u Republici Srpskoj, koji se očajnički bore za mrvicu sigurnosti i egzistencije, a o prosperitetnoj budućnosti da se i ne govori... Ili o držanju Katoličke crkve, koja s pravom vapije u nebo zbog položaja svojih vjernika u Republici Srpskoj, ili, recimo, zbog kafkijanskih poteškoća u dobijanju papira za gradnju jedne jedine crkve u gradu Sarajevu, a istovremeno ne nalazi niti jednu riječ razumijevanja za podređen položaj muslimana u krajevima gdje ona „vlada“ (zapadni Mostar, Stolac...)... O dvostrukim mjerilima čelnika Islamske zajednice, koji s mnogo prava i razloga upiru prstom u pojave diskriminacije muslimana tamo gdje su manjina u većinskom pravoslavnom ili katoličkom okruženju, ali ne čine ništa da olakšaju život i položaj drugima tamo gdje su ti drugi manjina (Bugojno, Vareš, itd...). Isti odnos što ga pokazuju prema živima, vjerske organizacije imaju i prema mrtvima. Naime, još nikada se u poslijeratnoj Bosni i Hercegovini nije dogodilo da neka od vjerskih ustanova, neki od najviših njihovih dostojanstvenika, iskaže pijetet prema žrtvama rata na nekoj od dviju *drugih* strana.

Deklarativno, svi se u Bosni i Hercegovini slažu u načelnom opredjeljenju za laičku državu „evropskoga tipa“. Pri tomu se nekako voli podrazumijevati da se u nas proces sekularizacije, na kojemu bitno počivaju same pretpostavke laičke države, bio jednom (sretno) historijski dovršio, a ovo sad predstavlja nekakvu trenutnu aberaciju, koju možemo ispraviti i prebroditi, pa će sve opet biti kao što je bilo... Ako, međutim, za mjerilo uzmemo samo javnost, kroz koju nam se posreduju sva ova stanovišta, vidjet ćemo kako stvari ni izdaleka ne stoje tako jednostavno, te kako pitanje našega iskustva sa sekularizacijom, sa stvarnom praksom života u sekulariziranom društvu tek treba da bude otvoreno i ispitano, s potpuno neizvjesnim ishodom. Naravno, uz uvijek prisutnu važnu pojmovno-terminološku i sadržajnu distinkciju između *sekularizacije* kao sistema vrijednosti i društvenoga odnosa, kao procesa u kojemu se suštinski oblikovala moderna zapadnoevropska civilizacija, i *sekularizma* kao oznake za ideologiju ekstremnoga odbacivanja bilo kakve veze čovjekova djelovanja s religioznošću.

Stvarna slika povijesti sekularizacije u nas posve je drukčije. Sve do 1878. godine otomanska Bosna i Hercegovina stoljećima traje kao dio carstva koje je dosljedno teokratski uređeno, s jednom dominirajućom i ostalim trpljenim vjerama; nešto od daha evropskoga laiciteta dodirnulo ju je tek pred sam kraj toga carstva. Austro-Ugarska, koja ga je odmijenila, pokušala je nešto učiniti s društvenim i državnim reguliranjem vjerskih institucija, ali to je bilo poprilično iznuđeno i odmjeravano isključivo iz ugla vlastitoga interesa, i nije dugo potrajalo. Zamijenjeno je, nakon klaonice Prvoga rata, kratkom epizodom „stare“ Jugoslavije, te još kraćim hororom Endehazije i Drugoga rata. Surovo, ali to je sva povijesna bilanca naše „sekularizacije“.

Čak i prethodni sistem, osobito u svojoj prvoj epohi od 1945. do kasnih 60-ih godina (ali strogo gledajući i do samoga svog kraja) jest bio religiozni, ili barem parareligiozni sistem. On, doduše, jest odbacio stare religije/etnokonfesije a njihove institucije radikalno lišio moći i odvojio (zapravo, odstranio) od države, ali je napravio *novi savez* između vlasti, države i ideologije, koja je praktično funkcionirala kao državna *religija*, s Partijom kao *crkvom* te religije/ideologije. O sekularizaciji u evropskom smislu tu nije moglo biti ni govora, jer takva sekularizacija znači prije svega razvoj tolerancije, emancipaciju individue, pluralizam mišljenja i svjetonazora, postojanje građanskoga života između države i religijske institucije, oslobađanje i osamostaljivanje državnih, društvenih, znanstvenih, obrazovnih i kulturnih ustanova i djelatnosti od utjecaja struktura u čijim je rukama moć u kombinaciji vlasti i ideologije. Nekada je to bila crkva, sada – partija/država. Ali, još jednom paradoksalno, na taj način je ovaj sistem sačuvao potpuno konzerviranom strukturu *vjerničkoga* mentaliteta, i to favorizirajući njegove lošije psihološke, moralne i socijalne komponente: *ketman*, kolektivizam, podaništvo, vjerovanje iz straha, prazni ritualizam, obavezu javnog deklariranja „vjere“... Ne bi li se moglo, barem kao radna hipoteza, ustvrditi kako se između ostaloga i time može objasniti masovna (ali baš: masovna) pojava da je nakon odlaska socijalističkoga sistema u Bosni i Hercegovini najedanput – preko noći! – nestalo ateista, a javna se scena dupkom napunila deklariranim vjernicima! Moglo bi se govoriti o svojevrsnoj simetriji: biti u ondašnjem sistemu vjernik, i biti ateist u današnjemu – jednako je društveno-politički nepoželjno.

Umjesto zaključka. Ogroman broj stanovnika današnje Bosne i Hercegovine, njezinih *državljana* (pripadnika sva tri „konstitutivna naroda“!), doveden je u poziciju da bude etnička manjina – u vlastitoj zemlji! Oni, pak, koji su u većini, uglavnom ne osjećaju političku apsurdnost i ljudsku skandaloznost toga stanja. To se najjasnije manifestira u egoističnom obliku ponašanja, kada predstavnici nacionalnih i vjerskih elita u javnosti iznose ocjene, podatke i pritužbe o neravnopravnom položaju i ugroženosti njihovih zajednica, a da pri tomu uopće ne uzimaju u obzir cjelokupni kontekst niti analogne teškoće onih *drugih*. Nije li upravo ovaj aspekt bosanskohercegovačke stvarnosti ono područje na kojemu bi se civilno društvo moglo i trebalo uključiti sa svojim specifičnim sredstvima i načinima djelovanja u naporu da se ublaži i izbjege etnicizacija socijalnoga uključivanja/isključivanja.

MEDIJI I CIVILNO DRUŠTVO KAKO STE DANAS, GOSPODINE PREDsjedniČE?

Netolerancija i gušenje temeljnih ljudskih prava je ono što je u najvećoj mjeri obilježilo proteklu godinu, piše ovdašnji kolumnista, po zanimanju mlad i perspektivan pisac, i u istom tekstu jednog od najvjerodostojnijih islamskih mislilaca, ne samo u ovoj zemlji već i Evropi, i rijetkog domaćeg naučnika priznatog i cijenjenog u svijetu kako Istoka tako i Zapada, ovako opisuje: „feminizirani islamski teolog-inkvizitor koji bi rado pravio nove koncentracione logore za ljude drukčije od sebe i svog uskog ovčijeg mozga“.

Islamski teolog kome je posvećeno spisateljsko nadahnuće školovao se u Sarajevu i Zagrebu, usavršavao u Parizu, Oxfordu i New Yorku, u svojih 55 godina izdao šest autorskih i 10 prevoditeljskih djela, od kojih se neka ubrajaju u kapitalne ispise, zaradio akademsku titulu u jednoj od najpoznatijih svjetskih akademija, domaći je na arapskom, engleskom, francuskom i italijanskom jeziku i u znanstvenim krugovima slovi kao respektabilni poznavatelj komparativne mističke filozofije judaizma, kršćanstva i islama.

No, ništa od svega pobrojanog nije razlogom ovdašnje javne percepcije islamskog teologa: širokim narodnim i uskim novinarskim krugovima teolog je postao znan zbog svog novinskog očitovanja o vehabijama u ovoj zemlji. Bila je to zapravo prva korjenita domaća problematizacija porijekla, karaktera i učinaka vehabijskog pokreta u BiH. No, umjesto referentne rasprave o vehabizmu u nas, teška verbalna artiljerija sručila se s vrha Islamske zajednice, iz Rijaseta, pravo na teologa i od tada do danas – a prošle su pune tri godine – teolog je daleko priznatiji izvan nego li u BiH.

Čime je zaradio spisateljevu pažnju ostaje nejasno i u kolumni, no (i) zato valja ponuditi i spisateljev opus: dvije zbirke poezije, jedna proze, 39 godina života i tri započeta studija. Doda li se svemu pobrojanom podatak da je kolumna objavljena u jednom od periodičnih časopisa koji u medijskim krugovima najčešće biva ocijenjen benignim – slika javnosti i izvještavanja javnosti u BiH postaje potpunija.

AVAZ I AVAZI

Nemali broj analitičara domaće stvarnosti za nimalo ružičastu sliku u ovdašnjim medijima skloni su optužiti Avaz. Dnevna novina nastala kao plod želje Alije Izetbegovića da ima svoje glasilo, uistinu je plastičan primjer (zlo)upotrebe medija. Ali, Avaz nije postao najtiražniji

dnevni list u Bosni i Hercegovini samo zato što je – svojedobno – svakog četvrtka imao „direktnu“ komunikaciju čitatelja i predsjednika, vođenu preko izdavača. Pa čak ni zato što je ta komunikacija svake sedmice započinjala već legendarnim: Kako ste danas, gospodine Predsjedniče?

Postdejtonska Bosna i Hercegovina je i 14 godina nakon rata podijeljena po linijama fronte, da apsurd bude kompletan danas možda i više nego li na polovini svoga poratnog puta. Razlozi su, prije svega, političke prirode, no posljedice su opipljive i danas ih je najlakše ilustrirati trgovinom mapama teritorijalne rekonstrukcije zemlje. Bez pretjeranog vraćanja u prošlost i ratne uzroke nacionalne podijeljenosti, poratnu sliku BiH najjednostavnije je skenirati podrškom partijama na vlasti.

U Republici Srpskoj, tako je, SNSD Milorada Dodika bez konkurencije, no to je postao tek onda kada se izborio da srpstvo brani i od SDS-a. Treba primijetiti: ni pozicija ni opozicija u RS-u nemaju dilema kada je ovaj entitet u pitanju – štaviše, sve su glasniji zahtjevi za vraćanje entitetima onih ingerencija koje su, pod pritiskom međunarodne zajednice u BiH, svojedobno ustupljene državi. Na televizijskim ekranima, jednako kao i u tiskanim medijima, Dodikovi potezi proglašavaju se genijalnošću, a RTRS mjesečno ugošćava premijera uvijek spremnog da se obračuna sa neistomišljenicima. Osam žigosanih – predstavnici Transparency Internationala, „novinari iz Federacije“ i tek jedan iz RS-a, kada su se odazvali na nekonvencionalno druženje s prvim zamjenikom Visokog predstavnika u BiH, Raffijem Gregorianom, organizirano u Banjoj Luci, poslužili su kao povod da premijer RS-a počne dijeliti crvene kartone predstavnicima međunarodne zajednice i proglašavati ih nepoželjnim u „svojoj zemlji“.

RTRS je, u ovom času, vjerovatno režimu najodanija televizija na Balkanu. Dragan Čavić, nekadašnji predsjednik SDS-a, u jeku izborne kampanje 2006. vrlo je javno – na ekranu BHRT-a – ustvrdio da „njegova partija ni u ratu nije kontrolirala RTRS onim intenzitetom kojim to čini SNSD“. Pretvorba entitetskih granica u državne, tretman Republike Srpske kao ravnopravnog partnera evropskih zemalja i apsolutno nekritički odnos spram vrha SNSD-a napravili su od ove televizije izraženog kočničara stvaranja Javnog RTV servisa BiH. Doda li se tome javni obračun Milorada Dodika sa BHRT-om, postaju jasniji strateški ciljevi njegove politike potvrđeni opetovanim napadima na institucije države BiH – Sud Bosne i Hercegovine, Centralnu banku BiH, Regulatornu agenciju za komunikacije, SIPA-u...

Nezavisne novine, nastale kao zajednički projekat međunarodne zajednice i novinara koji je zbog svog izvještavanja preživio atentat i ostao teškim invalidom, do dolaska Milorada Dodika na vlast pokazivale su izraženu želju da budu profesionalna, bosanskohercegovačka novina. No, potpuno nekritičan odnos prema partijskom lideru, vlasnik i izdavač Nezavisnih novina demonstrirao je čak i javnim učešćem na predizbornim partijskim skupovima. Pa, ipak, krajem prošle godine, upravo je Željko Kopanja ispisao tekst ozbiljnog upozorenja vlastima RS-a zbog politike koju vode gotovo proročanski najavljujući incidente s povratnicima. Uskoro je izgorila džamija u Fazlagića Kuli.

MOSTARSKÉ LISKE

HDZ BiH i HDZ 1990 podjednako saučestvuju unutar hrvatskog biračkog tijela u ovoj zemlji i njihovim partijskim vođama valja priznati najviši stupanj iskrenosti u odnosu spram javnosti. Dragan Čović, predsjednik HDZ-a BiH, uopće nema dilema oko redovite i istrajne međustranačke suradnje. Riječ je, zapravo, o minimumu političkog interesa Hrvata u BiH, kako to redovito opisuje, o kojem postoji konsenzus postignut ne samo među ovim partijama već i sa zvaničnom vlašću Republike Hrvatske i Katoličkom crkvom u BiH.

Upravo u relaciji partije i crkve najjednostavnije se iščitava ambicija političkih stranaka s hrvatskim predznakom ka novoj federalizaciji zemlje. Treći entitet i treći televizijski kanal pragmatično su približili Čovića i Dodika, što u Parlamentu Federacije znači uvijek i nanova istrajavanje da se Federalna televizija ponovo i potpuno uvuče u ralje politike. Apsolutna kontrola nad televizijskim ekranima posljednjeg radnog dana prošle godine pretočena je u izmjenu zakona koji je usvojio Zastupnički dom Federalnog parlamenta a po kojem se Upravni odbor ovog javnog emitera ima birati konkursom sprovedenim u isključivom aranžmanu parlamentarne komisije koja je i do sada imala pravo odabira, no tek na listi koju je formirao RAK.

Na drugoj strani, političke ambicije o kojima je riječ najočiglednije su u razlikama koje se pokazuju prema stanovništvu, recimo Sarajeva i Mostara. Vapaji vrha Katoličke crkve zbog diskriminacije i odnosa spram crkvenoj imovini u Sarajevu, iz Mostara su promatrani kao sa tribina. Zapanjujuće je zaista da vrlo eklatantni slučajevi apsolutnog kršenja ljudskih prava nisu naišli na interes kako političara (iz već pomenutih razloga) tako i medija i onog dijela civilnog društva koje bi, po slovu svoga opredjeljenja, moralo reagirati.

Recimo: kada je prošlog ljeta kardinal Vinko Puljić javno upitao da li je cilj da Hrvati isure iz Sarajeva mediji su ga u potpunosti izignorirali – kako radio i televizijske stanice, tako i štampa (s časnim izuzetkom magazina Dani i Slobodna Bosna). I sama sam doživjela da kao gost-komentator Televizije Kantona Sarajevo budem „isječena“ u onom dijelu koji je bio podsjećanje na razloge takvog Kardinalovog istupa. Urednik/novinar ocijenio je „neukusnim“ otvarati tu priču u „času smrti Adila Zulfikarpašića“.

„Neukusnost“ se ogledala u činjenici da je Kardinal Puljić, pobrajajući razloge svoga istupa, kao primjer naveo da je zgrada bošnjačkog veleposjednika u ulici Josipa Stadlera građena dijelom na crkvenoj imovini. Prilikom realizacije arhitektonskog projekta Bošnjačkog instituta, Vrhbosanska nadbiskupija, objasnio je Puljić, zarad „dobrosusjedskih odnosa“, nije željela podnositi prijavu za uzurpaciju župnog ureda. Međutim, nakon što je Vrhbosanskoj nadbiskupiji oduzeta svećenička kuća, odlučeno je da se uz Bogosloviju u istoj ulici sagradi svećenički dom. Nažalost, više od godinu dana Općina Stari Grad odbijala je dati građevinsku dozvolu za gradnju, što naravno nije bio slučaj sa Zulfikarpašićevim projektima.

Kardinal je također ukazao i na selektivne sudske presude: dok je domaće pravosuđe godinama opstruiralo otkup nacionaliziranih stanova na koje je oko bacila Islamska zajednica, dok su džamije isplanirane i započete na više lokacija u strogom centru Sarajeva i naravno cijelom prostoru grada, Katoličkoj crkvi je oduzeta njezina imovina, a gradnja onemogućena. No, ono što se zaista mora posmatrati fenomenološki jeste apsolutna šutnja

na jednu od presuda koje je markirao kardinal Puljić: riječ je o stanu koji je prije 37 godina oduzet ordinarijatu, koji nikada nije bio nacionaliziran i koji je na kraju tom presudom bukvalno otet Crkvi, a čija je stanarska uloga bila – špijuniranje?!

ČIJE JE SARAJEVO

U Vrhbosanskoj nadbiskupiji su s pravom zaključili da je takva (a bila je drugostepena presuda Kantonalnog suda u Sarajevu) samo dio višegodišnje diskriminacije građana katoličke vjeroispovijesti nudeći i plastičan uporedni primjer: Župa svetog Ignacija na Grbavici podnijela je odmah po okončanju rata zahtjev za gradnju crkve, uporedo sa zahtjevom Rijaseta Islamske zajednice za gradnju džamije na istoj lokaciji. Općinske vlasti Novog Sarajeva su se godinama pravdale „nedostatkom prostora“ za crkvu, ali je za džamiju prostor pronađen.

Tako se, htjeli ili ne, vraćamo u Sarajevo, glavni grad i ogledalo zemlje i njezinih medija. Upravo zato je Avaz posebna priča. Naravno, postavljanje pitanja zašto nedostaje prostora za crkvu, u gradu koji je sa prijeratne 81 džamije u postdejtonskim godinama narastao do imponantne graditeljske ekspanzije oličene u brojci da se u ovom času gradi 99 džamija, iluzorno je očekivati od medija kojem je glavna referenca da „prenosi baš svaku hutbu reisa Cerića“.

Možda je zapravo i najilustrativnija slika stanja u glavnom gradu – javnosti, medija, politike i vlasti – taj podatak da su dvije najmoćnije političke ličnosti u Bošnjaka – reis Mustafa ef. Cerić i Fahrudin Radončić. Niti jedan ne krije svoje političke ambicije, no nisu ni spremni ponijeti odgovornost za svoje političke poteze. Radončić je „izdavač i graditelj“, tako se predstavlja, no već duže od deceniju gradi i ruši političare, ekonomiste, biznismene, javne i kulturne djelatnike isključivo zarad osobnih interesa, obično upakovanih u oblandu bošnjačkog patriotizma (ma šta to značilo).

Sa Dnevnim avazom se u medijski život vratila forma saopćenja/presude. Novina koja je uspjela da sa svojih stranica poziva na odstrel, da nazovi ciljeve realizira protestima svojih novinara pred OHR-om, da Kantonalni sud u Sarajevu donose „privremene mjere o zabrani daljnjeg prenošenja i izražavanja neistinitih tvrdnji i činjenica“ na račun pojedinih ličnosti koje su se tužbom protiv Avaza novina obratile ovom sudu – slovi kao medijska perjanica i trebala bi, u percepciji onog što se smatra javnošću, predstavljati uzor?!

Sasvim suprotno prirodi posla, a valjda po *uzoru*, domaći su mediji odlučili konkurirati neargumentiranim tekstovima i priložima, etiketiranjem drugih i drugačijih, uvredama i otvorenom mržnjom. Krijući se iza prava medija na slobodno djelovanje, gazi se pravo čovjeka da bude zaštićen od zloupotrebe te slobode. Manirom moskovske Pravde iz najsvjetlijih trenutaka djelovanja iza željezne zavjese, ispisuju se obraćanja Uprave Avaz Roto-presa kojoj u javnoj komunikaciji jedina konkurencija mogu biti saopćenja Rijaseta Islamske zajednice. Da paradoks bude kompletan, i Uprava i Rijaset – iako pišu u ime institucija – nemaju čak ni problem što svoja obraćanja ispisuju u prvom licu jednine.

VEHABIJE I QUEER FESTIVAL

O posljedicama etiketiranja kakva su „nastavljanje genocidne politike nad Bošnjacima“, „produžene ruke Srpske akademije nauka i umjetnosti – Dobrice Ćosića i Nenada Kecmanovića“, optužbi za islamofobiju, pisama podrške „svih muslimana Australije“, „Sjeverne Amerike“ i nekoliko mešihata sa Novog Zelanda koji su povrijeđeni „blaćenjem lika i djela efendije Cerića prisutnog u islamofobičnim medijima ljubomornim što naši uvaženi privrednici žele izgraditi novu zgradu Rijasetu“ dalo bi se raspravljati ali samo pod egidom – poziv na linč.

No, o tome šta i kako donosi takvo medijsko zloupotrebljavanje javnosti u samom Sarajevu vidjelo se u nekoliko navrata. Sama najava Queer Festivala u „svetom mjesecu Ramazanu“ ponukala je Dnevni avaz da napravi anketu među političarima. Oni koji se listom deklarativno zalažu za Evropsku konvenciju o ljudskim pravima, na pitanje „je li Queer Festival u mjesecu Ramazanu provokacija muslimana Bošnjaka“, odgovarali su svakojako no ne krijući „svoju zapanjenost“ da je „tako nešto nekom uopće moglo pasti na pamet u vrijeme ibadeta“.

Queer Festival je brutalno okončan – napadom vehabijske i huliganske zajednice na goste izložbe. Na ovom mjestu civilni sektor blista u punom sjaju: nekoliko pisama podrške, obično uz napomenu „iako lično ne pripadam toj zajednici“ savršeno slikaju učmalu močvaru onog što bi svugdje na svijetu trebalo zvati javnošću.

Ne baš brutalno, ali prilično skandalozno, okončani su i protesti građana Sarajeva koji su od svojih gradskih vlasti htjeli položene račune zbog učestalih incidenata u gradu u kojima su glavni akteri bili maloljetnici. Napad u tramvaju bio je smrtonosan za gimnazijalca Denisa Mrnjavca. Osmišljeni, artikulirani i relativno dobro pripremljeni protesti samo su u časnom dijelu medija tretirani kao glas javnosti – u ogromnoj većini režimu odanih medija „prepoznati“ su nosioci posla i potom je na njih sručena čitava lavina optužbi, koje, sve i da su tačne, nikako nisu imale veze sa samim protestima.

No, posebna je stavka podatak da je preko 9000 različitih udruga, nevladinih organizacija i društava evidentirano u ovoj zemlji. Ma kako male ili velike bile zatvorene su u svoje uske krugove i nerijetko potpuno nespremljene da svoja zapažanja, iskustva, čak motive i ciljeve organiziranja – bilo s kime podijele. Prihvaćen je komunikacijski model ispisivanja saopćenja i, što je posebno zanimljivo, bilo da je riječ o udruženim studentima, postdiplomcima, naučnicima, jezik komunikacije je bez ikakve dileme – birokratski.

Osuđuju se pojave, oglašavaju veliki rezultati, pokušavaju pronaći kanali do urednika no gotovo nikada se ne pokazuje spremnost da ta javna dobra, ti veliki ciljevi i spašavanje svijeta budu konkretizirani. Već je, recimo, postalo uobičajeno da Majke Srebrenice imaju vrlo precizne, pravno utemeljene prijedloge za konkretne dijelove ustava (?!), da se ne pominje njihova i spremnost Narodne bošnjačke stranke da na bezbroj kartica teksta ispišu svoja obraćanja i stavove glede ponašanja ambasadora dok se u zgradi Ujedinjenih nacija vodi rasprava o Izraelu i Gazi i sve to javno, preko domaćih medija, pošalju Ban Ki-moonu, no ni najtemeljitiji istraživači među novinarima nisu u stanju pronaći „obične“ članice ove Udruge. Njihovo djelovanje osmišljeno je za rukovodstvo organizacije a njihovi ciljevi

daleko su konkretniji kada je riječ o političkim partijama nego li ugroženim kategorijama koje predstavljaju. Ili: (dobro) realizirani projekat suradnje jednog ovdašnjeg magazina i Istraživačko-dokumentacionog centra zapeo je na činjenici što istraživači nisu bili spremni obznanimi uz ime i prezime žrtve, datum rođenja i godinu pogibije i podatak o imenu oca?! Opravdanje je slijedeće – konkurencija će razotkriti tehnike formiranja baze!

KAMO DALJE, ROĐAČE

Najjednostavnije bi bilo reći da su uzroci siromaštvo i nikakva ekonomija, kako stanovništva tako i udruga. No, da nije baš tako pokazuje podatak da je, recimo, samo u elektronske medije u BiH ubrizgano za deset postdejtonskih godina 190 miliona maraka međunarodne pomoći. A javni servis, je li, još nije ni na vidiku. I NVO sektor pozamašno je obdaren međunarodnim novcem, neki njegovi dijelovi i domaćim, pa opet od onih preko 9000 udruga ni najbolje informirani pratilac civilnog sektora nije u stanju pobrojati više od 11.

Novinarski ceh pozabavio se sam sobom i ma kako to ne može biti opravdanje istina je da ni novinari ne mogu sami. Ako se već najmanje vodi računa o kodeksu, najmanje radi na samopoštovanju, ako je kršenje etičkih standarda i pravila postalo svakodnevnica, ako su mediji preuzeli uloge tužitelja, presuditelja i egzekutora, nastojeći da se nametnu kao kreatori političke scene, opstruirajući svaki oblik demokratskog dijaloga, a tako i demokratizacije društva, i ako je sve to bjelodano jasno – gdje su korektivi?

Gdje je ta intelektualna, akademska javnost? Čime se bavi Vijeće za štampu sem što svoje djelovanje isključivo po žalbama redovito pravda procedurom? Nema sumnje da bi se i na jednom od reda radi organiziranih okruglih stolova vrlo jednostavno postigao konsenzus oko nedovoljnog i neadekvatnog informisanja javnosti, oko gubljenja povjerenja u pisanu i javnu riječ, tim prije što institucije sistema ne reaguju čak ni na one teme koje metodom istraživačkog novinarstva sasvim jasno ukazuju na korupciju i druge oblike kriminala. Je li baš avazovština, kako Ivan Lovrenović zove ovdašnji preovlađujući pristup novinarstvu, učinila medije toliko nemoćnim da nisu u stanju oduprijeti se ofanzivi državnih organa, političkih ili finansijskih centara moći i pojedinaca u uređivačke politike?

Nefunkcionisanje instrumenata samoregulacije kojim bi se sankcioniralo odsustvo profesionalizma i etike u printanim medijima, ima i svoju posebnu specifičnost: na kantonalnim i osnovnim sudovima više je od 200 tužbi medija protiv medija, u kojima se redovito „veliki i moćni“ mediji bore protiv onih koji zastupaju principe neovisnog i profesionalnog novinarstva. Što u konačnici može značiti samo gušenje onog dijela domaćih medija koji još vjeruju u principe profesije.

Kada se, i ako se uopće, bude pisala hronologija svih poteza koji su u postdejtonskoj BiH prouzročili ovakvo stanje, zapaženo mjesto će bez premca dobiti i jedan visoki predstavnik. Paddy Ashdown je, naime, odigrao najsravniju ulogu kada je o civilnom sektoru i medijima u ovoj zemlji riječ. Upravo je on, za svoga mandata, potpuno ekskomunicirao začetak demokratskog fronta koji se netom nakon Daytona formirao i razvijao u BiH. Njegov dekret o partnerstvu Ureda Visokog predstavnika sa vrhovima nacionalnih stranaka

na vlasti i apsolutni nedostatak sluha za bilo koju akciju civilnog sektora na duže staze je marginalizirao kompletnu demokratsku javnost u zemlji. Pa ma kakva ona bila.

ŽENSKO, PA JOŠ MISLI

Evo i primjera za ovu tvrdnju: uprkos činjenici da su nevladine organizacije još 2000. godine pokrenule inicijativu za uspostavljanje Komisije za istinu i pomirenje tek prije neki dan je najavljena mogućnost njezine realizacije sljedeće godine, dakle 2010. Ili: prije nekoliko godina je jedna nevladina organizacija, uz pomoć UNDP-a, sprovela istraživanje o elementarnoj pismenosti na populaciji starosti između 25 i 35 godina. Po njihovim podacima u urbanim sredinama bez završene osnovne škole je 7,75 posto muškaraca i čak 22,21 posto žena. U suburbanim područjima bez osnovnog obrazovanja je 16,3 posto muškaraca i 45,5 posto žena, dok je u ruralnim sredinama bez elementarnog obrazovanja 24,7 posto muškaraca i čak 47,5 posto žena! A osnovna škola je i zakonom obavezujuća.

Kada se tome dodaju sumorni podaci o dvostrukoj brojčanoj nadmoći muškaraca u odnosu na žene sa fakultetskom diplomom, dobije se barem približna slika Bosanke i Hercegovke u ekonomskom, političkom i društvenom životu zemlje. Zakon o jednakosti spolova je izglasan pa ipak se na prste jedne ruke mogu izbrojati one pripadnice ženskog spola koje su se uspjele izboriti za svoj status.

Poseban problem čini kategorija žena koje su zbog rata došle u poziciju da same brinu o porodici: obrazovna struktura u najznačajnijem je dijelu izuzetno niska, a iako žene čine natpolovičnu većinu stanovništva od 51%, stopa nezaposlenosti žena je 44%. Žena je diskriminirana i po starosnoj dobi: u oglasima za posao u dnevnoj štampi traži se „ženska radna snaga do 35 godina“, uz napomenu da je uvjet „atraktivan izgled“. Istraživanje koje su proveli gender centri Federacije BiH i Republike Srpske pokazalo je da alarmantno visok procenat ženske populacije u BiH čak i ne prepoznaje sve oblike seksualnog uznemiravanja?!

O čemu je, dakle, riječ? Ako krenemo redom onda o enormno velikom poslu na razvijanju civilnog društva kroz elementarno i svako drugo opismenjavanje, o uvezivanju nevladinog, civilnog sektora i medija na zajedničkom poslu, o oživljavanju javne riječi, poštivanju drugog i drugačijeg, razmjeni mišljenja bez razmjene verbalne vatre i njegovanju vrijednosti. Onih koje će u startu isključiti svaku mogućnost da u studiju sjedi akademik i vazi o potrebi zaključavanja u džamiju trojice vodećih političara, „sve dok se ne dogovore“, onih koje će u samoj Akademiji nauka s gnušanjem dočekati istupe svojih vodećih kadrova prepune blaćenja i osobne samodopadnosti, neprimjerene hramu nauke. Tek tada će zapravo mladi i talentirani pisci umjesto bacanja uvreda po kolumnama izabrati za model usavršavanja – čitanjem.

...praktični koraci

IBHI izražava zahvalnost sljedećim institucijama, organizacijama i medijima za učešće u procesu konsultacija u fazi pripreme uspostave NVO Fondacije za socijalno uključivanje u BiH:

Agencija za ravnopravnost spolova BiH; Centar za mentalno zdravlje Ključ; Centar za mentalno zdravlje, Dom zdravlja Doboj; Centar za socijalni rad Banja Luka; Centar za socijalni rad Bihać; Centar za socijalni rad Bijeljina; Centar za socijalni rad Bileća; Centar za socijalni rad Bosansko-podrinjskog kantona; Centar za socijalni rad Derventa; Centar za socijalni rad Doboj Istok; Centar za socijalni rad Doboj; Centar za socijalni rad Jablanica; Centar za socijalni rad Kantona Sarajevo; Centar za socijalni rad Ključ; Centar za socijalni rad Konjic; Centar za socijalni rad Kozarska Dubica; Centar za socijalni rad Livno; Centar za socijalni rad Lopare; Centar za socijalni rad Ljubinje; Centar za socijalni rad Maglaj; Centar za socijalni rad Mostar; Centar za socijalni rad Nevesinje; Centar za socijalni rad Prijedor; Centar za socijalnu skrb Široki Brijeg; Centar za socijalni rad Teslić; Centar za socijalnu skrb Tomislavgrad; Centar za socijalni rad Trebinje; Centar za socijalnu skrb Čapljina; Centar za socijalnu skrb Kupres; Direkcija za ekonomsko planiranje BiH; Dom zdravlja „Dr. Isak Samokovlija“; Dom zdravlja Bijeljina; Dom Zdravlja Doboj; Dom zdravlja Orašje; Federalno Ministarstvo rada i socijalne politike FBiH - Sektor za zaštitu osoba sa invaliditetom i zaštitu civilnih žrtava rata; Federalno Ministarstvo rada i socijalne politike FBiH - Sektor za socijalnu i dječju zaštitu; Fond za profesionalnu rehabilitaciju i zapošljavanje invalida RS; Gender Centar FBiH; Grad Mostar, Služba za socijalne i stambene poslove, zdravstvo, raseljene osobe i izbjeglice; Gradsko Vijeće Mostar - SDP Mostar; JU Centar za djecu i omladinu sa posebnim potrebama “Los Rosales”, Mostar; JU Dječji dom “Mostar”; Kabinet Potpredsjednice Federacije BiH; KB Goražde; Ministarstvo hrvatskih branitelja iz domovinskog rata Zapadno-hercegovačke županije; Ministarstvo obrazovanja, nauke, kulture i sporta Hercegovačko-neretvanskog kantona; Ministarstvo pravde BiH, Sektor za suradnju s nevladinim organizacijama i razvoj civilnog društva; Ministarstvo rada, zdravstva, socijalne skrbi i prognanih Hercegbosanske županije/Kantona 10; Ministarstvo raseljenih osoba i izbjeglica FBiH; Ministarstvo za izbjeglice i raseljena lica RS; Ministarstvo za socijalnu politiku, zdravstvo, raseljena lica i izbjeglice Bosansko-podrinjskog kantona; Ministarstvo zdravstva i socijalne politike Unsko-sanskog kantona; Ministarstvo zdravstva, rada i socijalne skrbi Zapadno-hercegovačke županije; Ministarstvo zdravstva, rada i socijalne zaštite Hercegovačko-neretvanskog kantona; Općina Bihać; Općina Doboj Istok; Općina Foča – Ustikolina; Općina Goražde; Općina Ključ; Općina Sanski Most; Općina Tomislavgrad, Služba za društvenu djelatnost; Općina Velika Kladuša; Općinsko Poglavarstvo Čapljina; Općinsko Vijeće Cazin; Opšta bolnica Prijedor - Odjel za psihijatriju; Opština Berkovići; Opština Bijeljina; Opština Bileća; Opština Doboj, Odjeljenje

za društvene djelatnosti; Opština Trebinje; Opština Ugljevik; Skupština Opštine Prijedor Služba za društvene djelatnosti, Opština Bihać; Socijalno životna pedagoška zajednica Bihać - Odjeljenje u Cazinu; Socijalno životna pedagoška zajednica Bihać; Socijalno životna pedagoška zajednica Ključ; Vlada Županije Posavske, Ministarstvo prosvjete, znanosti, kulture i športa; Zavod za zapošljavanje RS, Filijala Prijedor.

ALDI, Goražde; ALUFF Pale; ARA Bijeljina; Centar za omladinski razvoj Brčko Distrikt BiH, Podružnica Bijeljina; Centar za promociju civilnog društva; Centar za razvoj Hercegovine, Trebinje; Centri civilnih inicijativa; Crveni križ Bihać; Crveni Križ Hercegbosanske županije/Kantona 10; Crveni Križ Opštine Goražde; Crveni krst Opštine Trebinje; Dječiji vrtić «SOS Kinderdorf»; Dom za djecu ometenu u tjelesnom i psihičkom razvoju „Marija Naša Nada“, Široki Brijeg; Društvo za psihosocijalnu pomoć i razvijanje dobrovoljnog rada „Osmijeh“ Gračanica; Fondacija „La Strada BiH“, Mostar; Fondacija fami, Doboj; Fondacija za razvoj zajednica „Mozaik“, Sarajevo; Hrišćansko humanitarno udruženje „Hleb života“, Prijedor; Humanitarna omladinska organizacija „Forum mladih“, Trebinje; Humanitarna omladinska organizacija „Omladinski centar“, Trebinje; ICVA, Sarajevo; Kantonalno udruženje CŽR-a porodice s djecom, Unsko-sanski kanton; Kantonalno udruženje dijabetičara, Unsko-sanski kanton; Kolo srpskih sestara, Gacko; Koordinacioni odbor Saveza civilnih invalida FBiH; Korak Dalje, Srbac; Landmine Survivors Network - LSN BiH; Liga za zaštitu privatne svojine i ljudskih prava, Trebinje; MDD „Merhamet“ Prijedor; MDP Inicijative, Doboj; Međuopštinsko udruženje slijepih i slabovidnih Bileća; Muslimansko dobrotvorno društvo Merhamet, Doboj; NVO CORNO Centar za omladinski rad i formalno obrazovanje, Doboj; NVO Familija, Prijedor; NVO Forma F; NVO Nada, Prijedor; NVO Partner; NVO Šansa, Novo Goražde; Omladinska agencija za zapošljavanje i edukaciju mladih, Trebinje; Omladinska informativna agencija BiH, Sarajevo; Omladinska organizacija „VITA“, Prijedor; Omladinska organizacija Centar za razvoj omladinske politike, Trebinje; Omladinska zadruga „OZ“, Trebinje; Omladinski centar Ljubija; Opštinska organizacija Crveni Krst, Ugljevik; Pro Tempore, Prijedor; Regionalno udruženje izbjeglih i raseljenih lica Lopare, Ugljevik, Bijeljina; Savez gluhih i nagluhih RS; Savez invalidi rada Opštine Trebinje; Savez RVI Hercegovačko-neretvanskog kantona; Savez slijepih i slabovidnih regije Bijeljina, Ugljevik i Lopare; Solidarnost za jug, Trebinje; TERCA, Sarajevo; Udruga gluhih i nagluhih osoba „Sluh“ u Županiji Hercegovačko-neretvanskoj; Udruga invalida „Utjeha“; Udruga invalida Zapadno-hercegovačke županije Široki Brijeg; Udruga roditelja „Pervazivni razvojni poremećaj“ Široki Brijeg; Udruga roditelja djece sa smetnjama u razvoju „Koraci“, Livno; Udruga slijepih i slabovidnih osoba Hercegbosanske županije; Udruženje „Obrazovanje gradi BiH“, Sarajevo; Udruženje „Proni“; Udruženje „Ružičnjak“, Mostar; Udruženje distrofičara Unsko-sanskog kantona; Udruženje gluhih i nagluhih regije Bijeljina; Udruženje gluhih i nagluhih RS; Udruženje gluhih i nagluhih, regija Doboj; Udruženje građana oboljelih od cerebralne dječije paralize; Udruženje građana oboljelih od multipleks skleroze Istočne Hercegovine; Udruženje građana za promociju obrazovanja Roma „Otaharin“, Bijeljina; Udruženje izbjeglih i raseljenih lica RS, Bijeljina; Udruženje oboljelih celijakije Unsko-sanskog kantona; Udruženje oboljelih od karcinoma dojke i drugih malignih oboljenja „Biser“, Goražde; Udruženje paraplegičara, oboljelih od dječije paralize i ostalih tjelesnih invalida, Trebinje; Udruženje penzionera Bijeljina; Udruženje

penzionera/umirovljenika-Goražde; Udruženje roditelja djece i omladine sa posebnim potrebama "Sunce nam je zajedničko", Trebinje; Udruženje Roma "Anglunipe - Napredak", Bosanska Krupa; Udruženje Roma "Složna braća", Bijeljina; Udruženje Roma Republike Srpske, Bijeljina; Udruženje slijepih građana Unsko-sanskog kantona; Udruženje slijepih i slabovidnih Bosansko-podrinjskog kantona; Udruženje slijepih i slabovidnih Trebinje, Ljubinje; Udruženje slijepih Kantona Sarajeva; Udruženje Slovaka Semberije "Juraj Janošik", Bijeljina; Udruženje socijalnih radnika Prijedor; Udruženje za mentalno nedovoljno razvijena lica, Prijedor; Udruženje za pomoć mentalno nedovoljno razvijenim licima "Moja nada", Nevesinje; Udruženje za pomoć mentalno nedovoljno razvijenim licima "Zračak", Ljubinje; Udruženje za pomoć mentalno zaostalim licima "Nada", Bijeljina; Udruženje žena "Anima N", Goražde; Udruženje žena "Goraždanke"; Udruženje žena "Iskra" Bijeljina; Udruženje žena "Srcem do mira", Prijedor; Udruženje žena „Donja Puharska“, Prijedor; Udruženje žena sa invaliditetom „Impuls“, Bijeljina; UG ALDI, Goražde; UG Alfa, Bihać; UG Budućnost, Modriča; UG Civilne žrtve rata, Bihać; UG Dobrotvor, Prijedor; UG Eko-Una, Cazin; UG Ključ-budućnosti; UG Ključki biser, Ključ; UG Krupana, Bosanska Krupa; UG oboljelih od poliomylitisa, povrede mozga i kičmene moždine Unsko-sanskog kantona; UG Radosti druženja, Unsko-sanski kanton; UG Sunce, Cazin; UG Svjetionik, Prijedor; UG Zora, Bileća; UG Žene sa Une, Bihać; UGOSG-USK; Vaša prava, Bijeljina; Zavod za slijepa i slabovidna lica „Budućnost“, Derventa; Ženski centar Trebinje.

Delegacija Evropske Komisije u BiH; EUFOR LOT Bijeljina; Fond otvoreno društvo BiH (FOD BiH); Forum Syd Balkans Programme; Handicap International Mostar; Handicap International u jugoistočnoj Evropi; Helsinški komitet za ljudska prava u Bosni i Hercegovini; OSCE Misija u BiH (Banja Luka, Bijeljina, Doboj, Foča, Livno, Mostar, Sarajevo, Trebinje); Švedska Agencija za međunarodni razvoj (SIDA); Švicarska Agencija za razvoj i saradnju (SDC); UNDP ILDP Projekat; UNDP; UNHCR; UNICEF; Ured za međunarodni razvoj UK (DFID); USAID u BiH; World Vision BiH.

BH Radio 1; BHT1; FENA; FTV; Glas Goražda; Glas Srpske; Kablovska TV HS; Magazin Dani; Nezavisna televizija Studio Arena; Nezavisne Novine; Radio Slobodna Evropa; SRNA; Televizija Džungla; TVSA.

Rekli su...

U okviru aktivnosti na uspostavi NVO Fondacije za socijalno uključivanje u 2008. godini, Nezavisni biro za humanitarna pitanja (IBHI) je organizovao seriju od 10 okruglih stolova s ciljem upoznavanja predstavnika nevladinih organizacija, javnih i državnih institucija, međunarodnih organizacija i medija u čitavoj BiH sa idejom i konceptom uspostave Fondacije koja bi poticala jačanje uloge organizacija civilnog društva, naročito nevladinih organizacija, u procesima socijalnog uključivanja u BiH. Na okruglim stolovima, predstavnici brojnih institucija i organizacija su svojim mišljenjima i komentarima dali značajan doprinos procesu razvoja modela i strukture Fondacije. Ovdje predstavljamo samo neke od prioriteta, ocjena i stavova izrečenih od Trebinja do Bijeljine i od Bihaća do Goražda. U profilisanju NVO Fondacije za socijalno uključivanje u BiH ove ocjene i stavovi su korišteni kao iznimno važni putokazi.

REKLI SU...

maj, 2008

Mostar

- Osnivanje NVO Fondacije za socijalno uključivanje u BiH je inicijativa koja pokreće rješavanje brojnih drugih problema i inicira promjene i aktivnosti koje će doprinijeti jačanju socijalne uključenosti.
- Privatni sektor, koji je još uvijek nedovoljno uključen, bi trebalo osloboditi poreza na donacije što bi bio idealan način za obezbjeđenje sredstava za NVO Fondaciju za socijalno uključivanje u BiH. Potrebno je donijeti zakon o poreskim olakšicama i motivirati privatni sektor da se uključi u ovakve aktivnosti.
- Potrebno je donijeti zakon o vrednovanju volonterskog rada.
- Potrebno je uspostaviti zakon o standardima i kvaliteti rada nevladinih organizacija.
- NVO Fondacija za socijalno uključivanje ni na koji način ne bi smjela ugroziti postojeća domaća budžetska izdvajanja za nevladin sektor.
- Pri raspodjeli sredstava NVO Fondacije za socijalno uključivanje izražena je potreba stvaranja balansa uticaja svih aktera: donatora, vladinih i javnih institucija i nevladinih organizacija.
- Formiranje NVO Fondacije za socijalno uključivanje će utjecati na donošenje i implementaciju zakona i Fondacija će imati motivirajući uticaj na oba sektora.

REKLI SU...

maj, 2008

Doboj

- NVO i javni sektor bi trebali imati jednake uloge u partnerstvu.
- *NVO Fondacija za socijalno uključivanje BiH* bi trebala imati svoj pravilnik, politiku za određeni period koja je usmjerena i bazirana na stvarnim podacima i potrebama.
- Razvijenost NVO sektora je nejednaka i *NVO Fondacija za socijalno uključivanje* bi trebala razviti sistem jačanja ljudskih i materijalnih kapaciteta nevladinih organizacija u manjim opštinama kako bi se pokrila cjelokupna teritorija države.
- Potrebno je osigurati održivost projekata, posebno u malim sredinama, jer postoji nezainteresovanost lokalnih vlasti da se nastavi sa aktivnostima nakon isteka implementacije jednog projekta.

REKLI SU...

maj, 2008

Bijeljina

- Ne postoje mehanizmi da se dobre projektne prakse repliciraju u različitim opštinama.
- Problemi ugroženih grupa se trebaju rješavati sistemski.
- *NVO Fondacija za socijalno uključivanje* bi služila kao mehanizam koji bi omogućio mladim nevladinim organizacijama bez iskustva, a sa kvalitetnim projektima, da budu podržane, dobiju sredstva i razviju svoje kapacitete.
- Svijest građanstva o sposobnostima osoba sa invaliditetom nije razvijena u dovoljnoj mjeri jer je akcenat i dalje na invalidnosti a ne na preostalim sposobnostima.
- U Bosni i Hercegovini bi trebalo biti više projekata i sredstava koja bi se izdvajala za Romsku populaciju.
- Zadate projektne metodologije su previše komplikovane i zahtijevaju angažman stručnjaka, što udruženja građana sebi ne mogu priuštiti.

REKLI SU...

juni 2008

Prijedor

- U procesu određivanja pravila za funkcionisanje *NVO Fondacije za socijalno uključivanje* treba voditi računa da od samog početka korisnici imaju punopravnu ulogu u odlučivanju.
- Fondacija je oblik organizovanja koji daje određene prednosti kao što su fleksibilnost, kreativnost, omogućavanje bržeg i dinamičnijeg reformisanja i jačanja civilnog društva. Fondacija bi takođe, u većoj mjeri, omogućila razvijanje i jačanje partnerstva između nevladinog i vladinog sektora.
- Postoji izražena potreba, kao i potencijal, za formiranje novih nevladinih organizacija koje bi bile usmjerene na podršku identifikovanim ugroženim grupama.

REKLI SU...

juni 2008

Bihać

- Potrebno je izvršiti klasifikaciju nevladinog sektora jer postoji nevladin sektor koji samo troši državni budžet, a postoji nevladin sektor koji svojom maštom, idejama i inicijativom postiže rezultate.
- Neophodno je da u Upravni odbor *NVO Fondacije za socijalno uključivanje* uđu predstavnici nevladinih organizacija. Time bi se u radu Fondacije u obzir uzimali interesi nevladinog sektora.
- Do stvarnog partnerstva vladinog i nevladinog sektora može doći tek kada vladin sektor počne prihvatati ono što je dobro kod nevladinog a nevladin sâm počne stvarati uslove koji bi ga činili samostalnijim.
- Status udruženja osoba sa invaliditetom bi trebao biti povoljniji s obzirom da su u teškoj situaciji kada je u pitanju izrada projekata.
- Vladin i nevladin sektor još uvijek ne mogu biti zadovoljni sa onim što je urađeno, ali trebaju raditi na poboljšanju opšte politike za zaštitu ugroženih kategorija.
- Nvladinom sektoru je potrebna dobra edukacija u pisanju projekata, kao i finansijskom i narativnom izvještavanju. To bi bio jedan od prvih koraka ka jačanju i osnaživanju nevladinih organizacija.

REKLI SU...

juli, 2008

Goražde

- Puna participacija svih relevantnih aktera je preduslov za uključenost ranjivih grupa u proces kreiranja razvojnih politika BiH.
- Veoma je važno da nakon usvajanja razvojnih strategija BiH budu uspostavljeni mehanizmi praćenja. Isto tako, važno je definisati vrste odgovornosti za aktere u implementaciji.
- Na osnovu dosadašnjih iskustava postoji strah da mjere usvojene u strateškim dokumentima BiH neće biti implementirane do kraja, čak i uz kvalitetnu evaluaciju i nadzor.
- Trenutno je u BiH uspostavljen sistem pasivne zaštite tokom nezaposlenosti. Da bi se smanjila nezaposlenost u BiH, država bi trebala imati aktivne mjere zapošljavanja, čime bi se vršilo kontinuirano poticanje građana na traženje posla.

REKLI SU...

juli, 2008

Sarajevo

- U BiH postoji jako malo sistemskih i praktičnih aktivnosti koje za cilj imaju podršku jačanju civilnog društva.
- Analiza o izdvajanju vladinog sektora za nevladin sektor može biti dobar alat ne samo za *NVO Fondaciju za socijalno uključivanje* već i za mnoga druga pitanja koja se tiču razvoja civilnog društva u BiH.
- *NVO Fondacija za socijalno uključivanje* će biti efikasan mehanizam za ispunjavanje ciljeva koji budu postavljeni u Strategiji razvoja BiH i posebno u Strategiji socijalne uključenosti.
- Fondacija bi bila u prilici da smanji rizik suparništva među nevladinim organizacijama koje sad implementiraju slične, pa i jednake programe.
- Strategija socijalnog uključivanja uz buduću Strategiju razvoja civilnog društva daju okvire za potrebne mehanizme za realizaciju od kojih bi jedan mogao biti *Fondacija za socijalno uključivanje*.
- Fondacija bi takođe mogla biti usmjerena na razvoj novih usluga koji će omogućiti socijalno uključivanje i, prije svega, ojačati kapacitete malih lokalnih organizacija.
- *NVO Fondacija za socijalno uključivanje* ima potencijal za promociju i razvijanje partnerstva između vladinog i nevladinog sektora koji će pomoći objema stranama i bez kojeg se ne mogu postići rezultati.

REKLI SU...

oktobar, 2008

Široki Brijeg

- Uspostavom *NVO Fondacije za socijalno uključivanje* organizacije osoba sa invaliditetom će dobiti mehanizam koji će osiguravati njihovu budućnost, opstanak i sistemsko rješenje za finansiranje.
- Bosna i Hercegovina se kroz usvajanje jedinstvene Politike u oblasti invalidnosti opredijelila za ključnu obavezu potpisivanja i ratifikacije Konvencije o pravima osoba sa invaliditetom i drugih međunarodnih dokumenata koji se odnose na pitanja invalidnosti.
- Nakon osnivanja, *NVO Fondacija za socijalno uključivanje u BiH* će doprinijeti da rad organizacija bude efikasniji i da sredstva, koja se sada dobivaju od države zajedno sa sredstvima koja će se u partnerstvu moći dobiti od Fondacije, unaprijede rad udruga i organizacija.
- Ako organizacije osoba sa invaliditetom ne posjeduju adekvatne kapacitete ili nisu u dovoljnoj mjeri upoznate sa procesima, nisu razvili partnerski odnos sa odgovarajućim nivoima vlasti, teško je očekivati da mogu uticati na donošenje odluka koje ih se tiču.
- Sredstva koja stoje na raspolaganju u državnim budžetima su sredstva građana i vlada je samo instrument da ta sredstva ponovno vrati građanima.

REKLISU...

novembar, 2008

Trebinje

- *Ciljevi NVO Fondacije za socijalno uključivanje* bi trebali da obuhvate:
 - Stvaranje mehanizama uključivanja nevladinih organizacija u proces razvoja politike socijalnog uključivanja, posebno u implementaciju buduće Strategije socijalnog uključivanja;
 - mehanizam jačanja kapaciteta i jačanja partnerstva između vladinog i nevladinog sektora;
 - jačanja finansijske održivosti nevladinog sektora i omogućavanja donatorima da imaju koordiniran i fokusiran pristup.
- *NVO Fondacija za socijalno uključivanje* je značajna i dešava se u pravo vrijeme. Do završetka pripreme strateških dokumenata Bosne i Hercegovine i akcionih planova nada je da će Fondacija biti formirana.
- *NVO Fondacija za socijalno uključivanje* bi trebala funkcionisati na osnovu dvosmjernog kretanja aktivnosti i informacija između Fondacije i organizacija.
- Osnovni principi Fondacije, osim partnerstva, moraju uključivati i kvalitet usluga.

What is to be done?

Social Inclusion and Civil Society – Practical Steps

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Foreword or the View from Within

What is civil society in Bosnia and Herzegovina?

It is what we live, what we do and that certain something that connects us. It exists in all its “greatness” of questions, doubts and trepidations.

Here and now, we will not concern ourselves with definitions, many of which are deemed “acceptable”, but instead, we will leave them to theory, where they belong.

For the past 13 years, we have tried different imported models and have found ourselves, at the end, confused and fed-up with misplaced steps and lessons (not) learnt, at this stage, thinking “What is to be done?”.

Civil society in BH does not have advantages or disadvantages. However, it has walls built of prejudice and has obstacles imposed by those who do not understand, do not want nor do they accept the existence of something else, of something diverse. It can be neglected, ignored but it can not cease to exist. Its present influence on the actual course of society is as weak as its partnerships and internal fibres.

Often, the terms non-governmental organisations and civil society are viewed as identical. NGOs are an important, inseparable part of civil society, but are not the one and only. The existing space of civil society needs to be opened up and room made for internal dialogue and partnership, in order for the civil society to be accepted by the other, external, part of society.

Civil society in society...? What is the essence of their closeness despite their formidable distance? It is in that which is in plain site. To be socially engaged. To turn towards the one for whom we exist, the citizen. To turn words into deeds. To make even the smallest, but shared, step for all those who really depend on it.

Whether they are miners, pensioners, persons with disabilities, the poor or the deprived and all the socially excluded alike, they have the right to a normal and dignified life far from the margins where they were placed and forsaken.

Inclusion of citizens in the widest social problems is possible, but only through concrete activities. It is the only feasible approach for civil society to strengthen its influence and improve the democratic development of BiH.

The government of BiH has initiated the preparation of Social Inclusion Strategy (SIS), which is an important step in the harmonisation of social development in BiH according to EU standards. Its implementation will demand a significant role of civil society, especially

the NGO sector, their coordinated development and focus on the most marginalised groups of BiH society. Hence, the establishment of the NGO Social Inclusion Foundation in BiH (NGO SIF) is a practical step and a response in itself to the real needs of those marginalised, socially excluded, but of civil society in BiH as well.

It is a mechanism for strengthening the role of NGOs in improving the approach to social inclusion, its organisational strengthening and focusing on the real needs of the socially excluded. The process of structuring and positioning of NGO SIF in the wider BiH context is based upon full participation of 225 stakeholders from all sectors (governmental, non-governmental, private, media, donors, etc.) and analysis of examples of good practice from the region and EU.

This publication is not an “answer in a bottle”, nor a solution for the current murky image of our civil society, but is an attempt to experience all its fragmented parts as a whole and an enduring body. This is a hope for a new future of the civil society in BiH and practical steps towards strengthening its role, significance and influence on the real inclusion into society.

We believe that the authors of this publication will take you into a completely “new world” of our civil society, and its accompanying reality, painted with some other bright colours. Their honesty will disarm you and the power of their arguments and analyses will provoke a yearning for a “nicer awakening”, even in this tangled maze. They bring us hope and belief that the darkness will go away and there is still someone daring enough to show us that every moment devoted to a fight for change is valuable. Every step we take for ourselves is precious.

Here is my secret!

It is very simple.

It is only with the heart that one can see rightly.

What is essential is invisible to the eye.

Antoine de Saint Exupéry (The Little Prince)

Ranka Ninković-Papić

CIVIL SOCIETY STRENGTHENING

LESSONS LEARNED DURING THE DEVELOPMENT PROCESS OF BIH SOCIAL INCLUSION STRATEGY

INTRODUCTION

Despite significant progress made over the past decade, Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) is still confronted with many problems, the most important of which are poverty and widespread social exclusion. In addition to commitment to the idea of the reduction of poverty and provision of full social security to all of its citizens, Bosnia and Herzegovina is also fully committed to the idea of meeting preconditions for accession into the European Union (EU). Although the principles of the EU social policy, due to the different economic status of EU member states compared to that of BiH, are not fully applicable at this moment, in addition to poverty reduction, we also need to ensure fulfilment of basic standards of the EU social policy in order to be able to plan our activities in this area, in line with the policy.

Since during the course of 2008 the mandate of the Medium Term Development Strategy (MTDS) of BiH for the period between 2004 and 2007 officially expired (PRSP), BiH is currently in the process of preparing new strategic documents, specifically: the Country Development Strategy (CDS) for the period between 2008 and 2013 and the Social Inclusion Strategy (SIS). The development process of these strategic documents is approved by the Coordinating Board for Economic Development and European Integration of the Council of Ministers of BiH. Once the Stabilisation and Accession Agreement with the EU was initialled, this process gained in importance due to the pre-accession activities that imply the development of a substantial number of documents on the basis on the above mentioned strategies. In addition, the importance of the above strategic documents is reflected in the fact that they will represent a foundation for the Strategic Framework for Harmonisation necessary for the process of planning of Instrument for Pre-Accession Assistance (IPA) funds, once BiH receives candidacy status.¹ These two strategies will also represent the foundation for development of the National Development Plan (NDP) and the Joint Inclusion Memorandum (JIM), once conditions are created for it, during the course of the pre-accession process of BiH.

¹ Pursuant to the provisions of Article 154 of the Rulebook No. 718/2007 implemented in line with the Council Regulation (EC) No. 1085/2006, which establishes the Instrument for Pre-accession Assistance – IPA.

Responsibility for coordination of activities on developing CDS and SIS is delegated to the BiH Directorate for Economic Planning (DEP), the governments of the Federation of BiH, Republika Srpska and Brčko District of BiH in addition to a large number of participants from both the government and the civil society sector.

1. EU SOCIAL POLICY

BiH is committed to the idea of membership in the EU and, as a future member state, it is required to accept all values and fulfil all requirements stemming from that commitment. For this reason, SIS should define goals and priorities whose implementation will result in reform of social policy in line with the EU decisions and documents. The *integrative goal* of the EU social policy is improvement of the quality of life and working conditions, provision of stimulus to employment, equal opportunities for all and provision of minimum social protection. Social policy represents an integral part in accomplishing a freedom of movement of the workforce. The principles are defined under the Treaty establishing the European Community and the Social Policy Protocol.² The method of operation is based on programmes initiated by the Community, coordination and cooperation of member states and adoption of legislative measures for promoting the harmonisation of national regulations in the area of social policy.

The concept of the “*social dimension*” of the single market relates to the effort to add a human and social dimension to the internal market and the EU as a whole.

The social dimension of European integration comes down to *social dialogue*, that is to say, to the idea that social partners should be brought together at the same table in order to reach a consensus about Community policies.

The main documents that promote these ideas are the Single European Act³ (1986) and the Community Charter of Fundamental Social Rights for Workers⁴, from 1989, the goals of which included:

- Activities of the Community in the struggle against unemployment;
- Incentive for employment of young persons;
- Incentive for employment of women;
- Development of local programmes for creation of new job positions;
- Prevention of long-term unemployment; and
- Encouraging integration or reintegration of women into active life.

² EC Treaty: Preamble, Articles: 2, 3i, 3j, 48-51, 117-125, 130b, 130d; Social Policy Protocol.

³ Two new articles were added to the EEC Treaty. The first defined the decision-making by the qualified majority in the area of work environment and health and industry safety. The second defined the basis of social dialogue at the level of the Community. In addition, a new chapter was added on economic and social cohesion, which the Community introduced to try to prevent regional differences that might occur due to the introduction of a single market.

⁴ The programme lists 47 measures that include 12 areas of social rights set forth by the Charter.

The new big reform was initiated following the adoption of the EU Treaty (Maastricht, 1993), as well as following the adoption of the Resolution of the European Council on Growth and Employment (Amsterdam, 1997). In the text of the Resolution, the necessity for modernisation of the social insurance system was underscored as well as the necessity for harmonisation of economic policies. Having accepted these documents, member states accepted, among other things, the principles of social cohesion and integrity.

Following a number of activities related to the EU accession process, at the beginning of 2004, the Commission presented its first European partnership with Bosnia and Herzegovina, which the Council adopted on 14 June of 2004. The document that relates to BiH details short-term and medium-term priorities aiming to prepare the country for further integration into the EU. The country is expected to respond to European partnership by preparing a plan containing the precise timeline and specific measures that relate to methods in which it intends to respond to the priorities of the European partnership. These measures certainly imply fulfilment of requirements resulting from social rights defined under the above-mentioned documents of the EU.

2. SOCIAL INCLUSION STRATEGY

This is the first time that Bosnia and Herzegovina is preparing a strategic document of this type. In addition to BiH Development Strategy, the Council of Ministers of BiH also opted for the development of the Social Inclusion Strategy, due to the reason that the available indicators point to the fact that the number of poor persons in the country is substantial, while the number of socially excluded persons is even higher.

Based on household expenditure data, the percentage of poor persons in BiH is 17.8%. Food makes up only 34% of the total needs of the poor population, which points to the significance of other non-food commodities in every day life. About 30% of the population is just above the poverty threshold, which means that they are at risk of being poor. This category of the population goes in and out of poverty depending on the given conditions. In BiH, the approach to poverty reduction is still based on social transfers, which represent passive social policy measures. Experiences and practices in the EU indicate that these measures are inefficient and difficult to sustain, especially during the time of economic crisis, and that they should be replaced with active social policy measures.

The percentage of socially excluded members of society was calculated for the first time using the social exclusion index. The *General Social Exclusion Index (also Human Social Exclusion Index – HSEI)* in BiH was measured (UNDP) for the first time in 2007, and it was found to be at 50.32%. According to the developed methodology, the index is calculated on the basis of five categories of exclusion and on the basis of seven indicators, as follows: *the standard of living* (indicators: 1. population living below the poverty threshold; 2. long-term unemployment); *health status* (indicators: 3. persons with no health insurance coverage); *education* (indicators: 4. persons older than 15 who have not completed primary school); *participation in society* (indicators: 5. persons who do not vote; 6. persons who do not take part in organised social activities); *access to utilities and services* (indicators: 7. households

with no telephone). In addition, 21.85% of the population of BiH is excluded from the basic processes and needs (HSEI-1 Extreme Social Exclusion Index), while 47% of the population of BiH is excluded over a prolonged period of time (Long Term Social Exclusion Index)

It is obvious that reform is necessary in the field of social welfare. It is neither possible to provide a reformative approach to this area, nor to efficiently and systematically implement the process of social inclusion without an overview of the entire process and adoption of a completely new approach based on the fulfilment of the EU requirements, goals and key principles of implementation of this process.

Key principles of implementation of the process of social inclusion that BiH opted for during the course of development and implementation of the Social Inclusion Strategy are:

- a. Participatory approach;
- b. Integrate economic and social policies to ensure their impact on the decrease of social exclusion;
- c. Ensure active involvement of government representatives at all levels;
- d. Define procedures and mechanisms of coordination;
- e. Define institutions responsible;
- f. Promote social dialogue and partnership;
- g. Actively involve social partners and civil society organisations as well as those involved in the provision of social services in the process; and
- h. Promote corporate social responsibility.

For all of these reasons, the **main goal and idea** of the Social Inclusion Strategy⁵ is that it should ensure that conditions are created for inclusion of all citizens in the social processes. In addition, the Strategy has to be as harmonised with EU requirements and goals as possible, in order to:

- a. Facilitate the approach to high quality jobs and social services as well as to other goods and resources;
- b. Prevent the risk of social exclusion and poverty;

⁵ Key terms are defined in accordance with definitions detailed in the European Union Joint Report on Social Inclusion, adopted in 2004 (European Commission Joint Report on Social Inclusion):

Poverty – People are considered to be living in poverty if their income and resources are so inadequate as to preclude them from having a standard of living considered acceptable in the society in which they live. Because of their poverty they may experience multiple disadvantage through unemployment, low income, poor housing, inadequate health care and barriers to lifelong learning, culture, sport and recreation. They are often excluded and marginalised from participating in activities (economic, social and cultural) that are the norm for other people and their access to fundamental rights may be restricted.

Social Exclusion – Social exclusion is a process whereby certain individuals are pushed to the edge of society and prevented from participating fully by virtue of their poverty, or lack of basic competencies and lifelong learning opportunities, or as a result of discrimination. This distances them from job, income and education opportunities as well as social and community networks and activities. They have little access to power and decision-making bodies and thus often feeling powerless and unable to take control over the decisions that affect their day-to-day lives.

Social inclusion – Social inclusion is a 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 also ensures that they have greater participation in decision making which affects their lives.

- c. Assist the most vulnerable categories of the population;
- d. Involve all relevant stakeholders; and
- e. Create the foundation for development of documents, first and foremost, the development of JIM (Joint Inclusion Memorandum), for the purpose of fulfilling pre-accession requirements for EU membership.

Given the fact that the Social Inclusion Strategy will be the foundation for the development of JIM, during the course of its development, the *Structure of the Joint Inclusion Memorandum* needs to be taken into account. The Memorandum should include the following elements:

1. Economic situation and employment;
2. Social situation;
3. Key challenges;
4. Political challenges;
5. Promotion of gender equality;
6. Statistical systems and indicators;
7. Support through IPA funds (pre-accession instruments); and
8. Conclusions.

DEP, which coordinates the development of both development documents (CDS and SIS), at the same time also needs to take into consideration the values promoted through the *Open Method of Coordination*, which is the basic principle of cooperation between the EU and member states and those states aspiring to become members. Such an approach enables main problems and goals of the social policy to be put into a wider regional context, taking into consideration the economic situation and economic opportunities of the country, ensuring a consistent and efficient approach at the level of BiH to distribution of limited resources for implementation of necessary reform processes of relevance to social inclusion.

Main stakeholders in the process of development of the SIS are:

- Relevant government institutions at all levels;
- Public sector service providers;
- Social partners;
- Civil society organisations; and
- Representatives of vulnerable and excluded categories.

The most important steps in the process of development of these strategic documents are:

1. Development of the general situation analysis with proposed working goals and priorities;
2. SWOT analysis;
3. Scenario development (optimistic, pessimistic, reformative);
4. Detailed situation analysis necessary for the definition of strategic goals and priorities;
5. Benchmarking (performance tests) and definition of monitoring indicators;
6. Ensuring the participatory nature and transparency of the process (Conference on the subject of vision development, public debates);

7. Appointment of working groups for the development of the CDS and SIS (representatives of government institutions, civil society organisations and the donor community);
8. Development of the first draft of the CDS and SIS;
9. Ex-ante evaluation;
10. Public debate;
11. Development of the final versions of strategic documents;
12. Defining models of monitoring and evaluation; and
13. Initiating the process of adoption by the Council of Ministers of BiH, entity governments and the Government of Brčko District of BiH as well as ensuring support from the Parliamentary Assembly of BiH.

In order to ensure that the process of development of strategic documents is participatory in nature and to facilitate its adequate implementation, the process needs to include all of the above listed steps. The role of the situation analysis is to define the situation at present in socio-economic sectors and to ensure a defining of the so-called “working goals” of the strategic documents, on the basis of an analysis of the present situation and defined developmental needs for the planned period. These goals serve as a foundation for further work on development documents. Working goals should be further evaluated and analysed in more detail, which is ensured through the completion of a SWOT analysis. The result of the SWOT analysis and benchmarking process should provide us with a clear insight of the situation in specific areas and the position of BiH in the European and regional context, allowing a detailed analysis of strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats to the realisation of the defined working goals. In parallel with the SWOT analysis, scenarios of development are also prepared (pessimistic, optimistic, and realistic). The result of this analytical process should enable the modification of working goals and ensure fulfilment of pre-conditions for defining realistic *strategic goals* to serve as a groundwork upon which a specific strategy can be built. In addition, the results of this analytical process will also serve to articulate policies that should strengthen the position of the country and enable it to realise defined developmental goals.

The *participatory approach* represents a big challenge and an ambitious undertaking that required the involvement of all relevant stakeholders in society in the process of developing strategic documents. To this end, it is necessary to ensure a wide public debate as well as the participation of social partners in the process of developing strategic documents.

The *ex ante* evaluation is an analytical process which provides an assessment of possibilities for the implementation of a given strategic document as well as an assessment of effects of return of investments in certain processes. Given the fact that certain parameters are not known during the course of evaluation, they are assumed. This type of evaluation is important because it provides an insight into possibilities of implementation of planned reform processes and should be done after the first draft of the documents is prepared. Since SIS is a complex and multifaceted document, defined at the state level, and since the measures detailed in the action plan of that document, will be implemented at entity and lower levels due to the administrative structure of BiH, it would be unreasonable to expect that the *ex ante* evaluation could be carried out for the entire document within the time

available for the development of the Strategy. To that end, it is reasonable to opt for a general assessment of the document and select a certain key segment, or segments, to be covered by the *ex ante* evaluation.

During the upcoming phases of development of the SIS, these analytical process should serve as a basis for working groups to define realistic key reform measures, deadlines and budget plans for their implementation.

3. GOALS OF THE SOCIAL INCLUSION STRATEGY

To date, Bosnia and Herzegovina has defined the working goals of the SIS and the analytical process that should serve to define strategic goals in its final phase. In line with the analyses conducted to date, working goals are well defined and will not suffer substantial changes during the course of development of strategic goals. In addition, it is notable that the number of defined working priorities is too high for some goals, and changes are expected to occur in that area. The defined working goals of the SIS are⁶:

1. Improvement of the pension policy;
2. Improvement of protection of families with children;
3. Improvement of health protection;
4. Improvement of education;
5. Improvement of protection of persons with disabilities; and
6. Employment and social policies.

3.1. Improvement of the Pension Policy⁷

In BiH, the elderly population (over 65 years of age) constitutes about 15% of the total population and the number of women is somewhat higher compared to the number of men. There are some regional differences with the share of elderly persons in the general population in Republika Srpska being almost 5% higher compared to the Federation of BiH. According to data provided by UNDP, in 2005 there were 13.7% persons older than 65 years of age and it is assessed that the share of elderly persons in the general population in 2015 will be 16.3%.

The pension system is an instrument that guarantees social rights to citizens. All rights and entitlements of recipients of pension and insurance are set forth by the provisions of the Law on Pension and Disability Insurance. The pension system in BiH⁸ covers all persons who were employed. The pension system in BiH consists of two pensions systems, based on three types of pensions, as follows: full retirement pension, disability pension and “survivor” pension

⁶ Working goals are defined in the document of the Situation Analysis for the BiH Country Development Strategy for the period 2008-2013 and the BiH Social Inclusion Strategy. The document was prepared by DEP BiH and the LSE Consortium which provided DEP with technical assistance.

⁷ For the purpose of developing goals of the SIS (3.1-3.6) data was used from comprehensive analyses made on the basis of SWOT workshops organised in the FBiH.

⁸ UNDP: Pension Reform and Social Protection System in BiH.

and funding for payment of pensions is secured through a simple system of payroll taxes. The number of pensioners totals 508,000, which makes 13% of the population. However, half of the population aged 65 and above (rural population, self-employed persons with low wages, women) are excluded from the pension insurance system. The ratio of the number of employed versus the number of retired persons is 1:1.29.

About 60% of total benefits paid to retired persons is provided by the Federation of BiH, while 40% is provided by Republika Srpska. The share of retired persons in the total number of citizens is the same in both entities – one eighth (12.5%) of the total population. The differences in pension amounts in terms of different types of pensions are negligible. The share of recipients with the full retirement pension is slightly above 41% while the share of beneficiaries with the right to a family pension is slightly above 40%.

Three joint main goals that are related to the provision of pensions as part of the social system are:

- Financial sustainability of the pension system;
- Provision of an appropriate level of pensions; and
- Modernisation of the pension system.

In terms of these goals, the pension system of Bosnia and Herzegovina is found to be in compliance with the first goal – it is solvent. The pension and disability insurance system, both in the FBiH and the RS, is organised in line with the principle of intergeneration solidarity and it belongs to the group of systems known as PAYG (Pay As You Go, which can be freely translated as “current financing”). Funding is provided for the system through mandatory social insurance contributions, which are in proportion with the basic salary. Entity laws on pension and disability insurance stipulate that 24% of the gross salary is paid for payroll taxes for this insurance in the FBiH (17% from the salary and 7% on the salary) and 24% on net salary in the RS. In line with the provisions of the Law on Pension and Disability Insurance, financial sustainability of the pension system is accomplished as a result of the fact that payment of pensions is subject to availability of funding. However, sustainability of the system could be affected in the event of growth of salaries and income, if the number of active insurance holders stays the same and the number of retired persons increases. Given the global economic crisis, this is a significant and realistic threat and the fear that the number of employed persons will decrease and that the pressure on the pension system will increase as a result is quite justified. In addition, what could also hamper sustainability of the system is aging of the population, which is evident in BiH.

As for the level of pensions, the economic and financial situation in BiH is such that income from pension rights is very low both in the absolute and in relative amount. Many recipients of benefits from pension insurance are affected by poverty and it is highly likely that they live in poverty. In addition to these recipients, there is a large number of citizens who are without employment or any other source of income (from the social system based on unemployment benefits or other types of benefits). The pension problem in BiH cannot be separated from the poverty problem and vice versa – the poverty problem cannot be resolved without resolution of problems in the pension system.

Table 1. Average pension⁹ in BiH for 2007 and 2008

	2007	2008
Federation of BiH	284 KM	334 KM
Republika Srpska	230 KM	281 KM
Brčko District of BiH	244 KM	298 KM

As for the third goal – modernisation, it needs to be noted that the system as such is difficult to operate due to the fiscal burden it produces at the moment and due to the poor perspective in terms of the level of benefits which the system will be able to provide in the future. This is one of the main reasons why modernisation of the pension insurance system of Bosnia and Herzegovina has to be carried out. Reform processes in this area are already underway and criteria have been defined for assessing the feasibility of the pension insurance system. The following limitations have to be taken into account:

1. Changes must not cause a deterioration of the public financial situation and they have to be sustainable in the long run;
2. The rights already earned by people must not be changed in any way that would cause the amount of benefits to decrease;
3. The rights and the new or reformed legal institutes have to incorporate the same guarantees as before;
4. All changes would have to be introduced in parallel in both entities, or a different model would need to be found to avoid further division of pension systems in BiH; and
5. The legal framework of BiH would have to prevent the existing discrimination of beneficiaries.

Options for *reform* are to:

- Introduce additional insurance, mandatory or voluntary, collective and/or individual;
- Consider possibilities for the introduction of a three pillar pension system, as done in the countries of the region;
- Implement reform of institutions of the pension system; and
- Consider the option of introducing a pension system at the level of BiH.

This brief overview of the current situation in this area as well as the criteria and guidelines for future reform suggest that the reform of the pension system will be a difficult and demanding undertaking.

3.2. Improvement of Protection of Families with Children

Children in BiH constitute a third of the total population and according to data provided by UNICEF, in 2006, the position of children in BiH was marked by the following features:

- One fifth of children are not fully immunised;

⁹ Data provided by the Pension and Disability Insurance Funds of the FBiH and the RS.

- Only about 5% of infants aged 0 to 3 months are exclusively breastfed;
- Opportunities for educational development in early childhood by families which attended parenting training or training in parenting skills or through pre-school education, are limited, especially in rural areas;
- 90% of Roma children do not have health insurance, neither do children of unemployed parents or those parents who are employed but do not enjoy benefits, which effectively excludes these children from the health protection system; and
- It is estimated that 50% of internally displaced persons and returnees are still paying for healthcare services provided to their children.

The goal that relates to protection of children and families with children puts protection of children in the context of overall plans of development and social inclusion in BiH. The document establishes a parallel between policies targeting poverty decrease, pro-poor policies (as defined in the Millennium Declaration and the Medium Term Development Strategy of BiH) and definitions of social protection and social inclusion as defined by the European Union. Citing the provisions of the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) and the global human rights programme, the SIS perceives children and families as primary holders of rights in the area of social protection, and in line with principles of government accountability and operational mechanisms of management and authority, authorities are established as bearers of responsibility. In addition, it also includes basic factors of social exclusion and vulnerability of children, the wider framework of social protection and its reform, including financial, administrative, institutional and policy aspects in the reform process.

During the process of development of the concept of child/social protection, it is necessary to understand basic indicators of child welfare, key factors which contribute to children's welfare, as well as the specific dependence of children on responsibilities of parents and the state, especially in the area of social assistance, healthcare and education. In addition, monitoring and evaluation frameworks are looked into, including monitoring and defining vulnerable groups on the basis of principles and indicators of the CRC.

The approach based on human rights is used to define functions, competencies, roles and responsibilities in the main sectors of social protection, as well as in the wider context of social policies. This approach creates conditions for the definition of weaknesses and gaps that are present in the system.

During the course of the development of the SIS, the existing analytical processes in the area of protection of children and families with children pointed to *three key priorities* which imply the need for short-term and mid-term measures. These are the following priorities:

1. Improve the status of families with children who live above the poverty threshold to ensure they do not fall below the poverty threshold;
2. Develop programmes of socio-economic support to ensure that the families in a situation of social or economic exclusion are included in socio-economic life in BiH,
3. Create long-term conditions for promoting an increased birth rate through the development of programmes that would monitor development and training of

young persons (starting in early adolescence) in order to provide socio-economic opportunities required for parenting.

3.3 Improvement of Health Protection

Enjoyment of the highest possible standard of health is one of the fundamental rights of every individual regardless of race, religion, political affiliation, economic and social conditions¹⁰. The World Health Organisation (WHO) defines health as a physical, mental and social state of wellbeing, rather than just the absence of disease. The term “health” transcends the boundaries of the healthcare sector, because its main determinants, such as age, gender and heredity correlate with conditions of living, environmental factors, different life styles, socio-economic factors, factors related to upbringing, education and culture and functioning of the healthcare and social protection systems. Health is the result of activities that involve many sectors in society, as well as the population as a whole, through individual and collective decisions and actions. It is interesting to note that the direct contribution of medical services, in terms of improvement of the health of the population, is assessed to be about 10%, while the remaining 90% is attributed to other processes¹¹; therefore, cooperation between the healthcare sector and other sectors is very important. According to the Ottawa Declaration, in order to ensure health of the population, one needs to consider the following five areas: quality public policies, environment, community activities, improvement of an individual’s knowledge and skills in the area of public healthcare and refocusing of healthcare services.¹²

The correlation between health, education and the standard of living is obvious. Poverty and social exclusion result in difficulties in approaching healthcare services and particularly the high child mortality rate. On the basis of these facts, the WHO places particularly strong emphasis on focusing healthcare policies on the decrease of exclusion and inequality in health and health protection between different regions as well as between different social groups. For the sake of equality and consistency, the following three components are important in BiH:

- Equal health conditions for all social groups of the population;
- Equal funding of health protection, in line with the needs, both region-wise and within specific social groups; and
- Equality in terms of access to and availability of services provided by healthcare institutions, both in terms of regional coverage and in terms of equal access to all vulnerable groups.

The system of health protection cannot be observed in isolation from the context in which it is situated, such as the demographic, economic, political, legal and legislative, epidemiological, socio-cultural, ecological and technological environment. Just like every country, every

¹⁰ Constitution of the World Health Organization – 1948.

¹¹ Dahlgren G., The Need for Intersectoral Action for Health. The European Health Policy Conference: Opportunities for the Future – WHO Regional Office for Europe, Copenhagen, 5-9. December 1994, p. 18.

¹² WHO, European Health Care Reform. Analysis of Current Strategies. WHO Regional Publication, European Series, No. 72 - Copenhagen, 1997.

healthcare system has its own history which models the path of its development. The analysis of the context determines the political economy of a given healthcare system which impacts the number of persons covered by health insurance.

Table 2. Proportion of the population covered by public health insurance¹³

COUNTRIES	2005	2006	2007	Index (94%=100)
BiH	n.a	81%	n.a	86.29
Croatia	n.a	n.a	97.93%	104.32
Macedonia	n.a	n.a	92.7	98.75
Bulgaria	n.a	n.a	92%	98.01
Romania	84% f; 80%m	n.a	n.a	88.42
Hungary	100	n.a	n.a	106.53
Slovakia	97.6	n.a	n.a	103.97
EU-27	n.a	n.a	n.a	—

Table 3. Total expenditures for health care per capita (US\$ PPP)

COUNTRIES	2005	Index (878\$=100)
BiH	779	88.69
Croatia	1001	113.97
Macedonia	569	64.78
Bulgaria	734	83.57
Romania	507	57.72
Hungary	1329	151.31
Slovakia	1130	128.65
EU-27	2468	280.99

It is evident from the data presented here that the health protection situation in BiH is not satisfactory, both in the country as a whole and in comparison with other countries of the region. The *measures* listed below, which resulted from the analytical process of the development of the SIS, need to be taken into account during the course of defining priorities in this area since implementation of these measures would contribute to overcoming weaknesses noted in the healthcare system:

- Increase health insurance coverage of the population;
- Increase fairness in financing of health protection;
- Establish mechanisms of transfer of rights to health insurance between cantons in the Federation of BiH and between entities;
- Secure additional sources of funding for healthcare services;
- Continue activities on adopting the basic package of rights to healthcare;
- Introduce expanded and voluntary health insurance schemes;

¹³ The joint agreed state level indicator was used for Table 2, while the joint agreed state indicator combined with the comprehensive indicator was used for Table 3.

- Introduce new methods of entering into agreements and paying for healthcare services;
- Continue activities on improving primary health protection;
- Define a network of healthcare institutions, taking into account the specific features of each entity, canton/region, in order to ensure equality as well as accessibility of health protection;
- Strengthen preventative and promotional activities;
- Harmonise the legal framework with EU regulations;
- Establish effective management in the healthcare sector;
- Establish mechanisms for planning the use of human resources in the healthcare sector, in line with the needs of the healthcare system and reform choices;
- Promote and strengthen multi-sector responsibility for health;
- Establish medical data collection at the state level and improve data collection mechanisms at entity and lower levels; and
- Implement measures to counter corruption in the healthcare sector.

3.4. Improvement of Education

Three main pillars that the globalisation, as a foundation of modern economic development, rests upon are information, knowledge and innovation. Development of human potential and reorganisation of education to meet the requirements of an educated society become necessary conditions for every nation or a state that strives to deal with the economic uncertainty, technical innovation and cultural changes.

The main foundations of global development and access to education, which serve as a foundation for all countries in the world, are defined in the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). In this document, access to education is brought into direct correlation with poverty and overall development. United Nations presented Action Plan for Fulfilment of MDGs, which defined global strategy in this area.

Given the fact that BiH aspires to join the EU, it is necessary to note that the EU decided to become “the most competitive and most dynamic knowledge based economy in the world, which is capable of sustainable economic growth, generation of a higher number and better quality of jobs and stronger social cohesion”. Accomplishing this ambitious goal requires “not only radical transformation of the European economy, but also calls for challenging programmes of modernisation of the social welfare and education systems”.

It is not an overstatement to claim that a state will be successful, stable and united only as much as its schools and other educational institutions are. If students, future citizens, acquire education that promotes tolerance, respect of complex European identities and citizen participation in social and public life, as well as the awareness for the necessity of life-long learning, BiH will have far better chances to become stronger both in terms of the economy and democracy. BiH is aware of the fact that the best and most certain way out of the socio-economic crisis is through education, and its development reforms defined education as one of the key goals.

Table 4. Situation in education in Bosnia and Herzegovina¹⁴

Preschool Education	Academic year 2005	Academic year 2006
Total number of preschool institutions	193	197
Total number of children	12,989	13,384
Total number of girls	6,112	6,299
Regular Primary Education	Academic year 2005	Academic year 2006
Total number of schools (eight year and nine year curricula)	1,887	1,888
Total number of students	380,696	374,725
Total number of female students in the total number of students	184,872	182,319
Primary education for children with special educational needs	Academic year 2005	Academic year 2006
Total number of schools for children with special needs	66	64
Total number of students	1,370	1,261
Total number of female students in the total number of students	580	498
Secondary Education	Academic year 2005	Academic year 2006
Total number of secondary schools	303	304
Total number of students	164,743	162,434
Number of female students	81,985	80,976
Number of students who have completed secondary school	44,773	43,363
Higher Education	Academic year 2005	Academic year 2006
Number of institutions of higher education	113	137
Total number of students	84,475	91,201
Number of enrolled full time students	62,233	66,939
Number of enrolled part time students	22,242	24,262
Number of students who have completed higher education	8,127	10,003

The primary goal of educational reform in BiH could be described in two words: *quality and modernisation*. Unfortunately, the reform of education implemented in BiH thus far has not yielded the expected results because separate systems of education are based on the political or religious/cultural division, promoting ethnic division and a lack of trust. As a result of the complicated administrative structures established by the Dayton Peace Accords, education systems, just like other sectors in society, have their own separate legislative and executive roles and unbalanced budgets. This administrative structure has affected the speed and quality of the reform processes in the area of education. Reforms are too slow and inconsistent both in terms of different levels of education and in terms of their quality. In order to make a more rapid and more significant breakthrough in this area, the following principles need to be highlighted constantly: the social and economic dimension of education as the most cost-effective investment; improvement, adaptability and flexibility of the education system; its ability to ensure mobility and quality, based on the model of good practices of EU member states and implementation of life-long learning models. In addition to the key requirement, which is *to increase the speed of implementation of reform processes*, the recommendations of specific priorities and priority activities of the SIS that have been defined

¹⁴ Statistical report of the Agency for Statistics of BiH (Education statistics, Press release no. 1/2007).

thus far and that are of importance for accomplishing the above listed values in the field of education are:

- Create all necessary pre-conditions for improvement of the general level of education, both in the field of education and in the field of training in core competencies;
- Restructure the education system in order to preserve the resources which will be used directly for the purpose of reform and overcoming consequences of poor educational results;
- Increase efficiency of the education system at all levels;
- In the area of secondary education, “move away”, in particular, from three-year vocational programmes;
- Increase the tuition fees charged to students, which should result in the increase of funding available for higher education and have an impact on the efficiency of higher education;
- Improve the quality of primary and secondary education;
- Implement measures which will improve conditions for attendance of higher education programmes and the time required to complete university education;
- Increase the level of awareness of the necessity for life-long learning as a precondition not only to acquiring employment but also to maintaining it;
- Reform public administration; and
- Develop education-related statistics in BiH, in line with EUROSTAT procedures and requirements.

3.5. Improvement of Protection of Persons with Disabilities

One of the groups in the society of Bosnia and Herzegovina which is additionally affected by poverty and social exclusion are *persons with disabilities* (PWDs). A detailed analysis¹⁵ indicated that in BiH, disability increases one's chances of becoming poor by 18% and that, compared with the rest of the population, expenditures made by persons with disabilities for healthcare services are more frequent and higher in terms of the amount; mobility and transport are much more restricted; literacy is lower due to decreased access to education; and employment is more difficult to obtain, due to a number of reasons. In BiH, the rate of discrimination is also high, both between individual groups of persons with disabilities and between persons with disabilities of all ages and the rest of the population. Therefore, disability represents a strong factor contributing to poverty and social exclusion. Positive examples from many EU member states (in particular countries of the Scandinavian region and Slovenia) suggest systematic implementation of measures and introduction of coordination institutions and coordination mechanisms which are in essence, multi-disciplinary and focused on activation rather than on welfare.

EU experiences in terms of legislation and practice in the area of disability are of great importance to BiH. Member states have a responsibility to adapt their local legislation.

¹⁵ Assessment analysis for BiH done by the World Bank on the basis of the LSMS for 2001 (Living Standards Measurement Study): “Persons with Disabilities and Poverty: Results Based on Research on Living Standards Measurement Study in BiH”, S. Tsirunyan, the World Bank, Presented in 2005.

BiH strives to meet all of the requirements set by the EU in this area. In addition, it has a responsibility to act in line with the most important directives in this area. Bearing in mind this aspiration of Bosnia and Herzegovina and bearing in mind one of the key priorities of the authorities of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which relates to the view that economic growth should benefit groups at risk of poverty and that marginalised groups should be enabled to take active part in socio-economic development, the Council of Ministers of BiH, adopted the BiH Disability Policy on 8 May 2008 and supported its orientation to the equalisation of opportunities for persons with disabilities. Equalisation of opportunities for persons with disabilities marks the process through which different systems in society (such as institutions, activities, information and documentation) will become available to everyone, and especially to persons with disabilities. The aim of the BiH Disability Policy is to enable all persons with disabilities to attain the highest quality of living potential, respect and dignity, independence and productivity and equal participation in society in a productive and accessible environment.

In 2007, according to the estimates detailed in the records of relevant entity ministries, the following data on the number of persons with disabilities was provided¹⁶:

- **Number of disabled veterans:** in the FBiH 45,327 persons; in the RS 38,246 persons.
- **Number of Civilian War Victims:** in the FBiH there are a total of 9,298 persons entitled to assistance, 4,197 of whom are recipients of personal disability benefits, 325 of whom are recipients of personal monetary benefits (victims of sexual assault and abuse) and 4,776 of whom are recipients of family disability benefits; in the RS there are 1,858 persons in this category.
- **Civilians with Disabilities:** in the FBiH, a total of 36,516 persons are entitled to assistance; in the RS a total of 24,400 persons.
- Associations of persons with disabilities in BiH believe that the number of persons with disabilities was 165,000 in November 2007. They believe that due to changes of legislation (especially in the FBiH) that enabled wider coverage, the number increased to about 250,000 in 2008.

In terms of the economic position of persons with disabilities or the households in which PWDs live, the results indicate that disability is a very strong factor that determines their economic position¹⁷:

Table 5. Poverty conditions among households

LSMS 2001	Households with PWDs	Other households
Poverty situation	23%	19%
Depth of poverty	5.9 %	4.3%
Decline of poverty	26%	23%

¹⁶ Support to Disability Policy Development Project, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of BiH and Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Finland, "2007 Annual Report", p. 21.

¹⁷ "Disability and Poverty in BiH", World Bank and the IC "Lotos", 2006. Data used from LSMS for 2001.

Within the mid-term framework of expenditures for the period between 2006 and 2008, the total consolidated expenditures for social welfare and protection in 2007, in the FBiH, were planned in the total amount of 1,565,100 KM or 14.1% of the GDP, and for 2008, they were planned in the total amount of 1,682,500 KM. The budget expenditure limit for social welfare expenditures from the budget of the FBiH was set to 446.5 million KM in 2006, which represents an increase of 31.5% compared to 2005. This increase resulted from the introduction of child allowance, benefits for civilian war victims, benefits for persons with disabilities not related to the war and recipients of special war-time decorations.

Transfers in the social sector in Republika Srpska, presented as a percentage of the GDP, are below the average in the region and it needs to be noted that pensions represent almost half of the entire amount disbursed, while benefits for veterans of war represent most of the remainder of the total amount disbursed. Transfers to persons include transfers to soldiers and veterans of war, benefits for their families, transfers to disabled civilians as well as transfers for refugees and displaced persons. During the period between 2006 and 2008, estimates of what would be required for this purpose ranged between 136.6 million KM, which is 9.7% of the total budget, or 3% of the GDP in 2006, to 132.6 million KM, which is 8.6% of the total budget, or 2.6% of the GDP in 2008. Disbursements made in the RS for this purpose have a decreasing trend in the absolute amount, which is the result of a decrease in disbursements to refugees and displaced persons.

The main weaknesses noted so far in the area of protection of persons with disabilities are:

1. The legal framework is not implemented to a sufficient degree and rights of PWDs to benefits are not consistent;
2. The procedure of evaluating the level of disability is inconsistent;
3. There are differences in coverage resulting from the origin of disability;
4. Programmes and budgets of governments are not sensitive to the needs of PWDs;
5. The society and service providers are not sensitive to the needs of PWDs;
6. A lack of gender sensitive indicators and databases;
7. A disorganised educational system and lack of educational programmes tailored to PWDs;
8. A lack of new technologies and knowledge in the process of education of PWDs;
9. A lack of appropriate support services;
10. An inadequate representation of PWDs in government institutions;
11. A poor coordination among different stakeholders;
12. Inconsistent capacities of umbrella and local organisations of PWDs; and
13. Rights of PWDs are only included in the social category.

Measures that could have a positive impact on the improvement of social inclusion of persons with disabilities have been harmonised. The number of harmonised measures is substantial, but they could be grouped into the following categories that will need to receive special attention in the text of the SIS:

- Improvement of the process of identification, registration and record-keeping;
- Reallocation of funding and benefits;
- Increase of the employment rate of persons with disabilities;

- Improvement of inclusion of persons with disabilities; and
- Social and health protection.

3.6. Employment and Social Policies

In its publication entitled: “Lisbon Review 2008”, the World Economic Forum (WEF) published an index according to which EU member states, countries of the Western Balkans Region and countries of Central Asia were ranked in terms of 8 indexes used to measure the success with which countries implemented the Lisbon goals. Among the original EU member states, (and certainly also among the 27 present EU member states), by far the best result in the area of social inclusion was accomplished by countries of the Scandinavian region, namely Denmark, Finland and Sweden, while Italy (ranked 25th of 27) and Greece accomplished the poorest result. Among new member states, the best result was accomplished by Cyprus (ranked 8th), Malta (ranked 11th), the Czech Republic (ranked 12th) and Slovenia (ranked 16th).

However, to be able to understand how far behind the EU standard BiH is in terms of social inclusion, the WEF analysed BiH within the group of countries of Central Asia and Western Balkans and ranked it last. Countries that performed somewhat better compared to BiH are Macedonia, Turkey, Kirgizstan, Serbia and Albania.

In terms of employment, BiH is significantly behind EU member states and also behind countries with EU candidacy status. The rate of employment in BiH, as recorded in 2007, totalled 31.2%¹⁸, which is one of the lowest rates in the region and more than two times lower than the rate noted in European Community member states (the average of EU-27 for the same year is 65.4%)¹⁹. Differences between entities in the rate of employment are as follows: the rate of employment in the RS is 3.7% higher than the BiH average.

Table 6: Rate of Employment in BiH by Entity²⁰

	BiH			FBiH			RS			BD BiH		
	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F
2006	29.7	39.9	20.0	29.1	40.3	18.8	30.9	39.6	22.7	23.7	33.7	14.0
2007	31.2	42.3	20.8	29.2	40.9	18.3	35.1	45.4	25.4	23.4	30.6	16.4
2008	33.6	44.9	23.1	31.8	43.3	21.1	37.3	48.0	27.2	25.1	34.9	15.6

Some of the basic features of the labour market in Bosnia and Herzegovina are:

- That the formal sector employs a workforce with long-term work experience, while younger workers have difficulty accessing jobs in this sector;
- The true rate of unemployment is much lower than the recorded rate of unemployment;
- The so-called “black” labour market is present to a substantial degree;

¹⁸ ARS 2007: Agency for Statistics of BiH

¹⁹ Eurostat

²⁰ Source: GEA BH 2006/2007/2008 (preliminary data for 2008).

- Participation of women in the workforce is among the lowest in the region, but there is no substantial difference between the salary earned by men compared to the amount earned by women;
- Creation of new jobs and redistribution of jobs is limited, as is the mobility and flexibility of the workforce;
- High taxes and difficulties in receiving loans are evident, which, when combined with other administrative barriers, hampers development of entrepreneurship;
- Most companies do not register the full amount of salaries paid to employees, due to high rates of payroll taxes; and
- The private sector is much more dynamic in terms of generating new jobs.

If BiH was to come closer to the lowest rate of employment in the EU (Malta 55.7%), taking into consideration the number of unemployed persons registered in 2007 (347,000)²¹, the number of inactive persons (1.5 million) as well as the current rate of employment in BiH of 29%, it would have to double its rate of employment by creating an additional 318,000 jobs. For such a long-term goal, BiH should put stronger emphasis on education policies (primarily in the area of secondary education), develop different forms of formal and informal education which would enable faster retraining and easier integration in the labour market, support development of entrepreneurship and re-focus in order to turn social expenditures into social investments.

Analysis of the existing local policies in the area of social protection points to the fact that the system of social protection in BiH could be assessed as extremely inefficient due to the lack of focus on individual needs of beneficiaries, a poor level of development of the system, insufficient capacities of centres for social work, non-existence of a single social policy or single set of standards and criteria.

The social protection system in both entities in BiH is not satisfactory because it is currently characterised both by the fact that the majority of the population is vulnerable and the fact that social conditions keep deteriorating, which causes a constant increase in the number of persons requesting social assistance (refugees, non-civilian war victims, returnees, demobilised soldiers, etc.), a failure to exercise the rights granted under the law as well as poor networking of stakeholders in the social protection system at municipal and entity levels in the RS. The financing of different forms of social and child protection in Cantons in the FBiH is marked by serious difficulties, due to insufficient resources available to Cantonal budgets.

In terms of creating an active *labour market* focused on strengthening inclusion, it is necessary to undertake the following *measures*:²²

- Promote direct foreign investment by improving the business environment;
- Expand, network and make use of local savings through the improvement of the local banking system and development of key markets that are absent (commercial leasing, for instance);
- Focus on the creation of new jobs through selective incentives (tax cuts and other forms of incentives) and key public investments;

²¹ GEA BiH, 2007.

²² See SWOT matrix and NHDR 2007, *ibid*.

- Ensure higher and better quality investments in human resources;
- Provide assistance in pursuit of employment and prevent long-term unemployment;
- Provide support to entrepreneurs and create a favourable environment for business start-up;
- Promote abilities to adapt to constant changes, both among employees and among employers;
- Ensure higher and better quality investments in human resources (for instance, through life-long learning);
- Increase opportunities for employment and provide support to active “third age” category;
- Provide support to gender equality in terms of employment and wage amounts;
- Fight discrimination, especially discrimination against vulnerable categories;
- Close the “income trap” and promote financial incentives in order to decrease inactivity and dependency on social welfare;
- Decrease the size of the informal labour market through provision of support to the transition from the informal to formal sector, including measures such as simplified basic registration of small businesses;
- Ensure support in order to enable geographic mobility of the qualified workforce; and
- Reduce barriers between regional labour markets.

In addition, it is necessary to create *specialised measures* tailored to particularly vulnerable categories, specifically:

- Persons with disabilities;
- Ethnic minorities, including Roma; and
- Young persons.

To develop a truly inclusive system of *social protection* in BiH, it is necessary to reform the very concept of the policy in this area. Social policy has to be based on individual needs of beneficiaries and non-institutional social protection service providers; networks of services and roles of the social system need to be expanded. Partnership with beneficiaries sets a foundation for this approach, because beneficiaries are turned into subjects of support provided by the society involved in addressing their own needs. This approach shifts the focus from payment of social welfare to social inclusion, which implies better assessment of true needs and testing of potential beneficiaries. What is important about this approach is the role of civil society organisations, given the fact they are more capable of providing a larger number of services than public institutions.

Special steps of the specific inclusive reform are:

- Reform of the entire social sector, particularly labour and employment, and pension and disability insurance;
- Reform of social services which leads to a decrease in the number of beneficiaries and provision of support to their reintegration in the workforce (establishment of medical assessment institutes, development of a database of all persons with disabilities);

- Social protection needs to be adapted to ensure it includes the most vulnerable categories of the population and ensures equal rights for all beneficiaries in need of assistance;
- Improve efficiency of social services through organised changes, taking into consideration norms, standards and simplification of procedures in centres for social work, in line with international standards;
- In the area of social policy development, experiences of social services which initiated reform processes need to be taken into account; and
- It is necessary to work at the municipal level as well, where most of the support to individuals is provided through centres for social work.

4. ROLE OF NON-GOVERNMENTAL SECTOR IN STRENGTHENING OF SOCIAL INCLUSION

4.1. Support of the Non-governmental Sector to Monitoring and Implementation of the Mid-Term Development Strategy of BiH

One of the key factors that affect the development of quality strategic documents and successful implementation of measures and activities detailed in action plans stemming from these documents, both past and present ones, is reflected in *public participation and participatory planning*. The main precondition for public participation or involvement of citizens, that is the community, in the decision-making systems, is a developed democratic structure. The process of establishing a democratic structure in a society is the process of establishing a civil society and the process of establishing its foundation, which consists of democracy, the rule of law, protection of fundamental human rights, a multi-party system, equality of citizens, freedom of the media, etc. Participatory planning is the process of decision-making and problem solving which includes individuals and groups representing different interests, expertise and points of view, which act for the benefit of all those affected by their decisions and actions. Through public participation, the majority of citizens become “owners” of the accomplishments made; therefore they safeguard them and take care of them. Plans and strategies of development that the community participates in developing, have much better chances of success.

The role of the non-governmental (NGO) sector in this area can be observed at several levels, but it is important to highlight that, to be able to respond to community needs in fulfilling their mission and implementing their programmes, these organisations must cooperate with:

- State administration at all levels;
- The business sector; and
- The media.

This cooperation could open a window of opportunity and enable NGOs to receive affirmation and at the same time continue monitoring the efficiency, transparency and

accountability of the state administration, enabling recruitment of potential associates and volunteers and identification of potential sources of funding.

In BiH, the Medium Term Development Strategy for 2004 – 2007 (MTDS BiH) recognised, and the revision of the document confirmed, that the non-governmental sector should play an important role in strategic planning, implementation and monitoring of development policy measures. In practice, this participation implies cooperation between NGOs and state institutions in the consultation process and involvement of non-governmental and other organisations, as well as involvement of other experts, trade union representatives, young persons and private sector representatives in all phases of the development process.

At the level of individual sectors, during the course of the MTDS process, a group of non-governmental organisations monitored the implementation of policies in the area of social protection, education and environmental protection. Through their work with beneficiaries, they obtained information on problems noted in the implementation of sector policies.²³ As a result of these activities, communities in which NGOs involved in these processes worked were more successful in what is generally a slow process of resolution of problems in these areas, compared with communities in which these activities were not implemented or were implemented to a much more limited degree.

In order to improve cooperation between the government and non-governmental sector in BiH, civil society organisations proposed the following:

- Establishment of mechanisms that will ensure that dialogue is maintained between the legislative and executive branches of the government and civil society stakeholders with appropriate changes to rules of procedure.
- Review of possibilities for the establishment of a legal framework that would enable participation of non-governmental organisations in tenders for implementing social or educational programmes, etc.
- Consideration for the establishment of a legal framework and specific solutions, to ensure that civil society stakeholders could play the role of an independent monitor, with the simultaneous establishment of mechanisms within government bodies, which would be trained in collecting, analysing and processing the information they generate, as well as information on the impact on the population or a particular group within the population.
- Ensure transparent operation of the government, with the requirement to consistently implement the provisions of the Law on Freedom of Access to Information, as well as other laws that mandate the transparency of work.

4.2. Importance of the Non-governmental Sector for Social Inclusion

All efforts and suggestions made by NGOs have caused government institutions to recognise non-governmental organisations as a foundation for the development of democratic principles and as an important factor in developing society in different areas of social,

²³ Report of non-governmental organisations on the course of implementation of the BiH Development Strategy in the area of education, social protection and environment, ICVA January 2005.

economic, cultural and political life, but also to accept them as a sound partner in such cooperation. Although the state does not have the capacities to respond to all needs of citizens and always provide efficient and quality services, especially to socially vulnerable categories of the population, certain progress has been made over the past six years since NGOs became actively involved in the process of strategic planning at the state level, in mutual understanding and cooperation between the government and non-governmental sector, in addition to the progress noted in the legal framework, institutional support and cooperation. This development of events provided a good foundation for the adequate involvement of NGOs in the process of developing and implementing new strategic documents (the CDS and SIS) and even more active participation in alleviating and overcoming problems of social exclusion.

From the perspective of social inclusion, the institutions of the non-governmental sector have many important functions that could be grouped into the following categories²⁴:

- Creating space for mobilising and articulating interests of individuals and groups;
- Ensuring institutional means for mediation between conflicting interests and social values;
- Providing opportunities for expressing and practicing social, religious and cultural beliefs and activities;
- Creating possibilities for limiting the tendency of the state to expand its control; and
- Limiting the potential of businesses to operate without control.

In order to be able to fully understand the vast importance of NGOs to social inclusion, in addition to what has already been said, it is necessary to take into consideration the results of the international comparative analysis prepared by the John Hopkins Institute. The analysis represents an attempt to bring to light the vast attention that non-governmental organisations attracted over the past several years. According to this analysis, there are two main reasons for this: the first is that the crisis of the state occurred across the world and the other is that recently, the neoliberal view that social problems are best resolved within the market economy has been brought into question. As a result, political leaders of many states tried to come up with a new way to move forward, in order to establish a connection between efficient market coordination and advantages of social protection in civil society. This helped non-governmental organisations to surface as partners in identifying a solution between the exclusive reliance on the market on the one hand and exclusive reliance on the state on the other. The project of the Johns Hopkins Institute involved 22 countries. The project commenced in 1990. It is important to note that the report of Lester Salamon from 1999, based on the second phase of the project covering the period between 1995 and 1999, also has great significance. The results of this report can be summarised in the following views:

1. The non-governmental (non-profit) sector is becoming one of the most important economic forces;
2. There are substantial variances between different countries and different regions;
3. The non-governmental sector is dominated by social services;

²⁴ Address on the subject of the “place and role of non-governmental organisations in development of civil society” by Milan Milošević.

4. The majority of income originates from taxes and from the state sector, rather than from philanthropists; and
5. The non-profit sector is the biggest generator of employment.

It is reasonable to expect that implementation of reforms and strengthening of our society and economy would lead to a similar situation our country as well. The place and role of different forms of organisation in civil society need to be strengthened in this area if we want to become part of the community of modern states, which we certainly do, since membership in the family of modern societies implies the ability to create a higher quality of living in different areas of our lives, at work, at home, during moments of recreation... all of which implies social inclusion.

5. THE ROLE OF THE SOCIAL INCLUSION FOUNDATION IN IMPLEMENTING THE SOCIAL INCLUSION STRATEGY

One of the important problems in the operation and development of a large number of NGOs is the problem of sustainability, due to the system of funding provided through two-year or three-year projects in most cases. In addition, donor organisations, which represent the most significant financial and professional mechanism of support to activities of the non-governmental sector in BiH are also changing their strategic approach which was dominated by a relationship in which a certain international institution supported activities of a certain NGO. According to the new approach, donor institutions, in line with their strategic goals, aim to combine their funding in order to be able to sponsor projects of the non-governmental sector that aim to support this phase in the development of BiH. The Social Inclusion Foundation is conceived as an organisation that will join donor funding and provide implementation of the Social Inclusion Strategy by selecting the best NGO projects to support. Local institutions, together with representatives of donors, need to take part in the assessment of projects of importance to reform processes, in this particular case in the social sector, and select NGOs that should be supported, to be able to implement projects they submit to the Foundation for funding. This approach will fully promote implementation of the values of the Paris Declaration, while a combination of financial resources of a large group of donors will create preconditions for the establishment of a source of funding which will be capable of supporting more demanding reform processes that will last, if necessary, throughout the entire period of implementation of the Social Inclusion Strategy. An important aspect of such an approach is transparency of implementation of processes supported by the donor community as well as the division of responsibilities among participants, international and local alike, for expending funds from these sources. This approach should support the participation of NGOs from small communities in which information on possibilities for application, due to language barriers and IT communication constraints, was often not available. The aspect of capacity building in the area of project proposal development and application for funding is also not to be ignored. In addition to the information noted above, the important role of this Foundation is also reflected in the support to the development and strengthening of the role of the non-governmental sector

in addressing the issue of social inclusion and strengthening of partnership between the public and non-governmental sector.

The establishment of institutional mechanisms of cooperation between the government and civil society²⁵ serves the function of *continuity and sustainability* of this cooperation; it strengthens *partnership* between the government and civil society and builds its *capacities*. The establishment of partnership and building capacities of civil society is important for the government for several reasons: 1) *The role of civil society in modern democracies and the European Union* (civil society organisations enable citizens to keep articulating, defending and advocating their legitimate interests in the public and political life, not just during elections); 2) *the disburdening of the state apparatus* (provision of social and other services by civil society organisations in order to create a less expensive and better system of social protection (important role of civil society organisations in almost all social areas); 3) *the role of civil society in the process of European integration*.

Civil society is playing, or better yet, should be playing an important role in the process of *European integration* of countries of the *Western Balkans*. A total of *11,467 billion Euros* is made available over the period of seven years within the new *Instrument for Pre-accession Assistance* for these countries (*IPA Programme*). What *IPA* introduces as a *novelty* compared to previously available pre-accession instruments for assistance, is substantially *higher state participation* in programming and proposing project priorities and assuming responsibility by the state for their implementation. This will require the mobilisation of *all available resources*, including those available to *civil society*. To that end, *the Progress Report on Western Balkans Countries*, which the European Commission published in March 2008, points to the *importance of civil society in the process of comprehensive reform* in these countries and *necessity of creating* appropriate *institutional conditions* for the development and operation of civil society organisations.

The Foundation, which represents an institutional mechanisms which, at least at the beginning, organisationally speaking, falls somewhere “in between the government and the non-governmental sector” needs to create preconditions for the empowerment and future establishment of institutional mechanisms of cooperation between governments and civil society. Since the Foundation needs to support implementation of the SIS, its role, if its operation is organised appropriately, could become an important factor of support to reform processes in this area, through implementation of projects and programmes for overcoming and alleviating problems of social exclusion in BiH.

²⁵ Institutional mechanism of cooperation between the government and civil society – Draft.

STRENGTHENING SOCIAL INCLUSION AND NGOS – THE ROLE OF THE NGO SOCIAL INCLUSION FOUNDATION –

INTRODUCTION

This paper¹ is structured in two parts. Part One provides a short overview of the scope and characteristics of the social situation in BiH, especially of social exclusion in Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH); the analysis of the non-governmental (NGO) sector in BiH and the possible roles that civil society organisations in BiH may have when it comes to identifying those considered to be ‘falling out of society mainstream’ as well as in the prevention and reduction of the social exclusion causes and effects and the analysis of the NGO sector in Bosnia and Herzegovina. In the second part, the *Paper* provides a framework for the establishment of a specific mechanism, the NGO Social Inclusion Foundation (NGO SIF), with the aim to facilitate the process of strengthening the involvement of civil society organisations in combating social exclusion, in addition to ensuring the effective implementation of the BiH Social Inclusion Strategy (BiH SIS). The process of profiling the Initiative for establishment of the NGO SIF has, so far, included numerous debates with stakeholders from all sectors, namely the governmental, non-governmental, public and private sectors.

PART I BACKGROUND INFORMATION

1. SOCIAL SITUATION IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

Half of the BiH population is considered to be living in some form of social exclusion (the social exclusion index for BiH in 2006 was 50.32%), 22% of the population is considered as “extremely socially excluded”. In 2004, 17.8% of the BiH population (or 681,000 citizens) lived below the general poverty line. The percentage of the population at high risk from becoming poor is estimated at 30%.

Social inclusion is the basis of the social policies concept in European Union (EU) countries as well as of their joint coordination at the EU level. It is an obligation of the countries that

¹ Ana Abdelbasit, Dženan Trbić and Ranka Ninković-Papić contributed to the preparation of this paper for which I owe them a great debt of gratitude.

are in the process of integrating into the EU to harmonise their policies with this concept. Apart from that, the problem of social exclusion in BiH, as we will see in this text, is rather large and as such it demands development and implementation of adequate policies.

Social inclusion is a process which provides persons that are at risk of poverty and social exclusion with opportunities and resources necessary to fully participate in economic, social and cultural life and to enjoy standards of living and wellbeing that are the norm in their society. This implies their having greater participation in decision making processes that influence their life, and access to fundamental rights.

Social exclusion is a wider term than poverty. It represents a process in which certain groups are placed at the margins of society and prevented from full participation due to their poverty, insufficient education, life skills, or as a consequence of discrimination. It is also about the lack of access to proper housing, facilitation of specific needs derived from different abilities, basic modern infrastructure, transport, information technology (IT), etc. This reduces their chance to gain employment, have a salary and reduces opportunities for education, as well as social linking and participation in activities within the community. The groups have little opportunity to access decision making bodies; they are often powerless and without opportunities to influence decisions that affect their daily life. The Department for International Development of the United Kingdom (DFID UK) defines social exclusion as follows: "Social exclusion describes process by which certain groups are systematically disadvantaged because they are discriminated against on the basis of ethnicity, race, religion or sexual orientation, cast, 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." The EU conceives exclusion as distinct from income poverty, lately understood as distributional outcome, whereas exclusion is a relation process of declining participation, solidarity and access.

Poverty: People live in poverty if their incomes and resources are insofar insufficient and prevent them from having a living standard which is deemed acceptable in the society where they live. Due to their poverty, they can experience all sorts of adversities such as, unemployment, low income, poor housing, inadequate medical care and obstacles in education, culture, sport and recreation. Quite often they are marginalised and excluded from participation in different activities (economic, cultural and social) that are standard for other people; their access to fundamental human rights could be limited. Poverty is also defined as deprivation, lack of access, exclusion, destitution (EU Council, Joint Report of the Commission and Council on Social Inclusion, 5 March, 2005, Brussels).

Analysing the processes of social exclusion and multiple deprivations is directed towards the relationship between poverty and social exclusion, as well as between human rights and exclusion. In the first case, poverty is a determinant and an outcome of social exclusion, therefore, the relationship is two-sided. In the second case, exclusion represents a form of rights denial. Understanding these links offers solutions for breaking out of the vicious circle in which the excluded are often caught.

The methodology for calculating the social inclusion index has been developed for the first time in BiH in the National Human Development Report on Social Inclusion Report published by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP).² The previously mentioned definition of social exclusion describes this phenomenon in terms of interdependency between poverty, long-term unemployment, social isolation and education. In an attempt to analyse social exclusion, a somewhat wider approach has been adopted that established interdependence between the following factors: living standard, health, education, participation in society and access to services.³

Data on Social Exclusion (2006)

Based on a survey conducted in 2006 on a representative sample and other estimations, the General Social Exclusion Index for the year 2006 has been calculated at 50.32. This suggests that half of the BiH population is in some way excluded from society. It is interesting to note that there are no significant differences between the urban and rural population, which calls into question the various stereotypes of social exclusion itself. Also, there are no major differences between the Federation of BiH (FBiH) (51.01) and Republika Srpska (RS) (49.50).

The Extreme Social Exclusion Index in BiH for 2006 is estimated at 21.85, which means that about 22% of the BiH population can be described as 'extremely socially excluded'. Differences between the FBiH (24.53) and RS (20.01) are visible, as well as between the urban (19.75) and rural (23.57) populations. Expressed in percentages, the rural population is 19% more extremely socially excluded than the urban population.

The Long-term Social Exclusion Index has also been calculated. It differs from other indexes in that it measures the segment of the BiH population that is at risk from long-term exclusion, the cause of which is lack of opportunities for self-improvement. Being employed but still facing great insecurity and lack of opportunities can lead to future long-term exclusion. The value of this index for BiH in 2006 was 47.31, i.e. 47.31% of people in BiH who are employed are at risk of staying in the long-term socially excluded bracket. There are no major differences between the rural (47.14) and urban (47.54) populations in this sense, nor between the entities (FBiH 47.14 and RS 47.32).

During the last decade following the war, BiH has faced a large increase in the number of socially excluded persons. The existing state is a risk because it can damage the already weak social cohesion. It is necessary to act so that the problems of a growing number of marginalised individuals or groups who are entirely excluded from every-day life of the community can be solved.

² For more detail see: UNDP/IBHI "National Human Development Report 2007 – Social Inclusion in Bosnia and Herzegovina", Sarajevo 2007.

³ Seven proxy indicators were used: for living standards: 1) the population below the income poverty line, and 2) long-term unemployment; for health: 3) those without health insurance; for education: 4) those over 15 years who did not complete primary school; for participation in society: 5) those who do not vote in elections and 6) do not participate in organised social activities; for access to services: 7) households without a telephone.

Data on Poverty (2007)

According to the latest data from the BiH Household Budget Survey for 2007⁴, 18.6% of the BiH population (or 639,781 citizens) lived below the general poverty line (FBiH – 17.39%; RS – 20.23%; Brcko District of BiH (BD BiH) – 25.3%). This is a reduction compared to the situation in 2001 when the aforementioned percentage was 19.5% and a slight increase compared to the situation in 2004 when that percentage was 17.8%.

The poverty rate varies depending on the age of the household head. Three age groups: 35-49, 50-64 and “above 64” have the following respective poverty rates: 29.6%, 32% and 30.4%. The largest poverty rate is present in the category of young adults (especially in the FBiH) and the category of oldest citizens (especially in the RS).

Poverty increases with an increase in the number of children in the household. The poverty rate in households with two children is 30.7% (FBiH – 30.8%; RS – 29.8% and BD BiH – 36.8%) while in households with three or more children in BiH, the rate reaches 43% (in FBiH – 41.4%, in RS – 46.2% and in BD BiH – 51.9%).

The poverty rate based on the current activity status of the household head shows the following: in BiH, 16.4% of those employed are poor (FBiH – 16.38%; RS – 15.99% and BD BiH – 25.66%); 26.76% of those that are unemployed (FBiH – 25.86; RS – 27.61% and BD BiH – 31.15%); and 35.15% of those that are unable to work, for BiH (FBiH – 30.28%; RS – 39.98% and BD BiH – 25.20%).

It is important to point out that 16.4% of employed people are poor and that by far the largest percentage of the poor falls within the category of people that are unable to work, that is, persons with disabilities.

Poverty is directly related to the education level of the household head; of people without education in BiH, 31.1% are poor (in FBiH – 30.20%; RS – 38.39% and BD BiH – 19.6%); of those with elementary education, 24.17% are poor (FBiH – 24.1%; RS – 23.77% and BD BiH – 32.21%); 15.45% of people with secondary education are poor (FBiH – 14.74%; RS – 16.4% and BD BiH – 23.33%); with higher education, 3.23% are poor (FBiH – 3.14%; RS – 3.33% and BD BiH – 4.09%).

Previous data shows that the following groups are the poorest:

- families with more than 2 children;
- the elderly;
- persons unable to work, that is, persons with disabilities;
- unemployed; and
- persons with a low education level.

The survey has also shown that poverty is most persistent in agriculture (25.26%), industry (20.95%) and construction (26.48%).

⁴ See Agency for Statistics of BiH, Federal Office of Statistics, Republika Srpska Institute for Statistics, “The BiH Household Budget Survey 2007: Poverty and Living Conditions”, Sarajevo, December 2008

An important part of poverty analysis is inequalities: the poor in BiH (almost 20% of the population) are responsible for only 7.2% of the total consumption expenditure, and the richest 20% consume more than 39% of total expenditures.

When estimating the poverty level in BiH, we must keep in mind the significant number of the population at risk from rapidly falling below the general poverty line, above all, workers in the informal sector and their families. The percentage of the population at high risk from becoming poor is estimated at 22.9% (789,385 citizens).⁵

This means that 41.5% of the population is below the general poverty line or very close to becoming poor (1,429,166 citizens).

It is very important to analyse poverty in BiH from the standpoint of causes of poverty. This mostly concerns “the new poverty”, which has increased in comparison to the pre-war situation, and which mostly struck the former middle class because of the consequences of war and transition. For this reason, the public perception of poverty is more heightened than in the traditionally poor countries.

An important point in focusing BiH authorities and international donors on social inclusion and poverty was the Conference on Social Inclusion, which was organised by UNDP, DFID, the Directorate for Economic Planning of BiH (DEP BiH), the European Commission in BiH, and the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation (SDC) in Sarajevo on November 28-29, 2006.

2. HARMONISING SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT WITH EU STANDARDS

Harmonisation with EU standards in social development will require a reform of social policies – from passive social protection towards active social inclusion. The process of stabilisation and accession will require Bosnia and Herzegovina to utilise EU methods of social development planning and harmonisation with common objectives.

The EU Stabilisation and Association process presents the basis for strengthening social inclusion in BiH, not only because of the need for EU standards to be implemented within the context of social exclusion and policies for its reduction, but also because it reflects the importance of reforming the constitutional, institutional and legal structure of the country to one that promotes and creates general conditions for social inclusion.

Part of the situation we are analysing also concerns the mechanisms and standards of the EU in introducing social inclusion policies, which are the next steps on BiH's road to EU integration.

During 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 integration of the term ‘social exclusion’ in the preamble of the European Social Charter (1989) and its amendment (1996), when a new Right was introduced, namely the ‘Right to protection against poverty and social exclusion’.

⁵ see HBS (ibid)

At the Lisbon European Council in March 2000, a joint vision was formulated of a community as the most competitive and most dynamic economy based on knowledge, placing the focus on growth and employment. The instrument for implementation of social dimensions of the Lisbon objectives is supported through the European social agenda and Strategy for the fight against social exclusion by using the ‘Open Method of Coordination’ which includes five key elements: common objectives; National Action Plans on Social Inclusion (NAPs), Joint Inclusion Memoranda (JIMs); joint reports on social inclusion; commonly agreed social exclusion indicators (Laeken Indicators); and exchange of lessons learned. The Nice Council Summit held in December 2000 adopted common objectives in the fight against social exclusion and poverty.

The common objectives of the EU’s Social Inclusion Strategy are:

1. To promote participation in employment and access to all goods, services, resources and rights;
2. To prevent social exclusion;
3. To support the most vulnerable;
4. To mobilise all relevant bodies.⁶

Even though based on a common goal, policies of EU member states are slightly diverse, therefore some of them closely focus on the labour market and social safety nets while others encompass a far broader field, depending on their inner political and institutional setups as well as on the nature of the issues to be addressed.

National Action Plans on Social Inclusion, or NAPs/incl, are the main channels through which EU member states realise the jointly agreed objectives. They analyse the nature and extent of poverty and social exclusion, identify major trends and challenges, and subsequently outline detailed policy measures planned. The Joint Inclusion Memorandum precedes the NAPs/incl process for acceding or candidate countries prior to their EU membership. JIMs analyse the situation of social exclusion, identify key challenges, review the effectiveness of existing policies and identify key priorities for the future.

The JIM process intends to prepare acceding and candidate countries for participation in the OMC following accession. The process also intends to build statistical capacities for monitoring poverty and social exclusion. The JIM process is mandatory for all acceding countries.

The social inclusion indicators are known as the ‘Laeken Indicators’. They encompass three levels: (1) ten primary indicators of financial poverty and material deprivation, employment, healthcare and education; (2) secondary indicators, which are complementary to the primary set of indicators, but elaborate them in greater detail; and (3) indicators which member states

⁶ It must also be kept in mind that the overarching objectives of the Open Method of Coordination (OMC) for social protection and social inclusion are: a) social cohesion, equality between men and women and equal opportunities for all through adequate, accessible, financially sustainable, adaptable and efficient social protection systems and social inclusion policies; (b) effective and mutual interaction between the Lisbon objectives of greater economic growth, more and better jobs and greater social cohesion, and with the EU’s Sustainable Development Strategy; (c) good governance, transparency and the involvement of stakeholders in the design, implementation and monitoring of policy. For more details visit: http://ec.europa.eu/employment_social/spsi/common_objectives_en.htm

themselves decide to include in their NAPs/incl, and which assist them in reinterpreting the primary and secondary indicators and/or in illuminating the specifics of individual areas.

After signing the Stabilisation and Association Agreement (SAA), BiH will, in accordance with the Instrument for Pre-Accession Assistance (IPA), have opportunities to receive support for social inclusion strengthening in the context of developing human potential in order to strengthen economic and social cohesion in areas of employment, education and training and social inclusion.⁷ At the same time, improvements in those areas are preconditions for acquiring candidate status. With this status, BiH will be obligated to prepare the JIM, harmonise it and sign it with the European Union. In this context, the preparation of the BiH Social Inclusion Strategy and its implementation are very important steps forward and will signify the reform of the social sector. Harmonising the laws, policies and practices of BiH with those of the EU will be a serious and difficult process. The sooner it begins, the easier and more efficient it will be.⁸

3. THE BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA SOCIAL INCLUSION STRATEGY

Preparation and adoption of the Social Inclusion Strategy 2008-2013 is an important step in the harmonisation of social development in BiH with EU standards. Implementation of the SIS will require a strong role of NGOs, their coordinated development and improved focus, especially on vulnerable groups.

The BiH Medium-Term Development Strategy (MTDS/PRSP) 2004-2007 was the first development document of its type in BiH, and its implementation was completed at the end of 2007. NGOs were only included in the monitoring of the implementation of PRSP, but not during the drafting phase, or its implementation.

BiH authorities decided to begin preparing, for the period 2008-2013, two complementary strategic documents, the BiH Country Development Strategy (CDS) and the Social Inclusion Strategy. Preparation of the two documents is coordinated by DEP BiH and currently in progress, and NGOs are involved in the consulting process as well. Through the engagement of its experts, the International Bureau for Humanitarian Issues (IBHI) is directly involved in the preparation of the SIS.

Considering the character of the social inclusion concept, it is clear that the SIS cannot be successfully implemented without the inclusion of NGOs in its implementation. The SIS is a State document, but it will be implemented on all levels of authority in BiH (entities are responsible for social policy, employment, education, etc., where the jurisdiction of the

⁷ See Commission Regulation (EC) No 718/2007 (12 June 2007) implementing Council Regulation (EC) No 1085/2006 establishing an Instrument for Pre-accession Assistance (IPA), Article 151.

⁸ DEP BiH, with DFID support, launched the process of improving social policy governance in 2006/2007. The FBiH, RS and BD BiH governments formed Social Policy Advisory Groups (SPAGs) which are complementary with the EU Open Coordination Model.

State of BiH is minimal or absent). At the same time, strengthening of social inclusion is not possible without inclusion of all citizens, especially vulnerable groups, in the process of decision-making and policy development as well as in policy implementation. In that context, the role of NGOs, their strengthening and focusing on social inclusion has great significance. In that context, DEP BiH has been actively involved in the development of the concept from the beginning of the process of establishing the Foundation for support to NGOs in strengthening social inclusion. On the other hand, at SWOT analysis workshops for the preparation of the SIS 2008-2013 held on July 21, 2008 in Sarajevo and organised by DEP BiH, among the rest, two conclusions were adopted as important opportunities for the implementation of the SIS:

- “Inclusion of NGOs in solving the social exclusion problem.”
- “Strengthening cooperation between government institutions and NGOs. This requires systematic support from government institutions for NGOs such as a the Foundation for Social Inclusion.”

In the continuation of the preparation process for the SIS and the Action Plan for its implementation, and in the final text of those documents, the introduction of a Foundation for support to NGOs in strengthening social inclusion is expected as is the elaboration of support measures for that mechanism by the BiH Government in the Action Program.

In this process, the inclusion of DEP BiH, NGOs, entity governments and other key stakeholders in the development of the concept must be kept in mind.

Significant and real possibilities of the Foundation are justifiably related to the relevance of the NGO sector in BiH and its important role in organisation and inclusion of citizens, vulnerable groups especially.

4. THE NGO SECTOR IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

The NGO sector in BiH is relatively developed, above all through support of foreign donors. Sustainability of the NGO sector does not only have financial aspects, but also involves a reorientation from donor-driven agendas towards activities in accordance with local needs, partnership with the public and private sectors, an improved focus on strengthening social inclusion and human rights, especially for vulnerable groups. The NGO Social Inclusion Foundation is not only a mechanism for strengthening financial sustainability of NGOs, but also an important lever in quality development of NGOs in BiH.

The total number of registered NGOs in BiH in 2005 was 9,095, but only about half of them are truly active, i.e. 4,629.⁹ In comparison with other countries, this number should not be ignored. Counting the registered NGOs in BiH, for one NGO there are 417 citizens, while in Great Britain there are 426 citizens, and in Hungary 250 citizens. Certainly, the picture

⁹ See more: DFID, IBHI, Birks Sinclair & Associates (BSAL) “Qualitative Study 3 – Employment, Social Service Provision and the Non-governmental Sector: Status and Prospects for BiH, Analysis and Policy Implications”, May 2005.

is appealing if we take into consideration only the 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 the gross domestic product (GDP) while consumption of the NGO sector amounts to 2.4% of the GDP.

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 labour force. If we add to this the number of full time volunteers – 63,129, which is 5.36% of the active labour force – we can obtain the true picture: 7.66% of the active labour force work in the NGO sector, either for a salary or voluntarily. Income in GDP just from volunteers amounts to 3.2%. In accordance with international standards, these numbers are very high. Analyses of employment (for salary or voluntarily) in 24 countries, indicate that the average is 7.30%, ranging from 20.6% in Holland to 0.6% in Mexico.

NGOs in BiH provide services to 29% of citizens in BiH. And this is not just the case for services; it also illustrates the transfer of donor funds to the beneficiaries. This is in connection with the 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 a local community level as well.

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 real picture of the state of being of the NGO sector and civil society. In other words, the NGO sector can no longer be underestimated or be held on the margins of the development of society. Its significance requires defining an NGO sector development policy. It also shows that social policy can strongly rely on the NGO sector. Over the last ten years, the development of the NGO sector in BiH has been financed to a significant degree by foreign support, directly from donors or from international NGOs (INGOs).

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. But from the other point of view, many NGOs are donor-driven in a sense that they do not have a development policy of their own that is driven by a local agenda, but in fact run after money and adjust their focus. So, you have NGOs that one year deal with socially excluded women victims of sexual assault and another year work on economic strategy. These NGOs are agenda-less, are not currently committed to assisting the local community because their human resources are inadequate, and are not focused on real needs.

For that reason, financial sustainability of the NGO sector is not a goal in of itself; changing over to domestic sources of funding will bring local needs-driven NGOs and full ownership of NGO activities.

Government Allocations for the NGO Sector in BiH in 2007

In 2007 and 2008, within the NGO SIF concept preparation process, IBHI conducted a survey on government allocations for the NGO sector. As the target population of the

survey, 214 government institutions were selected (out of 280 institutions). The sample comprised of specific ministries at the BiH, FBiH and RS level, the BD BiH Government, cantonal ministries in the FBiH and municipalities in the FBiH and RS. The criterion for the selection of ministries was their field of jurisdiction and the assumption that they allocate funds for the NGO sector. Representativeness of allocation estimates has been achieved at the state level, entity level, at the level of all cantons and municipalities within entities.

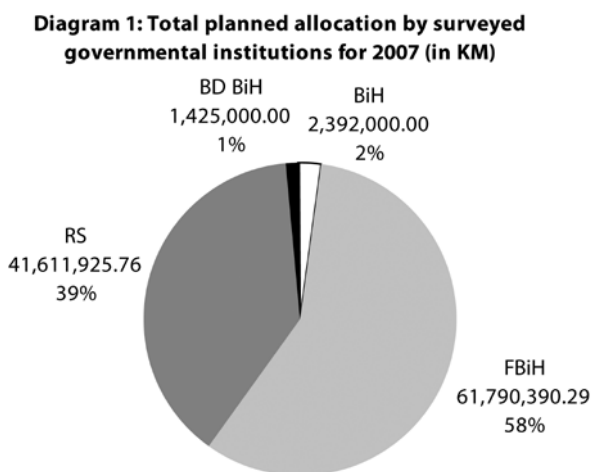
Response Rate

Out of the total of 214 government institutions, 195 responded, i.e. the final response rate was 91.1%, which enabled the extrapolation of results to the population level.

Main Survey Findings

Economic Indicators

- The total planned funds for the NGO sector in government (ministries, cantons, municipalities) budgets at all levels in 2007 amounted to 107,219,316.05 KM¹⁰ (0.56% of the GDP for 2006). The total planned allocations of surveyed institutions in the FBiH amounted to 61,790,390.29 KM¹¹ and 41,611,925.76 KM in the RS.



¹⁰ Very similar results (110,473,802 KM) were obtained in the Study “Analysis of Institutional Cooperation Between the Government and Non-governmental Sector in BiH” (G. Žeravčić, Kronauer Consulting; Sarajevo, September 2008). The difference is in the statistical error range, which is common with surveys of this kind.

¹¹ Entity estimates include data from the surveyed entity ministries, cantonal ministries in the FBiH and municipalities. According to the Report on Realisation of the Budget of the Government of Federation of BiH, grant allocations for non-profit organisations in 2007 amount to 46,375,920.44 KM. This amount differs from the one obtained in IBHI survey (for the FBiH level of government 14,805,847.00 KM) due to the fact that the Report on Realisation of the Budget includes, as recipients in non-profit organisations, governmental and public institutions (e.g. Institute for Public Health, Airport Tuzla, etc.) while the IBHI study focused solely to grants provided to Foundations and NGOs. According to FBiH Government data, grant allocations for non-profit organisations in 2007 amount to 46,375,920.44 KM. This amount relates to all institutions of the FBiH Government and is therefore higher than the amount registered within the survey of the FBiH Government level (14,805,847.00 KM) which relates to Federal institutions directly responsible for support to the BiH social system. This difference in the baseline institutions used to derive the amounts means that the two figures are not directly comparable and as such should be interpreted with care. www.fmf.gov.ba/budzet-07/izvjestaj%20o%20izvrs%20budzet.htm

- The total number of active, non-profit organisations in BiH, as already mentioned, is estimated at 4,62912, which amounts to 23,163 KM per organisation from domestic budgets. The total annual income of NGOs in 2004 was estimated at 552,709,876 KM (on average 119,402 KM per organisation) from all sources (foreign donations, domestic budgets, memberships, etc.).
- The difference in the estimated annual income from 2004 and the estimated income from government institutions in 2007 totals 96,239 KM per organisation. This difference includes international and local donations, membership fees and trade in goods and services. The Qualitative study states that government funds make up 21% of NGO income,¹³ which is basically complementary to the data of the IBHI survey in 2007.
- The total number of full-time employees in the non-profit sector, as already mentioned, is estimated at 26,668,14 which amounts to 4,021 KM per employee from domestic sources. If the number of full-time volunteers is included (63,129 in 2004), the amount from domestic sources is 1,194 KM per person.
- Operational costs for the NGO sector are estimated at 300,673,358 KM in 2004 while the income is estimated at 552,709,876 KM. Funds allocated by government institutions in the year 2007 total 35.7% of operational costs and 19.4% of the NGO sector income from 2004.

Allocations According to Administrative Levels and Categories of NGOs

- The funds from municipal authorities make up the largest proportion (60%) of government funding for the NGO sector in BiH.
- Large differences in allocations of funds for organisations are evident, especially at the municipal level. Differences are the result of budgetary capacities of individual municipalities and up to a point, of the number of organisations that operate in a certain area. Most organisations are located in larger cities (Banja Luka, Sarajevo, Zenica and Tuzla) and 60% of them focus their activities on a specific geographic area. Those NGOs are focused on local needs in municipalities and their financial sustainability is increasingly based on local budgets.
- Of the total reported amount allocated to the NGO sector in 2007, 42.9% was allocated to civil associations (CAs)/NGOs; 44.1% to sports organisations and 13.0% to organisations of disabled veterans and other related organisations.
- Of the total reported amount allocated by municipal authorities: in the FBiH, 44% was allocated for CAs/NGOs, 39% for sports organisations and 17% for organisations of disabled veterans; in the RS, 25% was allocated for CAs/NGOs, 65% for sports organisations and 10% for organisations of disabled veterans.

¹² Estimate for 2004. Data from the DFID, IBHI, BSAL “Qualitative study 3 - Employment, Social Service Provision and the Non-governmental Sector: Status and Prospects for BiH, Analysis and Policy Implications”, May 2005.

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ *Ibid.* Estimate for 2004 that relates to 1.45% of the active population in BiH in 2004.

Public Tender Procedures and Reporting

- 25.3% (49) of the 195 institutions that participated in the 2007 survey allocate funds through public tenders; 41.0% (80) do not publish tenders and, of that percentage, most allocate funds according to prepared annual budgets; 14.9% (29) publish tenders for one segment of available funds for the NGO sector. The fact that almost half of the surveyed institutions do not publish tenders is an indication that in certain cases funds may be allocated on an ad hoc basis. Clearer transparency policies need to be put in place in order to enable authorities to improve their financial monitoring and planning activities. Of the remaining institutions, 7.2% (14) do not allocate funds to non-governmental organisations while 11.8% (23) did not provide the data requested.
- A total of 24,318,866.11 KM (22.7%) was allocated without publishing tenders (e.g. through planned, annual work programmes).
- Of the total number of institutions that participated in the survey, 78.5% (154) require the submission of reports from CAs/NGOs, while an additional 3.1% (6) of institutions plan to introduce a reporting procedure in 2008. In most cases, submission of a financial report is a prerequisite for the allocation of funds in the following year.
- 48.7% (96) of institutions that participated in the survey conduct an analysis of program and/or financial results (3.1% (6) of institutions conduct a partial analysis of results). Indicators for analysis are not harmonised, however in numerous cases reporting criteria, according to which an analysis is conducted, do exist. The lack of staff is reported as the main reason for not conducting analyses, followed by the lack of a need for conducting a detailed analysis of activities implemented and funds spent due to the small amounts of funds allocated.

Sustainability of the NGO Sector – How to Support the Transition from Foreign to Domestic Resources?

Sustainability and transition from foreign to domestic sources of funding is not only a financial issue. It means “reform” of activities of the NGO sector in following directions:

- from donor-driven agendas to local needs-driven agendas,
- better and more long-term focusing of activities of NGOs, which enables development of adequate human resources as well;
- strengthening of partnership of NGOs with the public and private sectors;
- focus on strengthening of social inclusion of citizens, especially vulnerable groups;
- development of an innovative approach in work with excluded groups;
- practical work, lobbying and advocating, fight for realisation of human rights of all citizens; and
- strengthening the influence of civil society on policies, especially social development policies.

Sustainability is, therefore, a multidimensional process; financial sustainability is a condition for the aforementioned “reform” of NGO sector activities. At the same time,

this “reform” is a condition for financing NGOs from domestic sources, therefore, a condition for sustainability. The NGO SIF is therefore not only a lever for strengthening financial sustainability of NGOs, but also an important lever for redirecting their activities to real needs, strengthening partnership with the public and private sectors, focusing on strengthening social inclusion, the fight for human rights, etc. For that reason, the structure of the NGO SIF foresees a “Training and Research Unit.”

In this context, NGO SIF can support NGOs in improving identification of excluded groups and development of a common approach with local CSW in that identification process. Those experiences can be the bases for institutionalisation of a better and common approach to identifying real needs of the excluded.

An important part of this, especially in municipalities, is the inclusion of the socially excluded in the decision-making process regarding real needs and financial support.

Realistic possibilities for proposed changes/transition can be illustrated with the following examples of “best practices.”

Example 1: SDC

Important elements for an answer to the question of how to support the transition from foreign to domestic resources for the NGOs in BiH lies in very good experiences of the SDC *NGO Support Programme in BiH (2004-2008)*. Within its four rounds, the *Swiss NGO Support Programme in BiH 2004-2008*, supported projects of 25 local NGOs implementing projects in 37 different, geographically widely dispersed municipalities. The total number of supported projects through the Programme is 66. Throughout its duration, the *Programme* was fully focused on achieving its main goal *to professionalise local NGOs and the government's role in municipal social protection systems in order to provide adequate social and health care for beneficiaries*.

In the first rounds of the Programme, projects of local NGO partners were mainly focused on direct provision of social services, often with no significant interaction with stakeholders from other sectors (governmental, public and private). The focus was on strengthening capacities of the local NGO partners in establishing a strategic partnership with the important stakeholders in the community. This was done through:

- trainings (i.e. Mixed and Client Oriented Model of Social Protection, Strategic Planning);
- exchange of experiences between partner organisations;
- continuous consultations throughout the implementation of projects;
- designing prerequisites for participation in the Programme (i.e. from the third round onwards, the partnership with the public institutions in implementation of projects was mandatory for all partners); and
- Partnership in joint activities (i.e. starting of the Initiative for the Establishment of the Social Inclusion Fund/Foundation in BiH, participation of authors from the partner organisations in the preparation of the publication *Civil Society in Strengthening Social Inclusion in BiH*).

The presented strategy resulted in a significant shift to the approach of local NGO partners. The activities in the third and fourth round of the Programme were designed and implemented in full coordination with the relevant stakeholders in local communities (centres for social work CSW, schools, municipal administrations, other NGOs). Equally important, the partners' projects in only a few cases remained at the level of service-delivery. The influence of the Project resulted in:

- Strengthening the position and advocacy capacity of NGO partners through the production of surveys/research papers/publications/statistical analyses, initiation and/or involvement in different campaigns and advocacy activities.

The basis of this concept is partnership between NGOs and public institutions (centres for social work, etc.) in project implementation, which is in accordance with EU standards and the development of a mixed system of social protection. It also shows excellent inclusion of relevant institutions and cooperation among three sectors: public–private–civil, as practiced in EU countries. In the financial sense, this involved the development of the *matching* concept, matching SDC donor funds with domestic and other donor funds for each project within the Programme.

The concept allows for partnership among public institutions (CSWs, for example) and appropriate NGOs into a small “consortium” during the course of a project. Institutions and organisations engage in activities according to their competences and abilities. Thus, a synergy is achieved, as well as better results for beneficiaries, compared to accustomed separate activities. Also, opportunities are created for inclusion of the private sector (private schools and kindergartens, donations, etc.).

More precisely, the experience of the SDC matching/partnership concept has shown the following results in view of the use of domestic resources for NGO financing .

Total SDC funds in all four rounds of the Programme totalling 3,378,696 KM initiated financing from domestic resources in the amount of 3,891,409 KM (along with funds from other donors which totalled 1,787,354 KM).

More precisely, out of the total of 9,057,460 KM, SDC funds contributed to 37.3%, domestic funds to 42.9% and other sources to 19.7%.

The following tables present the data:

Table 1. (in KM)

Round	Implementation Period	Domestic – Govt sector	Domestic – NGO sector	Domestic – Other	Domestic – Total	International – SDC	International – Other	International Total	Total
1	01.07.2004 – 31.12.2005	205,613.50	657,478.90	391,809.00	1,254,901.40	983,410.63	746,485.50	1,729,896.13	2,984,797.53
2	01.01.2006 – 31.12.2006	309,848.88	550,615.03	239,912.60	1,100,376.51	1,171,700.60	437,274.00	1,608,974.60	2,709,351.11
3	01.03.2007 – 29.02.2008	217,466.32	729,186.31	143,304.40	1,089,957.03	739,961.55	383,658.65	1,123,620.20	2,213,577.22
4	01.03.2008 – 31.10.2008	78,145.00	244,333.95	123,696.00	446,174.95	483,623.41	219,936.64	703,560.05	1,149,735.00
Total		811,073.70	2,181,614.19	898,722.00	3,891,409.89	3,378,696.19	1,787,354.79	5,166,050.97	9,057,460.86

Table 2. (in KM)

Round	Implementation Period	Domestic – Govt sector	Domestic – NGO sector	Domestic – Other	Domestic – Total	International – SDC	International – Other	International Total	Total
1	01.07.2004 – 31.12.2005	6.89%	22.03%	13.13%	42.04%	32.95%	25.01%	57.96%	100.00%
2	01.01.2006 – 31.12.2006	11.44%	20.32%	8.85%	40.61%	43.25%	16.14%	59.39%	100.00%
3	01.03.2007 – 29.02.2008	9.82%	32.94%	6.47%	49.24%	33.43%	17.33%	50.76%	100.00%
4	01.03.2008 – 31.10.2008	6.80%	21.25%	10.76%	38.81%	42.06%	19.13%	61.19%	100.00%

Source: IBHI calculations based on project documentation

Example 2: DFID

Very similar are positive experiences based on partnership and matching of domestic and foreign resources from numerous other international projects, which can be illustrated through the example of the DFID UK Project “Reforming the Systems and Structures of Central and Local Social Policy Regimes in Bosnia and Herzegovina,” implemented in four pilot municipalities (Gornji Vakuf-Uskoplje, Zenica, Banja Luka, Trebinje) in the period 2001-2005.

Community Action Projects (CAPs) provided for innovation and sustainability by encouraging an 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 the three rounds of CAPs, the Project (DFID) entirely financed round I; round II was jointly financed by the municipality/the City and the Project (50%-50%); and in round III the municipality/the city financed 64% of the total budget for all CAPs. At the end of the Project (May 2005), municipalities/the city entirely took over financing of CAPs. By the fourth year, all four municipalities had taken over the financing of their activities entirely from the municipal budget. Upon the completion of the Project, all municipalities provided their own finances for round IV from municipal budgets.

The following data, covering all three rounds in the three years, demonstrate the importance of CAPs for beneficiaries and the reform:

In total for all pilot municipalities / the City, figures are as follows:

- Total budget of 109 CAPs was 2,751,762 KM. The Project contributed with 1,746,760 KM (63.5%), and municipalities / the city contributed with 1,005,002 KM (36.5%).
- In their implementation, 277 organisations/actors (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.

It is important to point out that local/municipal budgets for social protection increased to over 1 million KM through specific DFID-funded budget lines for Community Action Projects. In addition, networks of partnerships developed, with the greater role of NGOs and public institutions, and the expansion of private sector provision, including privately owned kindergartens and contributions to social protection, both in kind and with funds. These networks and the increased awareness of the needs of specific marginalised groups are features that were sustained beyond the Project period.

Presented examples, as does the previously analysed situation in the NGO sector in BiH, illustrate the significance of the NGO SIF in further development of the NGO sector in BiH, above all in the qualitative sense, and its focus on local needs, social inclusion and human

rights of the excluded, above all. In question is a mechanism that is not only focused on financial sustainability, but has an active role in the “reform” of NGO activities through policies of directing the funds, budgets and standards and research towards fields that are significant for further qualitative development of NGOs.

PART II

THE CONCEPT FOR THE NGO SOCIAL INCLUSION FOUNDATION

The concept developed in Part II is based on support of non-governmental organisations in a) strengthening their role in better addressing social inclusion; b) developing partnerships between the NGO and the public sectors; and c) strengthening BiH civil society within the context of European integrations. The key elements of the concept are additional matching funds, good coordination among all actors involved, transparent and efficient mechanisms for attributing the funds to committed NGOs active in the social domain.

Bearing in mind the background information in Part I of this paper, the NGO Social Inclusion Foundation should be considered as an efficient mechanism for:

- strengthening the role of NGOs in a better approach to social inclusion as well as their development and improved focusing on the real needs of the excluded;
- strengthening financial sustainability of the NGO sector in BiH in strengthening social inclusion through matching (NGO SIF) funds and funds from local budgets;
- coordinated use of donor funds and domestic funds related to activities in implementation of SIS (better focus on main problems and finding solutions);
- strengthening the professionalism and quality of NGOs; and
- strengthening an innovative approach in accordance with EU standards in the area of social policy and the policy and legislation related to NGOs (action oriented research, policy document, capacity building, etc.).

With regards to the strengthening of financial sustainability of the NGO sector engaged in strengthening social inclusion, it has been estimated that the NGO SIF should be based on the following foundations:

- matching donor funds and domestic funds; and
- partnership among NGOs and public institutions in activities of support to the implementation of SIS.

Concretely, the Foundation resources would include:

1. Foreign donations. More precisely, documents of the NGO SIF (Policy, Annual Work Plan, etc.) in support of SIS implementation and its Action Plan would enable donors to focus on main activities, coordinate support, reduce general costs of implementation in relation

to the individual projects costs, etc., therefore, achieve greater cost-efficiency. This would improve the much needed, general donor coordination.

2. Domestic budgets of public institutions (Government, other public institutions). In a similar manner as aforementioned, this would enable an improved focus, coordination in providing support to NGOs in SIS implementation for BiH Governments and public institutions. Also, it would enable progress in NGO coordination and improve their focus.

3. Additional domestic funding at Governmental at Entity levels: It is important to keep in mind that the NGO SIF would not be primarily focused on the existing domestic resources for NGO financing, but on generating additional domestic funds, primarily funds from municipalities, BiH Government and entities.

It is not possible and it would not be rational to try to channel the existing domestic funds (107 million KM) through NGO SIF. These are largely municipal funds (around 60%) focused on supporting local communities and local NGOs. It is difficult to believe that a municipality would give funds from its budget to the NGO SIF, through regular tender procedures, so they can be used on projects in another municipality. On the other hand, bearing in mind the EU practice in inter-municipal coordination (with IPA funds to be introduced in BiH), it is possible to initiate, for some municipalities which have similar regional interests, the establishment of a NGO SIF of their own in goal of improving regional social development. NGO SIF can initiate, cooperate and participate in the financing of inter-municipal similar mechanisms/Foundations or Funds.

It is realistic to expect that those local funds will be modest at the beginning of NGO SIF's work. It is also realistic to expect that they will gradually increase with the implementation of SIS and its Action Plan.

4. Private and other individual donations from individuals or the business sector. It has been concluded that realistic opportunities exist in this regard as well, and that with the necessary advocacy, many companies or citizens would prefer to donate funds to NGO SIF, rather than to individual NGOs that often accept funds in a non-transparent manner.

In addition to a better coordination among NGOs, within the donor community and local authorities, the NGO SIF mechanism will significantly contribute to coordination and better focusing among NGOs, donors and local authorities. In that way, ownership will be strengthened in the process of introducing EU standards and the development of social inclusion policies in BiH based on EU practice and standards. In a general sense, this will be a large contribution to the development of a strong and influential civil society.

In this way, matching funds would be realised in the very budget of the NGO SIF. A very sound and transparent methodology for the distribution of funds will have to be developed and it should be available to the public at all times in order to diminish any speculations. Transparency procedures will be based on EU standards.

Regarding the role of NGO SIF in strengthening financial sustainability of NGOs in the function of SIS implementation, it is of key importance that NGO SIF funds are matched with other domestic resources (local budgets on all levels) for which the precondition is partnership among NGOs and public institutions in projects which are to be implemented.

In this way, the NGO SIF would directly and positively influence the total level of financing of NGOs from domestic resources; the process of a steady increase of the estimated sum of 107 million KM in 2007 would be initiated. In the financial sense, this effect would be much greater than the total sum of the NGO SIF funds and it would create positive practices in this sector such as a better focus of NGOs and their coordination, transparent procedures, “needs driven” activities and the very development of the NGO sector.

On the other hand, the existing and the enlarged domestic funds would thus be better directed and coordinated in the process of the SIS implementation, which has not been the case in the past.

5. FUND OR FOUNDATION?

In assessing the organisational type of a mechanism for supporting NGOs in strengthening social inclusion, we had in mind two options: a Fund or Foundation. Through the widest consultations with NGOs and government institutions, we analysed the strengths and weaknesses of both possible organisational forms.

The concept which we have been developing is to support non-governmental organisations in:

- strengthening their role in better addressing social inclusion;
- developing partnerships between the NGO and the public sector;
- strengthening the quality, professionalism and capacity of NGOs (transparent procedures, better focus on excluded groups, etc.); and
- strengthening BiH civil society within the context of European integrations.

The characteristics of the two possible models, in accordance with BiH legislature, in short, are:

The **Fund** for Bosnia and Herzegovina is formed as a part of one of the government institutions and is administered by the Government; the Steering Board is made up of representatives of FBiH, RS and BD BiH governments, the relevant ministry or Agency of the BiH Council of Ministers, and the donors. Donor funds are deposited through the Ministry of Finance and Treasury of BiH and are held in a BiH Central Bank account. The Steering Board decides on the criteria for tenders and on selection of projects to be supported by the Fund.

The **Foundation** is registered according to the Law on Associations and Foundations of BiH. It can be founded by physical or legal entities (NGOs), but not by state organs or governments on any level. The Foundation is governed by the Steering Board which can consist of NGOs, public institutions, government representatives, donors, etc. The Steering Board is in charge of the criteria for tenders and the selection of projects to be supported. Funds of the Foundation can include foreign donations, grants/subsidies from domestic budgets, etc.

While discussing strengths and weaknesses of a Fund or a Foundation, we kept in mind the detailed analysis of the experience of the Public Administration Reform Fund (PARF), two years in existence, and of the Fund for the Implementation of the Gender Action Plan (FIGAP), the establishment of which is underway.

The specific structure of BiH authorities must also be kept in mind, as well as the existing political issues in the country, especially when establishment of institutions on the State level for areas which fall under entity jurisdiction is in question, such as social policy and its funding. For that reason, adopted strategic documents (CDS, SIS, for example) will be implemented on the entity level. Due to lack of the political will, the adoption of any decisions regarding financing on the BiH level requires an agreement of entity governments.

Fund

Strengths

- Perception of greater security for foreign donors.
- Strengthening the role of the BiH state in social policy.
- Strengthening the coordination of cross-entity and inter-entity government institutions.

Weaknesses

- There are different entity policies on strengthening the role of the state in social policy, especially regarding the establishment of new institutions. It can be expected for RS to be against this. Less pessimistic is the risk that the procedure of establishing a Fund would be very long (or would be delayed due to announced constitutional changes). For that reason, resistance to introducing the Fund in the SIS and its Action Plan can be expected.
- NGOs would not be able to actively participate in decision making on policies, annual plans and projects supported by the Fund, which would be contrary to the very purpose of establishing a Fund for supporting NGOs in strengthening social inclusion.
- The legal basis for a Fund is a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) (or Joint Financing Arrangement – JFA – which is a weaker version) which must be adopted by the BiH Council of Ministers, Governments of RS, FBiH and BD BiH, and donors on the other side. An MoU, as a legal, establishment act, is very detailed; it describes the organisational structure, decision making procedures, etc. The procedure of preparing and adopting this document requires a necessary agreement of all local governments and would require a long period of time, even in a more stable political environment.
- The procedure of adopting a decision by the Management Board of the Fund would require agreement from Governments of the RS, FBiH, BD BiH and BiH Council of Ministers, which would significantly reduce the efficiency of operations of the Board.
- The Fund would have to be a part of a Ministry or Agency at the BiH level and would require a special administrative service (secretariat). For example, administration of PARF consists of 25 staff members; 45 was foreseen (the three-year budget for PARF is 4.5 million EUR). In the process of the FIGAP establishment, the initial three staff members had increased to nine (the three-year budget, for now, is 1 million EUR). It is to be expected that entities could request their own administration services for the operation of the Fund (as is the case for PARF and FIGAP).
- Financial operations of the Fund are performed through the Ministry of Finance and Treasury of BiH, which can slow down their dynamics significantly.

Foundation

Strengths

- Enables full participation of NGOs in the management of the Foundation, and does not rule out participation of government representatives (BiH, FBiH, RS, BD BiH) and, of course, donors.
- Much quicker establishment procedure.
- Openness to all NGOs in BiH, i.e. strengthening of inter-entity and cross-entity coordination of NGOs, i.e. civil society.
- It is realistic to conclude that the BiH, FBiH and especially the RS Government will not have political objections to supporting the Foundation, especially its introduction into the SIS and Action Plan.
- Independently from the registration and legal status, a Foundation would have its legitimacy in the SIS and the Action Plan; therefore, it would receive official support from all governments.
- A general MoU could be signed with DEP BiH or the BiH Council of Ministers, which would support the Foundation (this type of MoU would be adopted through an urgent procedure, i.e. quicker, and could be finalised once the Foundation begins operating).
- Financial operations are conducted by an Executive Agency, along with control from donors and competent domestic institutions.
- A Foundation is structurally very precisely defined by the appropriate law (Funds are formed either by a special law or MoU), which guarantees security and transparency of its functioning.

Weaknesses

- Scepticism of foreign donors because some of them cannot be fully aware of the constitutional and political obstacles in BiH.
- Reserve of conservative individuals in domestic institutions who anticipate strengthening of civil society in BiH through the Foundation.
- Delay in the adoption of the SIS and its Action Plan.
- Less formal than a Fund in its institutional sense.

The abovementioned considerations were the main reasons for proposing the establishment of a Foundation. DEP BiH has also participated in forming this opinion.

6. THE NGO SOCIAL INCLUSION FOUNDATION (NGO SIF)

Up to date activities of the Initiative for the Establishment of a Foundation for Social Inclusion were very participative and included numerous NGOs and public institutions.

- The Initiative was launched by IBHI and 22 partner organisations in mid 2006 within the *Swiss NGO Support Programme in BiH*;
- Up to now, the Initiative was debated at:

- 15 regional Round Tables (5 in 2007 and 10 in 2008) with 485 representatives of governmental and public institutions, international organisations, NGO and other civil society organisations, countrywide;
- A Regional Conference with more than 150 participants; and
- Numerous bilateral meetings with NGOs, governmental and public institutions, international and donor agencies.
- The result of the process is the *Platform of the Initiative for the Establishment of the Social Inclusion Foundation in BiH* and the Publication *Civil Society in Strengthening Social Inclusion in BiH*.

It is important to note that during the last eight Round Tables (2008) held in both entities (4 in the FBiH, 4 in the RS), a questionnaire was distributed to participants. 78% opted for a Foundation and 22% for a Fund; 86% of NGO representatives opted for a Foundation (14% for a Fund); 65% of public institution participants opted for a Foundation (35% for a Fund).

In specifying the name to *NGO Social Inclusion Foundation in BiH (NGO SIF)*, we propose this legal form of organisation of the mechanism for strengthening social inclusion, the role, the sustainability and the ownership of NGOs in the process.

Vision for BiH

An active and vibrant Civil Society with committed and functional NGOs promotes equal opportunities and the full realisation of social rights for all citizens. Respect of the human rights and transparency in the decision-making process and in procedures are solid bases of a participative democracy in BiH and the Social Inclusion Strategy to be fully implemented.

Mission of NGO SIF

The Social Inclusion Foundation enhances the capacity and role of the non-governmental sector in strengthening social inclusion and SIS implementation. Thereby, it contributes to the prevention and reduction of the causes and effects of social exclusion in BiH. Also, bearing in mind that the social situation in BiH in the last years has not changed, as well as possible negative consequences of the current financial crisis in the world for the real economy (in BiH as well) and social development, prevention of possible aggravation of social exclusion and poverty gains in importance.

Aims

- To contribute to the prevention and reduction of causes and effects of social exclusion in BiH through promotion of partnership of stakeholders from governmental, non-governmental, public and private sectors in SIS implementation.
- To provide direct assistance to properly identified socially excluded categories of the population.
- To facilitate exchange of knowledge, experiences and expertise for activities related to social inclusion and hence in social protection, education and healthcare, based on full realisation, protection and respect of human rights.

- To improve the quality of work of NGOs and adjustment to certain standards, i.e. to improve professionalisation. In that context, in cooperation with NGOs, documents will be developed that will secure improvement of the quality of work (Manual for Social Inclusion Activities, Financial Management Software, etc.) and specific forms of certification of NGOs for these activities (NGO Charter or Certification of Quality of Work, etc.). For that reason, training and research, as well as monitoring and evaluation will constitute a significant part of SIF activities.
- To increase availability of funds to NGOs from local governmental budgets through their financial support to the Foundation.
- To effectively apply the matching funds approach, meaning that projects shall be funded partially by the Foundation and partially by the local (municipal, cantonal and so on) budgets with the tendency to increase the financial participation of the municipalities.
- To improve citizens' access to information in the local community affairs.
- To increase transparency of decision-making processes including how municipal budgets are decided upon in order to establish a fair and transparent system for NGO funding which is free from personal, subjective and nepotistic implications.

The issue of major importance for the NGO SIF is becoming an active part of the process towards better social inclusion in BiH, that is, implementation of the Social Inclusion Strategy, and its integration and harmonisation with key-partners and strategic developments deriving from the position of BiH in European integrations.

7. INSTEAD OF CONCLUSION

In the extent in which it exists in BiH, civil society is faced with enormous problems which are different in comparison to problems from earlier years. In a certain way, civil society is at a crossroads, it needs to enter a new, mature phase of development. It is the need of BiH society as a whole, in particular its citizens. There is general agreement about the weak impact of civil society on real social trends despite its relative, quantitative size. The essential issue is how to increase the influence of civil society and the answer to this question also determines different directions leading to the aforementioned crossroad.

On the other hand, civil society is often reduced to NGOs, while the media, unions, employers' associations and academic community are forgotten and left to some other concepts. NGOs are only a part of civil society, and however important a part, they are not the whole. Perhaps, a part of the problem of the weak impact of civil society, as well as NGOs, rests exactly in this limited interpretation of civil society.

Currently underway are various activities within the preparation of strategies of civil society development, cross-sector networking of NGOs, strengthening of the legislative and institutional basis for development of NGOs, principally. The establishment of the NGO SIF is complementary to these activities and it, moreover, takes a step forward in the approach, more practically, starting from the following:

1. NGOs cannot be institutionally, very rigidly networked, nor can they have their own "headquarter" because that is, basically, in opposition with the essence of civil society

i.e. the freedom of association. This is least possible in a general sense, compared to the NGO sector as a whole.

2. If “sectoral” networking should passively follow the basis of activities of NGOs, if it understood “sectors” in terms of a registration position and dealt with general problems of the “sector”, it would be at risk of becoming an “NGO union”, a social services sector, for an example, and requesting dialogue with authorities regarding own problems in a “unionised” manner. When it comes to general problems of NGOs concerning the legislation, taxation system and financing methods, these are important for all NGOs, not only “sectoral networks”. Hence, NGOs, as a whole, are the “third sector”. Attempts of “networking” establishments of various NGO Boards and Councils that were supposed to represent NGOs, so far have not yielded any results.
3. It is necessary to develop active forms of cooperation for specific, very important activities of overall social importance. Such forms of NGO cooperation, in action, can be focused at, for example, implementation of the Social Inclusion Strategy and role of NGOs in it, in partnership with public institutions and the government sector. The goal in itself is not to create a “sectoral network of NGOs” but, if you like, this would mean “networking” but with an aim, purpose and strategy of activities; it would be practical in nature and be flexible. In short, cooperation between NGOs and representation of their interest is not primarily an “organisational” issue but a functional issue; networking is not an organisational issue but an issue of activities and objectives and it is proven with results.
4. In this context, the approach in the establishment of the NGO SIF is action-oriented, focused on the Social Inclusion Strategy; it is partnership in terms of cooperation with the public sector and in terms of consultations within NGOs working in the social sector. It can form a “network of NGO activities” related to the implementation of the Strategy.

The key problems of NGOs and civil society in the upcoming “mature” phase of their development can be solved only through actions aimed at programme/strategic orientation that are in direct connection with some of the important issues of BiH society. We must not forget that NGOs, as well as civil society in general, are only a part of BiH society, hence not a separate “entity” which constantly has to be organised, reorganised and self-occupied.

Hence, NGOs exist because of the citizens and their inclusion in all social streams. Inclusion of citizens is not primarily an issue of an organisational character, an education on this or that, awareness rising on importance of anything and everything and constant capacity building of NGOs, etc. All this is very useful. However, years have been devoted to it. If we remain at this level, the aforementioned “path away from the crossroad” will lead us to further marginalisation.

Inclusion of citizens is possible only through concrete activities, from local community problems to overall social problems. This is the only path that can strengthen the influence of civil society and initiate democratic development of BiH.

Practical steps are the most important, “from words to actions” as it was said long ago.

118 MILLION STEPS TO COOPERATION

Civil society as a means for linking individual, social and economic development offers a potential to every society whose aim is to achieve democratisation and the respect of human rights. In essence, the foundations of civil society development have to be based on the exploitation of the potential for fulfilling a common interest. In a state where the common interest is divided on the political, economic and social planes, it is obvious that the course of civil society development is under question.

Civil initiatives are guided by the direct needs of the society, but are also conditioned by the actors who steer it and represent it in the public, as well as by the financing opportunities (and consequently, to a certain degree, by the agendas of the sources of financing). During the post-war period, the focus of activities of the non-governmental sector, as one segment of civil society in Bosnia and Herzegovina, has moved from the need to resolve the humanitarian crisis, service provision for the most vulnerable groups and the development of organisational capacities of non-governmental organisations (NGOs) towards a broader aspect of achieving sustainable development and the treatment of socio-economic issues. Lately, this latter aspect mostly focuses on the issue of poverty, social inclusion of marginalised groups and successful, individual examples of providing assistance to specific population groups (persons with disabilities, support to treated persons with addictions and victims of domestic violence).¹

Due to the great need for physical and social reconstruction, since 1995 the non-governmental sector has partly shaped itself as a factor that can fill the void within governmental activities by aiming to reach out to the most vulnerable population categories. Over time, and with the lessening of the direct humanitarian crisis, the non-governmental sector has naturally evolved as a partner to the governmental sector in achieving the “common interest” of improving conditions in society. The evolution process, although still at its conception, fostered a number of questions (apart from the obvious one of an obscure definition of the common interest): the need to define and formalise the role of NGOs as partners of the institutional system, the need for mutual recognition of the value, opportunities for service provision, a need to define uniform and, publicly recognisable missions of civil initiatives, and in light of all of the above, opportunities for financial sustainability.

It could be argued that the orientation of non-governmental services has been to some degree imposed by donor programmes (mainly international), i.e. the aptitude of “stronger”

¹ UNDP/IBHI, *National Human Development Report – Social Inclusion in Bosnia and Herzegovina* (Sarajevo: UNDP BiH, 2008).

NGOs for project development in accordance with donor agendas. This raises the issue of the extent to which these programmes are aligned with the “common interest” of initiatives, individuals, networks and institutional programmes in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and in light of this, to what degree can the interest of civil society be expressed and can it respond to real social needs.²

The key question is why governmental institutions should provide financial support to the non-governmental sector in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The non-governmental sector in Bosnia and Herzegovina is gradually developing its role as innovator in the form of new service provision methods. It might be premature to advocate for any concrete model for utilising NGOs for these purposes, whether this be piloting innovative models for social service provision (which could become a kind of trap for the non-governmental sector) or whether the government will continuously, and openly, engage NGOs (instead of centres for social work, for example) to perform activities targeting their beneficiaries (or whether one of the mixed model systems currently applied in Europe will be applied).

The pre-accession process currently underway in Bosnia and Herzegovina will require additional profiling of the non-governmental sector, as well as other components of civil society, since Bosnia and Herzegovina will have to achieve a certain level of civil society inclusion in the decision-making process. In the coming period, when it is expected that the European Union will take over the role of the greatest “international” donor for the development of civil society because of the recognised need for civil society to take on a dynamic role in a democratic society, it is time for the authorities in Bosnia and Herzegovina to define their position towards civil society as well.

If we disregard the influence that the governmental sector and political parties can have and to a large degree have on certain components of civil society (the academic community, the media), cooperation between the non-governmental and governmental sectors has to be based on the possibility for citizens to participate in defining their choices. It has been publicly declared numerous times that the governmental sector treats the non-governmental sector as a “rival”. Formal styles of cooperation are still underdeveloped, and examples of successful cooperation, insufficiently recognised. However, there are indications that this trend is changing.

A survey carried out by the Independent Bureau for Humanitarian Issues (IBHI) in 2007, estimated that the governmental sector allocated 107 million KM for NGOs in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 2007.³ Data from Kronauer Consulting for the same year estimated this amount at 110 million KM.⁴ IBHI’s survey for 2008 estimated the amount of funds at 118 million KM, indicating a possible increasing trend in government allocations.⁵ The amount

² Gojko Bežovan, ‘Čimbenik ili privjesak? - 1. dio’ (Factor or pendant? – Part 1), *H-Alter Hrvacka Alternativa*, (31/03/07) <www.h-alter.org/vijesti/arhiva-2007-1/cimbenik-ili-privjesak-1-dio> and ‘Čimbenik ili privjesak? - 2. dio’ (Factor or pendant? – Part 2), *H-Alter Hrvacka Alternativa*, (06/04/07) <www.h-alter.org/vijesti/arhiva-2007-1/cimbenik-ili-privjesak-2-dio> [accessed 30/01/09].

³ IBHI, *Government Allocations for the NGO Sector in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 2007*, (Sarajevo: IBHI, July 2008).

⁴ Goran Žeravčić, *Analysis of Institutional Cooperation Between the Governmental and Non-governmental Sectors in Bosnia and Herzegovina* (Sarajevo: Kronauer Consulting, 2008).

⁵ IBHI, *Government Allocations for the NGO Sector in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 2008*, (Sarajevo: IBHI, February 2009).

might seem negligible when referred to as a share of the gross domestic product (GDP) of Bosnia and Herzegovina for 2007 (0.50% for allocations in 2007 and 0.55% for allocations in 2008).⁶

If allocations from governmental institutions in Bosnia and Herzegovina are compared to data from some of the neighbouring countries, the situation takes on a different image. The Government of the Republic of Croatia allocated 329 million KM in 2007 (1,247,434,000 HRK),⁷ which amounted to 0.45% of the GDP of the Republic of Croatia in 2007.⁸

According to the analysis of the Centre for the Development of the Non-profit Sector, Transparency Serbia and eight other partner organisations, the Government of the Republic of Serbia allocated 110 million KM (5.3 billion RSD)⁹ in 2007 for the financing of NGOs, sports associations, political parties and religious communities (0.23% of the GDP of the Republic of Serbia in 2007).¹⁰

The number of *registered* NGOs in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 2008 was estimated at 12,000,¹¹ while the estimated number of *active* organisations in 2004 was 4,269, according to the IBHI/BSAL survey.¹² The number of registered NGOs in the Republic of Croatia is estimated at 34,149 (the number of active organisations is unknown)¹³ and in the Republic of Serbia, the number of registered NGOs is significantly lower than both in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia, and amounts to around 2,000 organisations.¹⁴

This data, and in particular the amount allocated by the governmental sector in Bosnia and Herzegovina as a share of the GDP, indicate that recognition of the non-governmental sector as a possible partner of the government is not modest in relation to neighbouring countries. Of course, the ratio of allocations for specific categories of non-profit organisations has to be taken into account. IBHI's survey for 2008 estimated that of the total funds planned by the governmental sector for NGOs, 37.1% was allocated to sports associations, 14.7% to veterans' organisations and other related organisations, 13.6% to organisations providing

⁶ The preliminary GDP estimate for 2007 amounts to 21,641 million KM. Agency for Statistics of BiH data, <www.bhas.ba> [accessed 01/02/09].

⁷ Office for Cooperation with NGOs – the Government of the Republic of Croatia, <www.uzuvrh.hr/defaultthr.aspx> [accessed 30/01/09].

⁸ The annual estimate of the GDP of the Republic of Croatia for 2007 amounted to 275,013 million HRK (72,586 million KM). Data of the Central Bureau of Statistics of the Republic of Croatia, *Statistical Yearbook 2008*, <www.dzs.hr> [accessed 01/02/09] p. 209.

⁹ Blic Online, *Iz budžeta u 2007. godini 60 miliona evra za stranke, crkve, NVO...* (60 Million Euro From the Budget in 2007 for Parties, Churches, NGOs...), (30/09/08) <www.blic.rs/ekonomija.php?id=59093> [accessed 30/01/09].

¹⁰ The annual estimate of the GDP of the Republic of Serbia for 2007 amounted to 2,329,400 million RSD (48,601 million KM). Data of the Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia, *Table: Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of the Republic of Serbia 1997-2007*, <webcrzs.stat.gov.rs/axd/drugastrana.php?Sifra=0001&izbor=odel&tab=30> [accessed 01/02/09].

¹¹ Data from Kronauer Consulting.

¹² IBHI/BSAL, *Qualitative Study 3: Employment, Social Service Provision and the Non-Governmental Organisation (NGO) Sector: Status and Prospects for Bosnia and Herzegovina Analysis and Policy Implications*. Study prepared within the DFID Project, Labour and Social Policy in BiH: The Development of Policies and Measures for Social Mitigation, (Sarajevo/Banja Luka: IBHI/BSAL, May 2005).

¹³ Tomislav Tadić, 'Jedna udruga na 129 stanovnika' (One association for 129 inhabitants), <www.vjesnik.hr>, (16-17/02/08) <www.vjesnik.hr/pdf/2008/02/16/06A6.PDF> [accessed 30/01/09].

¹⁴ Centre for Development of the Non-Profit Sector, <www.crnps.org.yu>.

social services to citizens and 34.6% to other citizens' associations/NGOs (in 2007, of the total amount allocated to NGOs, 44.1% was planned for sports associations, 13% to veterans' and related organisations and 42.9% to citizens' associations/NGOs).

One of the significant indicators of progress of civil society development and the attitude towards it is the improvement of transparent implementation and procedures for allocating funds. With regards to the allocation of government funds for the non-governmental sector in Bosnia and Herzegovina, a lack of transparency is an oft mentioned sore point. A particularly positive indicator is the fact that the number of ministries and municipalities allocating all, or part of their funds, through public tenders is on the rise in 2008 as compared to 2007. The number of institutions that declared they allocate all or part of the funds through public tenders has increased by 16 percentage points. It is also encouraging that the number of institutions which require the submission of formal narrative and financial reports has increased by 9 percentage points. However, it must be kept in mind that demanding the transparency of the government sector requires its parity in the transparency of the non-governmental sector.

In addition to the amounts with which NGOs have at their disposal and the way they use the resources, it is particularly significant for answering the question of which types of activities the funds are allocated for.¹⁵ As a representative of citizens' initiatives, the non-governmental sector can act on fulfilling the rights of clients and, as such, has to steer funds to their direct needs without the pretension of taking on the role of individual ambitions and the promotion of donor agendas. The impulse for creating new programmes and activities needs to be provided by the end user, whose needs are recognised as the basis for the development of society by both governmental and international donors. At a time when the number of international donors is significantly decreasing and the governmental authorities need to take on a more prominent role in financing NGOs, it is necessary to define possible omissions in the targeting of considerable funds Bosnia and Herzegovina received through foreign donations – of course, with the main aim of defining constructive lessons for the development of an appropriate system for targeting funds towards real social needs, i.e. based on the needs of the end user of services.

The positive trend of government allocations for the non-governmental sector from 2007 to 2008 can easily be reversed in 2009 in light of the global economic crisis that will not bypass Bosnia and Herzegovina. A decrease in government allocations for the non-governmental sector is thus a realistic threat in 2009 and in an environment where the amount of foreign donations is also decreasing. The issue of the final impact of this trend on poverty reduction and the social inclusion of marginalised groups, where the non-governmental sector can have a positive impact, is raised. If government authorities do not recognise the full potential of the non-governmental sector, the lack of support to a link which can, through its, activism, directly influence the improvement of socio-economic conditions in the country can only result in an even greater poverty crisis.

¹⁵ Toni Gabrić, 'Ured za udruge pokrenuo novu web stranicu' (Office for Cooperation with NGOs Has Developed a New Web Page), *H-Alter Hrvacka Alternativa*, (11/10/07) <www.h-alter.org/vijesti/arhiva-2007-2/ured-za-udruge-pokrenuo-novu-web-stranicu> [accessed 31/01/09].

Civil initiatives provide room for the humanisation of society, development of innovative methods, the freedom of action (aiming at the democratisation and liberalisation of society) and, particularly important in the coming period, development of dialogue. It is clear that civil society can be a partner to the institutional system while focusing on the “black holes” of development. Civil society in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the non-governmental sector as its component, must develop its foundations and activism on universal values and the common interest of citizens. How many citizens are prepared for activism and engagement on articulating the common good is a specific issue that requires a separate analysis and research.

THE ROLE AND SIGNIFICANCE OF LOCAL COMMUNITIES IN THE SOCIAL INCLUSION PROCESS

I INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

A person with a sense of belonging, someone who is surrounded by relatives, friends, colleagues, and benevolent people, someone who can hear, speak, ask, participate, engage, solve problems that concern him/her and the surroundings, is a person who can produce creative and inventive ideas and energy, develop strategies to solve problems and overcome difficulties faced in every-day life. This type of person is a member of the community, someone who ensures personal and family security, solidarity towards others and initiates democratic processes in society. This is not a socially excluded person; this is a citizen with his/her own given human rights to participate in life, family and the community. Anyone who stands in the way of fulfilment of this person's basic human rights exhibits socially an unacceptable behaviour deserving reprimand.

It is the commitment of society and the whole country to create conditions for its citizens: to fulfill their needs (from existential to self-actualisation), to engage and participate, to lead and to develop. Local communities represent a spatial and social framework for the fulfilment of functions in the interest of all members, which allows for the fulfilment of most human needs and realisation of universal democratic principles guaranteeing basic citizen rights. Local communities are simultaneously the easiest place in which to become socially excluded and the best place in which to participate, solve problems and become a member of society.

In an administrative-political sense, the local community in Bosnia and Herzegovina is equivocated with the local governance unit, that is, the municipality, according to the existing legal regulations. In addition to being an administrative-territorial unit, a municipality is also a "territorial community of citizens who, by democratically electing representatives, directly and indirectly realise their political and economic rights, thereby deciding on all social affairs that are in their common interest".¹

Within the existing theory, but also practical thought not enough attention is paid to the significance of local communities in social inclusion. The problem is always viewed globally, with the accent on the government, certain systems, sectors and so on, forgetting that each person lives in a specific surrounding that either enables social inclusion, or prevents a

¹ Pejanović, M., Zlokapa, Z., Zolić, H., Arnautović, S. (2006). *Municipalities in Bosnia and Herzegovina – Demographic, Social, Economic and Political Facts*, Sarajevo: Promocult.

person from achieving it. That is why it is of great importance to enlighten the possibilities of local communities to solve problems of social exclusion that are of global proportions in Bosnia and Herzegovina, since over 50% of the population is socially excluded.²

II DETERMINING THE CONCEPT OF LOCAL COMMUNITY

The relations between a person and his/her surroundings are mutually interconnected and filled with a dynamic exchange of resources, energy, information, constructing the community as a “living space” where, beside the physical component, a social space filled with interpersonal relations, activities and institutions strongly pulsates.³

It is completely understandable why, through the centuries, this “living space” has evoked great interest from theorists, politicians, philosophers and why they tend to define the local community as dependent on time and place. There is lack of agreement amongst researchers and theorists when it comes to the scientific study of this phenomenon. The impression formed is that there are as many definitions as there are writers. According to Eugen Pusić, George Hillery has collected 94 definitions in English speaking areas, and classified them according to their characteristic elements.⁴

1. Sociological Perspectives in Defining Local Communities

According to own classification and those of others, Janez Šmidovnik defined the important elements of a local community: a defined territory, the people within the territory, the needs of these people, the work necessary to meet these needs, and the awareness of people about their community.⁵ These elements are an expression of a sociological perspective that views the local community as a general concept where a social group lives relatively permanently in a set area and where its members are connected by their proximity to each other and their common needs and activities aimed at satisfying these needs.⁶ Relations between members of the group are characterized according to both the quality and intensity of different interactions and feelings of belonging as well as an identification of common values and norms of the community.⁷

Space as the basic element of the local community also defines the first part of the name of this concept. However, it also creates the greatest dilemmas. How large is this space; to what is it limited; what are the communities like, how large and so on? The local community is also a village with several tens of citizens, city blocks, towns or cities. There is an infinite number of local communities that have very little in common with one another. In solving

² UNDP/IBHI (2007). *National Human Development Report 2007 – Social Inclusion in Bosnia and Herzegovina*, Sarajevo: UNDP.

³ Marinković, R. (1998). *Local Self-government – Old and New Dilemmas*, Beograd: Institute for Political Studies.

⁴ Pusić, E. (1963). *Local Community*, Zagreb: Narodne novine.

⁵ Šmidovnik, J. (1999). *Local Self-government*, Sarajevo: University book.

⁶ Marinković, R. (1998). *Local Self-government – Old and New Dilemmas*, Beograd: Institute for Political Studies.

⁷ Milosavljević, M. & Brkić, M. (2005). *Social Work in the Community*, Belgrade: Social Thought.

the dilemmas, administratively and territorially set viewpoints and borders are often held, but in today's time of vast changes and movements of populations living in one city while working in another, with families in the third, or living in suburbs and satisfying their needs in the local communities closest to them, these viewpoints do not resolve the problems or provide room for social elements. In a social setting, the main thing is that it comes down to communities of people living lives filled with a series of basic problems, and to jointly solving these problems in order to enable a life together in this area.

In the definition of the local community, the second basic element is the people. Certain authors (Šmidovnik, 1999 and Marinković, 1998) are of the opinion that communities are composed of people who reside in a set territory. In today's time of fast and unexpected changes, it is hard to talk about permanent residence because people change their place of work and living in order to satisfy their needs. However, there are also needs that are met jointly, such as the need for healthcare, education, a healthy living environment, safety, cultural needs, recreation, sports as well as other needs that can be met in the local community.⁸ Satisfying common needs related to basic living and working conditions is possible in villages and cities, that is, in permanent places of residence.

In order to satisfy needs, certain activities are necessary "because it is through activities aimed at satisfying needs that people form interpersonal connections and relations, form certain services and institutions. In short, a local community as an entity is formed from the unity of above-mentioned elements"⁹. Activities are realised through informal, family, neighbourhood, and voluntary contributions or are implemented in institutional forms "with expertise and planning, acting as public institutions that organise and maintain institutional authority in local communities, for example the municipality".¹⁰

In addition to the above mentioned elements, certain sociologists point out other elements such as cultural forms, customs, value systems and especially the element of people's awareness of belonging to an area, that is, the social community of that area. Janez Šmidovnik is of the opinion that common needs in a small area also give rise to a common awareness of the people living in the area. This is the awareness that they belong to that place, that they share a certain fate, unity, mutual solidarity, and common interests but also that they are aware of the differences setting them apart from others.¹¹

The noted sociological perspective brings us closer to determinants of local communities, which also define their role in the social inclusion process. They are the communities of lives of people who have a series of problems that need to be solved together in order to allow a common quality of life in a certain area. In seeking out solutions, people interact with each other, thereby decreasing their possibility for isolation, exclusion and neglect, and, instead, committing them to meeting their needs together through activities.

⁸ Lakićević, M. & Gavrilović, A. (2008). *Social Development and Planning*, Beograd: Faculty of Political Sciences in Belgrade.

⁹ Marinković, R. (1998, p. 27). *Local Self-government – Old and New Dilemmas*, Beograd: Institute for Political Studies.

¹⁰ Šmidovnik, J. (1999). *Local Self-government*, Sarajevo: University book.

¹¹ *ibid.*

2. The Functional Approach to Defining Local Communities

The contact of people in the community and their direct participation through initiatives and activities lead us into a functional theoretical approach that considers the community to be in service of its residents. Warren expands this spatial definition of the community by introducing a concept of functions that are realised in a defined area. This author points out five key functions of the community and those are:

1. Local participation in production, distribution and exchange of necessary goods and services in industry, economy, healthcare, education, social protection and religious organisations.
2. Socialisation and transmission of knowledge, social values and behavioural forms on members of the community through families, schools, religious organisations and other systems within the community.
3. Social control as the means of influencing the behaviour of members and their conforming to the values and norms of the community. The bearers of social control are families, the judicial system, police, schools, religious organisations and social services. The main means to realising social control are the laws that protect the values of the community.
4. Social participation in different community activities that are realised through families, relatives, friends, colleagues, religious and volunteer organisations, government programmes and social services.
5. Mutual and multidimensional support to community members at times of need, as well as protection from health problems, economic difficulties and all other life situations that endanger their survival and development. Help and support is provided from different groups and institutions in the community such as: families, relatives, neighbours, friends, religious and volunteer groups, social services, insurance companies and so on.¹²

Warren's functional definition allows for a full insight into the roles of local communities in the social inclusion process due to its function of mutual and multidimensional support to its members in times of problems, as well as due to social participation in different community activities and socialisation that each individual accomplishes through relationships formed in the community.

3. Political Approaches to Defining Local Communities

Considering that the local community is a resource in the social inclusion process, it is necessary to examine the views of political science which consider the local community to represent a place for different political processes, the establishment of political relations, creation, change and dwindling of certain political structures.¹³ This area is extremely changeable, often unstable and dependent on the community type and character, influence

¹² Milosavljević, M. & Brkić, M. (2005, p. 34). *Social Work in the Community*, Belgrade: Social Thought.

¹³ Milosavljević, M. & Brkić, M. (2005). *Social Work in the Community*, Belgrade: Social Thought.

of many wide internal and external structures and relations within the community but also the surrounding communities and higher forms of political organisation and distribution of authority.

Different political structures organised and living in the local community are dependent on the general political context of a community and on the entrusted roles gained in the political game. The main activities of political structures involve executing authority, governing community affairs, the structure and responsibility of the local government and institutionally defining methods of political organisation and operations.

In local communities, local authority is executed directly by citizens and via their freely elected bodies. Since the will of the citizens is demonstrated through free elections, local elections (municipal elections) appear as the first and one of the most significant elements of local democracy, that is, as the first and highest form of citizen participation in performing public affairs in the local community. In modern countries, elections are carried out in accordance with electoral laws. In all European countries, the selection of members of representative bodies (assemblies, councils, parliaments and so on) is carried out directly and at the state and local levels. In many countries the election of a city mayor (a municipality mayor) is conducted based on the model of direct election.

Much of the political interests organised around political parties (the pluralism of the form of political organisation and association) compete in the political game based on already set procedures that do not allow an imposition of other's interests, while the citizens freely elect the political option that best suits their orientations, interests and needs. In this way, sovereignty is attributed to the citizen who has the right to delegate it to the local community, that is, to his or her democratically elected bodies. According to Marinković, this sovereignty is of the same quality as that of the state, and the only difference is that its domain is local affairs as public, as opposed to state.¹⁴

People in local communities have the right to govern the part of affairs that concerns their personal and common interests. This is the right to local self-governance: it is not a legislative or constitutional issue but a democratic right. Positive legal acts must guarantee and separate the domains of the state and the local government in order to prevent clashes between these governments. It is a legitimate basis of local communities as self-governing communities, justified by common needs of their members, fulfilled through bodies and institutions at the local level (from regulating to executing). Local self-government as an expression of self-governance of the local community is more rational and efficient in conducting its work, and is more democratic, because, when it comes to the choice and functioning, a greater participation, influence and control of citizen is possible.

The role of citizens and their participation in community life and affairs is also viewed within the political understanding of local community. How active citizen's participation is in community life depends on the democratic aspect of the community. The level of civil society is developed to the extent that citizens are able to self-organise and associate themselves in order to satisfy their own needs, as well as the common needs and interests

¹⁴ Marinković, R. (1998). *Local Self-government – Old and New Dilemmas*, Beograd: Institute for Political

of all those living in the area. If development of civil society is greater, then so is social inclusion of citizens.

Besides elections, there are other forms of citizen participation in local communities and they represent political-social elements of the social inclusion process, and will be especially explained through community resources.

4. Local Self-government, Decentralisation and the Local Self-governance Unit

Within the context of this topic, local community should additionally be viewed as an institutional structure of one country's social political system that has corresponding authorities and responsibilities towards its citizens, the country and the society, as determined by the constitution and relevant legislation.

According to M. Pejanović and others¹⁵ “when a political-legislative and systemic institution is formed in a local community composed of one or more interconnected communities, then that local community gains the status of a local self-government. That local self-government is constituted as a municipality, a basic self-governance unit.”

Local self-government is constituted within the framework of a local community. Hence, a local community without elements of self-governance cannot represent a local self-government and so these two terms are not interchangeable. The local community acquires the status and position of a local self-government through state acts, most often through constitution-based legislation.

Decentralisation, a concept related to local self-governance, is evident in the fact that beside the centralised institutions operating in the whole area of the country, there are also other institutions with jurisdiction over specific regions of the country while the state, as the authority, delegates certain public affairs of significance for the local community to local self-governing communities themselves which in turn execute these duties independently. They do this by utilising their own institutions and resources but also through the defined control of central state bodies. In addition to affairs of significance to the local community, the state can also transfer a part of their own duties and impose them on local self-governing communities, which are to implement these duties on behalf of the state bodies.

The country's political regulations determine the measure of distribution of all “state” affairs, and thereby the distribution of authority, that is, the distribution of affairs between the state as the centralised organisation, and the local community as the decentralised organisation. “The intricacy in finding the right measure is in activating people, their inventiveness, all the resources and potentials available to them and, on the other hand, by not questioning that which every country must guarantee its citizens”¹⁶. Like Montescew and John Lock, most theorists considered the best state system to be the one without excessive concentration of

¹⁵ Pejanović, M., Zlokapa, Z., Zolić, H., Arnautović, S. (2006, p.17). *Municipalities in Bosnia and Herzegovina – Demographic, Social, Economic and Political Facts*, Sarajevo: Promocult.

¹⁶ Lakićević, M. & Gavrilović, A. (2008, p.247). *Social Development and Planning*, Beograd: Faculty of Political Sciences in Belgrade.

authority and with distribution of power among all government functions, since this helps prevent the misbalance of power and secures mutual control.

The basic territorial unit of local self-government is a municipality. It exists in constitutional systems of European countries, established as a political concept – a basic local community of people, most often in the form of a self-governing community.

Municipalities as self-governance units have characteristics of legal public figures since they are accountable to the state, on the one hand or, in other words, individuals have those rights which they elected. As a legal public figure, the state awards certain authorities to the municipality. Moreover, the municipality has the right to govern and exercise authority over one area, in addition to assigned duties. The municipality realises this authority via the representative body that introduces general measures and binding norms for all its citizens, thereby exercising authority within its territory in accordance with its needs and legislation and not according to the directions of the central government.

III SOCIAL INCLUSION

What first comes to mind when it comes to the concept of social inclusion is social deprivation. With deprivation come feelings of insecurity, fear, rejection, inequality and discrimination. Why does social deprivation exist? The answer to this question can help explain social exclusion.

There is disagreement among many authors about the definition of social exclusion when it comes to the three mutually causative basic integral elements of this concept. The first element is unemployment accompanied by the exclusion of the individual and family from the labour market, income and social security. The inability to find employment or loss of employment can lead to the lack of income and deterioration of living standards which place one at a risk of poverty – the second element of social exclusion. Life in poverty is full of deprivation: difficulty in finding employment, the possibility of long-term unemployment, lack of income and accompanying stigmatisation, the inability to participate in social activities and feelings of isolation from the community, feelings of stress and loss of social networks, all leading towards social isolation – the third element of social exclusion. If these persist for an extended period of time, other problems appear as well, such as problems within the family and marital problems. These can in turn all lead to the breakdown of a marital union and the family unit. Unemployment and poverty can isolate an individual from colleagues at work, decrease social outings and lead to loss of friendships, relationships with relatives and neighbours. As result, this decreases employment opportunities due to the loss of connections and information needed to access the labour market. The inability to establish oneself through work leads to loss of self-respect, authority, the power to create and contribute, an opportunity to develop, grow and achieve self-confirmation. This can lead to depression and other mental health issues. The chain does not end here; the same issues can affect other members of the family which thereby multiplies the problems and leads to multiple and permanent exclusion of individuals and entire families.

This process, better known in theory as the “vicious cycle” of social exclusion and poverty, illustrates the multidimensionality, social conditioning and complexity of social exclusion. It affects both economic and social components of human values; it deprives and encompasses both the group and the individual and it is not only a consequence of personal weaknesses and problems of excluded individuals but is caused by many institutionalised inequalities such as unequal educational opportunities, access to health and social services, as well as cultural components and interpersonal resources.

IV SOCIAL INCLUSION AND THE LOCAL COMMUNITY

Social exclusion is becoming a massive, concerning process warning us of serious social changes that can have permanent consequences on an individual, the family, groups and society as whole. Not confronting the problem of social exclusion can strengthen and deepen the process. That is why wide social action is needed, led by the socially excluded, by government bodies and organisations, civil society organisations, companies, statistical and research institutions, unions, local self-governments, in other words, all those who have a role in the development of society. Relating the social inclusion process to just one institution or sector cannot yield results. Even the state, as the bearer of the entire process, as well as the most powerful actor, cannot carry through the massive social problems that contribute to social exclusion. The state can provide a stable legal framework, a social infrastructure and, in cooperation with citizens, can establish a rule of law. However, measures must be introduced at all levels, in all sectors, multiple and systemic, and through monitoring and research to activating the labour force and employment, diminishing and mitigating poverty and education measures to introducing antidiscrimination measures and sensitising the public about the social problems as well as strengthening social solidarity and philanthropy.

The local community as a self-governing community is one of the extremely important bearers of the social inclusion process. Within its territory and scope of work, many measures that aim to overcome social exclusion are implemented. Many people in the local community do not fulfil their needs and rights to work, achieve comfortable living standards, receive social security, education, have a healthy living environment, proper housing, health protection, security, accessibility and so on. The duty of the local community here is to create suitable conditions and to answer the needs of its citizens through effective, economic and simple measures and activities. Within the function of a local self-governing community, the municipality has a commitment to secure a higher degree of material, social and cultural development and social stability while applying democratic traditions internally, legitimacy, legality, equality, legal security, rule of law and protection of human rights and freedoms. In order to be able to provide this, the municipality must possess the proper conditions and resources necessary in order to represent the living community, work and the making of every person.

The European Charter of Local Self-Government¹⁷ is an international, legal and political document that established and standardised the status of local self-government in Europe.

¹⁷ *European Charter of Local Self-government* (1985), accessed on 20 March 2006 from <http://www.bbnet.org.yu/blnet/yug/povelja.htm>

Bosnia and Herzegovina has ratified the European Charter and thereby accepted the commitment to incorporate it into its legal framework. This was largely done through local self-government laws adopted by both entities. The document is based on principles that determine the rights and responsibilities that the municipality has towards its citizens, on the one hand, and the ability to participate in the governance of local affairs, on the other hand. The principles that directly serve the citizens in meeting their needs are:

- As a rule, public affairs are conducted in an effective, transparent and participatory manner by those authorities that are closest to their citizens;
- Local authorities, as a product of local self-government, have the right to regulate and steer certain segments of public affairs, at their own responsibility and in interest of the local population, and within the boundaries of law;
- The citizen is a subject of democracy and has the right to participate in public affairs, which is a basic democratic principle. The citizen realises this principle firstly at the local level;
- The local authority should develop a more efficient administration that is closer to its citizens;
- The authority in local communities is exercised by the councils and assemblies composed of members-citizens freely elected by secret ballot on the basis of direct, general and equal voting rights. Parliamentary assemblies have executive bodies that are accountable to them;
- Local authorities can have their own sources of funds in accordance with their duties, which are at their disposal in accordance with their authorities; and
- In performing their duties, the local authorities cooperate with each other and associate with other local authorities in order to conduct matters of common interest.

1. Political Activities in the Local Community in the Function of Social Inclusion

Citizens participate in governing the affairs of the local community in two ways.

The first is through direct participation of citizens, depending on the level of the country's development. In our political practice, the citizens make decisions directly through referendums, local community gatherings, civil initiatives and associations of citizens. Participation of citizens in governing public affairs in the local community determines both the content and the quality of democratic processes and relations.

A referendum is a massive reflection of political participation and decision-making of citizens regarding issues of vital importance to life in the local community. A decision on announcing a referendum is within the authority of elected citizens of local parliaments (municipal assemblies or councils); while the statutes and decisions of these bodies determine the procedure for announcing and implementing a referendum.

Local community gatherings enable citizens to participate in discussions on all issues within the jurisdiction of the local community and are the most common forms of participation of citizens in local public affairs. Based on the discussions, citizens can propose solutions to certain issues and start initiatives for change.

Civil initiatives are a form of citizen participation in defining regulations and other measures in order to solve particular issues and are based on petitions of certain groups of citizens. In this way, they organise themselves, while defining common needs and problems and undertaking in order to solve them. Upon the acceptance of the initiatives, activities are initiated on advocating and lobbying to the appropriate decision-makers.

Different forms of organisation and association of citizens in finding solutions to common problems and realising common interests allow for a freedom to articulate interests of citizens in areas of special significance for the community. These are issues related to children, youth, human rights, environmental protection, persons with disabilities, minorities and so on. This provides an opportunity for gathering of citizens, associations, inclusion in problems, activities, which all contributes to the greater participation in decision-making regarding public affairs, and thereby to greater social inclusion.

The second way that citizens participate in conducting the affairs of local self-government is through their elected representatives in local parliaments. Direct participation of citizens in local parliament sessions is an integral part of participation of citizens in practice. All those who wish to directly observe the work of the parliament, can, and through local communities can attend, discuss and recommend but cannot participate in decision-making.

Recently, another form of participation of citizens in local community affairs has developed through strategic planning in local communities. During the development process of development strategies of local communities, partner teams constituting all segments of the community are formed. In the needs analysis process, definition of priorities, determination of goals, and development of strategies, multiple meetings, focus groups and public forums in diverse areas are held, enabling full participation of the population including vulnerable groups such as the Roma, returnees, persons with disabilities and so on. Thus, the local planning process proceeds according to principles of equality and social inclusion.

2. Local Communities in the Function of Social Inclusion and Problem Solving

Beside their defined territorial boundaries, local communities represent a local, social infrastructure where series of measures are secured for direct participation of citizens in political and social life. Citizens can organise and develop different activities that serve their needs by organising around their common interests and needs within small localities where most citizens know and interact with each other, and with the support from local authorities, through securing facilities and materials. In this way, citizens can secure their work and social engagement that would contribute to diminishing social isolation, increasing income and improving their own capabilities, such as communication skills amongst others.

In practice, there are often cases where certain citizens identified in local communities become the main volunteering resource for the community, helping to integrate community problems in all sectors and decision-making levels. The social protection system relies on them to discover beneficiaries, disseminate information on rights and services for fast actions and emergency interventions, in processes of assessment and implementation of plans, as well as organising social actions. Moreover, other sectors such as communal work,

culture and sport institutions, ecological activities, in this way include citizens in identifying, assessing needs and solving problems in their own areas.

Local communities can have an extremely important role in cases where significantly marginalised and socially excluded groups, such as the Roma, returnees, displaced persons, refugees and so on, reside on their territory. In these situations, these communities can be the bearers of initiatives for activities aimed at resolving housing issues, reconstruction of homes, development of a communal infrastructure, inclusion of children into schools and so on.

3. The Local Community, Labour Activation and Employment – The Road to Social Inclusion

Employment is one of the most important methods of reducing poverty and social exclusion and is reflected in all the other elements. Earning an income can bring families out of poverty, offer children the conditions for education, bring individuals out of social isolation and neglect, introduce a person into a working environment and the wider surroundings. The society itself also benefits in many ways.

How can a local community influence activation of the unemployed and thereby increase employment and encourage a series of processes leading to social inclusion?

Local communities can develop their own employment strategies with special measures for unemployed categories with diminished employability that puts them at increased risk of social exclusion. These groups are persons over 50 years of age, persons with low qualifications, elderly women, persons with disabilities, persons in long-term unemployment and so on. Examples of such measures are:

- Local communities can allocate special budgetary funds for stimulating work activation to be awarded as credits and in some cases as, donations. The requirements for the use of these funds would contain specific criteria for socially excluded unemployed groups. The criteria would include the use of additional funds from cantonal and entity levels, as well as the use of benefits from other systems. For example, employment of persons with disabilities is financed additionally through the Employment Fund and funds for professional rehabilitation of these persons, through tax and duty relief for import of equipment, etc.
- Based on analyses of work competencies of the unemployed and labour force demand, local communities can establish and support special programmes for counselling and education of the most vulnerable groups with the aim of improving their self-confidence, employment-seeking skills and qualifications for certain professions that are in demand by employers.
- In cooperation with employment bureaus, local communities can form special coordinating and advisory bodies that would monitor the employment situation, with an emphasis on hard-to-employ groups that would propose jobs that would engage the unemployed and are beneficial for the community.

4. The Local Community and Measures for Poverty Mitigation

Citizens living in poverty have expectations of support from their local community and local authorities in mitigating poverty and preventing the effects of risks that lead into further poverty. Persons in poverty first approach local community institutions for help and are not satisfied with the explanation that some issues are not legally regulated or that it is the jurisdiction of the state or the entity. The local authority must have its own programmes for reacting to poverty, especially for people living below the absolute poverty line. The local community mostly implements poverty reduction programmes through the social protection system by engaging non-governmental organisations that provide services to people living in poverty and contracts with employment bureaus or educational institutions in order to improve opportunities for the poor and unemployed in order to return to the world of employment.

The basic measures that local communities should implement in this area are:

- Development and financing of small projects for economic empowerment of the poor where assistance is provided to families and individuals living in poverty to examine their own resources, acquire new knowledge and skills in project development, business plans, communication with donors and creditors, familiarisation with the market, opportunities for service provision to certain categories of the socially excluded population, and to start family and personal businesses;
- Social assistance programmes for the poor and socially excluded persons such as programmes of minimum standards, assistance to persons with severe disabilities, minorities, families with multiple children etc., which would enable fulfilment of their own needs and strengthening of their own capacities;
- Resolving housing issues of socially vulnerable families and improving housing conditions represent an area that is not within the jurisdiction of any government level. Local communities are called upon the most to develop measures that subsidise living costs of specific vulnerable groups, adapt housing for persons with disabilities and secure housing for the most vulnerable groups;
- Harmonisation of social subsidies at local level with the increasing costs of living;
- Mandatory establishment and strengthening of capacities of centres for social work as main social protection institutions and concentrating information in these institutions so that potential beneficiaries can receive information about own rights in different areas of social security. The centres should develop their own competencies of coordinating different systems and stakeholders. This would also entail the coordination of different programmes of civil society organisations, public institutions, local governments, different donors, companies and individuals who are to be socially included;
- Within the framework of social protection, a local community is able, and should, stimulate the development of social services that satisfy different needs of citizens and provide a life in natural surroundings without the need for institutionalisation or spending time in restrictive institutions;

- Creating working conditions for different associations of citizens and non-governmental organisations that monitor and analyse needs, starts initiatives and offers diverse services in order to acquire financial resources and be able to develop their own programmes; and
- Local communities should initiate decentralisation and redistribution of public funds for the benefit of larger participation of local communities in satisfying the social needs of the poor.

5. The Local Community and Measures for Improving Education

Education is the main way to escape the circle of poverty and social exclusion. Higher education provides more opportunities for better jobs, and hence a higher income, greater use of community resources and greater social inclusion. Social exclusion can be reduced through education programmes in more areas: pre-school education, reform of the school system, and adult education.

- Pre-school education enables the best possible development of a child's identity and preparation for primary school, setting the foundation for lifelong learning. The process of educational inclusion starts with pre-school education, the lack of which can negatively affect later education. Developed societies aim to encompass the largest number of children within pre-school education and completely encompass all the children in the year prior to starting school.
- The responsibility for pre-school education in Bosnia and Herzegovina lies within the exclusive jurisdiction of local communities and should be exercised with the establishment of a sufficient number of pre-school institutions, development of conditions for their operation, and creation of room for the private sector in this field, which would increase the capacities of children's institutions, encompass a greater number of children and improve the quality of work and services through competition. Pre-school institutions with present capacities are not accessible and open enough to children with developmental difficulties and that is why programmes that enable the inclusion of these children should be introduced and developed in each institution.
- It is well known that the pre-school education system in Bosnia and Herzegovina includes children with employed parents who most often are not poor or socially excluded. That is why a special area of local community activities should be dedicated to the subvention of pre-school care for children living in poverty, which will thereby improve their access to these resources.
- Even though the state and entities have jurisdictions over primary and secondary education in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the local communities should be committed to securing conditions for schools through different forms of material support, to monitor all children attending primary education, to introduce mechanisms that would allow all children to continue secondary education, to help schools develop teaching programmes and other educational activities and organised recreational time for children from socially excluded families, to help socially excluded families and families at risk in order to have equal access to education through programmes

or intended funds and to promote inclusive education for all children, and especially for children with difficulties in physical and mental development.

- Through partnership with the non-governmental sector, the local community can develop and implement projects that promote rights to national, cultural and physical differences and in that way contribute to strengthening social cohesion.
- Adult education in Bosnia and Herzegovina is an area that is completely neglected; illiteracy is on the rise, as is the number of those unqualified and without basic skills necessary for employment due to drop-out from regular schooling. Local communities should develop measures that would increase employability of adult unemployed citizens. Such measures include the establishment of institutions, which would, through shortened and adjusted programmes, organise different schools, courses, seminars and so on for acquiring different knowledge and skills. Other measures are development of agreements with employment bureaus on committing to direct unqualified unemployed persons to courses and professional qualifications according to market demands.

6. Cultural, Antidiscrimination and Informational Measures in the Local Community that Increase Social Inclusion

Local government and community institutions can regularly monitor activities and events in the whole community that lead to discrimination of groups and individuals. Each situation should be addressed. In particular, recurring, potentially regular situations should be addressed by the local authorities and special strategies developed with systemic measures for the prevention of discrimination, systemic inclusion of discriminated groups and influencing public awareness and the culture of the community. Systemic measures can be developed in different areas:

- Informing increases awareness and enables inclusion of citizens in the events, programmes and activities in all segments of local community life. It is the duty of local authorities to organise a local information network comprised of the media, with proper informational and promotional material for informing local communities via internet, reports, official heralds etc., providing citizens with necessary information on a regular basis.
- Institutions of the local community should provide socially excluded and vulnerable groups with access to information and free legal assistance with regards to their rights, procedures, protections, complaint departments, etc.
- Organisation of education seminars for staff in public institutions, with the aim of preventing discriminatory behaviour and promoting human rights.
- Organisation of educational seminars for journalists to train them in monitoring poverty, social exclusion and other social problems and to properly inform the public about these issues.
- Removal of architectural barriers and providing physical accessibility should be achieved for all persons with mobility difficulties.

- Making sure information is accessible to all persons (sight-impaired persons, hearing-impaired persons, foreign citizens).
- Emphasizing and promoting to the public positive examples of solidarity, humanity and sensitivity to vulnerable groups in order to increase sensitivity of the entire population and recognise such cases in local communities.
- Organisation of social actions that include the local population in solving problems of socially excluded and poor individuals, families and groups.
- Supporting local initiatives for self-organisation and association of citizens in solving common problems by all institutions of the local community.

V SOCIAL INCLUSION IN LOCAL COMMUNITIES – EXAMPLES OF GOOD PRACTICE

1. Support to Civil Society Organisations

In all local communities that represent a local self-governance unit there are different associations with goals of realising and protecting particular individual, group and general social interests. The most common associations are those of groups of people joined by common problems for which the public sector and system's institutions do not have adequate measures or mechanisms. Amongst the socially excluded groups, associations are organised by persons with disabilities, the elderly, pensioners in particular, representatives of children's interests, the youth, minorities (Roma, returnees), women and all others who work in accordance with the mission of their association.

In practice, municipalities support the work of these associations with municipal budgets. Close to 60% of funds realised by civil society organisations are accumulated from municipal budgets.¹⁸ According to the same source, the greatest financial support is provided to sport organisations (44.1%) while 42.9% of total funds is allocated for financing citizen associations and other forms of organisation of citizens.

Support is provided in two ways. The first is the inherited usual practice to continuously support certain organisations, without special procedures. These organisations are mostly organisations of persons with disabilities, associations of pensioners, the Red Cross and others. Each year local budgets allocate funds for regular activities of their organisations (staff, material expenses), that is, certain activities that are deemed to be of significance for the organisation. Thus, in 2007, 22.7% of funds in BiH (same source) mostly from local sources, were awarded without tender procedures, mostly through programmes and plans. In this way, a certain number of organisations have special privileges because they receive funds without adequate programmes while the monitoring of their expenditure is not developed or systematic. In addition to the support they receive from local budgets, they very often receive office space, as well as other benefits.

The second way is increasingly being implemented in local communities over the last several years. It involves financial support of associations through projects which the municipality

¹⁸ SDC/IBHI (2007). *Civil Society in Strengthening Social Inclusion*, Sarajevo: SDC & IBHI.

determines are appropriate for the needs of its citizens that local authorities and institutions cannot provide through their regular activities. In these cases, the municipality announces public tenders with defined aims and detailed requirements and in accordance with the laws on public procurement, while associations whose activities meet the concrete needs apply to this tender. This provides all associations dealing with local needs equal access to budgetary funds, on the one hand, and satisfaction of the needs of the local population, on the other.

The examples provided are practiced in BiH municipalities and their influence on social inclusion is multiple:

- By providing financial resources and other conditions, local communities contribute to the work of associations of citizens that gather socially excluded individuals who, as a consequence, emerge from their isolation and begin participating in community life: in planning of measures that answer to their needs, influencing decision-making, informing other socially excluded persons, promoting other models of life and work and assisting community activities in solving problems while applying own responsibilities as a citizen.
- Creating conditions for accessing public funds to civil society organisations contributes to the sustainability of these organisations and promotes equality and transparency in expenditure of public funds as well as interest and activities of members of these organisations.
- The needs of the socially excluded are being met to a greater degree, which also helps in their integration.

2. Community Activity Projects – Partnerships and Inclusion

Community Activity Projects (CAPs) are local initiatives based on community needs directed at the provision of social services to vulnerable and socially excluded groups as defined within the municipal social protection system development plans in pilot municipalities which were part of the “Reforming the Systems and Structures of Central and Local Social Policy Regimes in Bosnia and Herzegovina” Project supported by DFID (UK Department for International Development). The project was implemented in four local communities (Zenica, Gornji Vakuf-Uskoplje, Banja Luka and Trebinje) from 2002-2005 and developed the practice of design and implementation of small service provision projects with full partnership between the governmental, non-governmental and private sectors. These projects built upon the existing activities in the local community and examined new models of providing and improving social services in the field, thereby contributing to a better quality of social protection.

During the course of the project, around 100 CAPs were implemented with different levels of local community participation in project financing. At the beginning, local communities were completely supported by the project. Later on, they participated in the project with 50% and finally with 70%. Upon completion of the project, the activities in the pilot municipalities were continued regularly as good practices. Some municipalities to this day still allocate funds for these projects and finance them entirely. That is how, for example, the municipality of Trebinje annually finances 7 to 10 new projects based on the same model.

Positive experiences from these projects were important for the reform of the social protection system at the local level in Bosnia and Herzegovina because they improved the provision of social services that were until then neglected in practice, increased the scope of beneficiaries and access to social rights, included a larger number of beneficiaries in activities through associations and several hundreds of new volunteers as well as developed a new sustainable practice.

The projects themselves, in large number, involved activities that represented measures for social inclusion. These were projects that promoted inclusion of persons with disabilities – especially children, activities of citizens in local communities on discovering and mapping needs, day services (clubs and day centres for the elderly and persons with disabilities), different types of support activities to families with children living in poverty, etc.

Beside the direct influence on the social protection system and the quality of services to beneficiaries, a significant contribution of CAPs is also in: development of transparent procedures for programme creation and implementation, creation of selection procedures, motivating civil society organisations about social needs, establishing partnership as a new approach in the operation of public institutions, all of which were unfamiliar to the operations of local communities.

The CAP model shows how local communities can, through learning, use their own resources in the way that best suits the needs of their citizens. Utilisation of these given experiences in future local community activities in the social inclusion process is possible in several areas and for different socially excluded groups. These are programmes directed at employment of the socially excluded such as the elderly and persons with disabilities that can be based on these experiences and improve employment through partnership and joint utilisation of all resources. For example, unemployed elderly women with low qualifications can find employment within the social protection sector (care for the elderly and immobile persons), while local communities, together with employment bureaus and other supporting sources of funds for employment, can financially support social protection institutions to train them for a particular job and hiring. In this way, service users change from their passive position of acceptance to becoming creators who, with own work, provide security for themselves, thereby reducing poverty and social exclusion.

Besides the pilot municipalities that implemented and are implementing CAPs, other municipalities also apply this as best practice and developed procedures for supporting similar programs.

3. Lessons Learnt and the Social Inclusion Foundation

The examples presented from the widely dispersed local communities in Bosnia and Herzegovina allow for the conclusion that local financial sources exist and are used for a series of activities that help overcome poverty and social exclusion. The funds that are allocated from local communities in this way are significant (several tens of millions of KM per year). The utilisation and distribution of these funds is not coordinated by any of the BiH government levels. Precise records of their use are non-existent; and the effects of the use

of these funds and the benefits to the beneficiaries are not monitored systemically or with expertise. Criteria for the allocation of funds differ from community to community. The more developed areas (economically and through an established structure of democratic procedures and relations) have created a significant resource for local development; while the less developed areas apply this practice only sporadically.

There is no research available to document all local sources directly used in the function of the social inclusion process and mitigation of social exclusion. Moreover, no research information is available on funds that the local community can additionally allocate as its own contribution for these purposes. In only one study on NGO financing¹⁹ it was found that approximately 107,000,000.00 KM per year was invested by Bosnia and Herzegovina in support of the non-governmental sector (citizen associations, NGOs, sports organisations, veterans' organisations). All these organisations as institutions of civil society are directly serving in the function of social inclusion.

If these funds were added to international funds for financing civil society projects estimated at around 25 million KM, we can see that this represents an extraordinary resource for major social programmes for poverty reduction and solving issues of unemployment and social inclusion in general.

One of the ways to implement changes and utilise the funds would be to form a unique institution (whether it is named a foundation or something else) that would have multiple roles:

- Monitoring and locating available sources for use in the process of social inclusion of socially excluded individuals, families and groups;
- Coordination of stakeholders, programmes, sources and criteria of different organisations in developing and leading social inclusion policies;
- Financial support to organisations with social inclusion programs;
- Establishing funding criteria: independent financing, funds mergers, lobbying and advocating to donors etc., work in partnership, determining priority beneficiaries, etc.
- Developing mechanisms for monitoring the use of funds, implementation of projects and programme planning;
- Expert support to local communities in programme planning and development, access to donations, foundations and other sources;
- Informational-research-analytical and publishing work would entail an information system, dissemination of information, promotion and propaganda, research on the status and movement of socially excluded vulnerable groups, as well as printing and distribution of different reports, analyses and successful examples.

¹⁹ IBHI (2008). Allocation of Government Sector for the Non-governmental Sector in Bosnia and Herzegovina for 2007, Sarajevo: SDC, OSF & IBHI.

THE ROLE OF CIVIL SOCIETY IN ENSURING AND PROTECTING THE RIGHT TO SOCIAL INCLUSION

INTRODUCTION

Social exclusion is one of key social problems in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Given the extent of problems of exclusion of citizens from cultural, social, economic and political life, civil society is faced with the big challenge of how to work on developing stable democratic institutions in a situation where over one half of the population is excluded from key aspects of community life. Significant activities aiming to address this problem came into the spotlight following the publication of the UNDP/IBHI Human Development Report on the subject of *Social Inclusion in Bosnia and Herzegovina* in 2007. Since the publication of this report, two important changes occurred. First was the commencement of the development of the Social Inclusion Strategy, and at the same time non-governmental organisations started the initiative for the establishment of the Social Inclusion Foundation.

This brief essay aims to point to the possibilities of the development of civil society and its role in the integration of citizens in all aspects of life, attempting to point at the same time to the fact that without progress in this area one cannot hope for significant success in creating stable democratic institutions capable of guaranteeing respect of human dignity, social justice and solidarity which can create an atmosphere of tolerance, non-violence, pluralism and non-discrimination.

This paper discusses progress made and challenges still awaiting civil society in its attempt to ensure and protect the right to social inclusion. The primary purpose of this role of civil society is to contribute to the reduction of inequality between people and create greater social stability, security and involvement of citizens. In order to be able to analyse the potential of civil society in ensuring and protecting the right to social inclusion, within the first part of this paper, we will discuss progress made in development of civil society as a mechanism of inclusion of citizens in the process of transition. The progress made in the area of development of civil society represents an important factor in understanding the capacities of civil society in preventing exclusion of citizens and contributing to their inclusion, primarily for the purpose of identifying the time frame that was required for the capacities of civil society to become capable of actively and strongly opposing the growing phenomenon of social exclusion. In the second part of this document, we will discuss human rights as a key argument of civil society in ensuring and protecting the right to social inclusion of citizens. In this section, an overview of differences between human

rights guaranteed under the Constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the actual state of affairs will be presented, in addition to an overview of the impact of the disproportion between guaranteed and actually realised human rights on exclusion of citizens from the most important aspects of social life. In the third section, we will try to suggest the key directions of action of civil society in its attempt to increase inclusion of citizens. Discussing the principles of human rights in this section, we have attempted to point to the key barriers and challenges ahead of civil society over the coming years.

DEVELOPMENT OF CIVIL SOCIETY AS A MECHANISM OF INCLUSION

Over the past seventeen years, Bosnia and Herzegovina was trying to build its civil society - the backbone of democracy. There is still much to be done, given the fact that Bosnia and Herzegovina is grouped in the category of hybrid regimes, which is just halfway through the process of its transition towards becoming a stable democratic society. According to the most recent data published by Freedom House, the progress made is similar to the progress made by Ukraine, Georgia and Moldova, states that are still unable to unlock the gate on their way towards the European Union, due to their slow progress in the process of transition.¹ The progress made in the establishment of democratic institutions is a key indicator of how successfully Bosnia and Herzegovina secured the necessary involvement of citizens in political, economic, social and cultural life and how capable it is in ensuring respect of human rights and protection against negative consequences of exclusion.

In order to be able to fully understand the role of civil society for inclusion of citizens, in the context of human rights and rights to social inclusion, it is important to understand the conditions for the functioning of civil society at the beginning of a democratic transition. Before 1991, civil society did not play any significant role in the process of inclusion of citizens and the state did not allow any interference of non-governmental stakeholders in the protection and fulfilment of human rights, including the right to social inclusion. The system in power was supposed to ensure full inclusion of citizens in all aspects of life and to acknowledge that it was necessary to resort to external mechanisms to ensure inclusion of citizens would suggest the admission that the system was not what the state was trying to portray. These values that were imposed by the political authority were accepted in society, given the fact that civil society played only a marginal role in the development and implementation of democratic changes in the country, which commenced in 1990.

Civil Society after the War

Negative experiences originating from the beginning of the democratic transition did not serve as a signal that Bosnia and Herzegovina would not be able to implement democratic reform and create a society in which human rights would not be violated and in which a

¹ Freedom House Europe: Nations in Transit 2007: Bosnia and Herzegovina

large majority of the population would be included in all aspects of life without strong civil society. During the years that followed, dictated by the priorities of international donors, the role of civil society primarily focused on humanitarian work and the assistance in the process of post-war reconstruction, which contributed to creating an impression that civil society was only necessary in exceptional cases of transition. In such an environment, even the International Community as a leader in development of civil society, did not contribute enough to raising awareness of the importance of civil society to development of democratic institutions. Instead, it assumed some of the key functions of civil society, such as development of public policies, advocating interests of citizens and protection of their human rights. Despite this, and primarily due to the support of the International Community, over the first five years of post-war reconstruction, civil society succeeded in soliciting support for the development of its capacities and raising awareness among citizens that it could successfully trigger positive changes in the country.

As a result of the Euro-democratic wave that swept across the entire territory of the Balkans, including Serbia, Albania, Bulgaria and even Turkey², beginning in 2000, civil society gained a wider manoeuvring space for participating in activities which enable involvement of citizens in decision-making processes, but also in essential reform processes in the society which should, among other things, have an impact on the higher degree of respect of human rights and higher degree of citizen involvement. As a result, the age when non-governmental organisations were perceived as anti-governmental organisations came to an end. This wave of changes enabled the implementation of very important reforms in Bosnia and Herzegovina which brought improvement to the election process and strengthened the role of civil society and independent media essentially contributing to the change in perception of the role of civil society in resolving problems that citizens are confronted with. The election of a pro-democratic government in the 2000 general election sent a signal that the window of opportunity was open for active participation of civil society in processes of reform. In addition to the change of the political atmosphere, the newly elected government started defining a strategic approach in addressing key issues which represent a barrier to the implementation of transition processes, such as poverty, violation of human rights and economic and social rights in particular, and left the door wide open for civil society to take active part in the development of policies which aim to overcome these barriers. Participation in the development of Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper was significant to civil society in that it enabled civil society representatives to take part in the process of its development, but also in that the government authorities for the first time publicly expressed their commitment to ensuring changes that will enable a higher degree of economic and social integration of society through the partnership of the government, non-governmental and private sectors.

During the course of this period, strong emphasis was placed on the requirement to engage in decision-making in partnership with civil society, even after 2002, when national political parties resurfaced and came back to power, especially at the local level. Civil Society became more seriously involved in dealing with the issue of how to ensure a minimum standard

² Freedom House: Freedom in the World in 2007

of human rights and how to involve all groups in the society, especially those that were marginalised, in economic, social, political and cultural life. The process of cooperation of the civil sector with state institutions was strongly supported by the International Community, which placed emphasis on the implementation of institutional reforms that could only be implemented in cooperation with local authorities. Given the fact that the International Community was the most important supporter of development of civil society in the country, a change in the treatment of local authorities by the International Community directly suggested a change in the treatment of non-governmental organisations, which resulted in requirements that civil society plans and implements its activities in *close* cooperation with representatives of government institutions.

This time period is of key importance from the perspective of the role of civil society in citizen involvement. First and foremost, civil society gained the opportunity to become part of the decision-making bodies of the government, which enabled it to establish the credibility it needed to be able to advocate for the right of citizens to be involved. As a result of this process, the first non-governmental organisations which developed their advocacy capacities started emerging. Their advocacy efforts at the state level enabled them to increase the influence civil society had on decision-making process, though it was still limited to those areas that did not rank high on the list of political priorities of the local authorities. Due to the low level of development of democratic institutions, especially within government structures and the relative inexperience of civil society, but also due to the strong influence of the International Community, by the end of 2005, civil society was not capable of ensuring involvement of citizens in the development of key reform policies in the country. Civil society did influence public policies at the national level, but this influence was formal and there was no real influence on the final form of public policies, which was most vividly illustrated during the course of the adoption of decisions on the reform of the indirect taxation system when the authorities refused to give in, and give up their model of introduction of the VAT, regardless of the views of civil society.

Civil Society Awakening

The end of 2005 and the beginning of 2006 announced changes that were to give shape to the altered role of civil society in citizen involvement. Reforms that were underway ensured fulfilment of most of the conditions set forth in the EU feasibility study and negotiations on the Stabilisation and Accession Agreement commenced soon afterwards. The reform of the indirect taxation system and the process of the reform of the Constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina caused the issues of respect of human rights and issues of possible models of socio-economic policies to outweigh the so-called “national issues”, which were of key importance for winning and maintaining political power in the country all these years. This change of political priorities and shift of attention from the “national” to “socio-economic” sphere came at the same time as the shift in the approach of the International Community. Encouraged by democratic progress, the International Community publicly announced the end of its interference in the decision making process. It was also announced that the Office of the High Representative, which was supposed to ensure the full transfer of competencies

to local authorities within one year of transition, would be closed. Unfortunately, the opportunity for active and significant participation of civil society was not welcomed by the local authorities. That was particularly clearly manifested during the debate on the model of introduction of VAT, when the local authorities completely ignored the demands of civil society, despite clear evidence that the selected option had flaws that would affect the poor.

Events that took place at the end of 2005 and beginning of 2006 brought about a change of strategy of leading civil society organisations that were unhappy with the results of cooperation with the government sector and its approach to key socio-economic issues in the country. Non-governmental organisations representing the most active part of civil society had no other choice but to change their strategy of involvement and advocating citizens' interests. The new approach, which started with the initiative of GROZD (Citizens' Getting Organised for Democracy - Građansko organizovanje za demokratiju) gave birth to the development of principles according to which civil society should openly advocate public interest, regardless of the consequences of possible disagreement of the local authorities. As a result of local level advocating experiences, the new strategy aimed at responding to the question of how civil society should be organised in the newly created situation, especially in terms of resolving key problems of all residents of Bosnia and Herzegovina. During the course of 2006, due to activities implemented by GROZD, the change in approach triggered a form of evolution of awareness within civil society and citizens, bringing to light the fact that involvement in decision-making processes was one of the fundamental functions of civil society, and that local authorities can effect improvement of the standard of living of the population and improve the level of welfare of specific socially vulnerable categories in the society only in cooperation with civil society.

Obstacles to Attaining a More Efficient Role of Civil Society

The attempt of civil society to have a more substantial influence on the final outcome of key socio-economic reforms and the attempt of the GROZD coalition to contribute to a stronger focus of parliamentary political parties in resolving key problems of citizens made it possible for several very important barriers which prevented the active and substantial role of civil society in advocating and involvement of citizens in political life of Bosnia and Herzegovina to be recognised.

The main barrier recognised in this process is the lack of capacities of public administration in planning, development and implementation of public policies. The vast majority of government decisions are made with no evaluation and analysis, solely on the basis of personal views of key decision-makers (prime ministers and ministers, and mainly mayors and local heads of political parties at the local level). The lack of capacities within government institutions was also noted in legislative institutions, that base their decisions on acceptance or rejection of certain drafts of public policies, not on the benefit they may bring to citizens, but on the judgement of the significance of a certain motion, depending on who submitted it.

Another barrier that prevents civil society involvement in decision-making processes is reflected in the existence of opportunist groups that do not support any form of

democratisation within the existing decision making system, because that would cause the rights and privileges of those groups to diminish, given the fact that as a rule, their rights were granted at the expense of others. The best example of power of such groups are organisations advocating interests of veterans, which openly obstruct any changes in the decision making process, except those that would enable their members to get higher benefits. The power of these groups was best illustrated by the statement of a Member of the BiH Presidency, made in September 2006, according to which his resignation was requested by certain groups outside the Government, who can no longer decide on appointments of ministers, forging political alliances or the privatisation of state-owned companies.³

The third barrier is reflected in the failure of all efforts of the reform of the public administration system which aimed at the removal of numerous administrative obstacles mainly made to prevent civil society involvement in political life, combined with the passage of purely formal solutions to create an impression of public participation in decision-making.

These barriers have a very strong impact on the role of civil society in the process of citizen involvement and exercising the right of citizens to be included. Over the past two years, civil society started a number of initiatives targeting the elimination of those obstacles. Some of them targeted specific government activities such as budgetary spending, while others focused on creating an institutional framework for cooperation between civil society and the government. Although initial efforts invested in these activities yielded results, such as the signing of the Cooperation Agreement between the Council of Ministers and civil society, civil society involvement in decision making still has very limited reach. This lack of tangible result is not only caused by the fact that it takes time before agreed solutions are actually implemented, but also by the fact that those forces which are not interested in the true involvement of civil society in decision-making have also gained in strength.

However, even despite the fact that these barriers significantly decrease the efficient engagement of civil society in practice, it may be claimed that civil society made great progress in creating mechanisms of involvement and protection from social exclusion. It took only ten years for a completely disorganised and marginal group of advocates of civil society and open society to evolve into a network of several hundred inter-connected civil society organisations capable of reaching a common view and gaining the support of the majority of citizens in key social issues. Given the overall political climate in the country, the poor level of development of democratic institutions, the significant influence of groups promoting “national interests”, the dominance of a philosophy according to which the main purpose of winning an election is power, rather than the wellbeing of everyone, the presence of the International Community which pushed civil society from the key decision-making processes, the fear of the majority of people for their own security due to growing nationalistic tendencies on “the other side”, civil society has made an extraordinary breakthrough in fulfilling its role of promoting, protecting and ensuring the right of citizens to be involved in all aspects of political, economic and social life.

³ Statement made by Mr. Sulejman Tihić, Member of the BiH Presidency, during his appearance on a TV Hayat broadcast, in September 2006.

HUMAN RIGHTS – A KEY ARGUMENT OF CIVIL SOCIETY

At the moment, civil society is confronted with a challenge of how to get other civil society organisations (media, political groups, professional and religious organisations) to embrace principles accepted by the part of active non-governmental organisations, in order to create democratic institutions which will guarantee freedom from exclusion for the benefit of the interest of any group in society, regardless of the qualities attributed to that group by history.

Human Rights as an Underutilised Resource

The right to citizen involvement stems from the Universal Declaration of Human Rights that guarantees everyone the right to freely define their political views and freely engage in their economic, social and cultural development. Under the provisions of Article 21 of the Universal Declaration, the right to take part in the governance of one's country is guaranteed to everyone. In order to prevent the government from resorting to invisible economic, social and cultural barriers in order to prevent fulfilment of this human right, provisions of Article 22 of the Universal Declaration require the states to guarantee to everyone fulfilment of their economic, social and cultural rights necessary for full involvement and free development of every individual in all aspects of life.

Unfortunately, the fulfilment of these rights is not defined by mandatory provisions, since the right detailed by the provisions of Article 22 of the Universal Declaration is subject to the “organisational and material resources available to each state”, which is the reason why citizens of different countries do not have the same level of economic, social and cultural rights. As a rule, in the states that guarantee a lower level of these rights, the share of the population that is excluded from different forms of social life tends to be bigger.

Pursuant to the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration, states are required to take specific steps (up to the maximum of their resources) to gradually fulfil the rights recognised by the Universal Declaration by defining the fulfilment of fundamental human rights and freedoms as their developmental goal. This is a fundamental argument for civil society, not only in the area of inclusion, but in all other areas in which specific human rights cannot be exercised without appropriate activities and development plans. In addition to this primary responsibility, the responsibility of the state to fulfil two fundamental principles of human rights through its development activities, specifically – equality of women and men and the ban of discrimination on any grounds such as gender, language, religion, political affiliation and national, ethnic or social background, remains crucial for the work of civil society in the area of citizen involvement. Any activities implemented with disregard of these two principles bear the risk of contributing to further exclusion of a part of the population.

Standards of human rights facilitate activities in the area of social exclusion by defining other human rights principles. Activities in the area of exclusion have to be focused on building capacities of people in all areas and increasing the number of choices available to them, even in the circumstances when economic exclusion is the most common cause of

exclusion of a majority of citizens. For this reason, demands of civil society for the state to prioritise the fight against exclusion and poverty and to improve the position of marginalised groups are really demands based on the principle of the respect of human rights. The goal of civil society is to ensure development is perceived as a combined economic, social, cultural and political priority and to strive for constant improvement of the wellbeing of the entire population and all individuals in it, on the basis of their active, free and willing participation in development.

Given the fact that the government is the most significant stakeholder (or bearer of responsibility) in the process of ensuring citizen involvement, we usually associate the government with the principle of accountability, (un)justifiably disregarding the extent to which other stakeholders (such as the private sector, for instance) respect this principle. When it comes to citizen involvement, the principle of accountability makes it easier for us to identify requirements and responsibilities of state institutions which are expected to take both positive action in the area of citizen involvement (to protect, ensure and improve their rights) and negative action (to refrain from violating citizens' rights). Their responsibilities also include ensuring that universal standards are translated into local standards, policies and measures that could serve as a basis to gauge the progress in ensuring respect for human rights and accountability for their implementation and protection. This approach to development needs to be based on appropriate regulations, administrative procedures and practices, institutions and mechanisms that would operate in order to ensure protection of human rights and react to cases of their violation. The role of the state is of particular importance in this domain. Resorting to political will and certain mechanisms, the state has to provide necessary regulations and administrative and institutional mechanisms to turn that political will into reality. The primary responsibility for establishment and implementation of systems of human rights lies with states. However, the International Community is also responsible for ensuring international cooperation in this area as well as development of systems of human rights in developing countries that require resources and capacities.

The third principle of great importance to activities of civil society aiming at increasing inclusion, is about giving preference to strategies focusing on training of excluded persons. This approach implies that state actions should be focused on the provision of direct assistance to excluded citizens to enable them to take active part in the process of their inclusion. The aim is not to create a perfect tool for inclusion of citizens, but to enable people to take active part in shaping their own life and the life of their communities. Respect of this principle requires constant progress in the area of access to information, institutions, decision and policy making. Furthermore, this approach involves integration of specific features of particular communities (local, regional, national, etc.) into the formulation of activities of citizen involvement. This means that activities undertaken by the state have to be based on specific features, interests and needs of people living in the community, rather than on the acceptance of ready made models and solutions from other sources or recipes that do not take into account these specific features.

For all of these reasons, human rights standards represent a fundamental tool of civil society in its activities in the area of citizen involvement. Their application enables implementation

of measures for eliminating causes of exclusion and affirmative action aiming to improve the position of members of marginalised groups. Women, members of a particular race, nationality, ethnic group, age or religion could all find themselves in such situation. Driven by the principles of human rights, civil society has the right to demand that groups most severely affected by the problem of exclusion be identified in every community, at the local, regional and national level, particularly those groups that have no access to the effective protection and realisation of their fundamental guaranteed rights. Using international human rights standards for tailoring its activities aiming to improve the standard of living, especially of marginalised groups, decrease poverty, realise gender equality, create conditions for full employment and regeneration of a polluted environment, civil society will ascertain that its activities contribute to positive changes in the society as a whole and that local authorities have an obligation to support it.

Our Reality

Although each UN member state is required to respect human rights detailed in the Universal Declaration, it is obvious that it is the opposite case in practice. Primarily due to causes of exclusion of people from different areas of social life, a relatively limited number of states can pride themselves on full compliance with international human rights standards. The cause for this situation is mainly reflected in the fact that regulations of most countries are not harmonised with the requirements of the progressive realisation of human rights, especially economic and social rights, which represent a key mechanism for promoting social progress and improving the standard of living. Unless local legislators ensure minimum security necessary for a decent life to each individual, it is highly likely that the state will limit its limited resources to the realisation of human rights guaranteed by the Universal Declaration. Under such circumstances, it is particularly difficult to realise those human rights that require substantial investment of available resources on the part of the state. Given the fact that all human rights are interdependent and interrelated, in the situation when the state respects guaranteed civil and political rights and disregards its obligation to respect costly economic and social rights, what happens in practice is that citizens' civil and political rights become indirectly limited as a result.

It could be said that this description fits the reality of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Pursuant to the Constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the state is required to protect, respect and progressively fulfil all human rights. In practice, these provisions of the Constitution are respected only in the part that relates to civil and political rights while the practice of discrimination and disregard for the minimum of economic and social rights is widespread, which results in mass exclusion of citizens from economic or social life, and indirectly from political life as well. This is our reality.

If we were to ask any government official why Bosnia and Herzegovina tolerates the violation of economic and social rights, the answer would probably have something to do with Article 22. of the Universal Declaration and it would be *that economic and social rights of citizens can only be exercised to the extent possible given the funding available to the state*. In a situation where public spending in Bosnia and Herzegovina exceeds half of its gross domestic product

and when even that is not enough to guarantee minimum economic and social rights, civil society often beats against a stone wall that seems impossible to go around. This, or similar responses by the authorities, could be tolerated as justified for most countries which do not guarantee citizens their economic and social rights the way Bosnia and Herzegovina does. However, this argument cannot be an excuse for Bosnia and Herzegovina, not because the state perhaps has enough funding, but does not utilise it in a rational manner, but because the Constitution requires the state of Bosnia and Herzegovina to ensure its citizens in both its entities the highest level of internationally recognised human rights and fundamental freedoms.⁴

Due to internationally accepted human rights standards, civil society can assess whether certain human rights are respected to a minimum degree and whether the standard level of respect of human rights has been reached. If a certain right is ensured at a level below its minimum, such a level of the realisation of this right is evaluated as if the right is not at all guaranteed. In addition, even ensuring the minimum level of human rights is not enough for Bosnia and Herzegovina and represents a violation of human rights, because the Constitution prescribes the highest, not minimum level of human rights. This is what it looks like in practice: the right to social assistance is guaranteed to every individual in Bosnia and Herzegovina if the individual does not have any source of income for any reason. If an individual does not work, neither he or she, nor members of his or her family have any source of income, the state is required to provide social assistance (or the more commonly used phrase: “social welfare”), the amount of which will enable the attainment of a minimum of existential needs (at the moment the amount paid for this purpose ranges between 0.00 and 40.00 KM). The minimum standard of respect of these rights is defined as a share of the amount of the minimum wage and it is precisely determined as no less than 15% of the minimum wage. In the case of Bosnia and Herzegovina, it could be acknowledged that the state ensures the right to social assistance if socially vulnerable individuals were to receive 51.00 KM in assistance per month.⁵ If all socially vulnerable persons had this minimum guaranteed amount, then we would be certain that the cause of exclusion of socially vulnerable citizens is not in their subjective reasons (they do not want to be included in social life), but rather in objective reasons (they cannot become included in social life). Similarly, it is possible to apply human rights instruments to determine key causes of exclusion of other groups in society, such as women, unemployed individuals, workers, elderly persons, the rural population or any other marginalised group in society.

CIVIL SOCIETY – AN EFFICIENT DETERRENT TO CITIZEN EXCLUSION

The example of Bosnia and Herzegovina can illustrate how formal recognition of economic and social rights does not guarantee a high degree of citizen involvement. We can also conclude that a low level of respect for these rights causes an increase in exclusion and that

⁴ Article 2, Item 1 of the Constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina

⁵ Given the minimum wage totalled no more than 380.00 KM (343.00 KM x 15% = 51.00 KM).

improvement of the level of respect for these rights could be used as effective protection of citizens from exclusion. Unfortunately, we can also see that the mere approach to the improvement of access to economic and social rights could be problematic and that obstacles are present in the entire chain of the fulfilment of rights, from declarations to processes and procedures of fulfilment to available resources necessary for these rights to be implemented by the state as the bearer of responsibility.

Activities of civil society in the area of citizen involvement through a higher degree of protection, respect and fulfilment of human rights are limited by specific obstacles reflected through:

- Imprecise definitions of rights and privileges;
- Limitation of rights only to particular categories;
- Lack of a minimum standard of the fulfilment of rights;
- Inadequate public resources (money, staff, equipment) allocated to ensure these rights;
- Fragmentation of responsibility among different levels of authority;
- Lack of comprehensive reform within the social sector; and
- Prejudice against certain groups.

All these and many other specific issues make it hard for civil society to work on ensuring citizen involvement in community life. Due to these barriers, citizens find it difficult to access all rights of relevance for a decent and meaningful life, which is the reason they are excluded from all aspects of community life.

In its attempts to contribute to elimination of barriers that prevent inclusion of citizens, civil society has found itself confronted with a difficult task of initiating and participating in the process that will ensure that everyone, regardless of their experience and circumstances, should realise their full potential. Only through this process will it be possible to ensure significant progress in the area of inclusion of citizens which includes economic inclusion (through provision of an adequate income and employment) which is necessary, but is not the only condition for full and meaningful inclusion of citizens. Civil society is confronted with the challenge of how the respect of the three main principles that guarantee inclusion of citizens can be incorporated into this process. These principles are: equality, non-discrimination and participation. Unless these principles are respected, it is possible that even the progress in respect of human rights (especially economic and social rights) would not result in the increased inclusion of citizens. As we have seen, inclusion of citizens depends on the level of respect of their rights and the strength of the process that aims to remove key barriers to their full inclusion and acceptance of principles that the process of inclusion is based upon. The application of these principles in practice means that, in its efforts in the area of the inclusion of citizens, civil society should focus on:

- **Support to development of excluded citizens.** The focus on individual development is very important because people cannot be developed by someone else. Instead, they have to develop themselves. People, including those who are excluded, need to be recognised as key actors in their own inclusion, rather than as passive beneficiaries or providers of goods and services.

- **Active participation of excluded citizens.** Active participation of excluded citizens in the process of inclusion is of key importance, not only as the final goal, but also as the process that leads to the realisation of inclusion. Active participation of citizens in the process of inclusion should not be understood as if “they” participate in “our” activities. It should be the opposite. From the perspective of human rights, participation is not only necessary, but also an essential aspect of the process of inclusion, since every individual in society is a holder of rights. The fact that someone is a holder of a right suggests that participation is not a matter of choice, but a matter of responsibility.
- **Empowerment of excluded citizens.** According to the approach based on respect of human rights, the essence of human rights implies self-respect and equality. This implies access to inclusion focused on building capacities of excluded citizens, where support should be focused on empowering/developing those capacities of excluded citizens that caused them to become excluded. Empowerment of citizens actually represents a specific process of learning and doing which strengthens capacities, including analytical and organisational skills and political awareness necessary for the excluded citizens to understand the meaning of their rights and to be able to freely associate for the purpose of improvement of their quality of life.

One can easily conclude that significant progress in the area of inclusion of citizens cannot be expected to be made as a result of reliance on the traditional approach to development, which assumes that economic development contributes to the elimination of the exclusion of citizens and that the key to success is to ensure the efficient role of the state in the economic development of the country. Unfortunately, regardless of how successful the authorities are in the area of economic development, without focus on individual development and participation of the individual in development processes and implementation of measures that would directly target his empowerment, the problem of exclusion (or fear of exclusion) will still be the key problem experienced by our citizens.

How to Move on

For civil society to succeed in its effort to contribute to increasing the rate of inclusion of citizens, its activities in the area of inclusion have to be considered in the light of respect, protection and progressive realisation of human rights. Activities in the area of development of cultural, economic, social, political and civil rights need to be integrated into activities targeting the increase of inclusion of citizens. As we have demonstrated at the beginning of this paper, civil society made great progress in building its own capacities that could now be focused on the implementation of this common goal. This progress presents civil society with a twofold challenge. It needs to respond to the question of how support could be solicited for the process that will aim to contribute to the elimination of barriers causing exclusion of citizens and the question of how to solicit support for inclusion of citizens in everyday practice. Results accomplished thus far, particularly in the area of adoption of the Social Inclusion Strategy and in the area of the establishment of the Social Inclusion Foundation lead us to believe that civil society would ensure necessary support in its efforts to create society that would not exclude its citizens from important aspects of life.

If we all commit ourselves to work on the strategy, Bosnia and Herzegovina will be able to enter a new age, in which it will aspire to create conditions for a decent life for all of its citizens. Implementation of the Strategy should contribute to creating a society in which citizens will live in prosperity, peace, freedom and security. If we do create conditions for the efficient operation of the Social Inclusion Foundation, civil society will for the first time have an institutional system of support that will encourage further development of civil society in the area of empowerment of excluded citizens and building of their capacities. Such development of civil society will trigger further growth of civil society organisations committed to providing support to excluded groups, which will in turn contribute to the development of society based on feelings of compassion, solidarity and a sense of justice.

Finally, we should not disregard one very important issue – the issue of accountability. Whether or not civil society, with support of the Strategy and the Foundation, will be successful in making a breakthrough in the area of the struggle against exclusion of citizens will depend on the issue of accountability. From the viewpoint of human rights, individuals and groups are those who should enjoy rights, while institutions of authority and other stakeholders should be responsible for realising these rights. What this means is that the success of civil society in its struggle against social exclusion will depend on how well prepared the stakeholders are to avoid arbitrary interference in free enjoyment of rights (respect of human rights), on their ability to establish mechanisms which will prevent third parties from violating human rights (protection of human rights) and their interest in the development and adoption of appropriate measures necessary for the progressive realisation of human rights in practice (fulfilment of human rights). Only through the harmonised action focusing both on an increase in the accountability of local authorities as stakeholders and on the provision of support to those categories of citizens affected by the problem of exclusion can civil society be successful in its efforts in the area of eradication of exclusion of citizens.

SOCIETY OF MINORITIES

Back at the beginning of the 1970s, professor Esad Ćimić, one of the pioneers in the area of sociology of religion in Bosnia and Herzegovina, published his research on the subject of correlation between ethno-confessional affiliation and willingness of an individual to take part and truly get involved in the social life of citizens of this country. The result of the research indicated, and I say this off the top of my head, that the degree of willingness and interest in involvement in social life was the highest among members of the Orthodox religion (Serbs), the lowest among Catholics (Croats) and somewhere in between among Muslims (Bosniacs today). For the age and the system at the time, which acknowledged and affirmed, if only formally, ethno-confessional compositeness of the society of Bosnia and Herzegovina, on a symbolic and political level, even the hint of an idea of such research was considered a heresy and perceived as a dangerous subversion of declared fundamental values – national *equality* and *unity*.

As far as the subject of social inclusion/exclusion is concerned, given the background of Bosnia and Herzegovina as a multiethnic and multi-confessional community, two important factors were reflected in the research of professor Ćimić, which turned out to be very anticipative. One is that the willingness of members of different confessions/ethnicities to take part in the social life was treated from a specific analytical perspective (as opposed to the dominating discourse of the time, according to which such willingness was taken for granted as being ideal and complete), and the other is that this particular research paradigm made the variances of social and political behaviour of members of three confessions/ethnicities visible and pointed to the fact that even such variances had their historic foundation and justification.

Many of these insights, but even more so the approach itself, possess analytical vitality even today, although the state of affairs changed drastically following the disintegration of the Yugoslav ideological and political system, the war waged between 1992 and 1995 and the introduction of the Daytonian organisation in Bosnia and Herzegovina. One of the most important novelties of relevance to the subject of social inclusion/exclusion which was brought about by these events is the emergence of ethnic/confessional minorities in all communities across Bosnia and Herzegovina and in all conceivable combinations and permutations.

Before we become involved in a discussion about these aspects, it is useful to bring to light a moment from the social history of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Up until the dawn of World War II, the society of Bosnia and Herzegovina was almost exclusively a rural society, with

about 70% rural and 30% urban population. It is also important to note that both these two groups and the relationship between them underwent only minor changes since the Ottoman rule. In the social and cultural sense alike, the relationship between them was one of two different, in most situations autonomous and distant worlds, unknown to one another. When it comes to the necessities of life, the symbiotic relationship of exchange and communication developed between them over centuries. However, the deep roots of that relationship always pulsed with strong psychological, cultural and social antagonism. To sketch it roughly, we might say that the town conceitedly despised the village, considering it uncivilised and generally inferior, while the village viewed the town with mistrust and fear, with both attitudes being equally immersed in the potential for hatred. In illustrating this relationship, it needs to be noted that the degree of antagonism was not primarily determined by the religious and ethnic affiliation of the subject *citizens* and *villagers*. The forms of social and cultural rejection and *exclusion* entailed in this relationship within each of the ethno-confessional communities were notoriously well known, but at the same time they were very superficially treated and investigated scientifically. Given the most extensive and the most long lasting socio-economic and cultural stratification of traditional Muslim society, it could be said that this relationship was the most clearly manifested in that very confessional community. Until very recently, the expression *balija* was primarily a part of the vocabulary of Muslim citizens or feudal lords, to denote Muslim peasants while using very strong overtones of contempt and mockery. “*Ne zna balija što je halija*”¹ is just one among the countless idioms used in the language to decode and depict that relationship (*Halija*, Pers. – luxurious Persian carpet of fine texture). This, somewhat caste-like image of the static social system is also underlined by the relationship towards a marginal but at the same time intriguing social group. In old Bosnian towns, members of this intriguing group were the Roma, domicile for generations, mostly working as blacksmiths. They lived in separate town areas, the so-called “mahallas”, they were respected as capable craftsmen, but in matters of any closer social interaction, especially the one occurring through marriage, their relationship with the rest of the urban population was pervaded by a very rigid segregation. The mock names of *firaun* or *firaunka*, used to refer to them, entailed (and still entails) a very strong negative connotation. The antagonism between village and town gained even stronger political and ideological weight and became even deeper once the processes of modernisation introduced in the 19th century caused the beginning of the disintegration and collapse of the old and static Ottoman system of confessional and political identities, which was then gradually replaced by the modern political national identities. So, it was right there that the *newly emerging* villager and the *newly emerging* citizen started recognising one another as different in terms of their *ethnic* background as well, and the old contempt originating from the social sphere easily assumed an ideological form and severity, even more so because they were always instigated by political aspirations and manipulations of the neighbouring national and state centres. The turbulent times in Bosnia over the past one hundred and thirty years provide many examples and tragic illustrations of this. The big uprising from 1875 to 1878 at first had a significant social intent, until its momentum, under strong Serbian and Montenegrin political influences, began shifting in a different politico-national direction. Who knows how

¹ Knows not balija what is halija – literal translation.

it would have ended had it not been for the Austro-Hungarian occupation. Another example is even easier to relate to. The combination of phenomena and processes which lead Tito's partisan movement to enter into rapid transformation from 1943 onward and shift from pro-democratic self-legitimacy that gave birth to AVNOJ and ZAVNOBIH, to a militant regime that wrought havoc against the civic element at the end of the war and afterwards with enormous amount of vile passion and made it impossible to distinguish clearly its early social motives from ideological and political motives and those from national and confessional ones was never investigated here from this rural vs. urban social perspective. Finally, in many interpretations of the unprecedented savagery displayed during the most recent war between 1992 and 1995 which targeted towns and their residents, the claim of the "war of village against town" emerged often enough. No one has ever investigated it thoroughly or articulated it fully and convincingly, so unfortunately, it became the general maxim of the below-average publicists, though, for instance Bogdan Bogdanović, the great expert in European affairs and great scholar of urbanology, very suggestively supported it in his brilliant essays.

Compared with countries that made up the former Yugoslavia, Bosnia and Herzegovina is different politically both through its Daytonian and its historically inherited "specific features", none of which, unfortunately, gives it a competitive edge. One of these post-war Daytonian specific features is only present in Bosnia and it acts as the most destructive social cancer, which stands in the way of consolidation at all levels – from the most mundane everyday affairs to the most prominent political affairs. It is the newly created relationship between ethnic minorities and majorities, which in practice, silently became the merciless and ultimately defining factor and criterion. As if this is not bad enough, just like a real social metastasis, it turned into more or less a standard feature of the collective mentality. It operates in a way that it makes a member of the majority no longer aware of the fact that it is inappropriate or unfair to enjoy more rights, as if they are god-given and no longer able to recognise that it is inappropriate or unfair that members of minority groups are inferior in his community. The coin also has its other side: it is reflected in the reverse phenomenon which causes a member of a minority group to agree to being treated as inferior without too much defiance, as if it was *modus vivendi*, the only available form of socialisation.

One can often hear claims that the process of ethnic territorialisation has in most parts already been completed in Bosnia and Herzegovina and that the country has practically been divided into three more or less homogenous ethnic territories. The ethnic make up of Republika Srpska demonstrates best that such claims are not completely unjustified. In Republika Srpska, the number of non-Serb residents has been reduced to a symbolic degree through the use of violent and brutal means. Moreover, the return of unwanted members of other religions and nations has successfully been obstructed to date. However, to tell the truth, Republika Srpska is only the most drastic example, but by no means the only one. Many local communities, and even entire areas of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina have also been ethnically re-composed and homogenised to become either purely populated by Croats or purely populated by Bosniacs and today their ethnic and demographic composition looks nothing like what it looked in 1991/92. (The biggest example of such re-composition with absolute Bosniac majority is the very capital of the state – Sarajevo).

Although this political image is accurate both from a politically abstract and from a statistical point of view, it still requires an important correction. In order to be able to fully understand the complexity of the reality we are trying to depict, the image should be looked at from the “bottom view”, that is to say, from the specific perspective of each place and each community. It is only then that the image becomes much more complex and much more dramatic, because it is only then that one becomes capable of truly perceiving individual human destinies and situations, rather than merely just statistical indicators and numbers. The story that such an image then tells is that regardless of extensiveness and persistence of all sorts and forms of ethnic cleansing performed here, they never “ideally” and completely succeeded and a certain number of *others* has been left behind everywhere creating a historically new relationship between the majority and the minority. (Only several relatively small areas that have always been ethnically almost entirely homogenous have been “spared”). Thus, a very complicated image has been created in which ethnic communities, that is to say nations, alternate their roles of *majority* and *minority* from one place to another and from one region to another: each of them represents a majority somewhere and a minority somewhere else. According to the estimate of the US Central Intelligence Agency (the CIA), Bosnia and Herzegovina has a population of about 3,921,000, compared with 4,377,033 as recorded in the census of 1991. According to the same estimate, Bosniacs represent the largest national group (representing as much as 48% of the entire population, as opposed to 43.5% recorded before the war), though in many places and in large areas they represent a *minority* and are in inferior position. According to the same estimates, Serbs represent 37.1% of the population (compared to 31.2% before the war); they absolutely dominate on 49% of the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Republika Srpska), but even they have not been spared of situations and frustrations resulting from being a minority somewhere. (For instance, before the war, Sarajevo was one among two or the three most important *Serb cities* in the world, not just in terms of its size, but in terms of its identity as well. Today, Serbs are reduced both in terms of their number and in terms of their significance to merely a democratic decoration and a negligible group of people). Croats, with their catastrophic 14.3% (compared to 17.4% recorded before the war) represent the absolute minority both in terms of their actual number and in terms of the tendency, but even so, they have some places and some areas under their control and their global degrading position of a minority does not seem to prevent them from practicing the most rigid domination and discrimination where they are the majority. We can find out a thing or two about this new image of Bosnia and Herzegovina only on an empirical level; its true image and dynamics can only be fully brought to light through an official, appropriately conducted population census and through long term analyses that could be performed on the basis of the census.

If one generally accepts as an axiom that the value and quality of social life and the level of democratisation of a given community is demonstrated by the position and treatment of minority communities in it, then it becomes easy to understand the reasons why this other, the so-called “bottom view” perspective, is relevant to the real, in-depth insight into the reality of Bosnia and Herzegovina. This is particularly true due to the previously mentioned historic new development in the relationship between ethnic majority and minority. This novelty, which is retrograde in its nature, may be discussed only in the context of the fact

that throughout the modern history of this country (which approximately encompasses, at least normatively speaking, the period since Ottoman rule had to acknowledge the equality of all citizens of the Empire in 1856) one's ethnic affiliation has never so fundamentally and so profoundly defined one's position and opportunities, even more drastically so, if that same one is in the position of a minority.

Bosnia and Herzegovina, with both of its entities, is nominally a secular state, and religious communities in it can now become involved in the society in those areas to which their access was restricted during socialism (education, culture, humanitarian work, etc.), while they cannot become involved in state affairs. Both sides, political structures and religious communities alike, openly declare their commitment to the respect of the fundamental postulate of European democracy, that is to the separation of "the church" from the state. However, their practice disputes this commitment of theirs in everything they do. This game is ongoing and certain oscillations and changes do occur from time to time, ever since the introduction of a multiparty system in the fall of 1990. Many authors attempted to describe this heart-warming *pas de deux*, but it has never been possible to precisely determine who leads the game and who is being led, who manipulates and who is being manipulated. One thing is certain though: both sides invest the same amount of passion and perseverance in this embrace.

The fact that religion and religious identity have much more significance in the area of social and political competition in Bosnia and Herzegovina than they do in other, "normal" democratic societies is perhaps best illustrated by a certain element of public communication that one can witness everywhere and that becomes especially visible during the pre-election season, when politicians closely weigh every word they utter whilst trying to win, or at least trying not to lose votes. Their public appearances can lead one to hear and experience all sorts of things; they will engage in rude arguments between one another, resort to the most indecent deceptions and tricks, and even the same national affiliation will not stand in their way if their personal and political interest is threatened, on the contrary, they will fight back with twice the force... The only persons within a single ethnic/confessional arena that will remain isolated from any arguments and protected from any kind of remarks or insults are the so-called religious authorities. If within a very narrow and insufficiently articulated, but still existing part of the critical public someone dares to ask the question of the illegitimate involvement of religious leaders in political life, the answer will always be the same, stereotypical, but quite adequate for keeping the one who asked it quiet. It has many variations, but they are all reduced to the same sophism: *true, religious communities should not interfere in politics, but when it comes to the most essential issues of survival of our people, religion, culture* (these three interchange, depending on the occasion), *then we not only have to get involved, but it is our duty to do so*, etc... This retort is seemingly appropriate because, in Bosnia and Herzegovina, all of the issues are still on the table, and all of them are always, without exception, the issues of the so-called vital national interest, so practically there is still no possibility to run state affairs rationally from a civic perspective. At the same time, the quoted argumentation may perhaps best serve to illustrate how ethnic politics, as the supreme criterion and rationale of political affairs of Bosnia and Herzegovina of our times has absorbed in itself and subjected to itself the religion and the culture, both of which are not only willing but "happy" to be of service. Significant conceptual and even more significant historical and cultural differences

are present among the main three religions/confessions in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Islam, Orthodoxy and Catholicism), in addition to differences illustrated by the intensity and forms of political action present between them, but in everyday practice, all three demonstrate a united view of ethno-politics as the absolute priority.

Only this factor, the factor of domination of ethno-politics over spiritual and religious motivations and instructions, can account for a blind spot in the behaviour of religious organisations, which, from the perspective of ethnic universalism, which is declaratively proclaimed by all of them, represents a disturbing and actually scandalous paradox. It is reflected in the lack of any empathy whatsoever for members of other religious (and national) communities where they represent minorities, where they are weak and vulnerable, not to mention the non-existence of any active and specifically manifested empathy to them.

We could then speak about the silent and hard-hearted attitude of the Serb Orthodox Church to Muslims or Catholics, tragically insignificant in Republika Srpska, who are desperately trying to acquire a shred of security and livelihood and do not even dare to dream of prosperity in the future... Or the attitude of the Catholic Church, which quite rightfully cries out to the heaven for the position of its members in Republika Srpska, or for instance, for the Kafkaian difficulties in obtaining the paperwork for the construction of a single church in a city of Sarajevo, but at the same time does not even spare a word of understanding for the inferior position of Muslims in the areas under its "rule" (West Mostar, Stolac...). Or the double standard of the head of the Islamic community, who quite rightfully and appropriately points the finger to examples of discrimination of Muslims where they represent a minority in majority Orthodox or Catholic areas, but does nothing to make the life of other minorities easier (Bugojno, Vareš, etc.). Religious communities treat the dead the same way they treat the living. Never since the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina did it happen that any of the religious institutions or their highest dignitaries paid respect to the war victims of either of the *other* two sides.

Declaratively, everyone in Bosnia and Herzegovina agrees with the concept of the "European" style secular state. Having declared this, it somehow goes without saying that the process of secularisation, which is the foundation of any secular state, has long (and happily) been completed and that what we have now is some kind of temporary aberration, which we could easily overcome and make right, and everything would be just the way it used to be... If on the other hand, we only take the public as a standard which demonstrates all of these views, we can see that things are not even remotely that simple and that the question of our experience with secularisation, with the reality of life in a secular society, is yet to be opened and investigated and that the outcome of that investigation is uncertain. It needs to be said that an important conceptual, terminological and substantial distinction needs to be made between *secularisation* as the system of values and social interactions and the process which essentially formed the Western European civilisation and *secularism*, as a denotation for the ideology of the extreme rejection of any kind of connection between human activity and religion.

The reality of secularisation here is completely different. Up until 1878, Ottoman Bosnia and Herzegovina existed through centuries as a part of the Empire which was consistently theocratic, in which one religion dominated while others were tolerated. Some of the flair

of European secularity has merely touched it right before the fall of the Empire. The Austro-Hungarian Empire, which assumed its place, attempted to do something to regulate the role of religious institutions in social and state affairs, but those attempts were carefully determined by the Empire's own interest and did not last for long. It was replaced, following the carnage of the World War I, by a brief episode of "old" Yugoslavia, followed by the even briefer horror of the "Independent State of Croatia" and World War II. Cruel as it may seem, but that is the entire historical account of our "secularisation".

Even the previous system, particularly during its early stage from 1945 to 1960s, (and strictly speaking, until its collapse), was religious in its nature, or at least para-religious. To tell the truth, it did reject the old religions/ethno-confessions, radically deprived their institutions of power and separated (actually severed) them from the state, but only to replace them with the *new alliance* between the authority, the state and the ideology, which practically functioned as the state *religion*, with the Party as the *church* of that religion/ideology. European-style secularisation was not even hinted at, because this kind of secularisation implies development of tolerance, emancipation of the individual, pluralism of opinion and the worldview, existence of civic interaction between the state and religious institutions and liberation and independence of state, social, scientific, educational and cultural institutions and initiatives from influences of the structures which hold the power regardless of whether they represent the government or the ideology. It used to be the church, and it relinquished its position to the party/the state. Another paradox is that the system completely preserved the structure of *religious* mentality, favouring its inferior psychological, moral and social aspects such as: *ketman*², collectivism, servitude, belief out of fear, empty ritualism and an obligation to publicly declare "religion"... Could not that perhaps, at least as a working hypothesis, be used, to account for the mass (but not really massive) phenomenon that occurred following the collapse of the socialist system in Bosnia and Herzegovina which lead to the sudden, overnight disappearance of atheists paired with a just as sudden overflow of the public arena with declared believers! One could even discuss a form of symmetry that occurred as a result: to be a believer then and an atheist today is socially and politically equally undesirable.

Instead of conclusion. A great number of residents of today's Bosnia and Herzegovina, its *citizens* (members of all three "constituent peoples") are put in the position of ethnic minorities in their own country! Those who are in the majority though, in most cases do not seem to perceive how politically absurd and scandalous this situation is. This is most clearly manifested in the egotistic form of behaviour displayed by representatives of national and religious elites when they publicly express views, data and complaints about the unequal position and vulnerability of their communities, completely failing at the same time to take into consideration the overall context or the corresponding difficulties experienced by *others*. Is it not then this precise aspect of the reality of Bosnia and Herzegovina that represents the area in which civil society could and should get involved with its specific means and modes of operation, in the effort to alleviate and avoid the effects of giving the phenomenon of social inclusion/exclusion an ethnic label?

² The act of paying lip service to authority while holding personal opposition. Though the term was originally used exclusively with regards to Islamic authority, the term is most frequently encountered in reference to Communist authoritarianism.

MEDIA AND CIVIL SOCIETY

HOW ARE YOU TODAY, MR. PRESIDENT?

They year that passed was most notably marked by intolerance and stifling of fundamental human rights, writes a local columnist, a young and aspiring writer by profession, continuing on to describe, in the same text, one of the most authentic Islamic thinkers, not only in this country, but in Europe and one of the rare local scientists who is acknowledged and appreciated in both the Eastern and West worlds, as follows: “a feminised Islamic theologian-inquisitor who would gladly create new concentration camps for people different than him and his narrow-minded sheep-like brain”.

The Islamic theologian this literary inspiration was dedicated to, was educated in Sarajevo and Zagreb; he furthered his education in Paris, Oxford and New York and in 55 years authored six works and translated another 10. Some of his works are considered to be of paramount value. He earned the title of member of one of the most prominent academies of the world. He is fluent in Arabic, English, French and Italian and, within academic circles, he is considered a respected authority for comparative mystic philosophies of Judaism, Christianity and Islam.

However, none of the above lies behind the local public perception of the Islamic theologian: the theologian became known to the wider public and narrow journalistic circles for his journalistic piece on Wahhabism in this country. It was actually the first comprehensive local treatment of the origin, character and effect of the spread of Wahhabism in BiH. However, instead of a referential debate on the subject of Wahhabism, in our country, heavy verbal artillery poured on to the theologian by the Islamic Community, from the “Rijaset”, and since then – and it has been a full three years – the theologian has become much more renowned outside BiH than he is in it.

What he has done to deserve the attention of the columnist remains unclear, even in the column, so it is appropriate to present the opus of the writer: two poetry collections, one collection of prose, 39 years of age and three college enrolments. If we add to the above, the information that the column was published in one of the periodicals often described as benign in journalistic circles – the image of the public and reporting to the public in BiH becomes more complete.

VOICE AND VOICES /AVAZ I AVAZI/

Quite a few analysts of the local reality are prone to blaming Avaz (Voice) for the grim image portrayed by the local media. The daily newspaper spawned as the result of Alija Izetbegović's desire to have his own paper is truly an illustrative example of (mis)use of the media. But, Avaz did not become a daily newspaper with the biggest circulation in Bosnia and Herzegovina just because, at some point, it opened a "direct" channel of communication on Thursdays between the readers and the President through its publisher. Not even because the weekly communication used to begin with the now legendary opening lines: How are you today, Mr. President?

Fourteen years since the war, Post-Dayton Bosnia and Herzegovina remains divided along what used to be front lines. To make matters even more absurd, it may be even more deeply divided today than it was halfway through its wartime path. The reasons for this are primarily of political nature, however the consequences are tangible, and today they can best be illustrated by the example of trading of maps of the territorial re-composition of the country. There is no need to go back in time to explore war-time causes for the ethnic divisions. The post war image of BiH can be just as easily outlined through the support to parties in power.

In Republika Srpska, SNSD headed by Milorad Dodik has no competition. It only became as powerful as it is today when it won its right to defend Serbs even from SDS. It needs to be noted that neither those in power nor those in opposition in the RS have any doubt when it comes to the matters of relevance to this entity. Their demands for restoration of the jurisdiction transferred to the state under the pressure of the International Community in BiH are increasing in volume by the day. On television screens, just as much as in the printed media, Dodik's moves are declared acts of a genius and every month RTRS hosts the Prime Minister who is always ready to wage war against those who do not share his views. The "eight branded" – representatives of Transparency International, "journalists from the Federation" and a sole journalist from the RS, responded to the invitation to take part in the informal social event hosted by the Principal Deputy High Representative in BiH, Raffi Gregorian, organised in Banja Luka. This was later used as an excuse for the RS Prime Minister to start issuing red cards to representatives of the International Community and declare them unwelcome in "his country".

RTRS is at this moment probably the single most loyal television station in the Balkans. At the height of the election campaign of 2006, Dragan Čavić, former President of SDS, publicly stated, in a broadcast by BHRT that "... even during the time of war his party did not exert such strong control over RTRS as SNSD is doing". Treatment of entity borders as if they were state borders, treatment of Republika Srpska as an equal partner of European countries and the absolute lack of criticism toward the top officials of SNSD turned this television into the strongest mechanism of obstruction to the creation of the BiH Public Broadcasting Service. If we add to this the public confrontation between Milorad Dodik and BHRT, it becomes easier to understand what the strategic goals of his politics are. These goals were time and again confirmed through repeated attacks targeting state institutions, the BiH Court, the BiH Central Bank, Regulatory Communications Agency, SIPA, to name a few.

Nezavisne Novine, which emerged as a joint effort of the International Community and the journalist who survived an assassination attempt for his reporting, which left him disabled, demonstrated clear commitment to being a professional paper of Bosnia and Herzegovina, up until the moment Milorad Dodik came to power. However, the absolute lack of criticism towards the party leader was demonstrated by the owner and the publisher of Nezavisne Novine who went as far as to publicly take part in his pre-election political rallies. Nevertheless, towards the end of last year, it was no other than Željko Kopanja who wrote a text sending a message of serious warning to the authorities of the RS about their policies, almost prophetically announcing incidents with returnees. Soon afterwards, the mosque in Fazlagića Kula burned down.

MOSTAR'S PRANKSTERS¹

HDZ BiH and HDZ 1990 are equally dispersed among the Croatian electorate in this country and their political leaders have to be given credit for the highest level of honesty in their treatment of the public. Dragan Čović, President of HDZ BiH has no problem whatsoever engaging in regular and persistent bipartisan cooperation. It truly concerns the minimal political interest of Croats in BiH, as he often describes it, which involves a consensus reached not only between these two parties, but also with the official authorities of the Republic of Croatia and the Catholic Church in BiH.

It is precisely the relationship between the party and the church that one can most easily use to get to the bottom of the ambition of Croatian political parties towards achieving new federalisation of the country. The third entity and the third television channel brought Čović closer to Dodik for pragmatic reasons; their relationship is reflected in the Parliament of the Federation through repeated and persistent attempts for the Federal television to once again become fully and completely consumed by politics. On the last working day of the previous year, the ambition to exert absolute control over television screens was translated into amendments to the Law adopted by the House of Representatives of the Federal Parliament. As a result, the Steering Board of this public broadcaster is to be elected through a vacancy notice conducted under exclusive authority of the parliamentary commission, which previously also had the right to conduct the selection, but only from the short-listed candidates selected by the CRA.

On the other hand, the political ambitions we are discussing are most obviously reflected in the differences in the treatment of residents of, for instance, Sarajevo and Mostar. Appeals from top authorities of the Catholic Church on account of the discrimination and treatment of church property in Sarajevo are observed in Mostar, as if their aim is to entertain. It is truly astounding that very obvious cases of absolute human rights violations did not attract the interest of politicians (for the reasons mentioned previously) or the media and the very segment of civil society that should have to respond, due to its orientation.

¹ Liska – the term used locally to describe genuine residents of Mostar of both past and present times who live bohemian lives and who are strongly inclined to making humorous verbal remarks mocking themselves and others. These individuals and their humour became an important integral element of the spirit of the city of Mostar.

For instance, when Cardinal Vinko Puljić last summer asked if it is intended for Croats to gradually leave Sarajevo, the media completely ignored him, the radio and television stations and the press alike (with the exception of *Dani* and *Slobodna Bosna* periodicals). I experienced it myself when I was invited to take part in a broadcast of the Television of Sarajevo Canton. When I said something to remind of the reasons behind such statement made by the Cardinal, it was edited out. The editor/journalist thought that it was “inappropriate” to open a debate on the subject “at the time of the death of Adil Zulfikarpašić”.

This “inappropriate remark” had much to do with the fact that Cardinal Puljić, when listing reasons for his comment, noted that the part of the building of a Bosniac lord in the street of Josip Stadler was situated on church land. During the course of the implementation of the architectural undertaking of building the Bosniac Institute, the archdiocese of Vrhbosna did not want to file a complaint for the usurpation of parish office, for the sake of good neighbourly relations. However, once the archdiocese was deprived of the parish office, it was decided that a parish house should be built right next to the seminary, in the same street. Unfortunately, Stari Grad municipality has been refusing to issue a construction permit for more than a year; needless to say, none of Zulfikarpašić’s projects were given this treatment.

The Cardinal also pointed out selective court rulings: while the local judiciary, for years, kept obstructing the privatisation of nationalised apartments that the Islamic Community demonstrated interest in, while mosques were planned and their construction commenced in several locations in the centre of Sarajevo city, and all over the city for that matter, the Catholic Church was deprived of its property and prevented from engaging in construction. What really needs to be observed as a phenomenon is the absolute silence following a court ruling commented on by Cardinal Puljić. It concerns a case of the seizure of an apartment from the Church Ordinary 37 years ago. The apartment in question was never nationalised. As a result of the ruling, this apartment was literally stolen from the Church, and to make matters worse, the apartment was used solely for espionage.

TO WHOM DOES SARAJEVO BELONG?

They have quite appropriately concluded in the Vrhbosna Archdiocese that this court ruling (and it was the ruling of the second instance Cantonal Court in Sarajevo) represents only a small aspect of yearlong discrimination against citizens of the Catholic confession, adding yet another very illustrative example: immediately after the war, the parish of St. Ignatius in the settlement of Grbavica filed a request for construction of a church; at the same time the “Rijaset” of the Islamic Community filed a request for the construction of a mosque at the same location. Municipal authorities of Novo Sarajevo Municipality claimed for years that there was no space for the construction of a church, but they found space for a mosque.

So, whether we want to admit it or not, we have to go back to Sarajevo, the country’s capital and the mirror image of the country itself and its media. Precisely for that reason, Avaz represents a completely different story. Naturally, it is illusory to expect that the newspaper, most recognisable for reporting on every single sermon delivered by Reis Cerić, would ask the question of why there is no place for a church in a city in which, the number of 81 pre-

war mosques, during the Post-Dayton years increased due to the imposing engineering expansion to as many as 99 mosques being built at this very moment.

Maybe the information according to which two of the most influential political characters among Bosniacs are Reis Mustafa ef. Cerić and Fahrudin Radončić, is actually the most illustrative example of the situation in the capital, an illustration of the public, the media, political leaders and the authorities. Neither of them keep their political ambitions a secret, nor are they prepared to be held accountable for their political moves. Radončić is “publisher and constructor”. That is how he presents himself, since for over a decade he has been installing politicians in positions and removing them from positions, and not just politicians, economists, businessmen, public and cultural workers, solely for the sake of his own interest, usually wrapped in the package of Bosniac patriotism (whatever that might mean).

With Dnevni Avaz, the report/verdict form was restored in public life. It is the paper which succeeded in using its pages to call for persecution and in realising its so-called goals through protests of its journalists at the gates of OHR, the paper which caused the Cantonal Court in Sarajevo to pass “provisional measures on prohibition of further dissemination and expression of untruthful claims and facts” about certain individuals who addressed this Court, filing a suit against Avaz, it is this very paper that is considered the crown jewel of the media and the paper that is looked upon as a role model in what is believed to be the public here.

Completely contrary to the nature of their role, perhaps following the example of their model, the local media decided to compete with each other in publishing unsubstantiated stories and reports, labelling others different from themselves, insulting them and demonstrating open hatred for them. Hiding behind the right of the media to act freely, they brutally violated the human right to protection from abuse of own freedom. Acting in much the same way, Moscow’s Pravda acted during the height of its operation behind the iron curtain, they printed announcements from the management of Avaz Roto-Press, only to be matched in the domain of public communication with the announcements from the “Rijaset” of the Islamic Community. To complete this paradox, both the management and the “Rijaset”, although they write on behalf of institutions, fail to see the problem in the fact that their announcements are written in the first person singular.

WAHHABIS AND THE QUEER FESTIVAL

The consequences of labelling and using terms such as: “continuation of genocidal politics against Bosniacs”, “the extended arm of the Serbian Academy of Arts and Sciences – Dobrica Ćosić and Nenad Kecmanović”, making accusations of islamophobia, publishing letters of support to “all Muslims of Australia, North America and several congregations from the New Zealand who were hurt by attacks against the character and the work of Effendi Cerić made by the media jealous about of fact that our distinguished businessmen want to construct a new building for the “Rijaset”, could only be considered calls for lynching.

However, the outcomes of such abuse of the public by the media in Sarajevo were obvious more than once. The mere announcement of the Queer Festival “during the holy month

of Ramadan” led Dnevni Avaz to conduct a survey among politicians. When prompted to answer the question of whether the organisation of the Queer Festival during the holy month of Ramadan was a provocation of Bosniac Muslims, those who declaratively support the European Convention on Human Rights gave a variety of responses, but none tried to hide their “astonishment” “that such a thing could have even occurred to anyone during the time of prayer and deep reflection”.

The Queer Festival ended brutally, by the attack of Wahhabis and hooligans targeting guests of the exhibition. This served to show the civil sector in its true splendour: several letters of support, usually containing the following remark “although personally I do not belong to that community”, perfectly portray the bleak bog of what would be referred to as the public anywhere else in the world.

The series of protests of citizens of Sarajevo who tried to hold the city authorities accountable for frequent incidents in the town, mostly involving minors, did not really end brutally, but they certainly ended scandalously. The attack in the tram was deadly for the high school student Denis Mrnjavac. Carefully conceived, articulated and relatively well prepared protests were treated as the voice of the public only by the rare honourable media, the majority of the loyal media “recognised” the main organisers and bombarded them with an avalanche of accusations, which, even if justifiable, had nothing to do with the protests.

The fact that there are over 9,000 different associations, non-governmental organisations and societies registered in this country is yet another separate matter. Regardless how small or large they are, they are encased in their own little air bubbles and often completely unprepared to share their observations, experiences and even motives and goals with anyone. The model of communication based on issuing press releases is accepted regardless of the membership of these organisations, whether they are students, postgraduate students or scientists, the language used in their releases is no doubt bureaucratic.

They condemn social phenomena, report big results, attempt to find channels to reach editors, but hardly ever is there any demonstration of readiness to turn those public resources, those big goals and those attempts to save the world, into anything specific. For instance, it has become common for the Mothers of Srebrenica to have very precise, legally justified motions for specific parts of the Constitution (?!), not to mention their readiness and the readiness of Narodna Bošnjačka Stranka to print out their addresses and views on countless pieces of paper about what ambassadors are doing while the debate is being led in the building of the United Nations on the subject of Israel and Gaza and to send all of it publicly, through the local media, to Ban Ki-Moon, but even the most thorough researchers among journalists were unable to locate “ordinary” members of this Association. Their operations are tailored to the management of the organisation and their goals are, by far, more specific and tangible in their interaction with political parties than with the vulnerable categories they represent. Or, the (successfully) implemented project of cooperation between one of the local media and the Research and Documentation Centre, that knocked against a stone wall because the researchers were not prepared to disclose the date of birth, year of death and name of the father, with the first and last name of the victim. The following justification was given – the competition would use the information to reconstruct the technique of database development.

WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE, COUSIN

The simplest answer would be that this situation is caused by poverty and a non-existent economy, impacting both the population and these associations. However, that the situation is not really so grim may be illustrated by the fact that over the decade since Dayton, 190 million KM in international assistance was injected into the electronic media alone. And the public broadcasting service is still nowhere to be seen. The NGO sector is also well-endowed in international funding, some of its elements rely on domestic funding and still, despite over 9,000 associations, even those best informed about the civil sector cannot list more than 11 organisations.

The Journalists' Guild is too busy dealing with its own problems, and though this cannot serve as an excuse, journalists also cannot stand on their own. If the code of ethics is treated as marginal, if development of self-respect is neglected, if violations of ethical standards and rules became everyday practice, if the media assume the role of a prosecutor, judge and executioner, trying to impose themselves as creators of the political scene, obstructing every form of democratic dialogue and democratisation of society as a whole, and if all of this is crystal clear – what happened to the corrective mechanisms?

What happened to the intellectual, academic public? What is the Press Council doing except using procedure as an excuse for the fact that they only act on formal complaints. There is no doubt that even one of those round table discussions, organised merely for the sake of formality, could lead to consensus about insufficient and inadequate dissemination of information to the public and lack of trust in the written and public word, even more so because institutions of the system are failing to react even to those facts that resulted from the use of research journalism and that quite clearly indicate corruption and other forms of crime. Is it really "Avazianism", as Ivan Lovrenović labelled this dominant approach to journalism, that made the media so powerless to resist the offensive of interference of state bodies, political and financial centres of power and individuals in their editorial policies?

Non-functioning instruments of self-regulation that should sanction the lack of professionalism and ethics in the printed media have their own specific feature: cantonal and municipal courts received over 200 lawsuits of media vs. media in which "large and powerful" media wage wars against those who promote principles of independent and professional journalism. In the end, this could only lead to silencing those local media that still uphold the principles of the profession.

When, and if, one gets down to writing the chronology of all the moves that caused the existing situation in Post-Dayton BiH, a position of great distinction will no doubt be given to one High Representative. Paddy Ashdown played the most shameful role when it comes to the civil sector and the media in this country. It was no other but he that during his term in office completely excommunicated what was the beginning of the democratic front which emerged and started growing in BiH immediately after Dayton. His decree on partnership between the Office of the High Representative and leaders of national parties in power and his absolute lack of support for any activity of the civil sector in the long run marginalised the entire democratic public in the country. As poor as it was.

A WOMAN, AND SHE THINKS

Here is an example of this claim: despite the fact that non-governmental organisations started an initiative back in 2000 to establish the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, the possibility of realising this initiative during the coming year, that is to say in 2010, was announced only several days ago. Or, several years ago, one non-governmental organisation, with the assistance of UNDP, conducted a research on the elementary literacy of the population aged between 25 and 35. According to the data obtained, 7.75% of the urban male population and as much as 22.21% of the urban female population did not complete primary school. In suburban areas, 16.3% of male population and 45.5% of the female population did not complete primary school, while in rural areas, 24.7% of the male population and as much as 47.5% of the female population did not complete primary school! Let us mention that primary education is mandatory, pursuant to the Law.

When we add to this the bleak data indicating that twice as many men have university degrees compared to women, we can start outlining at least an approximate image of the woman of Bosnia and Herzegovina and her place in the economic, political and social life of this country. The Gender Equality Law of BiH was passed, and still there are very few women who succeeded in winning the battle for their place under the sun.

There is a separate and very particular problem with the category of women who, due to the war, found themselves in the position of heading their families: the vast majority of them have only limited education, and despite the fact that women constitute the majority of the population at 51%, the unemployment of women is 44%. Women are also discriminated against on the basis of their age: job vacancy notices published in the daily press aim for recruitment of “female workforce aged 35 or less”, noting that “attractive appearance” is an employment requirement. The research conducted by the Gender Centres of the Federation of BiH and Republika Srpska indicated that an alarmingly high percentage of the female population in BiH cannot even recognise all forms of sexual harassment.

What is that all about? If we start from the beginning, we must consider the enormous job of development of civil society through elementary literacy and literacy of every other kind, networking of the non-governmental civil sector and the media in their common role, bringing the public word back to life, respect for those who are different, exchange of opinions without exchange of verbal vehemence and upholding of common values. There are plenty of those who will at the start rule out the possibility that there could be a member of the academy who would be capable of delivering sermons about how it is necessary to lock up three leading politicians in the mosque and keep them there until they come to an agreement and those in the very Academy of Science who will frown with disgust upon addresses of their leading staff, overflowing with venom and personal narcissism, inappropriate for the temple of wisdom. Only then will the young and talented writers give preference to a model of personal development over spilling insults all over their columns - through reading.

...practical steps

IBHI expresses gratitude to the following institutions, organisations and media for participation in the consultation process in the phase of preparation for establishment of the NGO Social Inclusion Foundation in BiH:

Berkovići Municipality; BiH Agency for Gender Equality; BiH Directorate for Economic Planning; BiH Ministry of Justice, Sector for Cooperation with NGOs and Development of Civil Society; Bihać Socio-pedagogical Living Community, Cazin Department; Bihać Socio-pedagogical Living Community; Bijeljina Municipality; Bileća Municipality; Cabinet of Vice-president of Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina; Čapljina Municipality; Cazin Municipal Council; Centre for Children and Youth with Special Needs „Los Rosales”, Mostar; Centre for Mental Health Ključ; Centre for Mental Health, Doboj Health Centre; Centre for Social Work Banja Luka; Centre for Social Work Bihać; Centre for Social Work Bijeljina; Centre for Social Work Bileća; Centre for Social Work Čapljina; Centre for Social Work Derвента; Centre for Social Work Doboj Istok; Centre for Social Work Doboj; Centre for Social Work Jablanica; Centre for Social Work Ključ; Centre for Social Work Konjic; Centre for Social Work Kozarska Dubica; Centre for Social Work Livno; Centre for Social Work Ljubinje; Centre for Social Work Lopare; Centre for Social Work Maglaj; Centre for Social Work Mostar; Centre for Social Work Nevesinje; Centre for Social Work of Bosnia-Podrinje Canton; Centre for Social Work of Sarajevo Canton; Centre for Social Work Prijedor; Centre for Social Work Široki Brijeg; Centre for Social Work Teslić; Centre for Social Work Tomislavgrad; Centre for Social Work Trebinje; Centre for Social Work, Kupres; Children’s Centre “Mostar”; City of Mostar, Department for Social and Housing Affairs, Healthcare, Displaced Persons and Refugees; Doboj Istok Municipality; Doboj Municipality, Department for Social Affairs; FBiH Gender Centre; FBiH Ministry for Displaced Persons and Refugees; FBiH Ministry of Labour and Social Policy - Sector for Protection of Persons with Disabilities and Civilian Victims of War; FBiH Ministry of Labour and Social Policy - Sector for Social and Child Protection; Foča - Ustikolina Municipality; Goražde Municipality; Health Centre „Dr. Isak Samokovlija”; Health Centre Bijeljina; Health Centre Doboj; Health Centre Orašje KB Goražde; Ključ Municipality; Ključ Socio-pedagogical Living Community; Ministry for Social Policy, Health, Displaced Persons and Refugees of Bosnia-Podrinje Canton; Ministry of Croatian Veterans of the Liberation War of West Herzegovina Canton; Ministry of Education, Science, Culture and Sports of Herzegovina-Neretva Canton; Ministry of Health and Social Policy of Una Sana Canton; Ministry of Health, Labour and Social Protection of Herzegovina-Neretva Canton; Ministry of Health, Labour and Social Protection of West Herzegovina Canton; Ministry of Labour, Health, Social Protection and Refugees of Herceg-Bosna Canton/Canton 10; Mostar City Council

– SDP Mostar; Municipality Bihać, Department for Social Affairs; Municipality Bihać; Posavina Canton Government, Ministry of Education, Science, Culture and Sports; Prijedor General Hospital, Psychiatry Department; Prijedor Municipal Assembly; RS Employment Bureau - Prijedor Branch; RS Fund for Professional Rehabilitation and Employment of the Disabled; RS Ministry for Refugees and Displaced Persons; Sanski Most Municipality; Tomislavgrad Municipality, Service for Social Affairs; Trebinje Municipality; Ugljevik Municipality; Velika Kladuša Municipality.

ALDI, Goražde; ALUFF Pale; ARA, Bijeljina; Association “Alfa”, Bihać; Association “Obrazovanje gradi BiH”, Sarajevo; Association “Proni”; Association “Ružičnjak”, Mostar; Association “Civilian Victims of War”, Bihać; Association “Eko-Una”, Cazin; Association “Ključ-budućnosti”; Association “Ključki biser, Ključ; Association “Krupana”, Bosanska Krupa; Association “Radosti druženja” of Una Sana Canton; Association “Sunce”, Cazin; Association “Žene sa Une”, Bihać; Association for Assistance to Mentally Challenged Persons “Nada” Bijeljina; Association for Helping Persons with Difficulties in Mental Development “Moja nada”, Nevesinje; Association for Helping Persons with Mental Development Difficulties “Zračak”, Ljubinje; Association for Mentally Challenged Persons, Prijedor; Association for Psycho-social Assistance and Development of Volunteerism “Osmijeh” Gračanica; Association of Blind and Sight-impaired Persons of Hercegovina Canton/ Canton 10; Association of Blind and Sight-Impaired Persons Trebinje, Ljubinje; Association of Blind and Vision-Impaired Citizens of Bosnia-Podrinje Canton Goražde; Association of Blind Citizens of Una-Sana Canton; Association of Blind of Sarajevo Canton; Association of Children and Youth with Special Needs „Sunce nam je zajedničko“, Trebinje; Association of citizens “Budućnost” Modriča; Association of Citizens “Zora”, Bileća; Association of citizens „Dobrotvor”, Prijedor; Association of citizens „Lighthouse“, Prijedor; Association of Citizens for Promoting Roma Education “Otaharin” Bijeljina; Association of Citizens with Child Cerebral Paralysis; Association of Citizens with Multiplex Sclerosis of Eastern Herzegovina; Association of Deaf and Hearing-Impaired Persons „Sluh“ in Herzegovina-Neretva Canton; Association of Deaf and Hearing-Impaired Persons of Bijeljina Region Association of Deaf and Hearing-Impaired Persons of Doboj Region Association of Paraplegics, Persons with Child Paralysis and Other Persons with Physical Disabilities, Trebinje; Association of Parents with Children with Developmental Difficulties „Koraci“, Livno; Association of pensioners of Bijeljina; Association of Pensioners, Goražde; Association of Persons Suffering from Breast Cancer and Other Malignant Diseases “Biser”; Association of Persons with Celiac of Una Sana Canton; Association of persons with disabilities „Utjeha“; Association of Persons with Disabilities of West-Herzegovina; Association of Persons with Dystrophy of Una-Sana Canton; Association of Persons with Poliomyelitis, Brain Injury and Spine Una-Sana Canton; Association of Slovaks of Semberija “Juraj Janošik”; Association of the Hearing Impaired Doboj; Association of Women with Disabilities “Impuls”; Association Vaša prava, Bijeljina; Associations of Diabetics of Una Sana Canton; Centre for Youth Development of Brčko District BiH, Bijeljina Branch; Centres for Civil Initiatives; Centre for Development of Herzegovina, Trebinje; Centre for Promotion of Civil Society; Christian Humanitarian Society “Hleb života”; Fami Foundation, Doboj; FBiH Coordination Board of Union of Civilian Persons with Disabilities; Foundation “La Strada BiH”, Mostar; Home for Children

with Difficulties in Physical and Psychological Development „Marija Naša Nada“, Široki Brijeg; Humanitarian Youth Organisation “Forum mladih”, Trebinje; Humanitarian Youth Organisation “Omladinski centar”, Trebinje; ICVA, Sarajevo; Institute for the Sight Impaired „Budućnost“ Derventa; Intermunicipal Association of Blind and Sight-impaired Persons, Bileća; Kindergarten «SOS Kinderdorf»; Kolo Srpskih Sestara, Gacko; Korak Dalje, Srbac; Landmine Survivors Network - LSN BiH; League for Protection of Private Property and Human Rights, Trebinje; Ljubija Youth Centre; MDP Initiatives, Doboj; Mozaik Foundation for Community Development; Municipal organisation of the Red Cross Ugljevik; Muslim Humanitarian Association “Merhamet” Prijedor; Muslim Humanitarian Society “Merhamet”, Doboj; NGO “Familija”, Prijedor; NGO “Forma F”; NGO “Nada”, Prijedor; NGO “Šansa”, Novo Goražde; NGO CORNO, Centre for Youth Development and Informal Education Doboj; NGO Partner; Parents Association „Pervasive Developmental Disorder“, Široki Brijeg; Prijedor Association of Social Workers; Pro Tempore, Prijedor; Red Cross Bihać; Red Cross of Hercegovina Canton/Canton 10; Red Cross of Municipality Goražde; Red Cross Trebinje Municipality; Regional Association of Refugees and Displaced Persons Lopare, Ugljevik, Bijeljina; Republika Srpska Roma Association, Bijeljina; Roma Association “Anglunipe - Napredak”, Bosanska Krupa; Roma Association “Složna braća” Bijeljina; RS Association of Deaf and Hearing-Impaired Persons; RS Association of Refugees and Displaced Persons; RS Union of the Deaf and Persons with Hearing Disabilities; Solidarity for the South, Trebinje; TERCA, Sarajevo; Trebinje Centre for Women; UGOSG-USK; Union of Blind and Persons with Sight Disabilities of Bijeljina Region, Ugljevik and Lopare; Union of Disabled Veterans of Herzegovina-Neretva Canton; Union of Persons Disabled at Work, Trebinje; Women’s Association “Srcem do mira”, Kozarac; Women’s Association „Donja Puharska“, Prijedor; Women’s Association “Anima N”, Goražde; Women’s Association “Goraždanke”; Women’s Association “Iskra”, Bijeljina; Youth Agency for Youth Employment and Education, Trebinje; Youth Information Agency BiH; Youth Organisation “OZ”, Trebinje; Youth organisation “VITA”, Prijedor; Youth Organisation Centre for Youth Policy Development, Trebinje.

EUFOR LOT Bijeljina; European Commission Delegation to BiH; Forum Syd Balkans Programme; Handicap International Mostar; Handicap International South East Europe; Helsinki Committee for Human Rights in BiH; Open Society Fund BiH; Human Rights Department OSCE Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Banja Luka, Bijeljina, Doboj, Foča, Livno, Mostar, Sarajevo, Trebinje Offices); Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA); Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation (SDC); UK Department for International Development (DFID); UNDP ILDP; UNDP; UNHCR; UNICEF; USAID; World Vision BiH.

BH Radio 1; BHT1; Džungla TV; FENA; FTV; Glas Goražda; Glas Srpske; Independent Television Studio Arena; Cable TV HS; Magazin Dani; Nezavisne Novine; Radio Slobodna Evropa; SRNA; TVSA.

They said...

Within the activities on the establishment of the NGO Social Inclusion Foundation in 2008, the Independent Bureau for Humanitarian Issues (IBHI) has organised a series of 10 round tables with the aim of presenting representatives of non-governmental organisations, governmental and public institutions, international organisations and the media with the idea and concept of the Foundation for strengthening the role of civil society organisations, especially NGOs in the processes of social inclusion. At the round tables, representatives of numerous institutions and organisations provided opinions and comments that significantly contributed to the process of development of model and structure of the Foundation. We hereby present some of the priorities, opinions, and assessments expressed from Trebinje to Bijeljina and from Bihać to Goražde. In profiling the NGO Social Inclusion Foundation in BH, these opinions and assessments are used as valuable landmarks.

THEY SAID...

May, 2008

Mostar

- The establishment of the *NGO Social Inclusion Foundation in BH* is the initiative that starts solving numerous other problems and initiates changes and activities that would contribute to strengthening of social inclusion.
- Private sector, which is still insufficiently included, should be freed from taxes for donations and this would be the ideal way to accumulate the funds for the *NGO Social Inclusion Foundation in BH*; It is necessary to pass laws on taxation incentives and motivate private sector to get involved in such activities.
- Adoption of the Law on Voluntary Work should be a priority.
- It is necessary to pass the law on standards and quality of work of nongovernmental organisations.
- The *NGO Social Inclusion Foundation* in no way should jeopardize the existing local allocations for nongovernmental sector.
- In distribution of resources of the *NGO Social Inclusion Foundation in BH*, there is a need for creation of balance of interests of all stake-holders: donors, governmental and public institutions and nongovernmental organisations.
- Establishment of the *NGO Social Inclusion Foundation* will affect passing and implementation of certain laws and Foundation will motivate both sectors.

THEY SAID...

May, 2008

Dobož

- NGO and public sector should have equal roles in partnership.
- The *NGO Social Inclusion Foundation in BH* should have its rule book, policy for certain period, focused on and based on evidence-based data and needs.
- Development of NGO sector is unequal and the *NGO Social Inclusion Foundation* should develop the system of building of human and material capacities of nongovernmental organisations in smaller municipalities in order to cover the entire country.
- It is necessary to ensure financial sustainability of the NGO projects, especially in smaller, rural areas, due to the lack of interest of local authorities to continue projects' activities after the end of implementation of projects.

THEY SAID...

May, 2008

Bijeljina

- There are no mechanisms to replicate good practices in other municipalities.
- Problems of vulnerable groups should be solved systematically.
- *NGO Social Inclusion Foundation* could be a mechanism that would allow young nongovernmental organisations with little experience, but with quality projects, to be supported, receive funds and develop their capacities.
- Citizen awareness about the abilities of persons with disabilities is not at an adequate level. The accent is still placed on disability rather than on remaining ability.
- There should be more projects and more funds available to Roma population in Bosnia and Herzegovina.
- The requested project methodologies for NGOs are complicated and require engagement of experts which associations of citizens cannot afford.

THEY SAID...

June, 2008

Prijedor

- In the process of establishing the rules and procedures for the *NGO Social Inclusion Foundation*, beneficiaries must have, from the beginning, full-fledged role in decision-making process.
- Foundation is a form which would provide valuable benefits such as flexibility, creativity, faster and more dynamic reform processes and strengthening of civil society; Also, Foundation would, to a greater degree, enable development of partnership between government and non-governmental sectors.
- Strong need and significant potential exist for forming of new nongovernmental organisations which would focus on providing support to identified vulnerable groups.

THEY SAID...

June, 2008

Bihac

- It is necessary to carry out classification of nongovernmental sector because there is nongovernmental sector that only spends state budget, and there is nongovernmental sector that achieves results with its imagination, ideas and initiative.
- It is necessary to include representatives of nongovernmental organisations in Management Board of the *NGO Social Inclusion Foundation*. Thus, in work of the Foundation, interests of the NGO sector would be considered.
- The real partnership between government and non-government sector will be possible only when governmental sector starts to accept best practices of the non-government sector and later should create conditions for becoming more independent.
- Associations of the disabled persons should be in positive discrimination status since they are in a more difficult position when it comes to preparation of projects.
- Government and non-governmental sectors have no ground for general satisfaction with what has been accomplished, therefore must work on improving the general policy for protection of vulnerable groups.
- The NGO sector needs training in writing projects as well as in financial and narrative reporting as a first step towards strengthening and empowering NGOs.

THEY SAID...*July, 2008***Goražde**

- Full participation of all relevant actors is a precondition for inclusion of vulnerable groups in the process of creation of developmental policies in BH.
- It is very important that adoption of developmental strategies of BH is followed by establishment of monitoring mechanisms. Equally important, it is necessary to define forms of responsibility for all actors in implementation.
- Based on current experiences, there is a fear that measures adopted in strategic documents of BH will not be implemented completely, even with qualitative evaluation and monitoring.
- Currently in BH, there is system of passive protection in time of unemployment. In order that unemployment is reduced in BH, the State should have active measures of employment with constant stimulation of citizens to seek jobs.

THEY SAID...*July, 2008***Sarajevo**

- Very few systemic and practical activities on providing support to strengthening of civil society exist in BH.
- Analysis on government allocations for the NGO sector can be a good tool, not only for the *NGO Social Inclusion Foundation* but also for many other issues relevant for the development of civil society in BH.
- *NGO Social Inclusion Foundation* will be efficient mechanism for fulfilment of goals to be determined in the BH Development Strategy and especially the Social Inclusion Strategy.
- The Foundation will have the potential to reduce the risk of rivalry among nongovernmental organisations that currently implement similar, if not the same, projects.
- The Social Inclusion Strategy together with the future Strategy for Development of Civil Society will provide a framework for necessary mechanisms for realisation one of which could be the *NGO Social Inclusion Foundation*.
- Foundation could also be directed towards development of new services which will enable social inclusion, and above all strengthen capacities of small local nongovernmental organisations.
- *NGO Social Inclusion Foundation* have the potential for promotion and development of partnership between government and non-government sector, which would help both sides and without which results can not be achieved.

*THEY SAID...**October, 2008***Široki Brijeg**

- With the establishment of *NGO Social Inclusion Foundation in BH*, organisations of persons with disabilities will have mechanism to secure their future, survival and a systematic solution for financing.
- By adopting the unified Disability Policy, Bosnia and Herzegovina has obliged to sign and ratify the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities and other international documents related to disability issues.
- Upon its establishment, *NGO Social Inclusion Foundation* will contribute to making the operations of NGOs more efficient by joining the funds received from the government together with the funds received through partnership from the Foundation, thus improving the activities of associations and organisations.
- If organisations of persons with disabilities have insufficient capacities or aren't familiarised with the processes, have not developed partner relations with the relevant levels of government, it is difficult to expect that they can effectively impact the decisions that affect them.
- Funds available in government budgets belong to the citizens and the government serves only as an instrument for returning this money back to the citizens.

*THEY SAID...**November, 2008***Trebinje**

- The goals of the *NGO Social Inclusion Foundation* should encompass:
 - mechanism for inclusion of non-government organizations into the development process of social inclusion policies, especially in implementation of future Social Inclusion Strategy;
 - mechanism for strengthening capacities and partnership between the government and nongovernmental sector;
 - strengthening the financial sustainability of the nongovernmental sector and providing a coordinated and focused access to donors.
- *NGO Social Inclusion Foundation* is of great significance and it comes at the right time. The hope is that the Foundation will be established by the end of the process of preparation of Bosnia and Herzegovina strategic documents and action plans.
- The Foundation should operate based on a two-way flow of activities and information between the Foundation and organisations.
- In addition to partnership, one of Foundation's main principles must be quality of services.

