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Putting a Face on the Dark Figure: Describing Victims Who Don't Report Crime

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Since the inception of large scale victimisation surveys a considerable amount of research has been conducted investigating the so called 'dark figure' of unreported crime. Although this figure has consistently hovered around 60% of all victims, recent research reveals little about those who choose not to pursue formal avenues of justice. This article thus seeks to open a dialogue which focuses on the actual people behind the dark figure. It uses examples from the Scottish Crime and Justice Survey to describe these individuals and to explore explanations for their non-reporting. It highlights the importance of deprivation and vulnerability with regards to reporting crime but also the initial risk of victimisation. It concludes by arguing that the lack of focus on victims who don't report leaves them vulnerable and invisible to the eyes of policy makers and the criminal justice system.

Keywords: victims, dark-figure of crime, reporting, deprivation, labelling.

Introduction

It may come as a surprise to those not well acquainted with criminological research that well over half of all crime committed in Western society is never reported to the police, let alone brought before a judge or jury, and only rarely punished. This seems almost counter-intuitive when we are constantly reminded of ever burgeoning prison populations on both sides of the Atlantic, and the new research de rigueur, the so called "crime drop". If crime

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rates are falling while at the same time an increasing number of offenders are being imprisoned, surely more crimes are being reported to the police? Unfortunately, this is not the case. In the United Kingdom, along with most Western nations, the shadowy, dark, unreported proportion of crime remains in excess of 60% of all those committed.

In an effort to bring this dark figure to light, this article will first briefly review the history and existing research surrounding the dark figure of crime, including the literature and theory surrounding the phenomenon of non-reporting. Following this, I will turn to describing the arguably “invisible victims” who in fact make up the dark figure, and present some data which aims to help describe this group and how deprivation and vulnerability link those most at risk of victimisation with those who choose not to involve formal avenues of justice.

Background/history

The dark figure of crime was “discovered” alongside the advent of large cross national victimisation surveys, the first of which, the National Crime and Victimization Survey (NCVS), took place in the USA in 1977, and was closely followed by similar surveys in the United Kingdom (and later Scotland and Northern Ireland), the Netherlands, Canada, and eventually on an international scale (International Crime and Victimization Survey) (see Maguire, 2002; Zedner, 2002). It quickly became apparent that these surveys were measuring something other than police recorded crime, as the staggering number of incidents reported compared to police records came to light. In America, the National Crime Victim Survey (NCVS), which recorded some 6.1 million violent victimizations, showed that less than half were reported to the police (Truman, Langton, 2014). In the UK, the British Crime Survey, now the Crime Survey England and Wales, provides a 30 year picture of crime reporting where reporting rates were as low as 31% in the first survey in 1982, peaked at 43% in 1992, and have since dropped again to 38% (Hoare, 2009). Results from the Scottish Crime and Justice Survey (SCJS) mirror those from England and Wales, with only two in five (38%) being reported to the police (Page et al., 2009). In the Netherlands, 43% of victimizations are reported to the police (Goudriaan et al., 2006). The dark figure of unreported crime thus remains a significant proportion, consisting of nearly half of crimes overall, and worryin-

gly, may be much higher for some categories of crime such as sexual offences, where the rate of reporting may be as low as 15% (Office for National Statistics, 2013). A substantial literature has formed around the concept of the dark figure, addressing both the impact of unreported crime on the criminal justice system and policy, as well as a growing number of theories seeking to explain the decision to not report a crime from the victim's perspective. An in-depth discussion of this literature is, of course, far beyond the scope of this article, as such, here I provide only a brief overview.

The importance of non-reporting

Non-reporting is a serious problem in criminal justice for a number of reasons, for the victim as well as the system. It is a key determinant in shaping the statistics recorded by the police and also in providing a broader understanding of how crime impacts on different individuals, communities and neighbourhoods (Tarling, Morris, 2010). Notification by the victims and witnesses of criminal incidents leads to action by the authorities in as many as 75 to 80% of cases; without such notification by victims, few crimes would come to the attention of the police (Skogan, 1984). It is perhaps for this reason that Hindelang and Gottfredson (1976) labelled the victim "the gatekeeper of the criminal justice system" for if they do not report, the deterrent capability of the criminal justice system is severely limited, as certain classes of perpetrators, including those who abuse relatives and family members who are reluctant to involve the police are safeguarded from official view (Skogan, 1977). Furthermore, from a policy perspective, police resources may be misallocated if crime reporting varies a great deal from place to place in that neighbourhoods who do not report the crimes they have experienced will be disadvantaged in not receiving their share of crime prevention or crime control expenditure.

I would argue however, that the most serious consequence of non-reporting is the fact that those victims who represent the dark figure remain invisible to the eyes of those people and organisations that are there to assist in the aftermath of crime. Although many organisations exist to support people affected by crime and reporting is in most cases not a prerequisite of support, many schemes rely almost exclusively on the police to identify and refer victims in need, meaning those whose experiences go unreported may be cut off from assistance and support, as well as financial compensation. For

example, in Scotland as few as 5% of those who used the services of Victim Support Scotland (the country's largest provider for victims of crime) were self-referred, suggesting that very few victims find their way to these services without referral by the police (Victim Support Scotland, 2010). For these reasons, there is an ever growing literature investigating the rationale behind victims' willingness to report.

Reasons for non-reporting

A number of years ago I was so lucky to hear one of victimology's most noted contributors, Nils Christie, speak at the conference in Japan. A comment made by Nils (and I paraphrase here) insinuating that rape victims should *not* report the crime to the police, did not go down so well with the audience. I must admit, at the time I was also a little shocked. However, I soon came to understand why one might consider rape victims to be better off by not reporting. From Christie's perspective, by not reporting, a victim maintains ownership of the conflict. This option is seen as preferable to the alternative of ceding ownership to the prosecution, whereby it becomes an issue between the state and the offender, leaving the role of the victim to that of a witness in a crime against the state (Wemmers, 2012). Additionally, as victims who do report are often subjected to scorn, humiliating cross-examination (if their case even makes it to trial), secondary victimisation, disbelief, ostracising, and more often than not (as displayed by this country's pitiful conviction rate in rape cases) ultimate disappointment and disillusionment with the failure of the criminal justice system; they cannot be blamed for wanting to avoid this path. That being said, victims are arguably still better off reporting, mostly for the reasons cited above regarding access to services. Especially in serious cases such as rape, where victims may significantly benefit from long term support and counselling, one would hope specialised services be readily available. Particularly so as research suggests as few as 28% of front line service providers, such as general health practitioners (family doctors), are able to accurately assess and prescribe for serious mental illnesses related to crime, including PTSD (Munro et al., 2004).

In contrast to Christie's more philosophic approach, most reporting research based on large scale victimization surveys tends to suggest similar incident focused factors influencing victims' decisions such as the per-

ceived seriousness of the offence, the victims' relationship to the offender, and the value of items lost or damaged (Greenberg et al., 1979; Skogan, 1984; Goudriaan et al., 2006; Bowles et al., 2009). This has led to the proliferation of theories suggesting the use of a cost-benefit calculation: a cognitive tool which victims use to weigh the potential pros (return of lost items) and cons (time) of reporting to the police (Cohen, 2005; Bowles et al., 2009). This so called "cold" decision making process has received a fair amount of criticism for its over reliance on a victim's ability to make rational decisions in an emotionally laden context, as well as for using current reports of past judgements. Greenberg et al. (1979) also point out that this model may be appropriate for studying bystander or witness decision-making, but appears less well suited for studying victim decision making due to the stronger affective component.

Greenberg and Beach (2004) build on this cost benefit model, through the addition of both affective and social elements in their explanation of reporting behaviour. This explanation encompasses three general processes underlying the decision of victims to notify the police: one that is cognitively driven by reward/cost considerations, one that is affectively driven, and another that is socially driven. They base this theory on previous evidence that emotional trauma experienced as a result of victimization might influence victims' attention, perceptions, thoughts, judgments, interpretations and processing strategies (Keinan, 1987; Niedenthal, Setterlund, Jones, 1994; Petty, Cacioppo, Kasmer, 1988;Forgas, 2001 cited in Greenberg, Beach, 2004). The social facet of reporting is derived from research demonstrating a considerable proportion of victims turn to close others including family, friends, or even bystanders when deliberating on whether to notify the police (Van Kirk, 1978; Spelman, Brown, 1981). The fact that victims would turn to others for advice and assistance is consistent with classic social psychological research suggesting that when individuals are anxious or confused they are likely to turn to others (Asch, 1952; Festinger, 1954).

Cooperation with others, including one's community as well as the police, has been found to be significantly influenced by perceptions of legitimacy and fairness, often now grouped together under the umbrella of procedural justice (Tyler, Fagan, 2008). This ever burgeoning area of research has largely grown out of Tyler's (1990) conclusion that "people comply with the law not so much because they fear punishment as because they feel that legal authorities are legitimate and that their actions are generally fair" (Tyler according to Bottoms, Tambebe, 2012: 120). Naturally, many researchers have assumed that

trust in the police and acceptance of their status as legitimate should increase victims' willingness to report crimes. However, the available research suggests the reality is in fact far more complicated: that trust in the police does not appear to increase the likelihood of people reporting crime over and above other commonly researched factors such as perceived seriousness or relationships between the victim and offender (Kääriäinen, Sirén, 2011).

Further, recent research has sought to incorporate both the external, societal influences as well as deeply personal decision making into explanations of non-reporting. Building on the work of Greenberg and Beach (among others) is work by Fohring (2015) which expands on the cognitive processes involved in the first stage of Greenberg and Beech's model. Fohring (2015) integrates a number of social psychological and criminological theories, including Lerner's Just World Theory (1980), Janoff-Bulman's Shattered Assumptions (1992), and Taylor et al.'s (1983) Selective Evaluation, and comes to the conclusion that victims are highly motivated to avoid being labelled as victims, and as such employ a number of cognitive defence mechanisms to protect their non-victim identity and pre-existing beliefs about themselves and the world. The natural consequence of this process is that the incident in question – the crime – must no longer be considered a crime if one is not to be considered a victim. If a crime has not been committed, there is no reason to inform the police, and the crime remains invisible for all intents and purposes.

Findings

Now that we have an idea of some of the possible explanations behind non-reporting, we turn to our primary concern – who exactly is it that is not reporting? An indication of the answer to this question lies in some of my earlier work (Fohring, 2015). In this paper, I examined the impact of numerous variables on reporting behaviour, service uptake, and satisfaction with support received. Factors affecting the risk of initial victimisation were also studied, though not reported in the paper. This analysis was carried out using data from the Scottish Crime and Justice Survey (SCJS), in depth discussions of which, including methodology, are available elsewhere (Fohring, 2015). So, suffice it to say that the survey is a large, nationally representative data-set, conducted via face-to-face interview, the purpose of which is to determine individuals' experiences of crime and perceptions regarding number of cri-

minal justice matters in Scotland. The sweep used in this analysis was from 2008 – slightly dated but this sweep provides the largest dataset for analysis as some 16000 respondents took part.

Upon re-examining the findings from the exploratory analysis that was conducted ahead of the much more advanced modelling reported in Fohring (2015), I noticed a rather telling result – the variables found to be significant predictors of both personal crime victimisation risk and reporting in bivariate analyses were not just similar, but an exact match. These findings are presented in Table 1 below, which demonstrates how predictor variables are either demographic in nature, describing the characteristics of the victim, or descriptors of the neighbourhood in which the victim lives. Data is broken down into these levels not only for ease of interpretation, but because, when working with survey data, it is necessary to take into consideration the nested structure of the dataset in order to avoid errors of inference (Hope, 2008).

Table 1: Effects on risk and reporting (personal crime)

	Risk	Reporting
Individual	Gender (male)	Gender (male)
	Urban (city)	Urban (city)
	# Adults in Household (4+)	# Adults in Household (4+)
	Age (16-24)	Age (16-24)
	Employment status (unemployed)	Employment status (unemployed)
Neighbourhood	% 16 – 24	% 16 - 24
	% Victims	% Victims
	% Income deprived	% Income deprived
	% Employment deprived	% Employment deprived
	% Pensioners	% Pensioners

Table 1 demonstrates a striking relationship between risk and reporting behaviour, and helps to conjure up an image of what the individuals behind the dark figure may look like. The table compares variables found to have a significant ($\alpha \leq 0.05$) effect on risk and reporting when tested using bivariate logistic regression. Variables measured at the Individual level are all categorical in nature, where for example, the gender variable is made up of male or female categories. The Urban variable consisted of three categories, city (the reference category) town, and rural. The number of adults in a household was measured in four categories, with one being the reference category, and further categories representing two, three and four or more. Offending

history was a simple binary measure, with “yes” indicating time spent in either prison or a young offenders institution, with “no” as the reference category. Age was measured in four categories, with 16-24s as the reference, with additional groups containing 25-54 year olds, 55-74, and 75+. Finally, employment status was measured in three groups representing the reference employed, unemployed, or inactive. In contrast, neighbourhood level predictors are continuous as they are measured on a percentage scale ranging from 1-100.

In line with previous research (Brennen et al., 2010), young men aged 16-24, or those living in high occupancy dwellings in urban areas, affected by unemployment and with a history of offending were at greater risk of victimisation while also having a lower likelihood of reporting. Additionally, risk and reporting were also significantly related to the neighbourhood characteristics listed in Table 1, in that they increased victimisation risk, while at the same time decreased the likelihood of reporting. The resulting image is one rather familiar to those of us working in fields such as criminal justice, sociology, social work or psychology: a young man, living in a large urban centre, in a high occupancy dwelling and possibly struggling to find work. Furthermore, the neighbourhood he lives in has high population of both, the very young, and the very old, has high levels of employment and income deprived, as well as a high proportion of others who have been the victims of crime. Simply put, the picture painted is one of deprivation and vulnerability.

Now, obviously this is not in any way a causal explanation, but simply an indicator of a relationship between deprivation, victimisation and non-reporting. That being said, I believe it to be a relationship worth exploring further as nearly one fifth (18.2%) of all crime in Scotland occurs in the most deprived areas (Scottish Government, 2014).

In order to further explore this relationship, it is handy to examine victimisation across areas of deprivation (in this case, in Scotland). To this end, I use the Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation (SIMD) to examine differences in both the prevalence and incidence of crime based on the level of deprivation in the neighbourhood where the incident took place. SIMD provides an (albeit imperfect) indicator of the relative level of deprivation in an area by combining 38 indicators across 7 domains, these are: income, employment, health, education, skills and training, housing, geographic access and crime. Areas or neighbourhoods are then ranked in quintiles, with 1 representing the most deprived areas, and 5 the least. Table 2 below displays the results of a simple cross-tabulation of SIMD quintiles with the number of victims of violent

crime. Even this simple analysis is however able to demonstrate some rather telling patterns, with 50% of violent crime victims resident in neighbourhoods within the two most deprived quintiles, versus only 9% in the least deprived areas. This amounts to nearly triple the number of victims in the most deprived area as in the least.

Table 2: Prevalence of violent crime by level of deprivation

Prevalence: Victim of violent crime*	SIMD Quintiles					Total
	1 (high deprivation)	2	3	4	5 (low deprivation)	
Count	90	90	75	69	33	357
%	25%	25%	21%	19%	9%	100.0%

*Percentages rounded to nearest whole number

Furthermore, the number of repeat and/or multiple victims is also more concentrated in areas of higher deprivation. Table 3 below provides further insight into the impact of deprivation on victimisation; this time depicting incidents of crime rather than persons (as one victim can report numerous incidents). It quickly becomes apparent that, even for single incidents, the number is nearly double for the most deprived areas compared the least. This trend quickly escalates as we look to victims who have experienced multiple incidents of crime, until we see that of those who report five or more incidents, 40% can be found in the most deprived quintile alone, with a further 28% added if we take into account the lowest two quintiles, for a total of 68%, compared to only 11% in the top two quintiles.

Table 3: Incidents of personal crime by level of deprivation

Incidents of personal crime*	SIMD Quintiles					Total
	1 (high)	2	3	4	5 (low)	
1.00	Count	249	278	207	126	126
1.00	%	25%	28%	21%	13%	13%
2.00	Count	91	88	90	32	29
2.00	%	28%	27%	27%	10%	9%
3.00	Count	46	35	27	10	16
3.00	%	34%	26%	20%	8%	12%
4.00	Count	43	27	16	10	11
4.00	%	40%	25%	15%	9%	10%
≥ 5.00	Count	45	32	24	6	7
≥ 5.00	%	40%	28%	21%	5%	6%
Total	Count	474	460	364	184	189
	%	28%	28%	22%	11%	11%
						1671
						100%

*Percentages rounded to nearest whole number

Deprivation is obviously showing a relationship with victimisation, though again, from this data we cannot infer that one causes the other. So what exactly can we conclude from the above pattern? Stepping back from the data and looking at the big picture reveals the possibility that victimisation risk is a combination of life stage, lifestyle and location choice with those at more vulnerable stages and locations facing greater risk of victimisation. That is, young men living in deprived urban neighbourhoods are more likely to be exposed to crime. The concept of vulnerability in relation to risk is not a new one, and has been particularly highlighted by Hope, Trickett and Ozborn (2008) who see victimisation risk more as an indicator of belonging to either of two opposing groups in the population, one of which is highly immune to crime, the other of which is highly susceptible. The source of crime victimisation (motivated offenders) comes primarily from victims environments, therefore very vulnerable residents in high risk environments continue to be victimised because they are unable to attain immunity, or to remove themselves from risk within these environments (Hope, Trickett, Ozborne, 2008: 48). Clearly the combination of characteristics identified here plays a role in making it much more difficult for an individual to achieve immunity from victimisation.

Discussion

The information presented above suggests a clear connection between that those who face the greatest risk of criminal victimisation may also be the least likely to report a crime to the police. This is indicated by the striking overlap in variables which significantly predict both victimisation risk, and reporting. Furthermore, when taken together, it is argued that these same variables are indicative of the more general experience of deprivation. Deprivation in turn, is shown to be related to the distribution of victimisation in the population, with greater concentrations of both crimes and victims in more deprived areas. That being said, this is not a simple relationship; deprivation is not the sole factor in under-reporting, and in fact, its impact becomes less apparent when other factors are considered.

In my previous work (mentioned above) when looking for variables with an impact on reporting, I found that the variables discussed above were significant in bivariate analysis. However, when entered into a multivariate regre-

ssion, only gender remained a significant predictor of reporting (Fohring, 2015). What was found to be the strongest predictor of reporting was the victim's perception of the incident. That is, whether or not they labelled the incident as a crime, with those in fact labelled as such, being 14 times more likely to be reported. Qualitative analysis of further data led me to believe that it was a strong motivation to avoid both the social stigma attached to victimisation and to protect one's core, foundational beliefs about the self and world that resulted in this finding. If one does not wish to perceive themselves as a victim, it is necessary that an incident not be considered as crime, which in turn makes it highly unlikely to be reported to the police. So, although vulnerability and deprivation are undeniably related to victimisation, and the variables found to be significant predictors of both victimisation and reporting seem to indicate deprivation, what is the link that ties these two findings together?

Being labelled as a victim has previously been shown to be objectionable for a number of both social and personal reasons, including the stigma attached to the label, but also the derogation and blame it may precede. One aspect of this label not previously discussed in the literature is how it adds to deprivation and vulnerability. When someone is labelled a victim, any existing vulnerability is exacerbated as one is now also deprived of their former self. Although being the victim of crime affects everyone differently, it is common not only in the literature, but for victims themselves to report a loss or shattering of their beliefs about the safety of their world, justice, and their ability to cope or deal with adversity (Janoff-Bulmann, 1993). Additionally, as a result of the stigma attached to victimisation, victims may be further deprived of the respect of others, their dignity and self-confidence, making it that much more likely they will be unable to remove themselves from the risk of future victimisations and acquire safety or immunity.

Conclusions

The dual purpose of this paper has been to take an initial step in highlighting the problem of the dark figure of crime for victimology and to begin to describe the persons represented by the figure by highlighting deprivation and vulnerability as key links between those with both a greater risk of victimisation and non-reporting. These persons are all too often invisible, their

absence representing two serious issues. Firstly, in terms of criminal justice agencies and the policy makers responsible for providing support and implementing change. Many countries globally, including the United States, Australia, the United Kingdom and the wider European Union, are implementing legislation and directives intended to expand victims' rights and to support their experience of, and participation in, court proceedings. The problem arises however, when efforts to improve the plight of victims focus entirely on improving their experiences of criminal justice, when, as has now been made clear, the bulk of victims do not even become involved with this system.

The second issue arises for researchers, as the invisibility of this group makes them particularly difficult to access and study. Obviously large scale crime and victimisation surveys like the SCJS used here are immensely useful, but are also limited in the information they provide into a complex and often oversimplified problem. Going beyond survey research by including qualitative approaches is necessary in order to develop a deeper understanding of the motivation behind non-reporting than can be derived from binary survey responses. It is however, very difficult, though not impossible, for the creative and determined researcher (and I speak here from first-hand experience) to access victims who have not been involved in criminal justice as no record of their victimisation exists, and in many cases, they might not even consider themselves victims.

This perception of oneself as either a victim or not has been shown elsewhere to be a key determinant of the decision to report, as have a number of other factors. In this paper, reporting has also been linked to the initial risk of victimisation in that those behind the dark figure tend to be young, urban, unemployed, and living in areas of high deprivation. In other words, they are vulnerable to crime, or unable to remove themselves from ongoing risk. This vulnerability is only heightened by the non-reporting of crime by further depriving the victim of support and resources which may decrease ongoing risk and the impact of the crime. The unfortunate fact thus remains that until more attention is paid to this group, the victims who comprise the dark figure will remain invisible.

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STEPHANIE FOHRING

Davanje lica tamnoj brojci kriminaliteta: karakteristike žrtava koje ne prijavljuju krivična dela

Od početka široke primene anketa o viktimalizaciji sproveden je znatan broj istraživanja o takozvanoj tamnoj brojci kriminaliteta. Iako se tamna brojka kriminaliteta dosledno kreće oko 60% za sve žrtve, novija istraživanja otkrivaju malo o onima koji odlučuju da ne prijave krivično delo. Shodno tome, ovaj rad ima za cilj da otvorí prostor za dijalog koji bi se fokusirao na stvarne ljude iza tamne brojke kriminaliteta. Da bi se opisali ovi pojedinci i analizirala moguća objašnjenja njihovih odluka da ne prijave krivično delo, korišćeni su primeri škotske Ankete o kriminalitetu i pravosuđu. Pri tome, istaknut je značaj deprivacije i vulnerabilnosti u vezi sa prijavljivanjem krivičnih dela, kao i polazni rizik viktimalizacije. Zaključeno je da nedostatak fokusa na žrtve koje ne prijavljuju krivična dela čini ove žrtve vulnerabilnim i nevidljivim za kreatore politike i sistem krivičnog pravosuđa.

Ključne reči: žrtve, tamna brojka kriminaliteta, prijavljivanje, deprivacija, etiketiranje.

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Viktimizacija ljudi prirodnim katastrofama: geoprostorna i vremenska distribucija posledica¹

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Predmet rada je deskriptivna statistička analiza geoprostorne i vremenske distribucije viktimizacije ljudi (poginuli, povređeni, pogođeni i materijalna šteta) sa posebnim osvrtom na geofizičke, meteorološke, klimatske, biološke i hidrološke nepogode koje su se dogodile u svetu od 1900. do 2013. godine. Pri tome, ljudi koji su pogođeni raznovrsnim prirodnim katastrofama se mogu posmatrati kao nevidljive žrtve jer ih država i društvo ne prepoznaju kao žrtve, pa samim tim ne dobijaju adekvatnu zaštitu, pomoć i podršku. Statističko istraživanje je sprovedeno na podacima međunarodne baze podataka Centra za istraživanje epidemiologije katastrofa (CRED) u Briselu. U okviru vremenske analize razmatrana je distribucija posledica prirodnih katastrofa po ljude, u intervalima od po deset godina. Istom metodologijom analizirana je geoprostorna distribucija viktimizacije ljudi prirodnim katastrofama po kontinentima. Cilj istraživanja je utvrđivanje geoprostorne i vremenske distribucije viktimizacije ljudi prirodnim katastrofama u svetskom geoprostoru u periodu od 1900. do 2013. godine. Rezultati istraživanja nedvosmisleno ukazuju na porast broja i ozbiljnosti posledica prirodnih katastrofa.

Ključne reči: viktimizacija, prirodne katastrofe, nevidljive žrtve, ljudska i nacionalna bezbednost.

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Uvod

Prirodne katastrofe su posledice međusobnih uticaja prirodnih događaja (geofizički i ostali procesi u prirodi) i ljudskih sistema (društveno-ekonomskih, kulturnih i fizičkih). One imaju veliki i tragičan uticaj na društvo, narušavaju uobičajene načine života, ometaju ekonomske, kulturne, a ponekad i političke uslove života, usporavaju razvoj zajednice i zahtevaju preuzimanje posebnih mera od strane interventno-spasilačkih službi u vanrednim situacijama. U zavisnosti od prirode procesa nastanka, prirodne katastrofe mogu da se podele na: geofizičke (zemljotresi, vulkani, cunami, klizišta, blatišta); meteoroške (tropski cikloni/uragani, oluje sa grmljavom, tornada, munje, oluje sa gradom, snežne oluje, ledene oluje, mečave, hladni i vrući talasi, odroni snega, magle i mrazevi); hidrološke (poplave, bujice); biološke (epidemije i najezde insekata) i vanzemaljske (meteori) (Edward, 2005: 58; Tobin, Montz, 2007: 98; Mlađan, Cvetković, 2013). S obzirom na mesto nastajanja, prirodne katastrofe mogu da budu: poreklom iz atmosfere i hidrosfere (npr. tropski cikloni, tornado); poreklom iz litosfere (zemljotresi, vulkanske erupcije, cunami) i poreklom iz biosfere (šumski požari, bakterije). Takođe, s obzirom na „izvor nastanka“, mogu da se podele na: „endogene“ (zemljotresi, vulkanske erupcije); „egzogene“ (poplave i suše) i antropogenog (ljudskog) porekla (poplave prouzrokovane rušenjem brana).

Posledice prirodnih katastrofa su podjednako štetne po ljudske živote, imovinu, infrastrukturu i prirodne resurse (Shaluf, 2007: 690). Poslednjih dečenija nije evidentan samo trend povećanja broja prirodnih katastrofa, nego je povećana i njihova destruktivnost (Mijalković, 2011; Mijalković, Cvetković, 2013: 92; Cvetković, 2013). Dok i nije naročito teško pratiti obim i rasprostranjenost prirodnih katastrofa, veoma je teško kvantifikovati posledice i stoga je ovaj rad pokušaj davanja doprinosa njihovom sagledavanju.

Sagledavanje posledica prirodnih katastrofa je važno iz najmanje tri razloga: donošenje odluka o obimu spoljne pomoći ugroženim državama i regionima, korišćenje u projekcijske (preventivne i asanacione) svrhe i pružanje adekvatnih mera pomoći ugroženim ljudima (Paul, 2011: 140). Ono je od suštinskog značaja za raznovrsne procene makro i mikro ekonomskih posledica, čime se daju osnove za definisanje finansijskih potreba za postizanje potpunog oporavka i rekonstrukciju nakon bilo koje katastrofe, kao i za formulisanje programa za oporavak i preživljavanje viktimiranog stanovništva.

Generalno, posledice prirodnih katastrofa se mogu klasifikovati prema više kriterijuma. Milet i pravi razliku između fizičkih i socijalnih posledica: fizičke posledice su materijalna šteta i ljudske žrtve (smrt i povrede), dok socijalne posledice mogu da budu demografske, ekonomске, političke, institucionalne, psihološke i zdravstvene (Milet, 1999: 67). Smit i Vard sve materijalne posledice dele na direktne i indirektne (Smit, Vard, 1998: 35). Direktne materijalne posledice nastaju usled oštećenja objekata, struktura i infrastrukture, dok indirektne posledice podrazumevaju izgubljenu proizvodnju, zarade, odsustvo sa posla itd. Parker i saradnici (1997: 123) i Smit i Vard (1998: 36) sve posledice prirodnih katastrofa dele na primarne i sekundarne. Primarne su posledice „prvog naleta“ i predstavljaju neposredne gubitke koji nastaju usled same katastrofe koje često dovode do sekundarnih i tercijarnih posledica. Pod sekundarnim i tercijarnim posledicama se podrazumevaju dugoročne posledice (gubitak prebivališta, oboleli od dijabetesa usled stresa, i druge) (Mijalković, 2011: 213–216, 255–256).

Pri analizi svake od navedenih klasifikacija posledica prirodnih katastrofa zaključujemo da čovek nesporno trpi izvesnu štetu po svoj život, zdravlje i/ili imovinu. Istovremeno, žrtve prirodnih katastrofa se od strane viktomologa i državnih organa često ne prepoznaju kao žrtve, jer njihove viktimizacije ne prolaze kroz krivičnopravni sistem, zakon ih ne prepozna kao žrtve, ne dobijaju adekvatnu zaštitu, pomoći i podršku. Stoga se s pravom može reći da su žrtve prirodnih katastrofa *nevidljive žrtve*.

Prema podacima Centra za istraživanje epidemiologije vanrednih situacija (CRED)², od 1960. godine prirodne katastrofe su usmrtile skoro 5,5 miliona ljudi širom sveta. Samo su suše ubile više od 2,5 miliona ljudi, zemljotresi više od 1 miliona ljudi, a oluje i uragani/cikloni još skoro milion. Većina takvih smrtnih slučajeva se dogodila u zemljama u razvoju. Iako je apsolutni broj ljudi koji su poginuli u svim vrstama prirodnih katastrofa mali u odnosu na ukupan broj ljudi koji u svetu umre prirodnom smrću, mnogi smrtni slučajevi povezani sa katastrofama bi ipak mogli biti sprečeni (Guha i dr., 2012: 107). Ključne metode za smanjivanje viktimizacije ljudi, pre svega smrtnosti i povređivanja u situacijama prirodnih katastrofa, obuhvataju usvajanje mera za pripremljenost i ublažavanje posledica, uključujući i obezbeđivanje ranog upozorenja na katastrofu i uspešnu evakuaciju rizičnih populacija. U stručnoj literaturi, post-

² *Centar za istraživanje epidemiologije vanrednih situacija* – CRED je specijalizovano telo Svetske zdravstvene organizacije za pripravnost i reagovanje u vanrednim situacijama.

oji veliki broj radova koji se direktno/indirektno bavi problematikom distribucije posledica prirodnih katastrofa. Recimo, distribucijom posledica hidrosferskih katastrofa po ljudi bavili su se Chow (1964), Yevjevich (1964), Haan (1977), Kite (1977), Singh, V., Singh, K. (1987), Potter (1987), Bobee i Ashkar (1991), McCuen (1993) i drugi. Predmet ovih radova bilo je ispitivanje distribucije poplava u svetskom i nacionalnom geoprostoru, sa posebnim fokusom na viktimizaciju ljudi.

Celishodnije razumevanje prirodnih katastrofa nezamislivo je bez šireg sagledavanja uticaja društvenih, ekonomskih i političkih faktora na prirodne opasnosti i njihove posledice, upravo zbog načina na koji države uređuju život ljudi u lokalnoj zajednici. Na primer, ljudi koji žive u teškoj ekonomskoj situaciji nekada su prinuđeni da žive u oblastima koje su osjetljive na poplave, česte zemljotresе, klizišta i vulkanske erupcije. Međutim, postoje i drugi politički i ekonomski faktori koji se odnose na neravnomernu raspodelu materijalnih sredstava, prihoda i pristupa drugim resursima, kao i različiti oblici diskriminacije prilikom dodeljivanja zdravstvene i socijalne zaštite, što u mnogome utiče na kvalitet stanovanja i življenja, a time i na bezbednost ljudi u vanrednim situacijama. Drugim rečima, da bismo shvatili katastrofe, nije dovoljno da pozajemo vrste rizika koji mogu da utiču na ljudе, već i različiti stepen osjetljivosti različitih grupa ljudi na prirodne katastrofe. Takvu osjetljivost određuju društveni sistemi i moć, a ne prirodne sile. To se mora razumeti u kontekstu političkih i ekonomskih sistema koji funkcionišu na nacionalnom, pa i na međunarodnom nivou (Blakie i dr., 2004).

Uspešni odgovori na prirodne katastrofe zahtevaju uspešno projektovanje sistema zaštite i spasavanja, čemu nužno prethodi sveobuhvatno istraživanje njihove fenomenologije³. S tim u vezi, u radu će biti analizirani oblici ispoljavanja, broj, vremenski i geoprostorni razmeštaj posledica (pognuti, povređeni, pogođeni, materijalna šteta) svih vrsta prirodnih katastrofa po ljudi i njihovu imovinu u svetu od 1900. do 2013. godine.

³ Ove mere su se pokazale uspešnim u smanjivanju broja pognulih ljudi u katastrofama u Sjedinjenim Američkim Državama i u drugim razvijenim zemljama. Na primer, smrtnost od tornada u SAD je drastično opala tokom prošlog veka (Sutter, Simmons, 2010: 67). Brooks i Doswell (2002: 98) procenjuju da je nacionalna stopa smrtnosti od tornada pala sa 1,8 po milionu stanovnika u 1925. godini, na 0.11 po milionu stanovnika u 2000. godini.

Metodologija

Istraživanje je sprovedeno na osnovu izuzetno obimnog materijala Centra za istraživanje epidemiologije vanrednih situacija (CRED). U prvom koraku sirovi – neobrađeni podaci o 25552 registrovana događaja, preuzeti su sa zvanične veb stranice Centra⁴. Nakon toga, podaci su obrađeni programom za statističku obradu podataka SPSS 20.0. Korišćenjem programskih operacija izračunate su frekvencije i procenti razmatranih varijabli kao što su poginula lica, povređena lica, lica koja su pogođena vanrednom situacijom, lica koja su tokom vanredne situacije ostala bez doma itd. Sama analiza geoprostorne i vremenske distribucije viktinizacije ljudi prirodnim katastrofama odnosi se na vremenski period od 1900. do 2013. godine i obuhvata svetski geoprostor. Rezultati obrade kvantitativnih podataka su prikazani tekstualno, tabelarno i grafički. U okviru analize geoprostorne distribucije viktinizacije ljudi prirodnim katastrofama, sagledavan je broj poginulih, povređenih, pogođenih i ljudi koji su ostali bez doma, kao i nastala ukupna materijalna šteta na područjima svih kontinenata: Evropa, Azija, Afrika, Amerika i Okeanija. S druge strane, u okviru analize vremenske distribucije viktinizacije ljudi, sagledavane su navedene posledice u vremenskim periodima od po deset godina, počevši od 1900. godine.

Za označavanje vidova viktinizacije (procesa u kojem se licu usled delovanja prirodne katastrofe ugrožava ili povređuje neko pravo, zdravlje ili imovina, zbog čega ono postaje žrtva prirodne katastrofe) korišćeni su termini koji su u standardnoj upotrebi CRED-a: *broj poginulih* – broj ljudi za koje je utvrđena smrt i broj nestalih za koje je očigledno da su mrtvi; *broj povređenih* – broj ljudi koji pati od psihičkih povreda, fizičkih trauma ili koji zahteva trenutnu medicinsku pomoć; *broj pogođenih* – broj razmeštenih ili evakuisanih ljudi kao i broj ljudi koji zahteva momentalnu ekonomsko-socijalnu pomoć tokom i posle katastrofe; *ljudi koji su ostali bez doma* – broj ljudi kojima je potreban hitan smeštaj, jer je usled prirodne katastrofe njihov dom uništen ili je toliko oštećen da ne može da se koristi; *ukupno pogođeni* – zbirni pregled lica koja su povređena, beskućnici i koji su pogođeni prirodnom katastrofom; *ukupna materijalna šteta* – procena ekonomске štete prirodnih katastrofa, izražena u američkim dolarima.

⁴ Dostupno na: www.emdat.be, stranici pristupljeno 14.6.2014.

Analiza geoprostorne distribucije viktimizacije ljudi prirodnim katastrofama

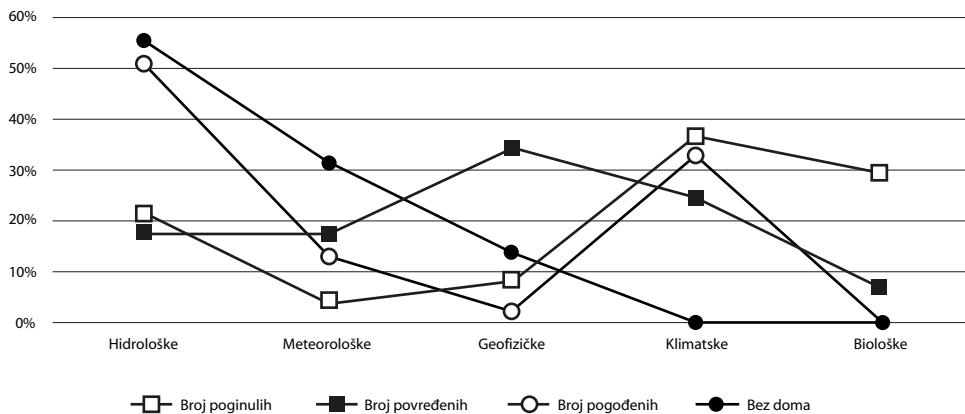
U periodu od 1900. do 2013. godine dogodile su se 25552 prirodne katastrofe. Od toga, najviše je bilo hidroloških, pa meteoroloških, geofizičkih, klimatskih i bioloških katastrofa (Cvetković, Mijalković, 2013: 346).

Tabela 1. Pregled posledica prirodnih katastrofa po ljude i njihovu imovinu u svetu od 1900. do 2013. godine

Vrsta prirodne katastrofe	Broj događaja	Broj poginulih	Broj povredenih	Broj pogodenih	Bez doma	Ukupno pogodenih	Ukupna materijalna šteta (\$)
Meteorološke	7149	2766859	2641153	1742924832	105054916	1850620901	1872273246
Geofizičke	3037	5331007	5177147	309279694	45930226	360387067	1522543792
Hidrološke	9557	13987140	2635118	6891172180	185223183	7079050481	1200003042
Biološke	2820	19152311	968153	90325323	0	91293476	460264
Klimatske	2989	23772449	3779656	4532945549	903962	4537629167	471765608
Ukupno	25552	65009766	15221227	13566647578	337112287	13918981092	5067045952

Izvor: EM-DAT: The OFDA/CRED International Disaster Database

Grafikon 1. Procentualna zastupljenost posledica prirodnih katastrofa po ljude i njihovu imovinu u svetu od 1900. do 2013. godine



Izvor: EM-DAT: The OFDA/CRED International Disaster Database

Najviše ljudi (23772449 ili 36,57%) je smrtno stradalo usled klimatskih katastrofa; najviše njih je povređeno (5177147 ili 34,01%) usled geofizičkih katastrofa; najviše ljudi je pogođeno (6891172180) i ostalo bez doma (185223183 ili 50,79%) usled hidroloških katastrofa. Najmanje (2766859 ili

4,26%) ljudi je poginulo zbog posledica meteoroloških katastrofa, a najmanje ljudi je povređeno (968153 ili 6,36%) i pogodeno (90325323 ili 0,67%) zbog posledica bioloških katastrofa (Tabela 1 i Grafikon 1).

Analiza geoprostorne distribucije viktimizacije ljudi geofizičkim katastrofama

Kao posledica zemljotresa u svetu, najviše ljudi je poginulo (3643557), povređeno (3399525), pogodeno (231408080) i bez doma (31815436) ostalo u Aziji. Najmanje ljudi je poginulo (6826), povređeno (6380), pogodeno (1383754) i bez doma (40240) ostalo u Okeaniji (Cvetković, Milojković, Stojković, 2014) (Tabela 2).

Tabela 2. Pregled posledica zemljotresa po ljude i njihovu imovinu u svetu od 1900. do 2013. godine

Kontinent	Broj poginulih	Broj povređenih	Broj pogodjenih	Bez doma	Ukupno pogodjenih	Ukupna materijalna šteta (\$)
Azija	3643557	3399525	231408080	31815436	266623041	1080558376
Amerika	878596	1517776	56826052	8733946	67077774	202871612
Evropa	556598	107970	8171412	2746074	11025456	155732672
Afrika	42772	121236	1655876	1830988	3608100	24719398
Okeanija	6826	6380	1383754	40240	1430374	52077838
Total	5128349	5152887	299445174	45166684	349764745	1515959896

Izvor: EM-DAT: The OFDA/CRED International Disaster Database

Tabela 3. Pregled posledica vulkanskih erupcija po ljude i njihovu imovinu u svetu od 1900. do 2013. godine

Kontinent	Broj poginulih	Broj povređenih	Broj pogodjenih	Bez doma	Ukupno pogodjenih	Ukupna materijalna šteta (\$)
Azija	1416702	43576	9764	5804290	207800	6021854
Amerika	4337394	135716	11678	2873116	62360	2947154
Okeanija	220000	7330	62	427738	92000	519800
Afrika	18000	4436	1686	659600	361420	1022706
Evropa	88600	1566	48	24400	28000	52448
Total	6080696	192624	23238	9789144	751580	10563962

Izvor: EM-DAT: The OFDA/CRED International Disaster Database

Kao što je prikazano u tabeli 3 zbog vulkanskih erupcija u svetu najviše ljudi je poginulo (4337394), povređeno (135716), pogodeno (11678) u Americi, a bez doma (5804290) ostalo u Aziji. Najmanje ljudi je poginulo (6826),

povređeno (6380), pogođeno (1383754) i bez doma (40240) ostalo u Okeaniji (Cvetković, Mijalković, 2013: 350).

Tabela 4. Pregled posledica klizišta, odrona i urušavanja tla po ljude i njihovu imovinu u svetu od 1900. do 2013. godine

Kontinent	Broj poginulih	Broj povređenih	Broj pogođenih	Bez doma	Ukupno pogođenih	Ukupna materijalna šteta (\$)
Afrika	444	144	1000	1250	2394	0
Amerika	5442	254	8574	9232	18060	400000
Azija	3438	508	13302	1480	15290	98000
Evropa	538	116	20500	0	20616	5200
Okeanija	172	0	2000	0	2000	0
Ukupan broj	10034	1022	45376	11962	58360	503200

Izvor: EM-DAT: The OFDA/CRED International Disaster Database

Usled direktnih/indirektnih posledica klizišta, odrona i urušavanja tla u svetu najviše ljudi je poginulo (5442) u Americi, povređeno (508) u Africi, pogođeno (20500) u Evropi, i bez doma (9232) ostalo u Americi. Najmanje ljudi je poginulo (172) i povređeno (0) u Okeaniji, pogođeno (1000) u Africi, i bez doma (0) ostalo u Evropi i Okeaniji (Tabela 4).

Analiza geoprostorne distribucije viktimizacije ljudi meteorološkim katastrofama

Kao posledice oluja u svetu, najviše ljudi je poginulo (2529443) u Americi, povređeno (2478589) u Aziji, pogođeno (20500) u Evropi, i bez doma (94181028) ostalo u Aziji. Najmanje (4182) ljudi je poginulo i pogođeno (12081886) u Okeaniji, povređeno (6578) u Evropi, i bez doma (75234) ostalo u Evropi (Tabela 5).

Tabela 5. Pregled posledica oluja po ljude i njihovu imovinu u svetu od 1900. do 2013. godine

Kontinent	Broj poginulih	Broj povređenih	Broj pogođenih	Bez doma	Ukupno pogođenih	Ukupna materijalna šteta (\$)
Afrika	10776	28398	28758684	3416258	32203340	7744036
Amerika	207786	120320	99561632	6883386	106565338	1282507664
Azija	2529443	2478589	1585153240	94181028	1681812857	355235528
Evropa	14672	6578	17369390	75234	17451202	187445490
Okeanija	4182	7268	12081886	499010	12588164	39340528
Ukupno	2766859	2641153	1742924832	105054916	1850620901	1872273246

Izvor: EM-DAT: The OFDA/CRED International Disaster Database

Analiza geoprostorne distribucije viktimizacije ljudi klimatskim katastrofama

Usled posledica ekstremnih temperatura u svetu, najviše ljudi je poginulo (280349) u Evropi, povređeno (3649796) u Americi, pogođeno (170379476) i bez doma (466000) ostalo u Aziji. Najmanje ljudi (454) je poginulo, povređeno (210), pogođeno (2015000) i bez doma (0) ostalo u Africi (Tabela 6).

Tabela 6. Pregled posledica ekstremnih temperatura po ljude i njihovu imovinu u svetu od 1900. do 2013. godine

Kontinent	Broj poginulih	Broj povređenih	Broj pogođenih	Bez doma	Ukupno pogođenih	Ukupna materijalna šteta (\$)
Afrika	454	210	2015000	0	2015210	95618
Amerika	17894	3649796	6865500	32000	10547296	34529700
Azija	43163	68788	170379476	466000	170914264	47654666
Evropa	280349	44562	2564504	2680	2611746	32374702
Oceanija	740	5568	9200000	0	9205568	400000
Ukupno	342600	3768924	191024480	500680	195294084	115054686

Izvor: EM-DAT: The OFDA/CRED International Disaster Database

Tabela 7. Pregled posledica šumskih požara po ljude i njihovu imovinu u svetu od 1900. do 2013. godine

Kontinent	Broj poginulih	Broj povređenih	Broj pogođenih	Bez doma	Ukupno pogođenih	Ukupna materijalna šteta (\$)
Afrika	548	1516	18570	47658	67744	880000
Amerika	3105	1372	2409871	83386	2494629	51435800
Azija	1512	1716	6373404	176570	6551690	23807000
Evropa	1150	3978	2569916	17306	2591200	25637622
Okeanija	992	2150	154008	38362	194520	5353688
Ukupno	7307	10732	11525769	363282	11899783	107114110

Izvor: EM-DAT: The OFDA/CRED International Disaster Database

Usled posledica šumskih požara u svetu, najviše ljudi je poginulo (3105) u Americi, povređeno (3978) u Evropi, pogođeno (6373404) u Aziji i bez doma (176570) ostalo u Aziji. Najmanje (548) ljudi je poginulo, povređeno (1516), pogođeno (18570) i bez doma (17306) ostalo u Evropi (Tabela 7).

Tabela 8. Pregled posledica suša po ljudi i njihovu imovinu u svetu od 1900. do 2013. godine

Kontinent	Broj poginulih	Broj povređenih	Broj pogođenih	Bez doma	Ukupno pogođenih	Ukupna materijalna šteta (\$)
Afrika	1694286	0	728889598	0	728889598	5841186
Amerika	154	0	138834452	0	138834452	100742278
Azija	19326778	0	3415632058	40000	3415672058	69044730
Evropa	2400004	0	30977538	0	30977538	50962618
Okeanija	1320	0	16061654	0	16061654	23006000
Ukupno	23422542	0	4330395300	40000	4330435300	249596812

Izvor: EM-DAT: The OFDA/CRED International Disaster Database

Zbog suša u svetu, najviše ljudi je poginulo (19326778), povređeno (nema podataka), pogođeno (3415632058) i bez doma (40000) ostalo u Aziji. Najmanje ljudi (154) je poginulo u Americi, povređeno (nema podataka), pogođeno (16061654) u Okeaniji i bez doma (40000) ostalo u Aziji (Tabela 8).

Analiza geoprostorne distribucije viktimizacije ljudi biološkim katastrofama

Zbog epidemija u svetu, najviše ljudi je poginulo (13058688) u Aziji, povređeno (714792) u Americi, pogođeno (36379668) u Evropi. Najmanje ljudi (14396) je poginulo u Okeaniji, povređeno (0) u Evropi i Okeaniji, pogođeno (36626) u Okeaniji (Tabela 9).

Tabela 9. Pregled posledica epidemija po ljudi i njihovu imovinu u svetu od 1900. do 2013. godine.

Kontinent	Broj poginulih	Broj povređenih	Broj pogođenih	Bez doma	Ukupno pogođenih	Ukupna materijalna šteta (\$)
Afrika	928267	4379	25214029	0	25218408	0
Amerika	150010	714792	11643662	0	12358454	14
Azija	13058688	248982	16046938	0	16295920	0
Evropa	5000950	0	36379668	0	36379668	0
Okeanija	14396	0	36626	0	36626	0
Ukupno	19152311	968153	89320923	0	90289076	14

Izvor podataka: EM-DAT: The OFDA/CRED International Disaster Database.

Povećan broj ljudi koji su poginuli usled posledica epidemija u Aziji bi se mogao povezati sa velikim brojem faktora: povećana gustina stanovništva, nedovoljna razvijenost sanitarno-higijenskih mera, nerazvijenost medicinskih mera, itd.

Analiza geoprostorne distribucije viktimizacije ljudi hidrološkim katastrofama

Kao posledice poplava u svetu, najviše ljudi je poginulo (13589418), povređeno (2438303), pogodeno (6560968177) i bez doma (153660678) ostalo u Aziji. Najmanje ljudi (1016) je poginulo, povređeno (184), pogodeno (2126518) i bez doma (214970) ostalo u Okeaniji (Cvetković, 2014a) (Tabela 10).

Tabela 10. Pregled posledica poplava po ljude i njihovu imovinu u svetu od 1900. do 2013. godine.

Kontinent	Broj poginulih	Broj povređenih	Broj pogodjenih	Bez doma	Ukupno pogodjenih	Ukupna materijalna šteta (\$)
Afrika	50557	55947	119555483	11910538	131521968	14630498
Amerika	208047	88300	165740994	7133925	172963219	195930880
Azija	13589418	2438303	6560968177	153660678	6717067158	722929790
Evropa	18148	51712	23873756	3835628	27761096	220657128
Okeanija	1016	184	2126518	214970	2341672	28954750
Ukupno	13867186	2634446	6872264928	176755739	7051655113	1183103046

Izvor podataka: EM-DAT: The OFDA/CRED International Disaster Database.

Tabela 11. Pregled posledica cunamija i bujica po ljude i njihovu imovinu u svetu od 1900. do 2013. godine.

Kontinent	Ukupno poginulih	Ukupno povređenih	Broj pogodjenih	Bez doma	Ukupno pogodjenih	Ukupna šteta
Afrika	2394	402	58778	57068	116248	0
Amerika	38968	9744	10537094	472020	11018858	5043454
Azija	44414	9490	8248040	7885106	16142636	5633832
Evropa	33086	932	58814	17250	76996	6217778
Okeanija	1092	104	4526	36000	40630	4932
Ukupno	119954	20672	18907252	8467444	27395368	16899996

Izvor podataka: EM-DAT: The OFDA/CRED International Disaster Database.

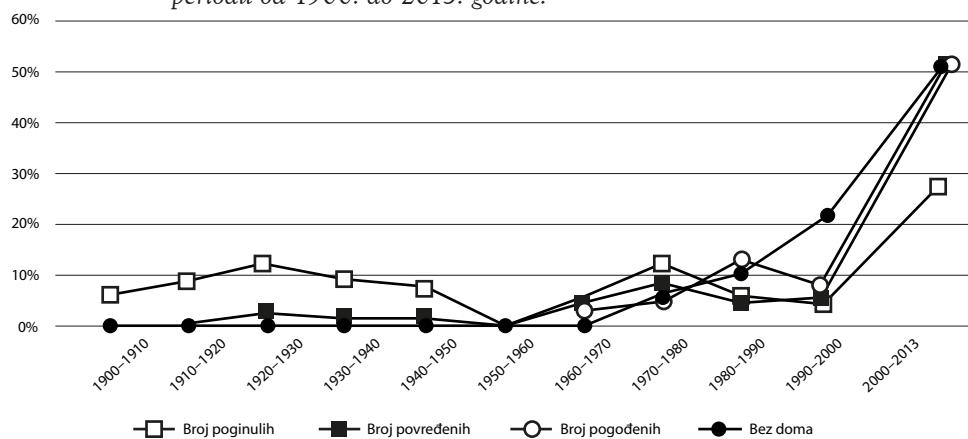
Zbog cunamija i bujica u svetu, najviše ljudi je poginulo (44414) u Aziji, povređeno (9744), pogodeno (10537094) u Americi i bez doma (7885106) ostalo u Aziji. Najmanje ljudi (1092) je poginulo, povređeno (104), pogodeno (4526) i bez doma (36000) ostalo u Okeaniji (Tabela 11).

Analiza vremenske distribucije viktimizacije ljudi prirodnim katastrofama

Analiza vremenske distribucije viktimizacije ljudi geofizičkim katastrofama

Procentualno posmatrano, od posledica zemljotresa u svetu od 1900. do 2013. godine, najviše ljudi je poginulo (27,76%), povređeno (51,77%), pogođeno (53,30%) i ostalo bez doma (52,75%) u periodu od 2000. do 2013. godine. Najmanje ljudi (1,46%) je poginulo u periodu od 1950. do 1960. godine, najmanje povređenih ljudi (0%) bilo je u periodu od 1900. do 1910. godine, najmanje ljudi je pogođeno (0%) u periodu od 1910. do 1920. godine, najmanje ljudi (0%) je bez doma ostalo u periodu od 1900. do 1910. i od 1910. do 1920. godine (Grafikon 2).

Grafikon 2. Procentualni pregled posledica zemljotresa po ljude i njihovu imovinu u periodu od 1900. do 2013. godine.

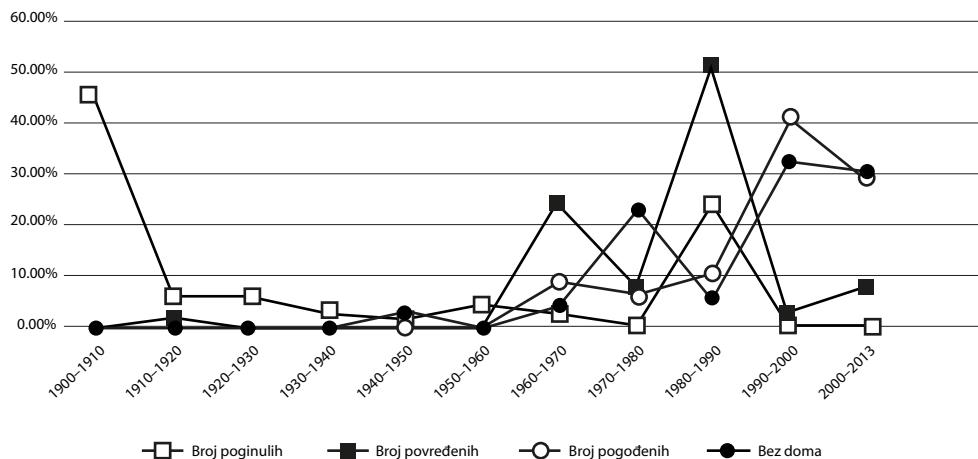


Izvor podataka: EM-DAT: The OFDA/CRED International Disaster Database.

Zbog vulkanskih erupcija u svetu, najviše ljudi (46,07%) je poginulo od 1900. do 1910. godine, dok je najmanje (0,58%) poginulo u periodu od 2000. do 2013. godine. Najviše povređenih (51,40%) ljudi je bilo u periodu od 1980. do 1990. godine, a najmanje (0%) povređenih je bilo u više perioda i to od 1900. do 1910., od 1920. do 1930., od 1930. do 1940. i od 1950. do 1960. godine. Najviše pogođenih (41,50%) ljudi bilo je u periodu od 1900. do 2000. godine, a najmanje (0%) u više perioda i to od 1900. do 1910., i od 1920. do 1930. godine. Najviše ljudi je ostalo bez doma (30,87%) u periodu od 2000.

do 2013. godine, dok takvih slučajeva nije bilo u više perioda i to od 1900. do 1910., od 1910. do 1920., od 1920. do 1930., i od 1930. do 1940. godine (Grafikon 3) (Cvetković, 2014b).

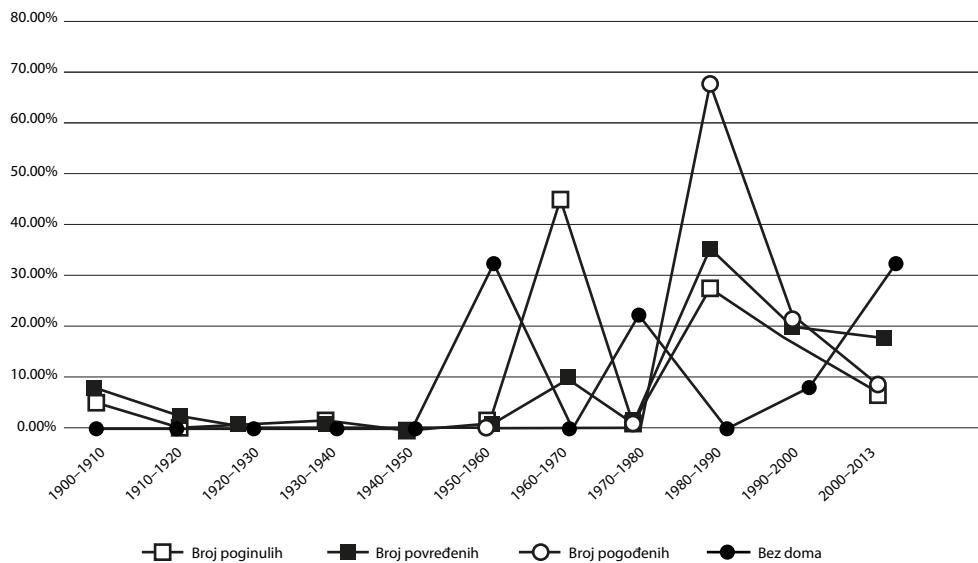
Grafikon 3. Procentualni pregled posledica vulkanskih erupcija po ljudi i njihovu imovinu u svetu od 1900. do 2013. godine.



Izvor podataka: EM-DAT: The OFDA/CRED International Disaster Database.

Usled klizišta, odrona i urušavanja tla najviše ljudi je poginulo (44,21%) u periodu od 1960. do 1970. godine, dok je najmanje (0%) poginulo u periodu od 1920. do 1930. i od 1940. do 1950. godine. Najviše povređenih ljudi je bilo u periodu od 1980. do 1990. godine (36,40%), a najmanje povređenih (0%) je bilo u više perioda i to od 1900. do 1910., od 1920. do 1930., od 1930. do 1940. i od 1950. do 1960. godine. Najviše pogodenih (67,66%) ljudi bilo je u periodu od 1980. do 1990. godine, a najmanje (0%) u periodu od 1900. do 1980. godine. Najviše ljudi (33,40%) je ostalo bez doma u periodu od 1950. do 1960. godine, dok takvih slučajeva nije bilo u više perioda od 1900. do 1950. godine (Grafikon 4).

Grafikon 4. Procentualni pregled posledica klizišta, odrona i urušavanja tla po ljude i njihovu imovinu u svetu od 1900. do 2013. godine.

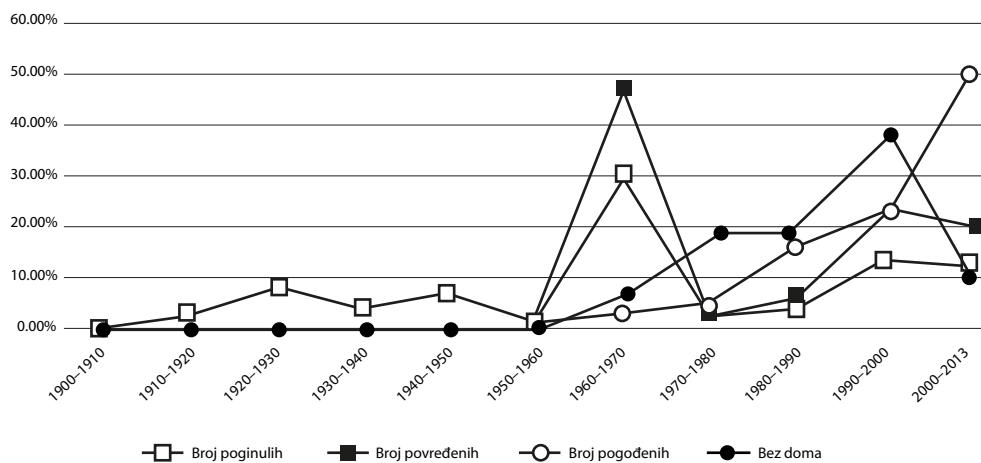


Izvor podataka: EM-DAT: The OFDA/CRED International Disaster Database.

Analiza vremenske distribucije viktimizacije ljudi meteorološkim katastrofama

Procentualno posmatrano, kao posledica oluja najviše ljudi (31,03%) je poginulo u periodu od 1960. do 1970. godine, dok je najmanje (0%) poginulo u periodu od 1900. do 1910. godine. Najviše povređenih ljudi je bilo u periodu od 1960. do 1970. godine (47,63%), a najmanje povređenih (0%) je bilo u periodu od 1900. do 1910. godine. Najviše pogodenih (65,21%) ljudi bilo je u periodu od 2000. do 2013. godine, a najmanje (0%) u periodu od 1900. do 1920., i od 1930. do 1940. godine. Najviše ljudi (39,16%) je ostalo bez doma u periodu od 1990. do 2000. godine, dok takvih slučajeva nije bilo u periodu od 1900. do 1910. godine (Grafikon 5).

Grafikon 5. Procentualni pregled posledica oluja po ljudi i njihovu imovinu u svetu od 1900. do 2013. godine.

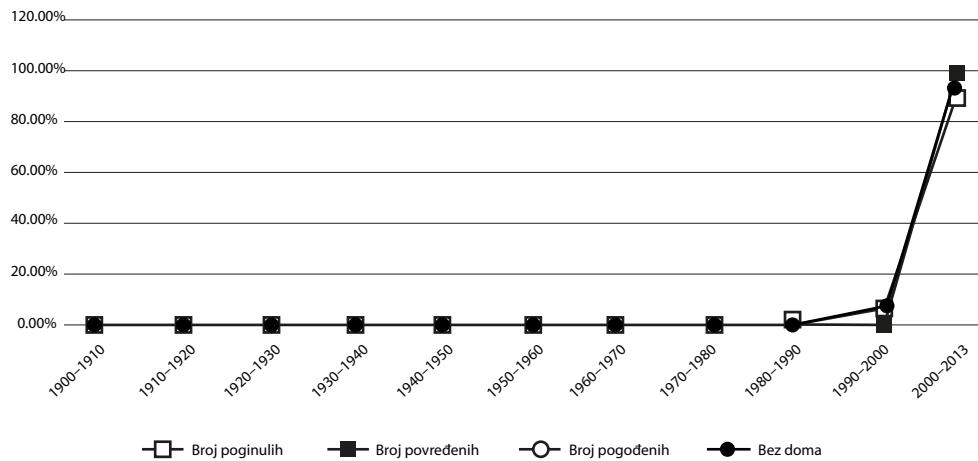


Izvor podataka: EM-DAT: The OFDA/CRED International Disaster Database.

Analiza vremenske distribucije viktimizacije ljudi klimatskim katastrofama

Zbog ekstremnih temperatura najviše ljudi je poginulo (87,47%) u periodu od 2000. do 2013. godine, dok je najmanje (0%) ljudi poginulo u periodu od 1900. do 1930. i od 1940. do 1950. godine. Najviše povređenih ljudi (47,63%) je bilo u periodu od 1960. do 1970. godine, a najmanje (0%) je bilo u periodu od 1900. do 1970. godine. Najviše pogodenih (92,48%) ljudi bilo je u periodu od 2000. do 2013. godine, a najmanje (0%) u periodu od 1900. do 1980. Najviše ljudi (93,07%) je ostalo bez doma u periodu od 2000. do 2013. godine, dok takvih slučajeva nije bilo u periodu od 1900. do 1980. godine (Grafikon 6).

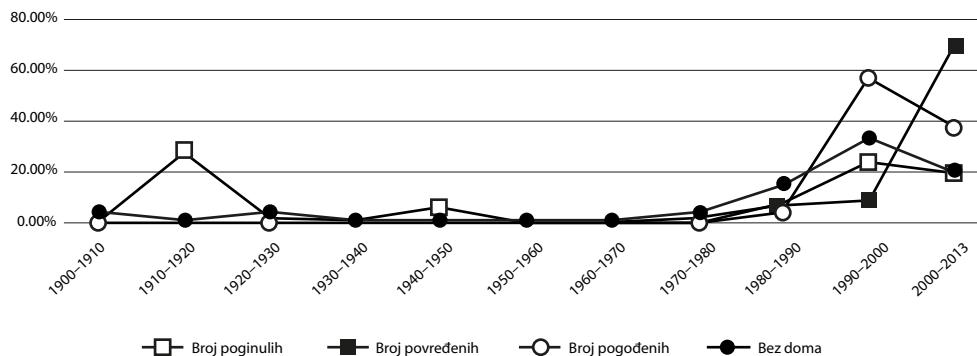
Grafikon 6. Procentualni pregled posledica ekstremnih temperatura po ljudi i njihovu imovinu u svetu od 1900. do 2013. godine.



Izvor podataka: EM-DAT: The OFDA/CRED International Disaster Database.

Usled шумских поžara највише ljudi (29,37%) je погинуло у периоду од 1910. до 1920. године, dok је најмање ljudi (0%) погинуло у периоду од 1900. до 1910. године. Највише повређених ljudi (69,51%) је било у периоду од 2000. до 2013. године, а најмање (0%) је било у периоду од 1900. до 1960. године. Највише погоđених (57,93%) ljudi било је у периоду од 1990. до 2000. године, а најмање (0%) у периоду од 1920. до 1980. Највише ljudi (36,45%) без дома је остало у периоду од 1990. до 2000. године, dok takvih slučajeva nije bilo (0%) у периоду од 1900. до 1970. године (Графикон 7).

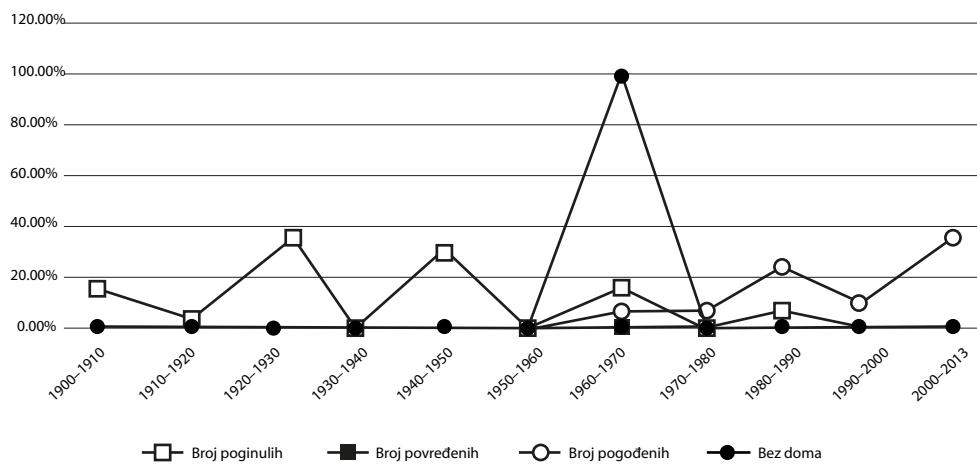
Grafikon 7. Procentualni pregled posledica šumskih požara po ljude i njihovu imovinu u svetu od 1900. do 2013. godine.



Izvor podataka: EM-DAT: The OFDA/CRED International Disaster Database.

Usled posledica suša najviše ljudi (35,87%) je poginulo u periodu od 1920. do 1930. godine, dok je najmanje ljudi (0,1%) poginulo u periodu od 2000. do 2013. godine. Najviše pogodenih ljudi (36,05%) bilo je u periodu od 2000. do 2013. godine, a najmanje (0%) u periodu od 1900. do 1910. Najviše ljudi (100%) je ostalo bez doma u periodu od 1960. do 1970. godine, dok takvih slučajeva nije bilo u ostalim posmatrаниm periodima (Grafikon 8).

Grafikon 8. Procentualni pregled posledica suša po ljude i njihovu imovinu u svetu od 1900. do 2013. godine.

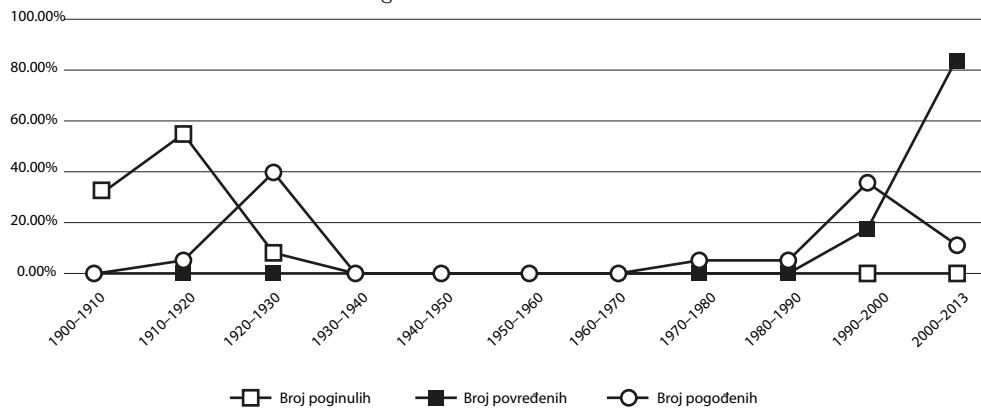


Izvor podataka: EM-DAT: The OFDA/CRED International Disaster Database.

Analiza vremenske distribucije viktimizacije ljudi biološkim katastrofama

Kao posledica epidemija, najviše ljudi (56,91%) je poginulo u periodu od 1910. do 1920. godine, dok je najmanje ljudi (0,01%) poginulo u periodu od 1950. do 1960. godine. Najviše povređenih (83,50%) ljudi je bilo u periodu od 2000. do 2013. godine, a najmanje (0%) je bilo u periodu od 1900. do 1960. godine. Najviše pogodjenih (57,93%) ljudi bilo je u periodu od 1990. do 2000. godine, a najmanje (0%) u periodu od 1920. do 1980. godine (Grafikon 9).

Grafikon 9. Procentualni pregled posledica epidemija po ljude i njihovu imovinu u svetu od 1900. do 2013. godine.

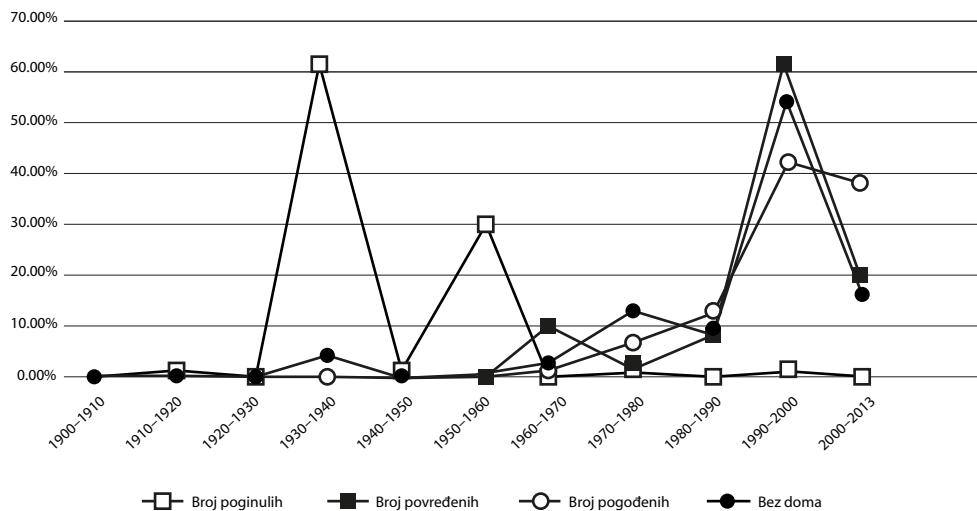


Izvor podataka: EM-DAT: The OFDA/CRED International Disaster Database.

Analiza vremenske distribucije viktimizacije ljudi hidrološkim katastrofama

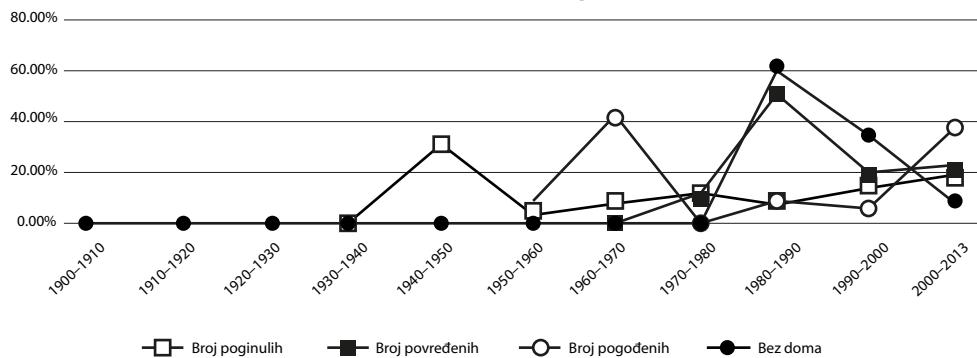
Usled poplava, najviše ljudi (29,37%) je poginulo u periodu od 1910. do 1920. godine, dok je najmanje ljudi (0%) poginulo u periodu od 1900. do 1910. godine. Najviše ljudi je povređeno (69,51%) u periodu od 2000. do 2013. godine, a najmanje (0%) u periodu od 1900. do 1960. godine. Najviše ljudi koje su pogodile hidrološke katastrofe (57,93%) bilo je u periodu od 1990. do 2000. godine, a najmanje (0%) u periodu od 1920. do 1980. Najviše ljudi (36,45%) je ostalo bez doma u periodu od 1990. do 2000. godine, a najmanje (0%) u periodu od 1900. do 1970. godine (Grafikon 10).

Grafikon 10. Procentualni pregled posledica poplava po ljude i imovinu u svetu od 1900. do 2013. godine.



Izvor podataka: EM-DAT: The OFDA/CRED International Disaster Database.

Grafikon 11. Procentualni pregled posledica masivnih vodenih pokreta po ljude i imovinu u svetu od 1900. do 2013. godine.



Izvor podataka: EM-DAT: The OFDA/CRED International Disaster Database.

Kao posledica masivnih vodenih pokreta, najviše ljudi (29,44%) je poginulo u periodu od 1940. do 1950. godine, dok je najmanje (0%) poginulo u periodu od 1910. do 1920. godine. Najviše povređenih (48,30%) ljudi je bilo u periodu od 1980. do 1990. godine, a najmanje (0%) je bilo u periodu od 1900. do 1960. godine. Hidrološke katastrofe su najviše ljudi pogodile (42,33%) u periodu od 1960. do 1970. godine, a najmanje (0%) u periodu od 1900. do 1970. Najviše

Ijudi (59,59%) je ostalo bez doma u periodu od 1980. do 1990. godine, dok takvih slučajeva nije bilo u periodu od 1900. do 1960. godine (Grafikon 11).

Zaključak

Prirodne katastrofe su prirodni procesi koji se ne mogu sprečiti. Ipak, njihove posledice se u velikoj meri mogu ublažiti preduzimanjem odgovarajućih preventivnih mera i pripremanjem zajednice za odgovor na njihove štetne efekte. Ovo je posebno značajno imajući u vidu to da ljudi koji su pogođeni prirodnim katastrofama spadaju u kategoriju *nevidljivih žrtava*. Naime, državni organi ih često ne prepoznaju kao žrtve, jer njihove viktimizacije ne prolaze kroz krivičnopravni sistem. Istovremeno, zakon ih ne prepoznaje kao žrtve, pa samim tim ne dobijaju adekvatnu zaštitu, pomoć i podršku. S tim u vezi, neophodno je izvršiti reviziju pravnog sistema, ali i istovremeno jačati ljudsku otpornost – kapacitet da podnesu ili da se oporave od posledica prirodnih katastrofa, koja zavisi od ljudskih mera prilagođavanja. Ljudi nisu „predisponirane bespomoćne žrtve“, već racionalna i sposobna bića koja svojim postupcima mogu da spreče i ublaže sopstvenu viktimizaciju prirodnim katastrofama, i da efikasno otklone posledice viktimizacije. Ali, u sprečavanju i prevazilaženju posledica viktimizacije moraju da im pomognu i država (sistemski) i društvo (dobrovoljnim humanitarnim aktivnostima).

Analiziranjem vremenske i geoprostorne distribucije posledica prirodnih katastrofa u periodu od 1900. do 2013. godine, može se doći do brojnih zaključaka o vremenskim i geoprostornim varijablama i indikatorima moguće viktimizacije ljudi određenim vrstama prirodnih katastrofa. Naime, najviše ljudi je poginulo zbog posledica klimatskih katastrofa, povređeno zbog geofizičkih, pogođeno i ostalo bez doma zbog hidroloških katastrofa, dok je najmanje ljudi poginulo zbog posledica meteoroloških katastrofa, a povređeno i pogođeno zbog posledica bioloških katastrofa.

U pogledu geoprostorne distribucije prirodnih katastrofa zaključujemo: najveće posledice zemljotresa bile su u Aziji, a najmanje u Okeaniji; najveće posledice vulkanskih erupcija bile su u Aziji, a najmanje u Evropi; najveće posledice masivnih suvih pokreta bile su u Evropi, a najmanje u Okeaniji; najveće posledice oluja bile su u Aziji, a najmanje u Okeaniji; najveće posledice ekstremnih temperatura bile su u Aziji, a najmanje u Evropi; najveće posledice šumskih požara bile su u Aziji, a najmanje u Africi; najveće posledice

suša bile su u Aziji, a najmanje u Okeaniji; najveće posledice epidemija bile su u Evropi, a najmanje u Okeaniji; najveće posledice poplava bile su u Aziji, a najmanje u Okeaniji; najveće posledice masivnih suvih pokreta bile su u Aziji, a najmanje u Africi.

U pogledu vremenske distribucije prirodnih katastrofa zaključujemo: najveće posledice zemljotresa bile su u periodu od 2000. do 2013. godine, a najmanje u periodu od 1900. do 1910. godine; najveće posledice vulkanskih erupcija bile su u periodu od 2000. do 2013. godine, a najmanje u periodu od 1900. do 1980. godine; najveće posledice masivnih suvih pokreta bile su u periodu od 1980. do 1990. godine, a najmanje u periodu od 1900. do 1980. godine; najveće posledice oluja bile su u periodu od 2000. do 2013. godine, a najmanje u periodu od 1900. do 1920. godine i od 1930. do 1940. godine; najveće posledice ekstremnih temperatura bile su u periodu od 2000. do 2013. godine, a najmanje u periodu od 1900. do 1980. godine; najveće posledice šumskih požara bile su u periodu od 1990. do 2000. godine, a najmanje u periodu od 1900. do 1970. godine; najveće posledice suša bile su u periodu od 2000. do 2013. godine, a najmanje u periodu od 1900. do 1910. godine; najveće posledice epidemija bile su u periodu od 1990. do 2000. godine, a najmanje u periodu od 1920. do 1980. godine; najveće posledice poplava bile su u periodu od 1990. do 2000. godine, a najmanje u periodu od 1900. do 1970. godine; najveće posledice masivnih suvih pokreta bile su u periodu od 1960. do 2000. godine, a najmanje u periodu od 1900. do 1970. godine.

Posmatrano iz perspektive posledica prirodnih katastrofa, može se reći da je Azija očigledno najugroženija, za razliku od Evrope koja je na neki način najmanje izložena prirodnim katastrofama. U daljim istraživanjima bi trebalo ispitati relativan odnos između teritorije, broja i gustine stanovnika i samih posledica prirodnih katastrofa. Takođe, trebalo bi proveriti činjenicu da li je manja ugroženost rezultat primenjenih mera za ublažavanje posledica prirodnih katastrofa.

Imajući u vidu sve aktuelne diskusije o klimatskim promenama i njihovom uticaju na povećanje rizika od prirodnih katastrofa, a ne zalazeći u dublje analize, generalno se može primetiti trend porasta broja prirodnih katastrofa u svetu. U odnosu na posmatrani period, to je naročito izraženo u intervalu od 2000. do 2013. godine. Istovremeno, za taj interval su karakteristične manje ozbiljne posledice u odnosu na ostale desetogodišnje intervale. Utvrđivanje razloga takvog stanja bi mogao da bude predmet posebnog istraživanja odnosa država i njihovih krucijalnih strateških dokumenata za postupanje u

vanrednim situacijama (zakoni, strategije, procene i planovi za postupanje u vanrednim situacijama).

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SAŠA MIJALKOVIĆ
VLADIMIR M. ĆVETKOVIĆ

Victimization of People by Natural Disasters: Spatial and Temporal Distribution of Consequences

This paper is a descriptive statistical analysis of geospatial and temporal distributions of victimized people (killed, injured, affected and damage) with specific reference to geophysical, meteorological, climatological, biological and hydrological disasters that have occurred in the world of from 1900 to 2013 year. In addition, people affected by the various natural disasters could be classified as invisible victims as they are not recognized as victims either by the state or society, and consequently they do not receive adequate protection, assistance and support. Statistical research was conducted on data from the international database of the Centre for Research on Disaster Epidemiology Disaster (CRED) in Brussels. Temporal analysis examined the distribution and effects of natural disasters on people, at intervals of ten years. The same methodology was adopted for analyses of geospatial distribution of victimized people because of natural disasters by continent. The aim of the research is to determine the geospatial and temporal distribution of victimization of people with natural disasters in the world geospace in the period from 1900 to 2013. The survey results clearly indicate an increase in the number and severity of the consequences of natural disasters.

Keywords: victimization, natural disasters, invisible victims, human and national security.

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Understanding the Hesitancy to Disclose Teen Dating Violence: Correlates of Self-efficacy to Deal with Teen Dating Violence¹

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Dating violence (DV) is now recognized as an important public health issue. Prevention and intervention programs are being implemented in school contexts. Such initiatives aim to raise awareness among potential victims and offenders as well as among peer bystanders and offer adequate interventions following disclosure. Yet, a major challenge remains as teenagers may not disclose their victimization or may not feel self-efficient to deal with DV if they witness such violence. As such, teen DV remains largely hidden. A representative sample of 8194 students (age 14-18) in the province of Quebec, Canada was used to explore teenagers' self-efficacy to reach out for help or to

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help others in a situation of DV victimization and perpetration. Analyses are conducted to identify possible correlates of self-efficacy in terms of socio-demographic variable (sex, age) and a history of child sexual abuse and dating victimization. Implications for prevention and support strategies are discussed.

Keywords: self-efficacy, sexual abuse, dating violence, victims.

Introduction

The invitation to contribute to the special issue on hidden victims is an excellent opportunity to shine a light on teen dating violence (DV). It is a form of violence that is, regrettably, highly prevalent whilst considerably underreported and, until recently, under researched.

Adolescence is considered a crucial period in human development (Connolly et al., 2014). In the context of first romantic relationships, the search for identity and negotiation of the balance between autonomy and intimacy with the partner is a very important challenge for youth. Unfortunately, for a significant number of young people, early romantic relationships are associated with negative experiences that can lead to significant hardship both physically and psychologically. In North America, between 4% and 35% of young people aged 12-21 (girls and boys) have experienced at least one episode of violence in the context of romantic relationships (Foshee, Reyes, 2012; Hamby, Turner, 2013; Haynie et al., 2013). DV is a major public health issue; its long-term effects involve significant costs to health care systems and society (Offenhauer, Buchalter, 2011; Leen et al., 2013).

Although the consequences of DV on the psychological, physical and sexual health of adolescents remain relatively unexplored, available studies underscore some important repercussions. Psychological distress, behavioral problems, suicidal ideation, substance abuse as well as significant impairment in everyday life and in the school context are consequences frequently reported by young people experiencing DV (Banyard, Cross, 2008; Foshee, Reyes, 2012; Exner-Cortens et al., 2013). Such consequences are likely to be particularly severe if teens do not access support services, which is sadly often the case, and DV remains hidden.

A well-known and principal reason for violence to remain unseen is that victims do not always report crime to the authorities (Skogan, 1984). If they do not reach out to formal institutions, offences remain unnoticed. This phe-

nomenon is better known as “the dark figure of crime”, as it was coined by Biderman and Reiss (Biderman, Reiss, 1967). In order to get a better idea of the incidence of crimes, we have to turn to other methods of data collection. These include self-report population surveys, more particularly national and international Crime Victim Surveys (Skogan, 1984; for a discussion of CVS, see Aromaa, 2012; de Castelbajac, 2014). Despite all their shortcomings (e.g. sampling issues, response bias, issues related to recalling incidents and actions), they may give a more accurate picture of crime than institutional data (Wells, Rankin, 1995). For instance, the International Crime Victim Survey reveals that only one third of assaults and 15% of sexual assault are reported to the police (van Dijk et al., 2007). It was long assumed that intra-acquaintance offenses would be more likely to be underreported but this hypothesis does not seem to hold entirely (Skogan, 1977). Different researchers report that they have not found an impact of victim-offender relationship on reporting of crime to the police. It has been suggested that victims who know the offender balance their needs for protection on the one hand and for privacy and fear of retaliation on the other in their decision whether or not to report (Felson et al., 2002; Tarling, Morris, 2010). Moreover, victims of domestic violence have been found to use disclosure to the police as a tool for negotiation with the offender and to stop the aggression (Wemmers, Cousineau, 2005). However, following a review of 45 studies into college DV specifically, Sabina and Ho conclude that rates of reporting to police varied from 0% for sexual coercion, date rape, and DV to 12.9% for forced sexual assault (Sabina, Ho, 2014). Meanwhile, it has also been pointed out that even national CVS tend to underestimate domestic violence because of victims’ embarrassment to report the abuse to an interviewer and violent incidents not being labeled as a crime by the victim (Wells, Rankin, 1995). In addition, repeat victimization, which is particularly important in partner violence, is not fully appreciated due to capping of the number of incidents that can be recorded in CVS (Nazaretian, Merolla, 2013).

Regardless of the ambiguity on whether violence committed by an acquaintance is more prone to underreporting or not, it is safe to conclude that many violent crimes are not known to the authorities and that this is potentially problematic (for instance, it affects prosecution and resource allocation (Skogan, 1984). It is, therefore, critical to understand why individuals are unwilling to report violence (Kidd, Chayet, 1984). Multiple reasons have been identified. Victims might avoid going to the police because of previous negative experiences with the police, including unsatisfactory police

treatment and performance (Kidd, Chayet, 1984; Smith, 2001; Ruback et al., 2008). In addition, victims do not always think an incident is serious enough to report. Fohring suggests that victims do not always label incidents as a crime or downplay the seriousness of the incident because they want to avoid being labeled as a victim (Fohring, 2014). Other reasons for not reporting are shame and embarrassment (Kidd, Chayet, 1984; Seimer, 2004; Sabina, Ho, 2014). Shame, self-blame and fear of the offender largely explain underreporting of partner violence (Felson et al., 2002). Moreover, Edwards, Dardis and Gidycz emphasize that minimization of DV is a common reason for nondisclosure, while stress, partner blame and thoughts about ending the dating abuse encourage victims to disclose the violence (Edwards et al., 2012). Sabina and Ho (2014) add that reporting of DV is more likely when the victim acknowledges it as a crime.

More importantly, reluctance to report violence to the police is particularly strong among young people (Skogan, 1984; Wells, Rankin, 1995; Edwards et al., 2012). In her study on help-seeking among a large sample of 14 to 16 year olds, Vynckier (2012) found that only 1 out of 10 respondents who indicated that they had been the victim of theft, extortion or physical violence, reported the incident to the police (Vynckier, 2012). Adolescents seem to be equally unwilling to report DV to the police (Molidor, Tolman, 1998; Finkelhor et al., 2012). It has also been noted that CVS are not adapted to young people and produce underestimations of juvenile victimization (Wells, Rankin, 1995)².

In addition to not reporting to the police, young people do not tend to reach out to adults when they are experiencing trouble, including teen DV (Smith et al., 2000; Ashley, Foshee, 2005; Black et al., 2008). Similarly, it is observed that teenagers lack information on support services and professional resources and they might also distrust professional services, want to keep the abuse a secret, remain autonomous or fear retaliation from the perpetrator if they talk (Crisma et al., 2004; Vynckier, 2012). Apart from this, and not unlike adult victims of intimate partner violence, embarrassment prevents teenagers from disclosing DV (Sears et al., 2006). Another important reason why teenagers do not disclose DV is that they do not necessarily label certain behaviors as improper or unhealthy (Fernet, 2005; Van Camp et al., 2013) and

² This double dark figure of crime reinforces the value of specific self-report research into teen DV (which has been found to be a reliable method to record youth violence (see for instance Rosenblatt, Furlong, 1997; Koss, Gidycz, 1985; Brener et al., 2002; Denniston et al., 2010) as well as data triangulation.

interpret them as acts of love instead (Hays et al., 2011). Such denial as well as hope that the situation will change does not only prevent them from reporting or reaching out for help, but also from breaking up with the perpetrator (Seimer, 2004), what many teenage DV victims are disinclined to do (Jackson et al., 2000; Weisz et al., 2007)

If teenagers decide that they need help to deal with violence in their dating experiences, they will turn to their peers rather than adults (Ahrens, Campbell, 2000; Kogan, 2004; Weisz et al., 2007; Black et al., 2008; Banyard et al., 2010). They would rather talk to their peers than to adults. Moreover, girls are more likely to reach out for help than boys when experiencing DV (Black et al., 2008). Richards and Branch explored social support from friends and family as a protective factor against experiencing adolescent DV victimization and perpetration (Richards, Branch, 2011). They found that, as opposed to peer support, family support was not significantly related to experiencing DV, but also that the protective role of support from friends only held true for girls. This observation underpins the idea that teenagers, and among them particularly girls, rely on their peers and suggests that a strong social peer network can prevent girls from committing or experiencing DV.

Information regarding help-seeking behavior in case of DV perpetration is sparse. Ashley and Foshee found that, similar to DV victims, teen DV perpetrators generally choose not to talk and seek help, and female perpetrators are least likely to do so (Ashley, Foshee, 2005). Those that do reach out for help will again look for informal support rather than professional support.

Finally, given the high prevalence of DV, it is likely that teenagers know victims of DV, whom they might reach out to when experiencing DV themselves. Insight into the impact of victimization history on helping and help-seeking behavior is limited and derived from college student samples. Findings are rather inconclusive. Ahrens and Campbell observed that students with a history of sexual assault victimization tended to be more supportive towards a friend who reveals sexual aggression than respondents without such victimization history (Ahrens, Campbell, 2000). This observation is opposed by Banyard et al., who replicated the Ahrens and Campbell study with a larger sample of college students (Banyard et al., 2010). These authors report that the confrontation with sexual assault against a friend causes emotional distress and inhibits helping behavior. This concurs with findings in the general victimological research that some victims continue to suffer from trauma

and impaired ability to deal with trouble, while other victims succeed in using their past suffering to help others (Vollhardt, 2009; Van Camp, 2014).

The above demonstrates that teen DV is a serious issue that remains largely hidden. Continued research is needed to further unveil this phenomenon and inspire prevention strategies. We might also want to encourage victims and perpetrators to reach out and get help. Furthermore, considering that young people turn to their peers for help when they experience DV, it is imperative to study whether teenagers can deal with such disclosure. An important factor to explore in this respect is teens' confidence in his or her ability to act. This idea is a key component in Bandura's writings on human agency and motivation to improve their own or another's situation. Bandura describes perceived self-efficacy as one's "*judgments of how well one can execute courses of action required to deal with prospective situations*" (Bandura, 1982: 122) or as confidence in one's capabilities to exercise control (Bandura, 1989). He argues that assessments of self-efficacy impact thought as much as action and, for instance, accounts for coping behavior and self-regulation (Bandura, 1982). The stronger one's sense of efficacy, the greater the effort to reach a goal and performance achievements, whereas judgments of inefficacy create stress and impair performance (Bandura, 1982; Bandura, 1989). He concludes that "*among the mechanisms of personal agency, none is more central or pervasive than people's belief in their capacity to exercise some measure of control over their own functioning and over environmental events. Efficacy beliefs are the foundation of human agency. Unless people believe they can produce desired results and forestall detrimental ones by their actions, they have little incentive to act or to persevere in the face of difficulties*" (Bandura, 2001: 10). The influence of self-efficacy assessments on behavior has also been included in the theory of planned (or reasoned) behavior, which is an established model regarding the association between attitude and behavior and has been found to successfully predict a variety of behaviors (Armitage, Conner, 2001; Ajzen, 2011). A key premise in this model is "*that individuals make behavioral decisions based on careful consideration of available information*" (Connor, Armitage, 1998: 1430). Self-efficacy is one such source of information that people consider when engaging in action.

In light of the above, self-efficacy could also be an important step towards disclosure and outreach in case of DV. For instance, in their review of studies on college DV, Sabina and Ho clarify that higher levels of self-efficacy

increase likelihood of reporting incident to the police as well as informal disclosure (Sabina, Ho, 2014).

A pilot study conducted by our research team shows that teenagers feel fairly confident that they can deal with, both, experienced or witnessed DV, although girls feel more confident than boys. Helping someone else was also reported to be easier than having to reach out for help for oneself. Self-efficacy to deal with DV perpetration was weaker (Van Camp et al., 2014). Yet, this pilot study had important limitations. It drew on a small sample, which prevented looking into the possible influence of chronicity of victimization experiences. This paper builds on a large, representative sample and, therefore, advances our earlier observations. In this paper we attempt to further unveil the relevance of self-efficacy for help-seeking following experiencing or witnessing DV among youth. More particularly, we ask under which conditions are teens more likely to report DV? In other words, how does perceived self-efficacy relate to gender and past victimization experiences, namely child sexual abuse and dating victimization?

Methods

Study design and participants

Data collected in the Quebec Youths' Romantic Relationships Survey (QYRRS) were used for this study. The primary goals of the QYRRS were to identify the prevalence of DV, explore mental health outcomes associated with dating victimization and examine risk factors associated with dating victimization in high school youth. Data were collected through a one-stage stratified cluster sampling of 34 Quebec high schools from third to fifth grade. Considering the education system (private or public), the language of teaching (English or French) and the underprivileged index, eight strata were created.

Data collected from the QYRRS were imputed and weighted in order to minimize partial non-response and to better represent the population. The sample involved 8230 teenagers from 329 classes of 34 schools in province of Quebec. After data verification, 36 participants were excluded from the database because of invalid or completely missing responses. The final sample size thus included 8194 students ranging from 14 to 21 years old. After the

application of weight correction factor, the weighted sample was based on 6540 participants. Among them 2089 (55.2%) girls and 1333 (48.4%) of boys reported having a dating relationship in the last 12 months. Socio-demographic characteristics of the sample are presented in Table 1. Subsequent analyses are based on these 3422 participants. All analyses were computed with Stata (StataCorp., 2011).

Table 1: Socio-demographic characteristics of study participants (n=6540)

Sample Characteristics	%
<i>Sex</i>	
Girls	57.8
Boys	42.2
<i>Age groups</i>	
14 years	23.8
15-17 years	74.6
18-21 years	1.6
<i>Education</i>	
Grade 3	37.3
Grade 4	31.6
Grade 5	31.2
<i>Family structure</i>	
Two parents under the same household	63.1
Shared custody	12.7
Living with one parent	21.9
Other family structure	2.2
<i>Ethnicity of parents</i>	
Québécois or Canadian	70.6
Latino-American or African-American	4.6
North African or Middle Eastern	4.6
European	3.3
Asian	3.7
Other	13.2

The research ethics boards of the Université du Québec à Montréal approved this project. Participants agreed to participate on a voluntary basis by signing a consent form and questionnaires were administered in class.

Measures

a) Self-efficacy

The questionnaire included the *Self-efficacy to Deal with Violence Scale* (Cameron et al., 2007). In this 8-item scale, five items relate to the perception of one's ability to act when one witnesses or becomes aware of DV against a peer (e.g. *"How confident are you that you could do something to help a person who is being hit by their boyfriend/girlfriend?"*) and three items concern the perception of one's ability to deal with DV as a victim or perpetrator (e.g. *"How confident are you that you could tell someone you trust that you are being abused by your boyfriend/girlfriend?"*).

Items were scored on a 4-point scale (1=not at all confident; 4=very confident). In a previous study, we validated this questionnaire (Van Camp et al., 2014). A two-factor structure was identified. The first factor, "*Helping behavior as a bystander*", includes five (5) items relate to the perception of one's ability to act when one witnesses. The second factor, "*Help-seeking behavior as a victim or perpetrator*" reflects the perception of one's ability to deal with DV as a victim or perpetrator. We used mean of items included in each factor, then we multiply by 5 so the two scores vary from 5 to 20. In the present study, the two factors showed internal consistency coefficient of 0.80 and 0.51 respectively.

b) Sexual abuse

Participants were asked to complete items adapted from the *Early Trauma Inventory Short Form* to assess sexual abuse (Bremner et al., 2007). This questionnaire assessed separately unwanted touching and unwanted sexual intercourse using each one item. Participants endorsing any of these items were then asked to specify the identity of the perpetrator as an immediate or extended family member, a known perpetrator outside the family (excluding a romantic partner) or a stranger. A dichotomized score was created to identify participants reporting having experienced sexual abuse.

c) Physical, emotional and sexual DV victimization

DV was measured using two questionnaires: the *Conflict in Adolescent Dating Relationships Inventory* and the *Sexual Experiences Survey*. The first questionnaire assessed different forms of violence: emotional DV (3 items), physical DV (3 items) and threatening behavior (2 items) in dating relationship (González et al., 2001; Wolfe et al., 2001; Wekerle et al., 2009). Emotional violence included behaviors such as saying hurtful things, ridiculing the partner or keeping track of where one's partner was and with whom. Physical violence and threatening comprised acts like kicking, hitting, or slapping, pulling one's hair, or pushing, shoving, shaking, pinning you down or threatening to hurt the other or hit you and throw things at you. The respondents indicated how often the related act has happened to them in the last 12 months on a 4-point Likert Scale (ranging from never to 6 times and more). The second questionnaire, the *Sexual Experiences Survey*, measured the sexual violence using 9 items (Koss and Oros, 1982; Koss, Gidycz, 1985; Poitras, Lavoie, 1995). This survey assessed 3 main behaviors: unwanted touching, unwanted sexual activity and unwanted sexual activity involving penetration, perpetrated by a romantic partner in the past 12 months. For each behavior, the questionnaire included different degrees of coercion. Participants were asked to indicate whether their partner has engaged in the related behavior by using arguments or physical force or by giving them drugs or alcohol. A dichotomized DV victimization score was created according to whether participants reported at least one episode of each form of DV or not.

d) Socio-demographic information

Information regarding sex, age, family structure (living with two parents under the same household, living with two parents in different households (shared custody), living with one parent, other family structure arrangements), language mostly spoken at home (French, English or other) and ethnicity of parents was collected.

Results

Descriptive scores of used instruments (two factors of self-efficacy) are reported for the entire sample and then separately for boys and girls. Statistical analyses exploring the possible sex difference in the two factors of self-efficacy are presented in the following section. Multivariate regressions were performed to explore possible predictors of self-efficacy and measure their magnitude controlling for age of participants. Predictors include sexual abuse, DV victimization and sex. We also tested interactions among the predictors but none of the interactions reached significance level.

Table 2 summarized descriptive scores of used instruments. Participants show higher score for *Helping behavior as a bystander* (16.4 for girls and 15.1 for boys; $t(26)=9.4$; $p<0.001$) than *Help-seeking behavior as a victim or perpetrator* (14.9 for girls and 14.0 for boys; $t(26)=7.5$; $p<0.001$). A higher prevalence of lifetime sexual abuse was found for girls (15.15%) compared to boys (4.38%). Among youths who stated being in a relationship in the last 12 months, 58.24% reported having experienced at least one episode of DV. Girls (63.12%) were more likely to report being victimized than boys (50.56%).

Table 2: Means and standard errors of main variables

Variables	Girls	Boys	Total sample
Self-efficacy (M ± SE)			
Witnessing DV	16.4 ± 0.11	15.1 ± 0.14	15.8 ± 0.10
Experiencing DV	14.9 ± 0.07	14.0 ± 0.10	14.5 ± 0.06
Sexual abuse (%)	15.15	4.38	10.60
Dating Violence (%)	45.90	32.26	40.59

Results of multivariate regression analyses are presented in Table 3 first for "*Bystander*" and then for "*Victim or perpetrator*". The first factor, *Helping behavior as a bystander*, was negatively related to a history of sexual abuse ($\beta = -0.34$, $p=0.006$) and experiences of dating victimization in the past 12 months ($\beta = -0.44$, $p<0.001$). Thus experiencing sexual abuse as well as sustaining DV in the past 12 months contributes to the prediction of lower self-efficacy scores. Results also show that sex is a significant predictor in that, overall, girls are more likely to help than boys ($\beta=1.39$, $p<0.001$). Age of participants was not found to significantly influence self-efficacy.

Table 3: Multivariate regression to predict perceived self-efficacy when witnessing or experiencing DV

	Perceived self-efficacy when witnessing DV ($F_{(4,24)}=57.2$, $p<0.001$)			Perceived self-efficacy when experiencing DV ($F_{(4,24)}=21.8$, $p<0.001$)		
	β	SE	p	β	SE	p
Sexual abuse	-0.34	0.11	0.006	-0.43	0.18	0.03
Dating violence	-0.44	0.09	<0.001	-0.56	0.12	<0.001
Sex	1.39	0.13	<0.001	0.88	0.14	<0.001
Age	0.09	0.07	0.18	0.04	0.08	0.59

Analysis computed on the second factor, *Help-seeking behavior as a victim or perpetrator*, revealed that sexual abuse ($\beta = -0.43$, $p=0.029$), dating victimization ($\beta = -0.56$, $p<0.001$) and sex ($\beta=0.88$, $p<0.001$) were significant predictors. Sexual abuse and dating victimization negatively affected the perception of one's ability to seek help. Girls were also found to be more likely to seek help if they were victims or perpetrators compared to boys.

Figure 1 show the standardized adjusted means of perceived self-efficacy scores when witnessing and experiencing DV by 4 groups (No victimization, Victims of DV, Victims of SA, Victims of both DV and SA). The figure illustrates that non-victimized teenagers have a higher sense of self-efficacy while teenagers reported both a history of sexual abuse and dating victimization report lower self-efficacy.

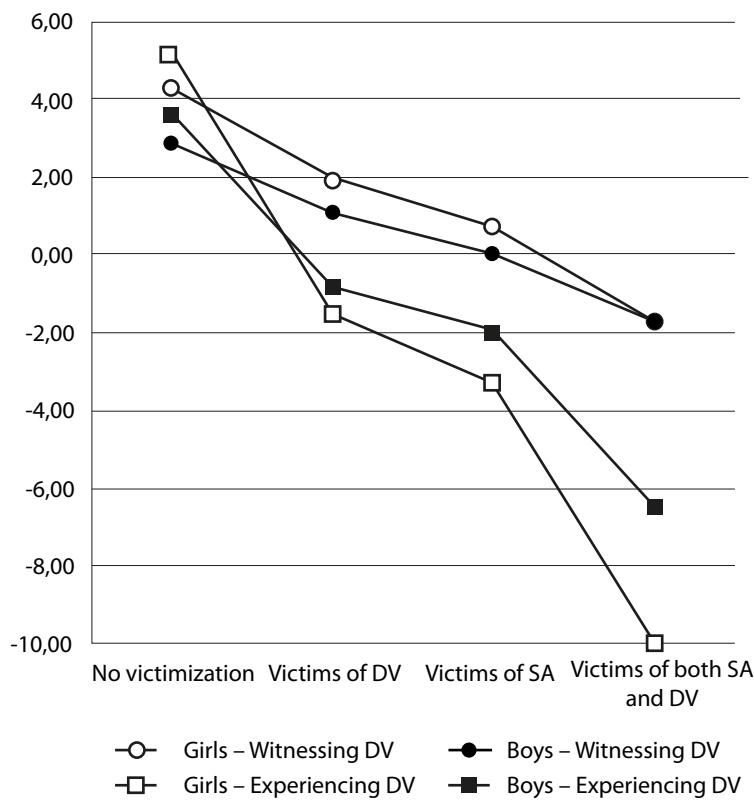


Figure 1: Standardized adjusted mean of perceived self-efficacy scores when witnessing and experiencing DV by gender

Discussion

This paper aims to explore self-efficacy among youth regarding help-seeking following experiencing or witnessing DV. Increased insight into teenagers' willingness to reach out when experiencing or witnessing DV illuminates why teen DV, similarly to other forms of interpersonal violence, remains hidden. In addition, this paper aims to address gender differences among teens as well as past victimization in relation to perceived self-efficacy. Teenagers in general report that they would find it easier to help others who are suffering from DV than to reach out for help for themselves. Many studies have documented the adverse consequences associated with DV, which may act as help-seeking barriers for teens who are experiencing DV. In many cases, victims are not willing to even share their experiences (Foshee, 2005;

Vynckier, 2012). As this phenomenon has become a general concern, youth who witness their peers experiencing DV may be more responsive to seek and provide help for them. Hence, awareness programs should be continued and focus more on victimized teens. Those who witness DV as bystanders can be seen in such prevention programs as facilitators to address help-seeking behaviors following DV.

Results from this study also point out the gender difference related to helping and help-seeking behavior. Consistent with past research (Black et al., 2008; Martin et al., 2012), girls are more likely to offer help when witnessing DV than boys. As victimization prevalence in dating relationships reported by girls is generally greater than those reported by boys, it is possible that girls are more sensitive and reactive about DV. Additionally, boys are not only more reluctant to reach out to victims or perpetrators but also to find help when they are experiencing DV. In their qualitative study, Martin and colleagues (2012) found that male participants cited fear of losing pride or their reputation as main reasons for not seeking help, while females were apprehensive of the potential feelings of shame following disclosure to friends and family. Thus, gender-separate intervention programs may be beneficial in addressing differential perceived barriers to disclosure and perceptions regarding help-seeking behaviors (Black et al., 2008). Since boys seem more reticent to seek help than girls, prevention programs should target this specific group and tailor their interventions to focus on male socialization and stereotypes, such as obtaining help as a sign of weakness (Black et al., 2008).

The present study also addresses the perceived self-efficacy of teenagers with a history of sexual abuse victimization or DV victimization to seek support in face of DV. The evidence suggests that teenagers with such history perceived themselves as less apt to seek help and help out others who are experiencing or committing DV. This sustains the idea that the most vulnerable population may remain hidden. This is consistent with scholarly reports suggesting that the impacts of sexual abuse, as well as DV, include feelings of shame, powerlessness and decreased sense of self-efficacy to cope with subsequent difficult situations due to the experienced trauma. In other words, as our study documents, adolescents who have experienced multiple acts of victimization are less likely to ask for help for themselves and perceive themselves as less able to help others who are experiencing DV.

Given that adolescent DV victims most often cite friends as the most helpful sources of support (Sylaska, Edwards, 2014), and that increased peer

support may lessen post-traumatic stress symptoms (Hébert et al., 2014), peers represent an important avenue for intervention efforts. Therefore, DV prevention programs should also be aimed towards young witnesses of DV. Oftentimes, youth who are confided in do not have the necessary tools required to provide adequate support, which can sometimes result in blaming the victim, minimizing their experiences or simply not being able to offer any form of help (Martin et al., 2012). Teaching adolescents how to respond to such disclosures in a positive and supportive manner could encourage victims to seek help. Knowing that they can turn to their peers and receive appropriate help can also contribute to reducing the perceived stigma associated with help-seeking initiatives. A safe environment is also essential to encourage DV disclosure. Therefore, schools often represent an ideal environment for education on healthy relationships, establishing DV awareness and offering safe, confidential, non-judgmental sources of formal (school psychologist, social worker) and informal (peers) support.

In order to fully understand help-seeking barriers, it is important to gain further knowledge on youths' interpretations of DV, their motives for (not) seeking help and the disclosure process as a whole. That being said, very little research exists on the experiences and perspectives of youth who provide support (or not) to their peers following DV disclosure. In their recent review, Sylaska and Edwards (2014) suggest that programs should aim at fostering positive reactions to victims since they are beneficial in reducing negative mental health consequences (e.g., decreased symptoms of depression, anxiety and PTSD).

Our study involves limitations. Given the cross-sectional nature of the data, it is not possible to test the temporal link between victimization experiences and self-efficacy. In addition, the second factor of the self-efficacy measure used presented a low internal consistency score. The few number of items (3) combined with the fact that, both, disclosure to someone in the situation of victimization and perpetration of DV is included might explain this low reliability. Future studies, perhaps relying on a qualitative approach, may offer additional insights as to youths' perceived challenges and facilitators to help-seeking.

Conclusion

Teen DV is an important public health issue but remains manifestly underreported and was until recently largely under researched. How can we "unhide" teen DV? By encouraging victims to reach out to someone (peer, adult) and by empowering these witnesses to provide help or refer to support resources. Young people tend to rely on their peers, who then need to be aware of the seriousness of DV and be given tools to deal with such disclosure. Our findings suggest that there is a particular need for tailored programs for boys and teens with a history of victimization while consolidating the universal prevention programs involving bystanders.

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Razumevanje oklevanja da se prijavi partnersko adolescentsko nasilje: korelati procene samoefikasnosti za bavljenje slučajevima partnerskog adolescentskog nasilja

Partnersko adolescentsko nasilje se danas posmatra kao važno pitanje javnog zdravlja. U školama se sprovode programi prevencije i intervencije. Takve inicijative imaju za cilj da podignu svest među potencijalnim žrtvama i nasilnicima, kao i među vršnjacima posmatračima, i da ponude model intervencije nakon otkrivanja ovog oblika nasilja. Ipak, glavni izazov predstavlja to što tinejdžeri ne otkrivaju svoju viktimizaciju ili se ne osećaju dovoljno sposobnim da kao svedoci partnerskog adolescentskog nasilja pomognu. Kao posledica toga, partnersko adolescentsko nasilje je u velikoj meri skriveno. Istraživanje procene samoefikasnosti tinejdžera da potraže pomoć ili da pomognu drugima u situaciji viktimizacije i izvršenja partnerskog nasilja, obavljeno je na reprezentativnom uzorku od 8194 učenika (14-18 godina) u provinciji Quebec (Kvebek) u Kanadi. Analizom je nastojano da se sagledaju svi

korelati procene samoefikasnosti u smislu socio-demografskih varijabli (pol, uzrast), kao i iskustva seksualnog zlostavljanja u detinjstvu i viktimizacije partnerskim adolescentskim nasiljem. U radu se analiziraju implikacije za strategije prevencije i podrške.

Ključne reči: procena samoefikasnosti, seksualno zlostavljanje, partnersko adolescentsko nasilje, žrtve.

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Licemer i starog ili vodonoše novog doba i njihove nevidljive žrtve – preispitivanje korporativne društvene odgovornosti

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*R*ezultati savremenog poslovanja sve jasnije ukazuju na rastuće negativne efekte koje korporacijske poslovne strategije orijentisane prevashodno na profit imaju u odnosu na stanovništvo i planetu. Korporativna društvena odgovornost, kao kompleksan sistem poslovanja i upravljanja koji balansira između ekonomskih, društvenih i ekoloških ciljeva svih uključenih poslovnih i duštvenih aktera, sve češće se preporučuje kao alternativa ili sastavni deo savremenih poslovnih i razvojnih strategija. Uloga i delotvornost korporativne društvene odgovornosti postaje i predmet sve zaoštrenije debate između onih koji je tumače kao licemerno milosrđe poslodavaca i onih koji u njoj vide moguć paradigmatski zaokret u promišljanju društveno delotvornijih poslovnih i razvojnih strategija. U ovom radu se uloga korporativne društvene odgovornosti u poslovanju i razvoju razmatra iz perspektive feminističke razvojne ekonomije i strategije drugačijeg razvoja, pre svega u odnosu na zaposlene i stanovništvo. Cilj rada je da se komparativnom teorijskom analizom prepozna uloga korporativne društvene odgovornosti u reprodukovanju sve brojnijih, iz neoliberalnog diskursa, još uvek nedovoljno vidljivih, žrtava savremenog neoliberalnog kapitalizma i da naglasi potrebu ostvarivanja drugačije ekonomije i razvoja i redefinisanja delovanja, vrednovanja i merenja korporativne društvene odgovornosti u tom kontekstu.

Ključne reči: korporativna društvena odgovornost, feministička razvojna ekonomija, drugačiji razvoj, zaposleni i stanovništvo, neoliberalni kapitalizam.

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Uvodna razmatranja

Korporativna društvena odgovornost se u savremenom poslovanju uobičajeno tumači kao sastavni deo poslovne strategije kompanija svih tipova i veličina u svim sektorima poslovanja koja omogućava istovremeno uvećanje i profita i društvenog blagostanja. U ovom radu se prvenstveno propituje i objašnjava društvena odgovornost, uloga i delotvornost korporacija, kao oblika organizovanja multinacionalnih kompanija, zbog njihove snažne političke i ekonomske moći, zahvaljujući kojoj bitno utiču na karakter procesa globalizacije svetske trgovine, međunarodnih ekonomskih i političkih odnosa, stvarajući istovremeno sistem sopstvenih tržišta i novi „ekonomski superen-teti“ (Vitali, Glattfelder, Battiston, 2011).

Korporativna društvena odgovornost se zasniva na setu opštih principa, između ostalih: transparentnosti poslovanja, etičnog poslovnog ponašanja, fer odnosa prema zaposlenima, uključivanja u život zajednice, očuvanja i održivosti životne sredine. Ipak, korporativna društvena odgovornost se u različitim delovima sveta, od strane različitih društvenih aktera, različito interpretira, primenjuje i vrednuje. U ovom radu se objašnjavaju ključni globalni izazovi sa kojima se korporativna društvena odgovornost suočava u uslovima neoliberalizma i svetske krize u odnosu na zaposlene i, šire posmatrano, stanovništvo, kao unutrašnje limite¹ razvoja. Prevashodnu orientaciju ovog rada na analizu uticaja korporativne društvene odgovornosti na unutrašnje limite razvoja ne treba razumeti kao zanemarivanje svesnosti o značaju spoljnih limita razvoja, odnosno uticaja na ekološku održivost okruženja i planete. Prvenstvena usmerenost ovog rada jeste da argumentuje da se nevidljive žrtve korporativne društvene odgovornosti mogu prepoznati već iz analize samo jedne od njenih dimenzija, a to je odnos prema zaposlenima i stanovništvu. Takođe, ne razmatra se, sem u kratkim naznakama, kao ilustracija, pitanje delotvornosti

¹ O značaju i neophodnosti poštovanja unutrašnjih i spoljnih limita razvoja, da bi sam razvoj imao smisla, videti, između ostalih izvora, The Cocoyoc Declaration (1974) usvojenu od strane učesnika Programa UN za okruženje (United Nations Environment Programme – UNEP) i Konferencije UN o trgovini i razvoju (United Nations Conference on Trade and Development – UNCTAD) na Simpozijumu „Obrasci korišćenja resursa, životne sredine i razvojnih strategija“ (“Patterns of Resource Use, Environment and Development Strategies”), Cocoyoc, Mexico, 8-12 oktobar, 1974. godine, kao i Matthews, 1976.

korporativne društvene odgovornosti u pogledu njenog uticaja na zaposlene i stanovništvo u Srbiji, jer to prevazilazi okvire ovog rada².

Cilj ovog rada jeste da opredeli polazni teorijski okvir koji bi obuhvatio ključne determinante globalnog delovanja neoliberalnih korporacija kako u pogledu njihove društvene odgovornosti prema zaposlenima i stanovništvu, tako i u kreiranju i obnavljanju mehanizama isključivanja potencijalnih učesnika, žena i muškaraca, iz procesa poslovanja i razvoja. Smisao i delotvornost korporativne društvene odgovornosti propituju se iz specifične teorijske perspektive koja se oslanja na poslovnu ekonomiju, feminističku razvojnu ekonomiju, razvojne studije i alternativu drugačijeg razvoja. Takav kompleksan i holistički pristup, uprkos disciplinarnim i teorijskim ograničenjima, nastoji da popuni prazninu koja postoji u razumevanju smisla i delotvornosti korporativne društvene odgovornosti od strane onih koji se bave istraživanjem i upravljanjem poslovnim i razvojnim procesima. Ovaj širi pogled u promišljanju korporativne društvene odgovornosti traga za konstruktivnom konvergencijom između poslovnog i razvojnog diskursa, te nastoji da prepozna specifične načine na koje su procesi neoliberalnog poslovanja i razvoja urođeni, kao i potencijalne žrtve koje su iz vladajućeg neoliberalnog ideološkog diskursa nevidljive.

U prvom delu rada korporativna društvena odgovornost se objašnjava kao poslovni i razvojno ideološki koncept³ i prepoznaju se njegova različita tumačenja od strane različitih poslovnih i društvenih aktera. U drugom i trećem delu rada se iz feminističke razvojne ekonomske i alternativne perspektive drugačijeg razvoja, objašnjava nedelotvornost korporativne društvene odgovornosti u odnosu na zaposlene i stanovništvo u doba neoliberalizma i svetske krize. U zaključnim razmatranjima rezimiraju se ključni izazovi sa kojima se danas suočava korporativna društvena odgovornost i svet kao celina, zagovara se model humano orijentisanog, ravnopravnog i ekološki

² O korporativnoj društvenoj odgovornosti i situaciji u Srbiji, između ostalog, videti: Đurić Kuzmanović, Vuković (2008: 135-149); *Uvod u društveno odgovorno poslovanje i korporativnu filantropiju Delegacija EU u Republici Srbiji* (2010); *Nacrt nacionalne agende Republike Srbije o društveno odgovornom poslovanju* (2010); Ivanović-Đukić (2011); *Strategija razvoja i promocije društveno odgovornog poslovanja u Republici Srbiji za period od 2010. do 2015. godine* (2011). Na predstavljanju Izveštaja Forum-a poslovnih lidera 29. septembra 2014. godine zaključeno je da Srbija zaostaje za EU po standardima društveno odgovornog poslovanja i po podsticajima za dobročinstva kompanija (S. V. 2014).

³ Razvojna ideologija obuhvata specifičan i kompromisani set različitih teorijskih, ideoloških i praktičnih odgovora na poslovne i razvojne dileme, karakterističan za konkretnu razvojnu situaciju date zemlje.

održivog, drugačijeg razvoja sveta, i ostavlja se otvorenom dilema o delotvornosti korporativne društvene odgovornosti kao njegovog vesnika i promotor-a. Ključni kriterijum delotvornosti korporativne društvene odgovornosti koji se u ovom radu zagovara jeste sintetički kriterijum istovremeno bezbednog i održivog razvoja stanovništva i planete, dok konstruisanje i empirijska provera seta odabralih, odgovarajućih indikatora ostaje kao budući izazov.

Korporativna društvena odgovornost kao poslovni i razvojni koncept

Korporativna društvena odgovornost se različito tumači u različitim korporativnim kulturama različitih delova sveta, zemalja i regiona. Primera radi, u Sjedinjenim američkim državama, korporativna društvena odgovornost se tradicionalno razume u smislu filantropije i sponzorstva gde kompanije deo ostvarenog profita doniraju u dobrotvorne svrhe uobičajeno očekujući, pri tome, određenu korist od davanja. Kineski koncept korporativne društvene odgovornosti pretežno je skoncentrisan na poštovanje regulativa u pogledu investiranja u zajednicu i na pravila korporativne filantropije (Corporate responsibility in China, 2007).

Za razliku od njih, evropski koncept korporativne društvene odgovornosti fokusira se na one tipove investiranja u lokalnu zajednicu od kojih se očekuje da će istovremeno doprineti i uvećanju profita kompanije i unapređivanju društvenog blagostanja. Prema regulativi Evropske unije, korporativna društvena odgovornost predstavlja posvećenost kompanija da kroz saradnju sa zaposlenima, njihovim porodicama, lokalnom i širom društvenom zajednicom doprinose poboljšanju kvaliteta života zaposlenih i stanovništva, održivosti privrednog i društvenog razvoja i rešavanju društvenih problema (European Commission, Brussels, COM(2001) 366 final; Review of the EU Sustainable Development Strategy (EUSDS) – renewed Strategy, 2006). Pri tome, obaveznost kompanija na poštovanje standarda korporativne društvene odgovornosti se, tokom proteklih decenija, zakonski pooštravala, ali i proširivala na sve kompanije koje posluju na tržištu EU (European Commission, Brussels, COM (2011) 681).

Razumevanje samog termina korporativne društvene odgovornosti ne samo da nije konzistentno od strane teoretičara i praktičara, već varira od zemlje do zemlje, pa i od regiona do regiona unutar iste zemlje, u zavisnosti od kulturnih, političkih, ekonomskih, društvenih i institucionalnih specifičnih

okvira i korisnika (Freeman, Hasnaoui, 2011: 419-443). Debata o svrsi i delotvornosti korporativne društvene odgovornosti između poslovnih ljudi, teoretičara, političara i filozofa, otpočela je sa industrijskim revolucijama u Evropi tokom XIX veka (Baron, 2003: 665-666). Debata o korporativnoj društvenoj odgovornosti, koja je nastavljena tokom sedamdesetih i ranih osamdesetih godina XX veka, odnosi se prevashodno na Sjedinjene američke države i Veliku Britaniju. Tada su, u skladu sa prodorom ekonomске politike *regonomike i tačerizma*, pitanja iz domena korporativne društvene odgovornosti naglašeno situirana u kontekst ostvarivanja težnji kompanija ka uvećanju profita. Američka i britanska javnost su putem medija usmeravane na značaj globalne tržišne konkurentnosti kompanija. Američka naučna rasprava o korporativnoj društvenoj odgovornosti razvijala se, sredinom devedesetih godina XX veka, u tri ključna pravca. Jedna grupa teoretičara i empiričara smatrala je da je, u cilju podizanja ekonomski efikasnosti i globalne konkurentnosti, neophodno razdvojiti domen poslovanja od društvene odgovornosti i da brigu o poslovanju treba prepustiti kompanijama, a odgovornost o društvu državi. Druga grupa, podržavala je ideju da kompanije treba istovremeno da ostvaruju i privatnu i javnu ulogu, a sve snažniji su bili zahtevi treće grupe da se u debati o ulozi korporativne društvene odgovornosti prevaziđe, kao ograničavajuća, nacionalna i usvoji globalna perspektiva (Wood, Cochran, 1992: 1-17).

Za razliku od kapitalističkih zemalja, bivše socijalističke zemlje su, sve do sloma socijalizma krajem osamdesetih i početkom devedesetih godina XX veka, u skladu sa razvojnom ideologijom socijalizma i ekonomskom politikom razvoja planske privrede, primat davale društvenoj odgovornosti u odnosu na poslovnu funkciju kompanija. Socijalistička jugoslovenska privreda, u tom smislu, nije bila izuzetak. Petnaestak privrednih reformi, koje je jugoslovenska socijalistička vlast preduzela od 1945. do 1990. godine, ilustruju njihove oscilacije u stavovima prema svojini, tržištu i ulozi Vlade u privrednom životu (Kuzmanović, 1992: 213-225).

Korporativna društvena odgovornost, u kontekstu globalne ekonomije, postaje sve popularnija i kompleksnija tema. Pored rastućeg interesovanja teoretičara i praktičara za korporativnu društvenu odgovornost i rastućeg pritiska na kompanije da posluju na društveno odgovoran način od strane javnosti, Ujedinjenih nacija, Evropske unije i drugih međunarodnih i regionalnih političkih i poslovnih institucija i organizacija, delotvornost opštih dogovora o globalnoj društvenoj odgovornosti kompanija ostajala je upitna. Različiti akteri iz različitih delova sveta su tokom XX veka, sagledavajući i prateći sop-

stvene interese, pridavali različit značaj činiocima proizvodnje, političkim konfliktima i institucijama u ekonomiji i društvu i različito odgovarali na ključnu dilemu ko upravlja, odnosno treba da upravlja tržištem (Đurić Kuzmanović, 2007: 34-36). Njihovi teorijski, politički i socijalni konflikti su dovodili do razvoja i napretka civilizacije, ali i do kriza, nasilja i ratova. Stoga je, posmatrana u širem, razvojno ideoškem kontekstu, korporativna društvena odgovornost jedno od ključnih pitanja duhovne situacije vremena u kome živimo. Tako je i analiza delotvornosti i rodnih efekata korporativne društvene odgovornosti izazovna, kompleksna i još uvek nedovoljno istražena tema.

Delotvornost korporativne društvene odgovornosti

Savremeni uslovi globalnog poslovanja i svetska kriza još više su zaoštrili neslaganja između poslodavaca i sindikata, kompanija, države i civilnog sektora, u pogledu ostvarivanja poželjnog balansa između interesa kapitala i rada. Tako, danas, u debati o ulozi i delotvornosti korporativne društvene odgovornosti, koristeći gotovo iste teorijske i empirijske argumente, jedni autori smatraju da je njena (ne)delotvornost posledica neoliberalne ideologije, drugi je doživljavaju kao proizvod njenog trijumfa, a treći, pak, smatraju da su obe perspektive suviše uske. Ovi, poslednji, veruju da se pitanje delotvornosti korporativne društvene odgovornosti zapravo odnosi na generalnu ekonomsku i političku dilemu: kako organizovati ekonomski i društveni život i koji institucionalni aranžmani mogu bolje promovisati ideje pravičnosti i blagostanja (Lebano, 2010).

Analiza delotvornosti korporativne društvene odgovornosti prepostavlja istovremeno globalno i kontekstualno razumevanje pozicija različitih aktera u poslovnim i razvojnim procesima na koje ona utiče, ili nastoji da utiče. U tom smislu se, kao sve značajnija, postavljaju sledeća pitanja: Na osnovu kojih kriterijuma i parametara treba vrednovati i meriti delotvornost korporativne društene odgovornosti? Kako korporativna društvena odgovornost utiče na: bezbednost zaposlenih žena i muškaraca, ali i ukupnog stanovništva; ekonomski i društveni razvoj nacionalnih i svetske ekonomije; i ekološku održivost prirodnog okruženja i planete? Konačno, za koga je korporativna društvena odgovornost delotvorna? Različiti akteri na ova pitanja daju različite odgovore.

Menadžeri nastoje da korporativnu društvenu odgovornost, kao element sveobuhvatne poslovne strategije kompanije, oblikuju tako da iskoriste povoljne mogućnosti i rešavaju probleme koji su povezani sa društvenim,

političkim i pravnim okruženjem. Oni se istovremeno suočavaju sa regulativama iz oblasti korporativne društvene odgovornosti u zemljama u kojima posluju i sa izazovima da upravljaju korporacijom prateći istovremeno princip ekonomске efikasnosti i društvene odgovornosti. Dilema menadžera, u pogledu primene korporativne društvene odgovornosti, odnosi se na određivanje poželjnog balansa između visine profita korporacije i visine ulaganja u pospešivanje društvenog blagostanja zaposlenih, lokalne zajednice i društva. Na primer, istraživanje poslovног ponašanja menadžera u pogledu korporativne društvene odgovornosti (Lankoski, 2006) sugerиše da je, sa stanovišta interesa profita, za menadžere korisnije da svoju pažnju više usmere na tržišne, u odnosu na netržišne aktere, i više na one poslovne postupke koji neće „štetiti“, u odnosu na one koji će „koristiti“ poslovanju (isto). Oni, kroz primenu korporativne društvene odgovornosti, prevashodno očekuju sticanje poslovne prednosti u pogledu: predviđanja i izbegavanja, ili umanjivanja rizika poslovanja i sa tim povezanih troškova, povećanja finansijske uspešnosti kompanije, otvaranja novih poslovnih mogućnosti i tržišta, zaštite, izgradnje i poboljšanja reputacije kompanije (Đurić Kuzmanović, 2008: 218-219). Otuda se menadžeri češće opredeljuju za onu strategiju korporativne društvene odgovornosti koja je profitabilnija, jer smanjuje negativne uticaje prema tržišnim akterima, a ređe za onu koja generiše pozitivan uticaj prema netržišnim akterima.

Korporativna društvena odgovornost obuhvata i brojna pitanja zaposlenih koja se odnose na: unapređivanje njihovih veština, motivacije i morala, razvoja timskog rada, moguće probleme i diskriminaciju i mobing na radnom mestu. Tako, korporativna društvena odgovornost podrazumeva fer tretman zaposlenih u pogledu: poštene zarade, razumnog radnog vremena, zdravstvenog i penzijskog osiguranja, dobrih uslova za rad (u smislu odsustva prekomernog stresa, sprečavanja uznemiravanja i diskriminacije na radnom mestu, posebno mobinga), prilika za stručno napredovanje i usavršavanje i ostvarivanja ravnoteže između posla i porodičnog života. Stoga, ne iznenađuje činjenica da upravo zaposleni često pokreću društveno odgovorne inicijative.

Uspešan menadžment u savremenim uslovima poslovanja sve vidljivije zavisi i od aktivnosti koje korporacije preduzimaju u pogledu društveno odgovornog odnosa prema zaposlenima. Neke korporacije koje su veoma uspešne u tržišnom poslovanju, nisu uspele da steknu, ili da održe povjerenje od strane javnosti u pogledu sopstvene korporativne društvene odgovornosti, dok su druge to uspevale. Na primer, surova eksploraciji radnika, posebno žena i dece, u korporacijama poput Nike, uticala je i na njene trži-

šne performanse (Klein, 2001: 372). Međutim, nekim poslodavcima, i u interesu uvećanja profita, sve važnije postaje pitanje kako poslovna politika utiče na blagostanje zaposlenih, mereno njihovim zadovoljstvom pri obavljanju posla. Postoje primeri korporacija čiji poslodavci, poput Richard-a Branson-a, osnivača Virgin Groupe i Larry Page-a, koosnivača Google-a, smatraju da sami zaposleni treba da fleksibilno raspoređuju vreme između svog privatnog i poslovnog života, koriste godišnji odmor onoliko dugo koliko žele i osećaju potrebu, te da to neće našteti kompaniji, već naprotiv (Branson, 2014). Na primer, istraživanje urađeno na uzorku od 3637 zaposlenih u Estoniji, Letoniji i Litvaniji, potvrdilo je da je njihovo zadovoljstvo različitim aspektima posla koji obavljaju na radnom mestu značajno izraženije u kompanijama koje su društveno odgovornije, kao i da su kompanije manje veličine sklonije društveno odgovornom ponašanju od velikih (Tamml, Eamet, Mõtsmees, 2010). Ipak, uticaj korporativne društvene odgovornosti prema zaposlenima na poslovne performanse kompanije još uvek nije dovoljno empirijski istražen i izmeren. Posebno je nedovoljno istražena veza između korporativne društvene odgovornosti i rodnih nejednakosti. Takođe, još uvek nisu dovoljno prepoznate razlike između žena i muškaraca u njihovoj orientaciji i intencijama prema korporativnoj društvenoj odgovornosti. Na osnovu prikupljenih podataka iz retkih dosadašnjih istraživanja (Safari Kahreh i dr., 2014: 664-668) stiče se utisak da žene raznim dimenzijama korporativne društvene odgovornosti pridaju nešto više pažnje u odnosu na muškarce, ali su dalja istraživanja neophodna.

Neoliberalizam i korporativna društvena odgovornost

Kako u teorijskom diskursu, tako i u javnosti, ni danas nije preovlađujuće prihvaćeno gledište da razvoj ekonomije i društva može biti i efikasan i pravedan, utemeljen na međusobnoj ravnopravnosti ljudi, muškaraca i žena, i na odsustvu diskriminacije u pogledu njihovih ključnih strukturnih karakteristika. Naprotiv. Neoliberalna razvojna ideologija⁴ je poslednjih decenija XX veka, poznatu teorijsku i ideošku dilemu „rast ili raspodela“ razrešila uverenjem da tržištu treba prepustiti alokaciju i selekciju najefikasnijih aktera razvoja. Neoliberalna ideologija, preko odabranih think tank-ova, kontrolisanih

⁴ Pod razvojnom ideologijom podrazumevamo specifičan i kompromisani set različitih teorijskih, ideoških i praktičnih odgovora na poslovne i razvojne dileme, karakterističan za konkretnu razvojnu situaciju date zemlje.

medija i isključivanjem alternativnih diskursa, kreira vladajuće mišljenje i legitimizuje ga kao „normalno“. Tako kreiran mit o tzv. slobodnom tržištu, trgovini i državi, koja treba da obezbedi fer pravila igre za sve „agente“, zaokružen je, kroz masivnu privatizaciju i seću socijalnih davanja, „odgovarajućim“ obrazovanjem, zdravstvom, i slično. U takvoj „stvarnosti“ svaka individua je navodno „racionalan agent“ koji, bez obzira na pol, rasu, klasu, starost, ima „slobodu izbora“ načina kako da maksimizuje sopstveno blagostanje, od učešća u porno industriji, do svermirske i negovateljske uloge.

Neoliberalan ideološki pristup poslovanju i razvoju se u stvarnosti, sve vidljivije, pokazuje kao višestruko problematičan (Milanović, 2011; Hickel, 2014). Problem sa pretpostavljenom racionalnošću i slobodom izbora jeste u tome što su oni zapravo legitimizovani kao ključni neoliberalni standardi, a istovremeno se sistematski ignorisu brojna ograničenja sa kojima se individue i društvene grupe u stvarnosti suočavaju. U neoliberalnom diskursu se kolektivni i zajednički interes sistematski potiskuje, ignoriše i pravi nevidljivim. Nevidljivo je i oslanjanje takve „tržišne“ ekonomije na eksploraciju dominantno ženskog rada u ekonomiji staranja, odnosno nege i brige, uloženog prema onima kojima je to potrebno. Nevidljivi su zapravo svi oni koji nisu od interesa kapitalu, jer je sama neoliberalna država okrenuta interesu krupnog kapitala, a ne interesu žena, dece i muškaraca.

Vladajuća muška elita rodnu ravnopravnost suštinski ne prihvata kao princip strukturiranja porodice i društva. Ona donosi ključne političke i ekonomske odluke, tobože prepustajući odgovornost za poslovanje i razvoj nevidljivoj ruci tržišta, a zapravo sledeći interes kapitala i njegovih dominantno muških vlasnika. Sistemom patrijarhalne dominacije vladajuća muška elita uveliko sprečava deprivilegovanim društvenim pojedincima i grupama jednak pristup zajedničkim resursima i/ili njihovoj kontroli, kao i rezultatima razvoja, ili ih sistematski isključuje iz razvoja, zarad održavanja sopstvenih privilegija i reprodukcije moći.

Realizacija neoliberalnog mita da će tržište roba i usluga alocirati i selektovati one koji su istovremeno najkvalitetniji i najjeftiniji, a tržište rada najefikasnije aktere razvoja prepostavlja masivnu privatizaciju, posebno velikih javnih preduzeća koja čine infrastrukturu nacionalne privrede, liberalizaciju tržišta, politiku štednje i razgradnju socijalnih prava. Realizacija takvih neoliberalnih standarda, usvojenih Washington-skim konsenzusom⁵, dovela je do: upotrebe

⁵ Ovaj paket neoliberalne politike kreirao je John Williams, stručni savetnik Međunarodnog monetarog fonda, tokom 1970-tih godina. Ovaj program je nazvan Washington-skim konsenzusom, jer je, sredinom osamdesetih godina XX veka, potpisana u Washington-u od

zajedničkih resursa za privatni profit, urušavanja obrazovanja, zdravstvene i socijalne zaštite, opšte komodifikacije ljudi i svih segmentata života, masovnog isključivanja manje uspešnih iz procesa razvoja, njihovog osiromašenja i diskriminisanja na osnovu njihove rase, etniciteta, roda, starosti.

Pojeftinjavanjem rada i, naročito, pojeftinjavanjem, marksističkom terminologijom rečeno, „prostog“ i već jeftinog rada bogati postaju sve bogatiji, a siromašni sve siromašniji, sa ugroženim pravom na opstanak. Najbogatijih 85 ljudi na svetu bogatiji su od 3,5 milijardi najsiromašnijih, ili od polovine svetskog stanovništva (Hickel, 2014a). Stvarnost globalizacije, sproveđene prema neoliberalnim standardima, uveliko pokazuje svoje licemerno i groteskno lice kroz rastuće strukturne nejednakosti delova sveta, regionala, država, gradova, lokalnih zajednica (Milanović, 2007). Sve jasnije se ispostavlja da je siromaštvo odlika globalnog ekonomskog sistema koji se kreira u interesu oplodnje profita malobrojne, a vladajuće bogate elite, uključujući i one koji upravljaju ili profitiraju od pomoći siromašnima, kroz sistemsko potčinjavanje i porobljavanje većine stanovništva i potiranje njihovih kolektivnih interesa kao nebitnih (Hickel, 2014a).

Srbija se, svojom sporom i kolebljivom post-socijalističkom transformacijom tokom proteklih dvadeset i pet godina, uklapa u takav scenario. Nacionalistička euforija i ratovi, koji su pratili raspad bivše socijalističke Jugoslavije devedesetih godina XX veka, sve jasnije su se ispostavljali kao načini uvođenja kapitalizma, kroz prvobitnu akumulaciju kapitala i društvenu retradicionalizaciju. Ratna logika kapitalizma stvarala je uslove za pljačku društvene imovine koja se kroz rat i nasilje legitimizovala i koncentrisala u nekoliko muških ruku (Bogdanić, 2014). Nakon preovlađujuće, najblaže rečeno, netransparentne privatizacije većine društvenih preduzeća, sličnu sudbinu slede zdravstveni i obrazovni sistem, komunalne delatnosti i drugi. Redistributivna uloga države, u očuvanju ekonomске pravde dramatično se urušavala, uporedo sa njenim okretanjem interesima domaćih tajkuna, stranih investitora i međunarodnih finansijskih institucija.

Sve sistematicnije i potpunije se, tokom proteklih godina, dokumentovalo da tržište ne deluje slobodno ni efikasno, niti da se razvojni resursi i potencijali ekonomski i društveno racionalno i odgovorno privode upotrebi

strane država koje su činile osnovu svetskog ekonomskog sistema i odražava dominantnu poziciju Sjedinjenih američkih država u međunarodnim agencijama: Međunarodnom monetarnom fondu, Svetskoj banci i Svetskoj trgovinskoj organizaciji. Neoliberalni konsenzus u ekonomiji je doneo tri novine: drastično ograničenje državne regulative u ekonomiji, nova prava u pogledu međunarodnog vlasništva stranih investitora i inovatora, i podređenost nacionalnih država ovim multilateralnim agencijama (Stiglitz, 2002).

i koriste. Uveliko je publikovano i od strane samih međunarodnih agencija i organizacija, ključnih zagovornika neoliberalne globalizacije, da takav pristup snažno favorizuje muškarca, belog i obrazovanog, kao potencijalno najefikasnijeg aktera razvoja i da dovodi do masovnog isključivanja iz procesa razvoja drugih aktera, među kojima su žene najbrojnije, kao i do njihovog masovnog osiromašenja (World Bank Policy Research Report, 2001). Otuda potiče ideja, sada već prisutna i kao vladajuća javna politika, da razvoj treba urodniti. Tokom proteklih sedam decenija je debata o delotvornosti razvojnih teorija i primenjenih razvojnih obrazaca i ulozi žena i rodnih odnosa u razvoju sve više dobijala na značaju⁶. Pored vidljivih strukturnih pomaka u pogledu unapređivanja rodne ravnopravnosti, ostaju krupne dileme sa kojima se žene i muškarci širom sveta, proteklih godina suočavaju. Brojni akteri razvoja nemaju uopšte, ili nemaju jednak pristup resursima, njihovoj kontroli, i/ili ostvarenim razvojnim rezultatima. Diskriminacija različitih društvenih grupa muškaraca i žena prisutna je u različitim segmentima privatne i javne sfere života. Zahvaljujući dominaciji tržišne neoliberalne politike kreirani su izrazito asimetrični odnosi snaga različitih društvenih grupa u režimima rodnosti, klase, rase i starosti. Neoklasični mit da je neophodan izbor između, pravednog, ili efikasnog razvoja, ispostavlja se kao političko sredstvo manipulacije ljudima

⁶ Prva teorijska razvojna perspektiva Žene u razvoju (WID), oslonjena na tradicionalnu teoriju modernizacije, prepoznala je žene kao nedovoljno iskorišćen ljudski i razvojni potencijal i doprinela vidljivosti ženske uloge u procesima razvoja. Međutim, ona nije otvarala pitanja izvora ženske podređenosti i ugnjetavanja, značaja reproduktivne strane njihovih života i razloga zašto one nemaju koristi od razvoja. Već tokom sedamdesetih godina XX veka, sve jasnije se, pod pritiskom svetskih razvojnih problema i naftnih kriza, među teoretičarima i empiričarima razvoja, prepoznavalo da je drugo lice razvoja nerazvoj, odnosno, razvoj nerazvijenosti i zavisnosti. Drugi teorijski obrazac Žene i razvoj (WAD), nastao tokom druge polovine sedamdesetih godina XX veka na kritici modernizacije i na temeljima teorija zavisnosti i svetskog sistema, prepoznaće da su žene, u stvari, integrisane u proces razvoja, ali na način koji reproducuje postojeće međunarodne odnose nejednakosti. Ipak, pored prepoznavanja eksploracije na klasnoj i rasnoj osnovi, izostaje analiza odnosa između patrijarhata i različitih načina proizvodnje, ženske podređenosti i ugnjetavanja i muške pozicije. Tokom osamdesetih godina XX veka sve jasnije prepoznavana istovremena dinamičnost, integralnost, globalnost i konkretnost razvojnih procesa, otkrila je činjenicu da se određene grupe stanovništva sistematski isključuju iz razvoja i diskriminišu na osnovu rase, etniciteta, roda, i da su među njima žene najbrojnije. Tada nastala, inspirisana socijalističkom feminističkom perspektivom, treća teorijska perspektiva Rodnost i razvoj (GAD), prepoznaće da patrijarhalno potčinjavanje deluje kako između klasa, tako i unutar njih, te da postojeći odnosi snaga u društvu opredeljuju i traumatizuju rodne odnose i uloge koje žene i muškarci uspostavljaju u privatnoj i javnoj sferi njihovih života.

i perpetuiranja njihove (i međusobne) neravnopravnosti, u cilju održavanja privilegija povlašćene i favorizovane manjine.

Alternative razvojne teorije i ideologije, bilo da je reč o strukturalističkoj zavisnosti svetskog sistema ili humanoj, saglasne su u ideji da razvoj treba da bude orijentisan ka potrebama ljudi, konkretan, sa mnoštvom razvojnih obrazaca koji odražavaju specifičnosti unutrašnjih uslova zemalja, koji korespondira sa internim društvenim ciljevima i koji je u harmoniji s okruženjem. Osnovnu dilemu savremenog sveta alternativni teoretičari, već decenijama unazad, vide kao izbor između kooperacije svih zemalja i svetskog haosa i rastućeg siromašnog i bolesnog društva. Iz saznanja da postoji sinergijska međuzavisnost delova sveta i da su razvoj i nerazvijenost globalni fenomeni, proistekla je i nada da postoji zajednički interes čovečanstva da se problemi mira, opstanka i razvoja rešavaju na planetarnom nivou, putem Drugačijeg razvoja, kao alternative globalnom kapitalističkom sistemu „bolesnog razvoja“ (Rahman, 1991: 18, Đurić Kuzmanović, 1992: 5-12). Da bi Drugačiji razvoj postao realnost, njegovi zagovornici najveći značaj pridaju političkoj demokratizaciji i decentralizaciji (What Now, 1975: 29-39), transformaciji Ujedinjenih nacija u tzv. „Treći sistem“ (Building Blocks for Alternative Development Strategies, 1980: 65), koji bi obuhvatao interes ne samo vladara i trgovaca, već i građana (Nerfin, 1987: 170-194) i novim fundamentalnim vrednostima i potencijalima razvoja Nove ekonomije 2 koji leže u ljudima i njihovim zajednicama i potrošnji koja bi, nezavisno od njihove rase i pola, bila usklađena sa postojećim ekološkim resursima i ograničenjima (Godman, 2011).

Propitivanje i vrednovanje delotvornosti korporativne društvene odgovornosti nije realistično fokusirati samo na zaposlene žene i muškarce u kompanijama, njihove porodice, poslodavce i lokalne zajednice. Razvojnu delotvornost korporativne društvene odgovornosti je neophodno šire sagledavati u odnosu na bezbednost svetskog stanovništva i održivost planete, kao ključne limite razvoju koji otkrivaju njegov dublji smisao. Razvoj se ne odvija tamo gde većina svetskog stanovništa preživljava u borbi za biološkim opstankom i kada je sudsudbina planete sve ugroženija. Istoriski posmatrano, na momente dramatične tenzije i konflikti između različitih aktera razvoja ukazuju na neodvojivost ekonomskih, političkih i moralnih ciljeva i dimenzija ne samo poslovanja i razvoja, već i privatne i javne sfere života žena i muškaraca. Stoga je za ocenu delotvornosti korporativne društvene odgovornosti ključno prepoznati načine na koje se perpetuiraju rodni odnosi ne samo u javnoj sferi korporacija, već i u privatnoj sferi života žena i muškaraca, odnosno u ekono-

miji staranja (ekonomiji nege i brige), jer oni u osnovi određuju karakteristike proizvodnje, raspodele i potrošnje u javnoj sferi.

Efekti svetske krize i delotvornost korporativne društvene odgovornosti

Neoliberalna ideologija je proteklih godina umesto ekonomskog i društvenog razvoja dovela do planetarne krize dva podeljena sveta – bogatih i siromašnih, privilegovanih i obespravljenih (Milanović, 2007, 2011). Globalna ekonomska i društvena nejednakost i siromaštvo, pokazuju, prema Branku Milanoviću, jednom od najistaknutijih dugogodišnjih istraživača u Svetskoj banci, opstajanje trenda rasta tri vrste visokih nejednakosti posle Drugog svetskog rata, između pojedinaca unutar nacije, zemalja sveta i građana sveta. Uprkos međunarodnoj liberalizaciji kapitala i suprotno predviđanjima neoliberalnog pristupa, koji nejednakosti posmatra samo kao rezultat delovanja tržišta, nejednakost je rezultat društvenih i političkih podela moći. Kao istorijska kategorija nejednakost je povezana sa razvojem društva, sa unutar društvenim pitanjima stabilnosti, razvoja, društvene pravde, represije i ljudskih prava, kao i sa fenomenima globalizacije i međunarodnih migracija (Milanović, 2011).

Savremena svetska kriza 2008. godine ponovo je na dramatičan način potvrdila disbalans između sveta kapitala i sveta rada, između privatne i javne sfere života zaposlenih i nezaposlenih, mlađih i starih, žena i muškaraca. Snažnim udarom na prihode domaćinstava, ličnu potrošnju, plate i zaposlenost građana, mnoge zemlje sveta vraćene su godinama u prošlost. Oštrina kojom je kriza izbila, najpre u finansijskom sektoru, a potom i u drugim sferama poslovnih aktivnosti i društvenog života, aktuelizovala je debatu o uzrocima krize i o karakteru mera koje treba preduzeti da bi se ona prevazišla. Ponovo zaoštreno pitanje odnosa između sveta kapitala i sveta rada, ali i između privatne i javne sfere ljudskih života, ispostavlja se kao suštinski izazov (ili ograničenje) delotvornosti korporativne društvene odgovornosti.

Upravljačke, finansijske i korporativne interesne grupe krizu preovlađujuće tumače prevashodno kao finansijsku krizu, a korporativnu društvenu odgovornost vide kao dovoljan instrument humanizacije poslovanja. Međutim, čak i kada je tumače samo kao finansijsku krizu, članovi Međunarodnog monetarnog i finansijskog komiteta, rukovodećeg tela Međunarodnog mone-

tarnog fonda, ističu⁷ da se oporavak odvija slabije i neuravnoteženije od očekivanog. Mnoge vlade i u reakcijama na krizu pokazuju da zapravo odustaju od zaštite javnog interesa i da se prvenstveno okreću ka privlačenju investitora. U tom cilju vlade koriste razne instrumente iznuđivanja i promovišu novu vrstu lojalnosti u porodičnim, etničkim i religijskim odnosima. Najvidljiviji ukupan rezultat delovanja svetske političke elite jeste sve ugroženija bezbednost ogromne većine svetskog stanovništva i planete u celini.

Kritička perspektiva koju feministkinje ekonomistkinje unose u diskusiju o efektima i perspektivama svetske krize tiče se osvetljavanja veze između ekonomske nestabilnosti i masivnog širenja dohodovnih nejednakosti na ekonomski i socijalno deprivilegovane grupe stanovništva. One, imajući u vidu rastuću finansijalizaciju, odnosno dominaciju finansijskih institucija i njihovih interesa u globalnoj ekonomiji, kao i predatorsku praksu, prepoznaju njihov uticaj na rastuće ekonomske nejednakosti i na porast zaduženosti domaćinstava, naročito onih društvenih grupa koje su isključene sa kreditnih tržišta kao unapred ranjive (Fukuda-Parr, Heintz, Seguino, 2013). Feminističke analize ekonomske krize i njenih efekata na zarade, potrošnju, zdravlje i rad utrošen na staranje, uveliko doprinose razumevanju ekonomije stratifikacije i formiranja identiteta i to ne samo kada je u pitanju rodnost, već i kada je reč o drugim strukturnim karakteristikama stanovništva kao što su rasa, klasa, nacionalna pripadnost, maskulinitet (isto). Feministička analiza korporativne društvene odgovornosti i rodnih razlika i efekata koje proizvodi još uvek predstavlja nedovoljno istražen i pionirski poduhvat.

Za alternativne teoretičare i empiričare razvoja nema mesta sumnji da je reč o pogoršavanju ukupnog jata kompleksnih i simultanih kriza (K5): ekonomski slom, kriza okruženja, kulturna kriza, politička kriza i kriza opšte bezbednosti, koje teku uporedo sa kriminalizacijom siromaštva i glasova protesta (Oberg, 2009). Razvoj koji je dominantno okrenut oplodnji profita vodi ka daljem produbljivanju jaza između kapitala i rada, gomilanju bogatstva i suvišnih roba u rukama malog broja ljudi, „višku“ i porobljavanju mnogobrojnih ljudi i razaranju njihove autonomije i samopouzdanja, kao i njihovih kapaciteta za solidarnošću i empatijom. Otuda se iz alternativne perspektive svetska kriza zapravo ispostavlja kao proizvod pohlepe bogatih i moćnih, a korpora-

⁷ Izjava sa jesenjeg zasedanja MMF-a i Svetske banke, održanog od 10. do 12. oktobra 2014. godine u Washington-u.

tivna društvena odgovornost kao moć elite koja dominira nad većinom, a ne kao društvena odgovornost prema ljudima na koje svojim delovanjem utiče.

Jedno od gorućih pitanja savremenog sveta jeste pitanje bezbednog i održivog razvoja i, u tom kontekstu, uloge i delotvornosti korporativne društvene odgovornosti. U stvarnosti poslovanje dominira ekonomijom, a ekonomija društvom na način koji reprodukuje suvišnost roba i ljudi. Šarenolika armija nove klase gubitnika, prekarijata, još uvek nedovoljno vidljivih žrtava neoliberalne globalizacije i njenih ključnih aktera, neoliberalnih korporacija, postaje širom sveta, baš kao i u Srbiji, sve brojnija. Čine je ostaci radničke klase, tranzicioni gubitnici, tehnološki viškovi, muškarci i žene koji, prepusteni sami sebi, preživljavaju od danas do sutra. Gubitnici neoliberalne globalizacije postaju ne samo oni koji su nezaposleni, neobrazovani, ili sa nesigurnim, povremenim ili nelegalnim zaposlenjima, već i oni koji, iako su stalno zaposleni, imaju prihode sa kojima tek preživljavaju na egzistencijalnom minimumu, starije radnice i radnici, kao i mlađi i obrazovani, sa neizvesnim poslovnim i društvenim perspektivama. Političari ih nemaju dovoljno u svojoj agendi, a sindikati su ih toliko puta izneverili.

Korporacije se sve jasnije ispostavljaju kao politički najuticajniji akteri ne samo poslovanja, već i društvene transformacije većine nacionalnih, i svetske ekonomije u celini. Sve je vidljivije da multinacionalne korporacije kao specifičan „ekonomski superentitet“ (Vitali, Glattfelder, Battiston, 2011) upravljaju svetskom ekonomijom (Torgovnick May, 2013; Marshall, 2014). One kontrolišu i odlučuju o tome šta treba da proizvedemo, kupimo, pojedemo, obučemo i mislimo⁸. Sve jasnije se, poslednjih godina, u javnosti ispostavlja da su promene u ekonomiji dovele i do promena u etici i u standardima koji čine temeljni deo naših identiteta, te da meritokratski neoliberalizam „izvlači najgore iz nas“, jer favorizuje „osobe sa određenim karakternim osobinama, a druge odbacuje“ (Verhaeghe, 2014).

⁸ Na primer, među prvih deset na Forbes-ovoj listi nalaze se: Bill Gates (Microsoft United States); Warren Buffett (Berkshire Hathaway, Sjedinjene Američke Države); Carlos Slim (Helu and Family, Meksiko); Amancio Ortega (Inditex, Španija); Larry Ellison (Oracle Corporation, Sjedinjene Američke Države); Charles Koch (Koch Industries, Sjedinjene Američke Države); David Koch (Seven Network production, Australija); Christy Walton i porodica (Wal-Mart, Sjedinjene Američke Države); Jim Walton (Wal-Mart, Sjedinjene Američke Države); i Alice Walton (Wal-Mart, Sjedinjene Američke Države) (The World's Billionaires, 2014).

Umesto zaključka – strah i/ili nada

Postaje sve očiglednije da svetu nedostaje odgovorno političko vođstvo, spremno za ponavljanje čuvenog pitanja postavljenog u Izveštaju⁹ u Ujedinjenim nacijama još sedamdesetih godina prošlog veka: „Šta sada?“ (What Now, 1975) i „Koliko mnogo je dovoljno?“ (Nerfin, 1977: 14; R. Skidelsky, E. Skidelsky, 2012) i za formulisanje nekog novog, zapravo starog odgovora, vizije pravednijeg, drugačijeg razvoja.

Korporacije su, zbog svoje ekonomске moći i uticaja na skoro svaki aspekt života pojedinaca u društvu, postale ključni oblik organizovanja ekonomskog života i način života. Međutim, da li je takva korporativna kultura obogatila, ili obogaljila svet? Ako je korporativna društvena odgovornost, kao poslovni koncept, zapravo instrument održavanja kapitalizma, suštinske dileme koje ona otvara kada se razume kao sastavni deo ideologije neoliberalizma, jesu: Postoji li zapravo izbor između hipokritskog milosrđa i postkapitalističke neprofitne budućnosti (Popović, 2011: 144)? Da li su promoteri korporativne društvene odgovornosti, utoliko, licemeri starog, ili vodonoše novog doba? Da li je priča o humanom razvoju i ljudskim pravima, tek isprazna retorika, ili realna alternativa došadašnjim obrascima „razvoja“?

Danas su otpori neoliberalnoj globalizaciji širom sveta, iako raspršeni i nedovoljno povezani, sve brojniji. Njihov snažan potencijal integracije u novu klasu nosi sa sobom i ozbiljne rizike. Gubitak poverenja u društveno ekonomski i politički sistem može da prati i gubitak razuma. Kompenzacija za strah i beznađe mogu biti dvojaki. Na jednoj strani, svedočimo rastućem autoritarizmu i konzumerizmu koji od oligarhijske demokratije teži ka sve direktnoj tehnokratskoj diktaturi. Na drugoj strani, konstruktivan pristup otvara dileme: Da li je moguć i pravedniji i efikasniji razvoj utemeljen na rodnoj ravнопravnosti i odsustvu diskriminacije? Da li je moguća mobilizacija potencijalnih aktera Drugačijeg razvoja na povezivanju jata problema koji nam stižu zajedno: od siromaštva, resursnih ograničenja poput vode i klimatskih pro-

⁹ Reč je o Izveštaju, pripremljenom za VII specijalno zasedanje Generalne skupštine Ujedinjenih nacija, 1-12. septembra 1975. godine, od strane Dag Hammarskjold-ove fondacije pod rukovodstvom Marc Nerfin-a. U Izveštaju su izložene osnovne postavke koncepta Drugačijeg razvoja, participativnog, na čoveka usmerenog i po planetu održivog razvoja, koji ima za cilj stvaranje humanog društva, koje će živeti u harmoniji s prirodom. Pošto je reč o alternativi dosadašnjem tradicionalnom tumačenju razvoja u literaturi se često sreće pod nazivom alternativni razvoj (Blomstrom, Hettne, 1984: 75).

mena, do nezainteresovanosti svetskih, nacionalnih i lokalnih moćnika za paradigmatskom promenom promišljanja društvenog razvoja?

Konstruktivan izlaz u sadašnjem trenutku jeste redefinisanje ekonomije i promišljanja razvoja u duhu Drugačijeg razvoja i Nove ekonomije 2. Konstruktivan pristup prepostavlja paradigmatsku transformaciju filozofije razvoja ka ekonomiji koja služi ljudima, a ne interesu elite. Savremena dilema čovečanstva nije izbor između humanosti i racionalnosti, već je reč o neophodnoj društvenoj odgovornosti, racionalnosti i humanosti zarad opstanka planete i čovečanstva. Humana dimenzija odnosa prema čoveku, prepostavlja i razvoj društva u ekološki prihvatljivim granicama. Fundamentalna vrednost nove ekonomije treba bude sam život, i to svih bića, a ne ekonomski interes povlašćenih slojeva. Od fantomskog bogatstva Wall Street-a tzv. Nove ekonomije 1, potrebno je doći do stvarnog prosperiteta za većinu, koji zagovara koncept Nove ekonomije 2, u kojoj vrednosti i snaga leže u ljudima i njihovim zajednicama, a njihova potrošnja je, nezavisno od njihove rase i pola, usklađena sa ekološkim resursima (Korten, 2011).

Rasuti razvojni potencijali nove ekonomije – očuvana priroda, prostor i zdrava životna sredina traže nove saveznike koji, slabo povezani, funkcionišu na različitim nivoima i u različitim socijalnim grupama. Ako se danas odsustvo „industrije razvoja“ može smatrati glavnim elementom novog, Drugačijeg razvoja, a glavna komparativna prednost – očuvana priroda, prostor i zdrava životna sredina, tada i glavna nada neprofitne budućnosti sveta leži u njihovoj intelligentnoj kombinaciji i masovnoj nekomercijalnoj motivaciji (Popović, 2011: 150) i na strateškom ravnopravnom partnerstvu muškaraca i žena u nepatrijarhalnoj ljudskoj zajednici.

Korporativna društvena odgovornost se ne može jednostavno okarakterisati kao od strane korporacija vođen pokret koji ističe značaj društvene odgovornosti u poslovanju, niti korporacijama tu ulogu treba prepustiti. Korporativna društvena odgovornost shvaćena samo kao poslovni koncept u osnovi predstavlja instrument oplodnje profita i održavanja kapitalizma. Čini se da korporativna društvena odgovornost delimično odražava i paradigmatski pomak u promišljanju razvoja od strane praktičara koji, možda i sasvim dobro-namerno, nastoje da poprave urušenu, slabu i nedovoljnu društvenu odgovornost nekompetentnih vlada od kojih se očekuje da brane javni interes.

Međutim, korporativna društvena odgovornost danas leži pred daleko dubljim izazovom. Uslov delotvorne korporativne društvene odgovornoosti jeste redefinisanje i poslovanja i razvoja u duhu pravednije, sarađivačke i

neprofitno orijentisane Nove ekonomije 2. Konstruisanje sintetičkog kriterija delotvornosti korporativne društvene odgovornosti koji bi obuhvatio set indikatora o bezbednosti stanovništva i održivosti razvoja planete i njegova empirijska provera predstavlja pionirski izazov za neki budući timski rad. Analiza dosadašnjih efekata korporativne društvene odgovornosti na bezbednost stanovništva upućuje na potrebu formulisanja delotvornih strategija otpora patrijarhalnoj i kapitalističkoj eksploataciji i, istovremenog, osnaživanja svih depriviranih i diskriminisanih aktera među kojima su najčešće, ali ne samo, žene. Drugim rečima, potrebne su nam nove vizije, novi akteri i novi, delotvorniji oblici organizovanja i savezništava, uz minimum konsenzusa oko zajedničkih vrednosti i prioriteta. Korporativna društvena odgovornost, samo u tom kontekstu, može postati vodonoša Novog doba. Da li je moguća takva promena na bolje za većinu ljudi na Zemlji? Da li je potrebna? Znam da je neophodna.

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Hypocrites of Old or Water Carriers of New Era and Their Invisible Victims – Rethinking Corporate Social Responsibility

Modern business results indicate more clearly the increasing negative effects which corporation business strategies, exclusively oriented to making profit, have on population and the planet. Corporative social responsibility (CSR) as a complex system of business and management that balances among the economic, social and ecological objectives of stakeholders is increasingly recommended as an alternative or integral part of modern business and development strategies. The role and effectiveness of CSR is becoming the subject of intense debate between all those who interpret it as hypocritical mercy of employers and those who see it as a possible paradigm shift in thinking about more effective social and business development strategies. In this paper the role of CSR is discussed from the perspectives of Feminist development economics and Another development strategies, primarily in relation to the safety of employees and the population. The aim of this paper is to recognise the role of CSR in reproducing the increasing number of, from the neo-liberal discourse, still insufficiently visible victims of neoliberal capitalism using comparative theoretical analysis. The paper further aims to emphasise the need to redefine the action, evaluation and measurement of CSR in terms of New economy 2 and Another development.

Keywords: corporate social responsibility, feminist development economics, another development, employees and population, neoliberal capitalism.

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Being (Almost) Invisible: Victims of Crime in the Italian Juvenile Criminal Justice System

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From 2008 to 2013 the author has been a Special Judge in the Juvenile Criminal Court of the Emilia Romagna Region. From that privileged perspective, it was possible to observe the dynamics of how victims of underage offenders were considered before the law, no differences if they are adults or minors, too. The reflections presented will first consider EU and UN provision on victims of crime; then, the normative framework supporting the Italian criminal juvenile justice system will be considered by an examining of the difficulties victims meet in that peculiar context. The implementation of juvenile criminal law shows the paradox victims of crime have to cope with. The Juvenile Criminal Court in Bologna recently started to promote a wide use of restorative justice measures as an attempt to correct the unfair consequences in the application of law, with judicial discretion interpreted as an instrument to favour victims' harm recognition and to protect their dignity as persons.

Key words: juvenile criminal justice system, (underage) victims, judicial discretion, restorative justice.

Introduction

The issue concerning the implementation of legal guarantees and legal protection for victims of crime in the criminal justice system has been for many years the aim of many international and European provisions. Widely known is, of course, the *UN Declaration of Basic Principles of Justice for Victims*

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of Crime and Abuse of Power n. 40/34¹, approved in 1985, affirming that all Member States shall grant and discipline the victims access to justice systems, guarantee them a fair treatment being “treated with compassion and respect for their dignity. They are entitled to access to the mechanisms of justice and to prompt redress, as provided by national legislation, for the harm that they have suffered” (art. 4). In the same year, the *EU Recommendation no. R. (85)11²* on the Position of the Victim in the Framework of Criminal Law and Procedure adopted by the Council of Europe focused on the necessity “to have more regard in the criminal justice system to the physical, psychological, material and social harm suffered by the victim”, and remarked how important it is “to enhance the confidence of the victim in criminal justice and to encourage his co-operation, especially in his capacity as a witness”. The important document recommended the governments of Member States to consider actively in their legislation the necessity to guarantee a fair treatment to all victims in prosecution, protection of their privacy in criminal proceedings, transmission of information concerning their case, respectful questioning by Police and Judiciary system. In March 2001, the *Framework Decision on the Standing of Victims in Criminal Proceedings³*, adopted by the European Parliament along with the Justice and Home Affairs Council, called on member states to implement fair and effective legislation on standing of victims in the criminal procedure, affirming that “(...) Each Member State shall ensure that victims have a real and appropriate role in its criminal legal system. (...) and to ensure that victims are treated with due respect for the dignity (...)” (first paragraph). But most importantly it points out that “(...) Each Member State shall ensure that victims who are particularly vulnerable can benefit from specific treatment best suited to their circumstances” (art. 2, Respect and recognition).

In 2006, *Recommendation Rec. (2006)8* on the Assistance to Crime Victims⁴, adopted by the Council of Europe, highlighted the need to promote effective recognition of fundamental human rights along with the respect for all vic-

¹ UN declaration is available at: <http://www.un.org/documents/ga/res/40/a40r034.htm>, assessed 25.9.2014.

² Available at: http://www.coe.int/t/dghl/standardsetting/victims/recR_85_11e.pdf, assessed 15.9.2014.

³ Available at: http://victimssupporteurope.eu/activeapp/wp-content/files_mf/1355239041_CouncilFrameworkDecisiononthestandingofvictimsincriminalproceedings.pdf, assessed 15.9.2014.

⁴ Available at: http://www.coe.int/t/dghl/standardsetting/victims/Rec_2006_8.pdf, assessed 15.9.2014.

tims without any discrimination of age, gender, race, nationality, religion. In particular, it affirmed that “(...) victims who are particularly vulnerable, either through their personal characteristics or through the circumstances of the crime, can benefit from special measures best suited to their situation” (art. 3, Right to assistance); they also need to “have access to information of relevance to their case and necessary for the protection of their interests and the exercise of their rights” (art. 6, Right to be informed). Finally, but no less important to our aims, it stressed “(...) at all stages of the procedure, the protection of the victim’s physical and psychological integrity. Particular protection may be necessary for victims who could be required to provide testimony” (art. 10, Right to protection of physical and psychological integrity).

More recently, in October 2012, the *Directive 2012/29/EU Establishing Minimum Standards on the Rights, Support and Protection of Victims of Crime*⁵, adopted by the European Parliament and the European Council, introduced important standard to be expected in working with victims (they should be treated “in a respectful, sensitive, tailored, professional and non-discriminatory manner”), which can be considered a useful starting point for the implementation of measures to reduce (institutional) discrimination and secondary victimization. To this end, Member States shall promote and guarantee to all victims the rights to be informed, to be protected, to receive support and to participate in criminal proceedings (for their own case). In particular, what seems to be remarkable is the affirmation according to which “in the application of this Directive, where the victim is a child, the child’s best interests shall be a primary consideration and shall be assessed on an individual basis. A child-sensitive approach, taking due account of the child’s age, maturity, views, needs and concerns, shall prevail” (art 1). Then, it continues recalling that “The child and the holder of parental responsibility or other legal representative, if any, shall be informed of any measures or rights specifically focused on the child”. Special attention is given here to child victim or underage victims, not depending on the crime they have suffered, stressing the need for “a child-sensitive approach” able to consider the age of victims along with other fundamental characteristics like “maturity, views, needs and concerns”. It means to consider youth not merely as the exit of biological factors but to contem-

⁵ Available at: <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?qid=1421925131614&uri=CELEX:32012L0029>, assessed 15.9.2014.

plate also the variety of psychological, social and cultural components it implies; therefore, to protect victims from harm and to support them in responding to the offences they have experienced all these factors should be taken in account by the justice system together with victims' relatives (if possible). From this moment on, the notion of vulnerability becomes the key word for a new interpretation of victimization processes, being referred to the origin of victimization but, at the same time, to the results of this condition. More importantly, vulnerability is seen to depend not just on personal or psychological characteristics but equally on all those social conditions able to cause harm and suffering to individuals and groups as well, juveniles or adults, like iniquity, power abuse and violence, poverty, misrecognition, exploitation, discrimination and marginalization. Vulnerability is here considered a "social construct", this change in the representation of victimization implying directly the intervention of society in prevention, supporting and taking care of people who are victimized.

Actually, the whole spectrum of all these provisions clearly shows the outstanding attention of EU and international agencies on victims' rights and their implementation. But talking about this issue more concretely, some distinctions have to be made, as the rights to protection, to participation, to justice and to reparation are actually not subject to the same degree of consensus, as scholars critically pointed out. In particular, the right to participation seems to be really implemented: "(...) while it is broadly acknowledged that victims ought to be entitled to protection during the criminal process and some form of reparation as a result of their victimization, the idea of participatory rights in trials or sentencing procedures is still contentious, with any such 'right' still very much in the developmental stage" (Doak, 2009: 33). Probably we would say it is not really surprising, given that "(...) the objectives of the criminal justice system have traditionally been expressed in terms which primarily concern the relationship between the state and the offender", to use exactly the words in Recommendation n. 85(11): "ever since the state took over from the victim the task of preserving law and order and keeping peace, concern for its predecessor" (that is, the victim) in administering criminal justice has been lacking (Schafer, 1977: 20). As Wemmers states, "the result of this transformation is that today the criminal justice process in common-law systems is founded on the state laying charges against the accused. Victims are witnesses to crimes against the state" (Wemmers, 2012: 74). During the last

centuries victims have known a progressive estrangement from criminal proceedings, experiencing a sort of expulsion from the criminal justice system: the representation on that stage concerns different actors as principals – the judge, the accused and the prosecutor – but not victims, who nevertheless “continued to be the ‘cause’ or ‘reason’ for the criminal procedure” (Schafer, 1977: 22). As Christie suggests, victims were left literally “waiting at the doorstep” (Christie, 2010: 116), where they still are indeed. Therefore the UN and EU provisions sound very interesting to our ears, soliciting some more reflections.

About uncomfortable roles: to be a victim in the Italian juvenile criminal justice system

Recently in Italy some important steps have been done to protect victims' rights, thus demonstrating the attention politicians and the legal system dedicate to such a (very fashionable and “catchy”) issue. This is particularly true with regards to so called ‘special groups’ of victims being – almost formally – entitled to benefit from a sort of special legislation for crimes of great social concern: i.e. victims of domestic violence, sexual assault, terrorism, mafia and organized crime, exploitation and racket. In some cases procedures to guarantee victims' participation in criminal proceedings have been reinforced, and sometimes partially extended, obviously without implying an authentic, deep hypothesis of “rethinking” victims' roles and their expectations in the criminal justice system.

But there are contexts in which the position of victims of crime is still quite different, not really the most “comfortable” one: so is for their role inside the juvenile criminal justice system, a very “special proceeding” represented and detailed in DPR n. 448 enforced in 1988, approving *Disposizioni sul processo penale a carico di imputati minorenni*⁶ (along with D. Lgs. n. 272 *Norme di attuazione, di coordinamento e transitorie del DPR 22 settembre 1988, n. 448*⁷), where some ambiguities in the implementation of victims' fundamental rights clearly appear. No matter if victims are adults or minors like the offender, as it seems to be very frequent today.

⁶ Available at: <http://www.altalex.com/index.php?idnot=54034>, assessed 10.9.2014.

⁷ Available at: http://www.csm.it/quadrerni/quad_26.pdf, assessed 10.9.2014.

Nowadays, it is well known that in a growing number of crimes involving underage offenders their victims are of the same age (Cops, Pleysier, 2014), which means they are peers: i.e. in case of bullying at school or on the Internet, robbery, personal assault, extortion, menace or threat, rape and sexual abuse. But this very evident, obvious remark nevertheless implies serious consequences, being the Italian Juvenile Criminal Code (DPR n. 448/1988⁸) built on two basic principles explicitly recalling the *United Nations Standard Minimum Rules for the Administration of Juvenile Justice ('The Beijing Rules'*, n. 40/33, 29 November 1985⁹): the need to decide and act always in the name of child's best interests and the need to support effectively and continuously the well-balanced, solid and positive development of minor's personality ("1. Fundamental perspectives: (...) 1.2 Member States shall endeavour to develop conditions that will ensure for the juvenile a meaningful life in the community, which, during that period in life when she or he is most susceptible to deviant behaviour, will foster a process of personal development and education that is as free from crime and delinquency as possible"). Clearly, those principles are addressed to underage offenders, not to their victims. In fact, according to the Juvenile Criminal Code priority shall be given to support and protect juvenile offenders during all the stages in the penal process, in order to prevent, reduce and limit every eventual stigmatization resulting in the contact with the criminal justice (and judiciary) system. It is well known that minors' personality development is easy to be influenced by external opinions; negative labels such as "delinquent", "sex offender", "inmate" are extremely dangerous for the consequences they can produce on their own self image, their self esteem and on future social conducts, too. In this perspective it is necessary to prevent underage offenders to adhere to a negative stigmatization and to avoid their identification with negative labels. Aim of the judiciary system is also, indirectly, to prevent that they become a target of social blame by the community, or a target of social blame, discredit and exclusion, as this social dynamic influences unfavourably their growth, their personal and social identity, present relationships and future relations (Fadiga, 2006; Dalla Libera, Vezzadini, 2010). Minors' education and socialization are thus considered of prior importance; other interests are not allowed to intervene, representing

⁸ Available at: http://www.regione.abruzzo.it/procuraminori/docs/legislazione/DPR_448_88.pdf, assessed 15.9.2014.

⁹ Available at: <http://www.ncjrs.gov/pdffiles1/Digitization/145271NCJRS.pdf>, assessed: 25.9.2014.

an obstacle to the expected result of keeping and promoting the well-being of the juvenile (Moro, 2002).

In any case, there are no doubts that victims have their own interests, and many times they diverge from the one mentioned above. For this reason they are often aware of a clear limitation to their participation in criminal proceedings: we are not exaggerating when stating that they frequently become invisible to the legal system.

Other times, on the contrary, their participation is seen by judges as necessary condition to help and support in the best manner the underage offender's feelings of responsibility. In this perspective it is important to remember that DPR n. 448/1988 introduced in Italy through articles 28 and 29 the *messaggio alla prova*, a measure very similar to probation. Moreover, through article 27 it introduced the *irrilevanza del fatto*, implying the possibility to stop the proceeding every time the wrong is considered by the judge (in accordance with the prosecutor) first as mild and, secondarily, as result of an occasional conduct (it means: not a result of an habit to delinquency). In any case, the Court shall consider pedagogic interest as prior, so victims are not infrequently asked to cooperate becoming useful in the very literal sense to the aim of juvenile well-being and socialization.

The Italian Juvenile Criminal Code assures the protection and safeguard to underage offenders in the penal process through peculiar legal guarantees: 1) the right to be processed and judged before special courts, by specialized judges and prosecutors, where "specialized" means specially qualified and trained to work inside the juvenile (criminal and civil) justice system; 2) the right to chamber trial 3) the right to special hearing; 4) the right to privacy; 5) the right to be psychologically and emotionally supported by relatives, experts in pedagogic disciplines or by the legal ward during the all steps in the criminal proceeding ("14. Competent authority to adjudicate: (...) 14.2 The proceedings shall be conducive to the best interests of the juvenile and shall be conducted in an atmosphere of understanding which shall allow the juvenile to participate therein and to express herself or himself freely" – see again '*The Beijing Rules*').

Things are definitely different for victims, especially for underage victims. An attempt to explain such a paradox could be found looking at the legal definition for "victims", being first and foremost considered the direct witnesses of the crime. If the offence is seen primarily as a violation against the state and only marginally against individual human rights, it is easier to understand

why there are so few provisions on supporting and protecting victims inside criminal proceedings. According to the law (see art. 31 DPR 448/88, and art. 90 of the Italian Procedural Penal Code¹⁰), victims are allowed to present written memories and indicate probationary elements. They also shall receive formal communication of primary judicial hearing. Other than that, there is not much one can do – irrespective of whether one is being legal assisted (or not) by a lawyer. On the contrary, it is rather interesting to notice that victims are not allowed to enter into a civil lawsuit - while it is allowed for adults on trial – which can be considered contrary to the pedagogic principles inspiring the juvenile criminal justice system (art. 10 DPR 448/1988).

So, even if the victim and the offender are both minors, their situation before the law is completely different. According to the Chart of Noto, what is positive concerning young victims of sexual abuse, rape and exploitation, is the implementation of particular legal measures to protect, cover and defend the safeguard of more fragile victims explicitly required. For example, protected hearings before the judge and supported by experts in pedagogic and psychological matters are clearly required by law. Again, when possible, participation of victims' relatives is considered absolutely important in order to assure emotional support (art. 392 co. 1-bis CPP; art. 398, co. 5-bis CPP; art. 190-bis CPP; art. 498 CPP¹¹). However, it must be noticed that the "special attention" recalled by law could sometime produce unexpected consequences depending on the fact that theory does not always correspond to practice: gathering evidence before a criminal trial occurs only if previously required i.e. by prosecutor or by victims (or, again, their lawyers), but experience demonstrates that this relevant legal instrument is frequently not really implemented¹². It could happen that young victims of sexual abuse come to the hearing for the first time during the debate before the Court, where a vast public is waiting for their testimony: judges and prosecutor, lawyers and theirs assistants, offenders' relatives, policemen, people from the chancellor's office, students from faculties of Law or Social sciences there to do their practice. And, of course, the offender – or sometimes the offenders (plural).

¹⁰ Codice di Procedura Penale, parte prima, available at: <http://www.legislationline.org/documents/section/criminal-codes>, assessed 24.9.2014.

¹¹ Codice di Procedura Penale, Parte prima, available at: <http://www.legislationline.org/documents/section/criminal-codes>, assessed 24.9.2014.

¹² The author has spent six years (from 2008 to 2013) as Special Judge in the Juvenile Criminal Court of the Emilia Romagna Region, located in the city of Bologna.

It seems to be superfluous to say that on that very peculiar 'stage' emotions experienced by victims are not allowed to be expressed: the representation of personal feelings is not an interest of criminal proceedings in general, but it shall be considered with more attention – very carefully – in trials involving underage offenders. Moreover, there is no doubt that the expression of feelings like shame, blame, humiliation, anger, rage or vengeance could contribute to creating new prejudices against victims, blaming them for their conduct (Ryan, 1971) or suddenly driving away the initial sympathy for their sad story (van Dijk, 2009). In other cases emotions could even affect the validity of testimony and throw a shadow of doubt on the victim's reliability. In any case, the (public) hearing could become easily a traumatic event in itself: a secondary victimization is often waiting in the courts.

Lack of culture, lack of justice

Of course, bad functioning of justice systems is the most common and 'automatic' answer in replying to a very classic question: why does this happen? In order to try to explain those unfair outputs, several critical issues could be listed: 1) huge number of cases to be prepared and discussed before the Court (with regard to juvenile criminal courts it shall be remembered that they have in general a very wide territorial judiciary competence, operating on the basis of geographical regions as it is in the case of Emilia Romagna); 2) short time to work with the necessary attention; 3) possible inexperience of some juvenile judges, due most of the time to the high turnover inside the juvenile justice system; 4) lawyers' oversights or incompetence; 5) lack of institutional agencies formally required to inform victims about their rights and opportunities to participate in criminal proceedings (Vezzadini, 2013).

All these issues seem to have something important in common: the complete absence of a wide, deep and rooted victim culture in Italy. This observation could probably also help to explain several paradoxes occurring when talking about victims of crime: they have no place in criminal courts and no legal opportunities to express their needs but, at the same time, their sad stories of pain and suffering are on the front page of local and national newspapers. Often forgotten or definitely invisible for the judicial system, victims are the 'guest stars' in shows, on crime TV channels and on the website, raising the ratings every time they appear for an interview (Fattah, 1992; Garland, 2002;

Simon, 2007). Looking at victimization processes, the very paradox is that the difficulty of victims to be recognized by the legal system and to obtain justice seems to be deeply rooted, first, in the wide lack of cognition about their condition and their legitimate expectations; and, second, in the tragic lack of sensibility and respect devoted to their emotions: that is why, as affirmed by Elias "we must examine the cultural sources of that ambivalence" (Elias, 1986: 13).

Indeed, the look society turns to victims of crime is ambivalent; and, as a result, many times inevitably ambiguous. In this perspective society, culture, politics and the judicial system frequently employ prejudices and stereotypes to legitimate a useful distinction between victims who need and 'deserve' special protection and victims who '(maybe) do not really need or deserve it'. Some authors defined this 'unfair juxtaposition' in terms of ideal victims vs. real victims (Christie, 1986) remarking that the risks in such a distinction are completely unable to recognize, represent and offer support to the very complexity of victims' condition: on the contrary, as Bouris states, "a discourse of the gray victims never denies the victim status of the individual. It reaffirms the humanity of all victims" (Bouris, 2007: 7), focusing on the notion of dignity and positioning it at the center of politics and interventions. Actually, the many disadvantages and obstacles victims usual meet in the attempt to affirm their fundamental human rights before the law prepare for a secondary victimization directly imparted by those institutions which should take care of more vulnerable people: which is exactly the opposite to the recommendations of EU and UN provisions and therefore rather difficult to understand – and justify.

Judicial discretion for a more fair justice to victims

Aware of the possible unlawful consequences originating from the concrete implementation of rules and concerned about the many risks of distortion, the Juvenile Criminal Court of the Emilia Romagna Region recently considered some EU provisions on the implementation of restorative justice measures to promote a fair justice to all the subjects involved in criminal proceedings¹³, first including victims of crime. Along with the well-being and the

¹³ See i.e.: EU Recommendation no. R. (85)11, that "recommends the governments of member states to examine the possible advantages of mediation and conciliation schemes"; EU Recommendation no. R. (87)21, second paragraph, that encourage "the development of

re-education of underage offenders, the aims to promote are the following: 1) to encourage and support a more significant participation for victims in the criminal proceeding; 2) to consider and give voice to victims' needs and requests, without forgetting their emotions; and 3) to develop resolutions to reduce the negative consequences – material, financial, psychological and emotional – of the crime.

To this end, penal judges of the Juvenile Criminal Court started applying in the case of victims – in particular when they are minors, too – the fundamental principle of judicial discretion traditionally considered exclusively with regards to juvenile offenders. Victims shall receive attention first as individuals who suffered from a crime, despite their primary position in the juvenile criminal justice system as witnesses. Focus shall be on their (violated) human dignity. Of course judicial discretion could assume different modalities according to the peculiarities of cases to be discussed before the Court. Victims could be gently encouraged during their testimony to express feelings about victimization, supported by relatives or even experts, if necessary. Sometimes it could result in the decision to stop narration of dramatic events when it evidently causes too much harm and suffering to victims; in these circumstances the Court could decide not to gather the complete testimony (even if nece-

diversion and mediation procedures" paying appropriate attention to "the rights and interests of the minor as well as to those of the victim"; EU *Recommendation no. R(99)19* on mediation in penal matter; *Framework Decision in 2001*, art. 10 on "Penal mediation in the course of criminal proceedings: 1. Each Member State shall seek to promote mediation in criminal cases for offences which it considers appropriate for this sort of measure. 2. Each Member State shall ensure that any agreement between the victim and the offender reached in the course of such mediation in criminal cases can be taken into account"; EU *Recommendation Rec. 2006(8)*, art. 13 on "Mediation: 13.1. Taking into account the potential benefits of mediation for victims, statutory agencies should, when dealing with victims, consider, where appropriate and available, the possibilities offered for mediation between the victim and the offender, in conformity with Committee of Ministers' Recommendation no. R. (99)19 on mediation in criminal matters. 13.2. The interests of victims should be fully and carefully considered when deciding upon and during a mediation process. Due consideration should be given not only to the potential benefits but also to the potential risks for the victim. 13.3. Where mediation is envisaged, states should support the adoption of clear standards to protect the interests of victims. These should include the ability of the parties to give free consent, issues of confidentiality, access to independent advice, the possibility to withdraw from the process at any stage and the competence of mediators"; Directive 2012/29/EU, "Restorative justice services, including for example victim-offender mediation, family group conferencing and sentencing circles, can be of great benefit to the victim, but require safeguards to prevent secondary and repeat victimization, intimidation and retaliation. Such services should therefore have as a primary consideration the interests and needs of the victim, repairing the harm done to the victim and avoiding further harm".

ssary to sentencing) to defend and preserve the dignity of the person. Other times, with respect to extremely serious offences, judges could decide (under their legal responsibility) to leave the accused on the day of the process to wait in a different, separate room of the Court, in order to avoid the dramatic possibility of victims and offenders having to share space and wait for their turn before entering the court room – as it is very common, indeed. Finally, the most important modality judiciary discretion assumes has to do with the implementation of restorative justice measures with special attention to victims of crime, instead of focusing exclusively on underage offenders.

But why are we speaking about “(judicial) discretion” with respect to the implementation of restorative justice measures? The reasons are more than one. First because the Italian juvenile criminal spectrum of rules never recalls clearly this opportunity: victim-offender mediation (as for other restorative justice measures) is not directly mentioned in DPR n. 448/1988 or again in further provisions on juvenile criminal justice. Inside the juvenile criminal law the opportunity to implement restorative justice measures appears just indirectly in art. 28 on *messa alla prova*, stipulating that “during the proceedings the judge could dispose of provisions aimed to repair the consequences of the offence and to favour the underage offender reconciliation with the victim of crime”¹⁴. From a positive point of view, one can assume that an extensive interpretation of this article offers the opportunity to act in the direction suggested by EU and UN provisions. Nevertheless a double critical remark is necessary. In fact, the article reports “the judge could dispose” - not using more prescriptive verbs. This means that judges are free to choose whether or not to consider this choice. They are not compelled by law and indeed judicial discretion works exactly in this way. Then, the same article of law is imbalanced in favour of underage offenders, affirming literally that the aim of those measures is to promote their reconciliation *with* the victim: not *between* them! By law, priority is given to juvenile offenders, reducing victim’s role as a ‘background actor’ also on the restorative justice scene.

For all these reasons the attention dedicated to victims of crime by penal judges of the Emilia Romagna Juvenile Criminal Court is something almost

¹⁴ See art. 28 DPR n. 448/1988, co. 2: “Con il medesimo provvedimento il giudice può impartire prescrizioni dirette a riparare le conseguenze del reato e a promuovere la conciliazione del minorenne con la persona offesa dal reato”.

new,¹⁵ although very precious for the future construction of a more widespread victim culture.

The results of the study briefly reported below offer an example of the ways this approach has been employed from 2008 to 2013¹⁶, helping to analyse its strong as well as weak points.

The research concerns a sample of 33 dossiers including different types of restorative justice projects for underage offenders on probation, from 2008 to 2013. The analysis offers the opportunity to explore four main areas of interest concerning: the Juvenile Justice System; the offences subjected to restorative justice measures; the relationship between victims and offenders; and finally the results of restorative justice implementation. In particular, several points could be discussed: a) conditions under which the Juvenile Criminal Court (JCC) decides to include restorative justice measures (RJM) in probation projects; b) modalities of relationship and co-operation between the JCC and the Centers for Mediation (CM) working on the territory; c) ways restorative justice measures are chosen by judiciary and/or social actors (judges, prosecutors, juvenile social services); d) aims to be reached; e) typologies of restorative justice measures implemented; f) attention to victims of crime and modalities it will assume to the end of promoting a concrete participation during criminal proceedings.

As noticed, there are 33 dossiers sent by the JCC to the CM that favour the implementation of restorative justice measures. Looking at the distribution of dossiers during the years, it must be observed that their number has significantly increased in more recent years. Most of the cases are sent to the CM by the Juvenile Criminal Court, but a very important effort in this direction is also coming from Juvenile Social Services – Ministry of Justice, while other judicial

¹⁵ Examples of this attention to victims of crimes in implementing restorative justice measures could be find in Italy also in the Juvenile Criminal Court of Milano, Torino, Trento and Bari.

¹⁶ The data presented in this contribution have never been published before. They are part of a more wide study concerning the position of victims of crime inside criminal proceedings in the Italian justice system, conducted directly by the author of this paper. In particular, presented data were collected during the time she spent as Special Judge in the Juvenile Criminal Court in Bologna, where she has served in the debate before the Court and, later, in the preliminary hearing phase. Actually, the time here considered is exactly coincident to the six years she worked as Special Judge (2008-2013). It is important to consider that the author also compared the data, to the aim of reaching a more deep comprehension, to those of the Italian Center for mediation in Bologna, where she works as mediator since 2001 (suspended the collaboration during the years in the Court). Preliminary consideration on this topic have been published in Vezzadini, (2013).

authorities (i.e., the Juvenile General Attorney) did not send any. Requests for implementing RJM are more frequent during preliminary hearings before the judge (24 cases) than during the debate (9 cases), thus implying little contact with the criminal justice system for both victims and offenders.

With respect to the types of crimes and offenses for which the judge considers RJM relevant, they are against the individual and the property with no differences: in the first category, there are personal injuries/assault and battery (11 cases), menace/threat (9), sexual abuse and rape (6), unlawful imprisonment/kidnapping (1), slander/calumny (1); in the second one, robbery (10 cases), extortion (9), theft/burglary (8), damages to public property (2). It can be noticed that in many cases both categories of crime (violent crimes against the individual and against property) come up in the wrong, producing various types of offences to victims: i.e., personal serious injuries often accompanied robbery; menace or threat are aimed at extortion, just like slander and calumny, or sometime they accompanied theft and burglary. The application of legal discretion seems here to find a 'fil rouge' most in the harm victims suffered. This (re)cognition appears to be in fact of relevant importance for decisions taken by the judge on the types of cases to ask for the implementation of restorative justice measures.

Looking at the gender of victims and offenders, we observe that it is most frequently male. Offenders' age ranges from 15 to 17 years old; victims are often of the same age but in several cases they are over 18 (from 18 to 35 years old). In the vast majority, both victims and offenders are Italian but some differences emerge: in nine cases victims are Italian, but not the offenders; in one case the offender is Italian, but not the victim; and in five cases they are both not Italian, coming from other countries.

Finally, some remarks on the implementation of restorative justice programs. Written letters of apology are the most common measure, resulting in 17 cases. This probably depends on the fact that mediation (direct or indirect) seems more difficult to implement, just like other modalities; therefore, a written letter of apology is preferred either as first preliminary contact between the offender and the victim and, secondarily, as an attempt to successively restore the offence. But in many cases (about 15), it has been impossible to concretely proceed to any forms of contact between the juvenile offender and his/her victim and to implement a mediation. There are various explanations for that: i.e., victims were too young to meet directly their offender(s); they did not want to have any further contacts with the

offenders, apart from the criminal proceeding; they were not interested in restorative justice; finally, it was impossible to find them because they changed address, were abroad or no-one knew about them. Of course, the chancellor's office of the Juvenile Criminal Court was not really the agency deputy to search for them; again, most of the time the centers for mediation did not have their references anyway. Such an impasse would be easily overcome in other countries thanks to the intervention of victims support centers that facilitate contacts among the justice system, centers for mediation and victims of crime. But despite the EU legislation on this specific matter¹⁷, there are no victim support centers in Italy (a part from the ones in Milano or Torino); so is not infrequent that the judicial interest and the clear will of penal judges in the Juvenile Criminal Court is not enough to guarantee victims of crime a wider and more concrete participation.

Conclusion

What concluding observations can we draw from the results presented above? With respect to the years here examined, an important and substantial cultural change among penal judges in the Juvenile Criminal Court in Bologna (Dalla Libera, Vezzadini, 2010) can be noticed. They consider restorative justice as a measure in favour of victims harm's recognition and as a measure to promote their dignity as persons through participation. In this perspective, restorative justice has been interpreted as a way to make and establish justice; and, as everyone knows, the idea of justice has much to do with the position and the requests of victims in the social system more in general. The risks of vengeance through participation are not contemplated at all; on the contrary, juvenile criminal judges believed in a more fair justice to victims, focusing on the necessity to avoid humiliation, revenge and resentment. Actually, penal judges assume restorative justice as an approach offering the chance to move their attention towards victims of crime – instead of being focused exclusively on juvenile offenders – and thus promoting a fairer justice for all the people involved.

Unfortunately, the research shows something else as well: it gives a brief but clear picture of the lack of victim's culture still enduring in the Ita-

¹⁷ See again: Rec. 87(21); Rec. 2006(8) and Directive 2012/29/EU

lian society, as it is proved by the very high number of victims not available e.g. to mediation (direct or indirect), not understanding what it really means and how it works. Very frequently victims prefer to stay at the back and not appear as "principals", because they are worried about the unexpected consequences of such participation. So, they prefer to hide and keep silent, not being able to express their emotions. They finally accept the role that the (traditional) legal justice system has set up for them, asking from them to remain (almost) invisible.

Therefore, we need to make a common effort, first starting from our communities, to change the social image people have about victims, their rights and needs. This initial modification will reflect positively also on the image that victims have of themselves, being influenced by the social representation of their role through stereotypes and prejudices.

But this will inevitably imply a strong, hard and synergetic work – involving justice and political systems, schools and universities, the voluntary sector and the media – to join efforts of citizens as well as of legal and social operators working in the field of victimization processes, to put the notion of human dignity at the core of our reflections and actions.

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SUSANNA VEZZADINI

Biti (skoro) nevidljiv: žrtve kriminaliteta u maloletničkom krivičnom pravosuđu u Italiji

Od 2008. do 2013. godine autorka je bila specijalna sutkinja u krivičnom sudu za maloletnike Emilia Romagna regiona. Iz tog privilegovanog položaja, bilo je moguće posmatrati dinamiku načina na koji se žrtve maloletnih izvršilaca krivičnih dela tre-tiraju pred zakonom, bez obzira da li su punoletne ili maloletne. U radu su najpre analizirane odredbe Evropske unije i Ujedinjenih nacija o žrtvama kriminaliteta, a potom je analiziran normativni okvir koji podržava sistem maloletničkog krivičnog pravosuđa u Italiji sa aspekta teškoća sa kojima se žrtve suočavaju u tom specifičnom kontekstu. Primena krivičnog zakona za maloletnike pokazuje sa kakvim paradoksom žrtve kriminaliteta moraju da se izbore. Krivični sud za maloletnike u Bolonji je nedavno počeo da promoviše široku primenu mera restorativne pravde kao pokušaj da se isprave nepravedne posledice u primeni zakona, tumačeći diskreciono pravo sudija kao instrument za davanje većeg značaja prepoznavanju štete nanete žrtvi i zaštiti njihovog dostojanstva.

Ključne reči: maloletničko krivično pravosuđe, (maloletne) žrtve, diskreciono pravo sudija, restorativna pravda.

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The Aflatoxin-Affair: The Invisible Victims of Crime in the Food-Sector¹

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The aflatoxin affair is an example which can be assumed as a typical offence committed in the food sector in a globalized world. In 2013 mouldy Serbian feed was distributed by an international logistics company to Germany. The exceptional danger of aflatoxin infested feed is the carry over effect, which means that harmful substances devolve into animal products like milk. Generally speaking victims are identifiable persons who have been physically injured or suffer from financial losses or psychological damage. In contrast to e.g. victims of violence we know almost nothing about the effects of victimization as a result of offences committed in the food sector. The aim of this article is to show and discuss the possible effects of the aflatoxin scandal on consumers who have been victimized. As a result it suggests that victimization effects of offences related to food in general are ignored hitherto both by policy and criminologists.

Keywords: aflatoxin, contaminated milk, food safety, infested food and feed, white-collar crime

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Food fraud and food scandals

Food safety scandals are not a new phenomenon, neither in Europe, nor in the rest of the world. One early and prominent example was the accidental arsenic poisoning of more than 200 people in Bradford (England) in 1858, who consumed contaminated sweets (Jones, 2000), followed by a long list of scandals in the last century up to today (Lüdemann, Ohlemacher, 2002; Linzmaier, 2007; Orlamünder, 2008; The Economist, 2014). In 2013 for example there were three important topics regarding crime in the food sector: the so called "horse meat scandal" which affected almost the whole of Europe, fraud with conventionally produced eggs which were declared as organic in Germany and the aflatoxin infestation of milk and dairy products in several European countries.

Aflatoxins: feed, milk and dairy products

Aflatoxins are known to be the most carcinogenic moulds in nature. According to this, estimation the *European Food Safety Authority* states: "In consideration of the carcinogenic properties of aflatoxin B₁, human exposure should be reduced to levels as reasonable achievable" (EFSA, 2004). They are "secondary metabolites produced by species of *Aspergillus* [...], which are found worldwide in air and soil and are found to infest both living and dead plants and animals. The discovery of aflatoxins dates back to the year 1960 following the severe outbreak of the turkey 'X' disease, in the UK, which resulted in the death of more than 100000 turkeys and other farm animals" (Rustom, 1997: 57). This disease was caused by feed containing Brazilian peanuts heavily infested with *Aspergillus flavus*². One peculiarity of aflatoxin is that not only "[h]uman exposure to aflatoxins can result *directly* from ingestion of contaminated foods, [...] [but] *indirectly* from consumption of foods from animals previously exposed to aflatoxins in feeds" (Rustom, 1997: 57; my emphasis).

This indirect way of contact, the *carry over effect*, comprises a special danger for the consumer's health. Exposure to aflatoxins can cause acute hepatic necrosis, cirrhosis or carcinoma of the liver. Especially babies' and small children's health may be threatened by milk and milk products containing aflatoxins. Therefore commercial crops are routinely screened for contamination.

² The acronym aflatoxin has been formed from the following combination: 'A' for *Aspergillus*, 'FLA' for the species *flavus* and the noun 'TOXIN' for poison (Rustom, 1997: 57).

In the EU the following regulation is laid down: The Commission Regulation (EC) No 1881/2006 of 19 December 2006 setting maximum levels for certain contaminants in foodstuffs:

"As regards aflatoxins, the SCF expressed in its opinion of 23 September 1994 that aflatoxins are genotoxic carcinogens (3). Based on that opinion, it is appropriate to limit the total aflatoxin content of food (sum of aflatoxins B1, B2, G1 and G2) as well as the aflatoxin B1 content alone, aflatoxin B1 being by far the most toxic compound. For aflatoxin M1 in foods for infants and young children, a possible reduction of the current maximum level should be considered in the light of developments in analytical procedures" (European Commission, 2006).

This regulation is operative in all countries of the EU and therefore contaminated food and feed has to be destroyed. After the formal application for membership the leaders of the EU member states decided and confirmed to grant the Republic of Serbia the status of an official candidate country to the EU on 1st of March 2012. As a candidate country, Serbia is committed to acting according to EU law.

Milk can be contaminated with hydroxy-metabolite aflatoxin M₁, caused by exposure of lactating animals to aflatoxin B₁ present in foodstuff. Due to a lower carcinogenic potential, the maximum levels for aflatoxin M₁ have been set for consumable milk at 0.005 mg/kg and 0.0025 mg/kg for infant formulae (EFSA, 2004: 1).

The aflatoxin scandal

In February and March 2013, the Balkans, especially Serbia, reported problems with milk and milk products which were contaminated with aflatoxins. Presumably caused by special weather conditions during the harvest in 2012, the maize in the Republic of Serbia was infested with aflatoxins. Nonetheless the infested milk was put into circulation and the ministry tried to solve the problem by raising the maximum level from 0.005 mg/kg to 0.05 mg/kg.

Serbia itself has problems with testing agricultural products according to EU standards, because they do not have enough suitable laboratories which are able to carry out the analyses demanded. 25 tests sent to a German laboratory could not be analyzed exactly: all results were higher than 0.008 mg/kg, the maximum value for analyses (Roser, 2013).

In March 2013 the Netherlands and Germany reported problems with infested feedstuffs and milk. Eight companies in Germany processed 10000 tons of contaminated maize from Serbia, a total of 45000 tons having been imported. This corn was transported from Alfred C. Toepfer International ('product full-liner'), one of the largest commercial companies offering a comprehensive range of agricultural commodities in world trade³. The German producer of concentrated feedstuff accused Toepfer International of inadequate controls. Because the aflatoxin is located in "nests" the measured values can vary extremely within a corn batch. The maize was transported via the Danube into the Black Sea and from there to Lower Saxony in Germany (SPIEGEL-ONLINE, 2013).

In autumn of 2012 European countries had already been informed about problematic values of aflatoxin by the *Rapid Alert System for Food and Feed* (RASFF). It can be safely assumed that the problem was known in the whole agricultural sector including transportation companies. According to its own specifications the importer Alfred C. Toepfer International operates closely with the authorities. This raises the unanswered questions of why the goods had not been inspected in Serbia and who the supplier was (SPIEGEL-ONLINE, 2013).

The Federal Office of Consumer Protection and Food Safety in Germany states:

"Accurate bookkeeping is a key element to traceability in the case of problems with a particular product. The competent authorities of the Bundesländer collect official samples within the scope of their control activities if there is a risk or indication of a hazard emanating from feed. Controls are carried out at all stages of the animal feed chain. Included in the process are, for instance, [...] freightage and border entry points. [...] Specific feed, feed additives and premixes that are produced in third countries can be imported into the Community through specific border posts" (BVL, 2013).

In sum, it could be said that from early on all persons, institutions and companies involved in Serbia as well as in Germany knew about the problematic contamination of maize. This leads to two main questions: How was it possible to bring the infested feed into circulation? Why did the persons involved act in the way they did despite knowing about the dangerous levels of aflatoxins?

³ Available at: <http://www.toepfer.com>, accessed 16.4.2013.

Motives

In the author's view it can almost certainly be assumed that the aflatoxin affair was no chain of unfortunate circumstances but the result of calculating individuals. It therefore is a typical example of white-collar crime in the food sector. "Taken as a whole, the literature on the etiology and development of white-collar crime is a hodgepodge of studies looking at different crimes from different levels of analysis" (Coleman, 1987: 408).

This food and feed scandal should be explained by Coleman's theoretical assumptions about white-collar crime based on individual behaviour in combination with Sykes' and Matza's techniques of neutralization (Sykes, Matza, 1957) taking into account the legal framework.

Coleman remarks that "All types of white-collar crimes are rational calculating crimes, not crimes of passion. The goal of the vast majority of white-collar criminals is economic gain or occupational success that may lead to economic gain" (Coleman, 1987: 408). He extracts at least four factors which determine the opportunity's attractiveness: first the individual perception of how great the expected gain is, second the perception of potential risks, such as detection and severity of sanctions, third the compatibility with the individual ideas, rationalizations and beliefs and fourth a comparison of the illicit opportunity with the legal ones (Coleman, 1987: 424).

These assumptions can be summarized in the following figure:

Figure 1: The structure of opportunities

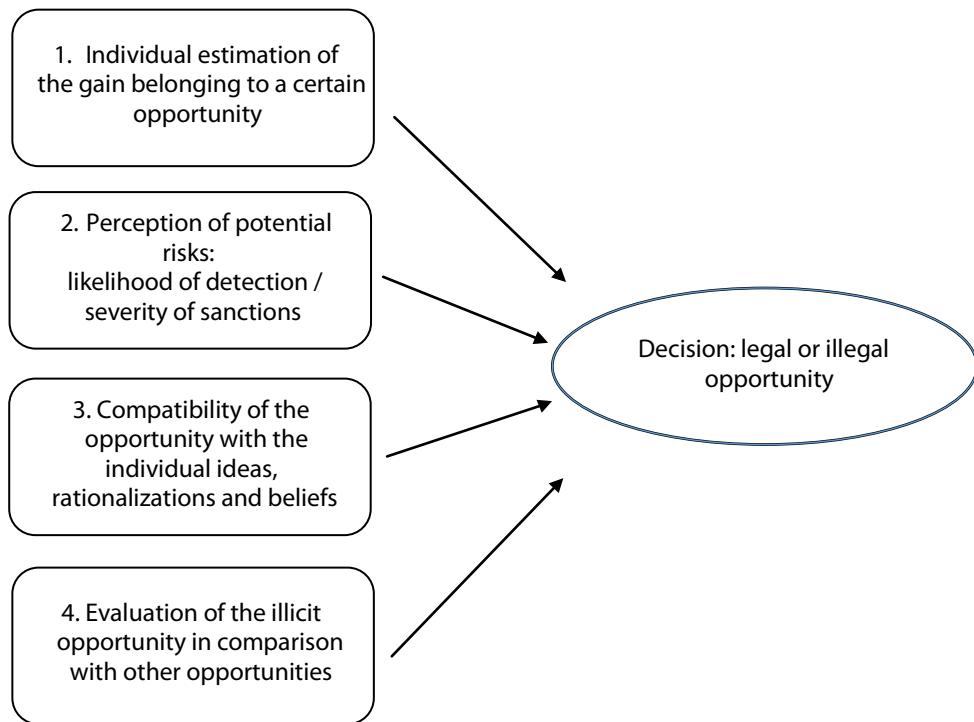


Figure made by P. Kerschke-Risch analogous to Coleman's text (1987: 424)

The decision of whether an opportunity is attractive or unattractive depends on the individual standpoint of a particular actor or group of actors (Coleman, 1987: 424).

1) Referring to the aflatoxin affair we can assume that after the harvest in 2012 Serbia had scarcely enough uncontaminated feed for their own cattle let alone for export. One large part withered as a result of drought and other parts became mouldy (Roser, 2013). In other words: Serbian producers had had nearly no legal chance to earn money with their own crops and so the illegal opportunity became attractive. Coleman further states: "A decrease in the availability or attractiveness of legitimate opportunities will normally increase the attractiveness of illegal opportunities" (Coleman, 1987: 424).

So, the Serbian farmers, who are usually small producers, were under great economic pressure: are they offenders or are they victims of the climatic changes and outdated agricultural structures and farming methods? Moreo-

ver we don't know whether the Serbian producers were aware of the aflatoxin related risks.

2) Perception of potential risks and sanctions: In the food and feed sector in general it is difficult or even impossible to prove intended criminal acts. Products can be contaminated inadvertently with producers not knowing the real origin or ingredients and so on. Another problem is that especially fresh products are consumed soon after the making or are perishable and not collectable for a longer period of time like other goods. Furthermore almost none of the contaminations can be seen or smelt and the origin of products is not visible; grain looks like grain and cannot be identified without using special analytical methods. Everyone involved in the value chain has to trust the accompanying shipping documents. If someone has doubts, this may cause difficulties for him or her or at least it would require more time. Taking this into account it is obvious that after weighing up the consequences most individuals will do nothing.

To estimate the incidence of white-collar crime is nearly impossible, to estimate crime in the food sector is nearly utopian. But there are plausible assumptions that "there are a very large number of prosecutions for street crimes, far fewer for occupational crimes, and only a handful for organizational crime" (Coleman, 1987: 426).

In the Republic of Serbia the probability of being detected and sanctioned is nearly zero, because Serbia itself has no modern laboratories of its own and cannot test food and feed according to EU standards. The areas of competence are not clear and official information about contaminated food and feed is contradictory. While the consumers are uncertain and mistrust the authorities, the offenders can be certain: they will not be accused.

3) Comparison of the opportunity with the individual ideas, rationalizations and beliefs in the aflatoxin affair: There are a lot of typical aspects referring to the phenomenon of neutralization belonging to illegal acts in the food sector: a globalized world is characterized by anonymity. Usually there is no direct connection between the producer and the consumer of food, and of course, no contact between offender and victim. This is important in order to understand the role of internalized norms. Norms are regulating human behaviour and empirical research shows that the effect of internalized norms preventing crime is higher than the effect of sanctions (Kerschke-Risch, 2004). Sykes and Matza (1957) discuss five strategies to neutralize feelings of guilt about criminal acts. It will be shown that these techniques cannot only

explain juvenile delinquency or the behaviour of white-collar criminals but especially offences in the food sector. The central ideas of neutralization are adopted to describe and explain the aflatoxin affair:

- a) *Denial of responsibility*: Different producers, employees, countries and authorities were involved in different parts of the value chain. If there are no clear structures and responsibilities most individuals will deny their own responsibility.
- b) *Denial of injury*: Involved persons assume that their acts do not cause any harm: "For the delinquent, however, wrongfulness may turn on the question of whether or not anyone has clearly been hurt by his deviance, and his matter is open to a variety of interpretations" (Sykes, Matza, 1957: 667). The Serbian minister and authorities denied that the infested milk had caused any danger, the maximum level of aflatoxin allowed was raised and a leading politician demonstrated food safety by drinking Serbian milk (SPIEGEL-ONLINE, 2013). As a consequence of these official statements none of the offenders would have had any problem in denying his or her intention to injure others. On the other hand there is no awareness of the victim's feelings and possible fears about their health and uncontaminated food.
- c) *Denial of the victim*: "...the victim is transformed in a wrong-doer [...] Insofar as the victim is physically absent, unknown, or a vague abstraction [...] the awareness of the victim's existence is weakened" (Sykes, Matza, 1957: 668). In this case unknown foreigners are the customers. In addition it can be assumed that there are a lot of people who do not understand the connection between infested maize and the carry over effect. This is a 'vague abstraction' relating to the consumers as well as to the offence, the contaminated feed and milk.
- d) *Condemnation of the condemners*: One could assume that the people in question tried to blame the EU for all the regulations and laws, especially the reference levels for food and feedstuff. Moreover there was a rumour that the EU wanted to weaken Serbian agriculture.
- e) *Appeal to higher loyalties*: "Social controls may be neutralized by sacrificing the demands of the smaller social groups to which the delinquent belongs" (Sykes, Matza, 1957: 669). The offenders might rather identify themselves with their own social group, such as their fairly poor home country and its particular norms and demands rather than with those of the EU or a foreign country like Germany.

4) Comparison of the illicit opportunity with the legal ones: It can be assumed that the illicit opportunity (selling and trading the infested maize) is advantageous for all persons involved. The contaminated feed can be sold instead of being destroyed, which means financial gain instead of loss. Coleman states in this context: "Another common rationalization holds that certain types of criminal behaviors are necessary to achieve vital economic goals or just to survive" (Coleman, 1987: 412). The risk of being detected is low as well as the risk of severe sanctions. As shown above, no one has to have a bad conscience because moral scruples can be neutralized in an easy and comprehensive manner.

Discussion

It could be shown that Coleman's assumptions in combination with the techniques of neutralization can explain the behaviour of the people involved in the aflatoxin affair. The producers barely had any other chance than to sell the contaminated maize; otherwise they would have faced immense financial losses. The logistic company wanted to transport goods as usual and therefore obtain money as usual which is obviously the inherent motive for trading and commerce. Rapid transport and reliability are important to defend one's own position in the international market. Toepfer advertises:

"For us, it is of prime importance that all commitments are met promptly and accurately. Due to our large and growing trading volume and the logistical opportunities we have available as a result, we are in a position to offer complex logistical services in conjunction with other carriers, including waterway navigation"⁴.

This shows the reciprocal dependency of the involved partners. On the other hand it is possible "that some persons become involved in organizational crimes because of their identification with the interests of their employer and not of their desires for personal success" (Coleman, 1987: 417). The adoption of Sykes' and Matza's techniques of neutralization to explain offences in the food sector corresponds to Coleman's judgement: "When convicted white-collar offenders are asked to explain their behavior, they frequently

⁴ www.toepfer.com, accessed 16.4.2013

claim that their actions did not harm anyone, and they have therefore done nothing wrong" (Coleman, 1987: 411). In other words: in the offender's opinion there are no victims.

According to the individualistic theory of behaviour, and the assumptions made in the wide version of rational choice theory, norm compliance can be explained by costs and benefits (Opp, 2013). In special cases referring to deviant behaviour in the food sector the risk of being detected is small, the risk of prosecution is almost zero and there is nearly no risk of being sentenced. Offences cannot be prevented if there is no risk of detection and simultaneously there are no internalized norms. On the other side, Serbian farmers have severe existential problems. These facts lead to the conclusion that there might not have been any other options than to trade the infested maize.

As a consequence consumers lose confidence in official statements, the authorities and the government. They are the victims, who are, if not physically, at least emotionally harmed. Especially parents of small children or babies are under a great deal of psychological pressure. There is a great need for further fundamental criminological research not only about white-collar crime in general but on crime related to the food sector. The victims of white-collar offences have been partly forgotten, the victims of food related crime still do not exist.

Recommendation for the future: what to do?

Due to global warming, it can be assumed that problems with infested feed will occur more frequently with negative consequences as discussed. The best solution to this particular problem is to prevent infestation:

"The frequent incidence of these toxins in agricultural commodities has a potential negative impact on the economies of the affected regions, especially in the developing countries where harvest and post-harvest techniques adequate for the prevention of mould growth are seldom practiced" (Rustom, 1997: 57).

The EU is challenged not only to solve these problems by supporting and supervising the candidate member Republic of Serbia, but also to protect *all* consumers concerning food related victimization in the whole of Europe.

"Enhancing food safety is important to improved health and nutrition in all countries. [...] One strategy [...] is to instruct food producers and handlers on ways to reduce aflatoxin contamination 'at source' and so encourage the adoption of process-based approaches. Some examples are good agricultural practices (GAPs) before harvest, good manufacturing practices (GMPs) after harvest, and the use of HACCP. Risk mitigation is thus achieved throughout the production, handling, and processing chain with limited impacts on the final output. [...] To minimize the risk of aflatoxin contamination and reduce the likelihood that tolerance levels will be exceeded, the private and public sectors need to consider investing in basic infrastructure related to the implementation of process-based standards such as GAPs, GMPs, and HACCP" (Cheng, 2007).

In summer 2013, after the infested maize had been seized, the logistics company Toepfer exported the feed to the US – legally, because in the US they have different limits for different animal species. The benchmark for cattle is 15 times higher than in the EU⁵. Since July 2014 Toepfer is owned by Archer Daniels Midland and renamed into ADM Germany Ltd⁶.

This can be seen as a typical example of international companies being largely unaccountable for their actions, and which are faceless and thus are irresponsible organizations.

To summarize the problems discussed, it can be concluded: while the European framework is sufficient, the feasibility to control is insufficient. In addition it is of the utmost urgency to perceive the enormous risks and extent of food related crime in general. And this is synonymous with being aware of the impact on the hitherto unknown victims, their still unknown individual perceptions and reactions. That is why we cannot only agree with Tombs and Whyte (2005: 24) who state, that there is a lack of academic attention paid to corporate crime but we can add that there is nearly a total lack of – not only academic attention – to crime in the food sector and their victims. One can avoid a lot of risks by being careful and attentive, but no one can avoid eating. Therefore everyone is a potential victim.

⁵ See more at: www.topagrar.com/news/Home-top-News-1195696.html, accessed 29.10.2014.

⁶ See more at: www.agrarheute.com/toepfer-international, accessed 28.10.2014., www.raiffeisen.com/news/artikel/30232251, accessed 29.10.2014. and www.toepfer.com/one-team-worldwide/history, accessed 29.10.2014

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Afera aflatoksin: nevidljive žrtve kriminaliteta u prehrambenom sektoru

Aflatoksin afera je primer koji se može posmatrati kao tipično krivično delo u prehrambenom sektoru u globalizovanom svetu. U 2013. godini buđava stočna hrana je iz Srbije, preko međunarodne logističke kompanije, distribuirana u Nemačku. Izuzetna opasnost od hrane zaražene aflatoksinom je prenošenje, što znači da štetne materije završavaju u proizvodima životinjskog porekla, poput mleka. Uopšteno govoreći, žrtve su osobe koje je moguće identifikovati i koje su fizički povređene, pate od finansijskih gubitaka ili psiholoških posledica. Za razliku od, na primer, žrtava nasilja, gotovo ništa se ne zna o posledicama viktimizacije koja je rezultat krivičnih dela učinjenih u prehrambenom sektoru. Cilj ovog rada je da pokaže i analizira moguće posledice aflatoksin skandala po potrošače koji su viktimirani. Kao rezultat analize, ukazano je na to da su posledice viktimizacije krivičnim delima u prehrambenom sektoru uopšteno do sada ignorisane od strane kreatora politika i kriminologa.

Ključne reči: aflatoksin, kontaminirano mleko, bezbednost hrane, zaražena hrana za ljude i stočna hrana, kriminalitet belog okovratnika.

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(14. godišnja konferencija Evropskog udruženja za kriminologiju „Kriminologija u Evropi: inspirisanost različitostima“)

Prag, Češka Republika, 10-13. septembar 2014. godine

Četrnaesta godišnja konferencija Evropskog udruženja za kriminologiju pod nazivom „*Kriminologija u Evropi: inspirisanost različitostima*“ održana je od 10. do 13. septembra 2014. godine u Pragu (Češka Republika). Organizatori ovogodišnje konferencije bili su Češko udruženje za kriminologiju, koje je osnovano 2012. godine i broji oko 150 članova, i Karlov Univerzitet, koji je osnovan još 1348. godine i predstavlja jedan od najstarijih univerziteta na svetu. Pokrovitelji Konferencije, koji su ujedno govorili na svečanom otvaranju, bili su prof. dr Helena Válková, ministarka pravde Češke Republike i dr Tomáš Hudeček, gradonačelnik Praga.

Kao i prethodnih godina, Konferencija je otvorila prostor za razmenu ideja i nalaza istraživanja iz domena kriminologije, viktimologije, penologije, kričnopravnog sistema, kriminalne politike, sociologije, ali i psihologije, nauke o bolestima zavisnosti, radu policije i slično. U fokus konferencije bilo je razmatranje različitosti koje postoje na evropskom tlu, koje, kako su i sami organizatori naveli, predstavlja jedinstvenu laboratoriju za analizu i objašnjenje odnosa između različitih kriminalnih politika, stanja kriminaliteta i promena u društvenim uslovima, a sve u cilju traganja za onim što je zajedničko za stope kriminaliteta, uzroke kriminaliteta i kriminalne politike u Evropi i promišljanja o koherentnoj evropskoj kriminologiji.

Prema podacima organizatora¹, Konferencija je okupila 1078 učesnika iz evropskih i vanevropskih država (SAD, Australije, Japana, Kine, Kolumbije, Brazila, Novog Zelanda, Nigerije i Južne Koreje), koji su imali izlaganja u okviru pet plenarnih sesija, 226 tematskih sesija u kojima je prezentovano 799 radova, i 45 poster prezentacija. Interesantno je navesti da je među učesnicima konferencije bilo više žena (57%) nego muškaraca (43%). Kada je u pitanju struktura učesnika prema državama sa prostora Evrope, zapaža se veliki udio učesnika iz Velike Britanije (čak 208), a potom iz Nemačke, Holandije, Belgije, Švajcarske i tako dalje. Broj učesnika iz zemalja istočne Evrope se postepeno povećava, mada je on još uvek manji u odnosu na broj učesnika iz zapadnoevropskih država. Najzad, postepeno se povećava i broj učesnika sa prostora bivše Jugoslavije, pa su i ove godine na Konferenciji izlaganja imale kolege i koleginice iz Bosne i Hercegovine, Hrvatske, Slovenije i Srbije. Među učesnicima iz Srbije, koji su prezentovali svoje rade u okviru tematskih sesija, bile su prof. dr Vesna Nikolić-Ristanović, direktorka Viktimološkog društva Srbije i redovna profesorka na Fakultetu za specijalnu edukaciju i rehabilitaciju Univerziteta u Beogradu i dr Sanja Ćopić, predsednica Upravnog odbora Viktimološkog društva Srbije i naučna saradnica u Institutu za kriminološka i sociološka istraživanja. Uz to, prof. dr Đorđe Ignjatović, redovni profesor na Pravnom fakultetu Univerziteta u Beogradu, predstavio je svoj koautorski rad u formi poster prezentacije.

Plenarna izlaganja na ovogodišnjoj konferenciji bila su posvećena sledećim temama: kriminalitet u tranziciji, ključni izazovi savremene kriminološke teorije, zloupotreba narkotika, tržište droge i kontrola, i izazovi migracionih tokova i kriminalitet. Na prvoj plenarnoj sesiji, koja je bila posvećena kriminalitetu u tranziciji, s posebnim fokusom na zemlje centralne Evrope, izlaganja su imali prof. dr Jiri Burianek, sa Karlovog Univerziteta u Pragu, koji je govorio o iskustvu tranzicije u Češkoj, i prof. dr Emil Pływaczewski sa Univerziteta Białystok iz Poljske, koji je govorio o problemima tranzicije i savremenim trendovima kriminaliteta u centralnoj i istočnoj Evropi, fokusirajući se na ključne političke i organizacione izazove i njihove posledice na stopu kriminaliteta, oblike i strukturu kriminaliteta, strah od kriminaliteta i slično.

U okviru druge plenarne sesije učesnicima se obratio predsednik Evropskog udruženja za kriminologiju prof. dr Michael Tonry iz SAD, koji je govorio o trendovima kriminaliteta u Evropi i SAD. U okviru ove sesije uručene

¹ Podaci dostupni na: <http://www.eurocrim2014.com>, pristupljeno 23. januara 2015. godine.

su i nagrade Evropskog udruženja za kriminologiju: Evropska kriminološka nagrada, koju je dobio prof. dr Dario Melossi, redovni profesor kriminologije na Pravnom fakultetu Univerziteta u Bolonji i to za doprinos razvoju kriminologije, i nagrada mladom kriminologu, koju je dobio dr Barak Ariel iz Izraela.

Treća plenarna sesija bila je posvećena ključnim pitanjima savremene kriminološke teorije. Prvo izlaganje imao je prof. dr Per-Olof Wikström sa Univerziteta Cambridge iz Velike Britanije, koji je prisutne upoznao sa situacionom akcionom teorijom, koja je razvijena kako bi se prevazišli problemi fragmentisanja i slabog integriranja ključnih kriminoloških uvida. Nadovezujući se na ovo izlaganje, prof. dr Dirk Enzmann sa Univerziteta Hamburg iz Nemačke istakao je značaj socijalnih konteksta u kriminološkoj teoriji, apostrofirajući da kriminološka teorija treba da integriše makro sociološke procese kako bi se objasnile varijacije u stopama kriminaliteta kroz vreme i to sagledalo u globalnoj perspektivi.

Četvrta plenarna sesija bavila se pitanjima tržišta droga i politikom suszbijanja kriminaliteta povezanog sa drogama. Na ovoj sesiji izlaganja su imali prof. dr Alex Stevens sa Univerziteta Kent u Velikoj Britaniji i prof. dr Letizia Paoli sa Univerziteta Leuven iz Belgije. Najzad, peta plenarna sesija bila je posvećena ispitivanju veza između migracionih tokova i mobilnosti i pojave novih formi i tržišta kriminaliteta, s posebnim fokusom na organizovani kriminalitet i kriminalitet u vezi sa drogama. Na ovoj sesiji govorile su prof. dr Dina Siegel sa Univerziteta Utrecht iz Holandije i prof. dr Sandra Bucerius sa Univerziteta Alberta iz Kanade.

Zapaženo mesto tokom Konferencije imale su viktimoške teme. Nekoliko sesija bilo je posvećeno njima, od čega je dve sesije organizovala Radna grupa za viktimalogiju, koja je tokom Konferencije održala sastanak na kome su se, između ostalog, razmatrali predlozi tematskih sesija za narednu konferenciju Evropskog udruženja za kriminologiju². Sesije posvećene viktimoškim temama bavile su se položajem žrtava u krivičnopravnom sistemu i programima restorativne pravde, pravima i podrškom žrtvama, strahom od kriminaliteta; potom, žrtvama pojedinih oblika viktimalizacije, kao što su rodno bazirano nasilje, posebno nasilje u porodici i seksualno nasilje, zatim, trgovina ljudima, proganjanje, nasilje u školama i slično, i viktimalizacijom pojedinih kategorija građana, kao što su odrasle i stare osobe, mladi, veterani i tako dalje.

² Sastanku Radne grupe za viktimalogiju prisustvovala je prof. dr Vesna Nikolić-Ristanović, koja je tokom konferencije prisustvovala i sastancima Izvršnog odbora Evropskog udruženja za kriminologiju.

U okviru jedne od dve tematske sesije koje su bile posvećene projektu European Sourcebook of Crime and Criminal Justice Statistics, prof. dr Vesna Nikolić-Ristanović je prezentovala koautorski rad pod nazivom "Experiences of Serbia in Collecting Data on Crime and Criminal Justice for the European Sourcebook (5th Edition)" (koautorke dr Sanja Ćopić i mr Ljiljana Stevković). U radu su predstavljena iskustva u prikupljanju podataka o kriminalitetu i krivičnom pravosuđu u Srbiji za peto izdanje Evropske knjige podataka o statistici kriminaliteta i krivičnog pravosuđa i ukazano je na neke trendove kriminaliteta i opservacije koje se odnose na policijsku statistiku. U okviru tematske sesije koja se bavila različitim pitanjima viktimizacije, dr Sanja Ćopić je prezentovala koautorski rad pod nazivom "Conflicts, Victimization and Justice in the Intercultural Context: the Case of Serbia" (koautori-koautorke prof. dr Vesna Nikolić-Ristanović, dr Inge Vanhraechem, dr Nikola Petrović i Bejan Šaćiri). U radu je dat kratak osvrt na projekat ALTERNATIVE koji koordinira Katholieke Universiteit Leuven (Belgija), koji finansira Evropska unija u okviru Sedmog okvirnog programa Evropske komisije za istraživanja i tehnološki razvoj (FP7)³, a u kome je Viktimološko društvo Srbije jedan od partnera. Uz to, predstavljen je deo nalaza empirijskog istraživanja međuetničkih sukoba i načina na koji se građani bave njima u tri multietničke sredine u Srbiji: Medveđi, Prijeplju i Baču i Bačkoj palanci, koje je Viktimološko društvo Srbije sprovelo 2013. godine u okviru istraživanja pod nazivom *Podsticanje dijaloga u multietničkom društvu uz osnaživanje žrtava*⁴.

Pored ovih sesija, autorka ovog prikaza prisustvovala je i sesijama koje su se bavile restorativnom pravdom, terapeutskim uticajem naknade štete na žrtve u slučajevima interpersonalnog kriminaliteta i krivičnih dela protiv čovečnosti, razvijanju politika suzbijanja kriminaliteta maloletnika koje su zasnovane na empirijskim dokazima. U okviru sesije o restorativnoj pravdi posebno interesantno i inspirativno bilo je izlaganje prof. dr Otmar Hagemann-a sa Univerziteta Kiel iz Nemačke, koji je predstavio projekat primene restorativne pravde u zatvorima u nekoliko evropskih država, fokusirajući se

³ Projekat ALTERNATIVE ima za cilj da, uz pomoć empirijskih dokaza iz četiri zemlje u kojima se sprovode akciona istraživanja (Srbija, Austrija, Mađarska i Severna Irska) o načinima bavljenja konfliktima u interkulturnim kontekstima demokratskih društava, omogući alternativno i produbljeno razumevanje pravde i bezbednosti. Više o projektu ALTERNAIVE videti na www.alternativeproject.eu i na internet stranici Viktimološkog društva Srbije www.vds.org.rs.

⁴ Ceo istraživački izveštaj dostupan je na http://www.vds.org.rs/File/Deliverable_6.2_Research_report_on_interethnic_conflicts_and_citizens_security_p.pdf.

potom na iskustvo pilotiranja ovog programa u jednoj nemačkoj provinciji. U okviru sesije o značaju naknade štete žrtvama kriminaliteta, prof. dr Jo-Anne Wemmers sa Univerziteta Montreal iz Kanade, dr Tinneke Van Camp sa Univerziteta Sheffield iz Velike Britanije i dr Jonathan Doak sa Univerziteta Durham iz Velike Britanije su, na osnovu istraživanja koje su sproveli, ukazali na to da je potreba za naknadom štete jedna od potreba žrtava kriminaliteta, te, polazeći od uvida terapeutske jurisprudencije, nastojali da ukažu na načine i vidove naknade štete, na individualnom i grupnom nivou, koji deluju u pravcu izlečenja žrtava. Najzad, sesija o potrebi razvijanja na empirijskim dokazima zasnovane politike suzbijanja kriminaliteta maloletnika, predstavljala je kombinaciju predstavljanja nalaza istraživanja o tome na koji način međunarodni standardi o maloletničkom pravosuđu treba da budu pretočeni u konkretnu akciju i istraživanja usmerenog na evaluaciju reformi i dostignuća u razvoju maloletničkog pravosuđa u Nemačkoj i Austriji. Posebno su bila interesantna izlaganja dr Ingke Goeckenjan sa Univerziteta Osnabrück iz Nemačke i Karin Bruckmueller sa Univerziteta Linz iz Austrije. Naime, ukazano je na punitivne trendove u razvoju maloletničkog zakonodavstva i prakse u Nemačkoj, kao i sve većeg upliva modela pravde u tradicionalno zaštitnički model maloletničkog pravosuđa u Austriji, što ukupno gledano nije u skladu sa postojećim međunarodnim standardima u ovoj oblasti.

Apstrakti svih izlaganja prezentovanih na ovogodišnjoj konferenciji dostupni su na www.esc-eurocrim.org/files/eurocrim-2014-book-of-abstracts-update-2014-09-13.pdf. Sledeća konferencija Evropskog udruženja za kriminologiju pod nazivom "*Criminology as unitas multiplex: theoretical, epistemological and methodological developments*" održaće se u Portu (Portugalija) od 2. do 5. septembra 2015. godine, a sve informacije su dostupne na: www.eurocrim2015.com.

DR SANJA ĆOPIĆ

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AMANDA HOLT

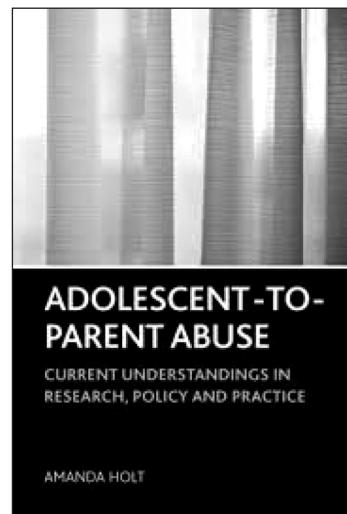
Adolescent-to-parent Abuse: Current Understandings in Research, Policy and Practice

(Nasilje maloletnika prema roditeljima: aktuelni pristupi u istraživanju, politici i praksi)

The Policy Press, University of Bristol, Bristol, UK, 2013, str. 200

Kada je u pitanju nasilje u porodici, istraživanja i dometi društvenog reagovanja su većinom usmereni na nasilnu viktimizaciju u okviru partnerskih odnosa i odnosa roditelj-dete, kada su roditelji nasilni prema svojim maloletnim potomcima. U istraživanjima nasilja nad ženama, koja nisu isključivo fokusirana na partnersku dimenziju, dolazimo do saznanja i o viktimizaciji žena od strane njihove, uglavnom punoletne, dece. Međutim, uprkos očiglednoj disproporciji snage i moći, roditelji mogu biti, i jesu, (nevidljive) žrtve svojih maloletnih potomaka.

Amanda Holt, u publikaciji *Adolescent-to-parent Abuse: Current Understandings in Research, Policy and Practice*, na sistematičan i sveobuhvatan način pristupa problemu viktimizacije roditelja od strane njihovih maloletnih potomaka, ukazujući na probleme terminološkog određenja i razlikovanja ovog od drugih oblika porodičnog nasilja, potencijalna etiološka objašnjenja, specifičnosti dijade moć-kontrola i primere dobre prakse u pružanju pomoći i podrške roditeljima žrtvama i deci nasilnicima. Publikacija se sastoji iz osam poglavlja, u kojima je



teorijska rasprava o nasilju maloletnih potomaka prema roditeljima obogaćena empirijskim nalazima kvantitativnog i kvalitativnog istraživanja autorke.

U uvodnom delu, Amanda Holt polazi od problema različitog terminološkog određenja nasilja maloletnih potomaka prema roditeljima i teškoća prepoznavanja i jasnog razgraničenja ovog, od ostalih oblika porodičnog nasilja, sa posebnim akcentom na viktimizaciji roditelja od strane punoletnih potomaka. Kao ključni problem kod prepoznavanja ovog oblika porodičnog nasilja, i gotovo nemoguće primenljivosti dominantnih tumačenja nasilja u porodici na objašnjenje viktimizacije roditelja od strane maloletnih potomaka, autorka navodi koncept moć-kontrola, prema kojem nasilje u porodici podrazumeva ispoljavanje „moći i kontrole kulturološki, ekonomski i fizički jačeg člana porodice nad slabijim članom porodice“ (str. 2). Upravo u toj „neprirodnoj“ promeni odnosa moći i kontrole na relaciji maloletni potomak-roditelj, Amanda Holt vidi ključni razlog neprepoznavanja nasilja maloletnika prema roditeljima kao oblika nasilja u porodici, i samim tim, oskudnosti interesovanja naučne i stručne javnosti.

U poglavlju pod nazivom *Abuse in Families: Commonalities, Connections and Contexts*, polazeći od kvantitativnih podataka krivičnopravnih statistika, medicinskih izveštaja i dostupnih istraživanja, Amanda Holt najpre detaljnije analizira osnovne fenomenološke karakteristike, sličnosti i razlike između svih oblika porodičnog nasilja s obzirom na odnos žrtve i nasilnika (partnersko nasilje, nasilje prema starima, nasilje prema deci i nasilje izmedju braće i/ili sestara). Potom autorka poseban akcenat stavlja na prevalencu, individualne i situacione karakteristike nasilja maloletnika prema roditeljima, ukazujući na povezanost ovog oblika porodičnog nasilja sa neposrednom i posrednom nasilnom viktimizacijom maloletnog potomka-nasilnika.

Detaljniji uvid u iskustva roditelja žrtava nasilja izvršenog od strane maloletnih potomaka prikazan je u poglavlju pod nazivom *Experiences of Parent Abuse*. Polazeći od kvalitativnih podataka sopstvenog i drugih sličnih istraživanja, Amanda Holt u ovom poglavlju prikazuje kako roditelji opisuju različite oblike viktimizacije od strane sopstvenih maloletnih potomaka (verbalnim, ekonomskim, fizičkim i emocionalnim nasiljem), načine kako percipiraju početak i eskalaciju sukoba sa decom, kao i njihovo objašnjenje kontradiktornih emocija koje u tim situacijama ispoljavaju i prepoznaju kako kod sebe, tako i kod nasilnog maloletnog potomka. Autorka poglavljje završava analizom neposrednih i dugoročnih posledica koje ovaj oblik porodičnog nasilja ostavlja na roditelja, žrtvu i druge članove porodičnog sistema. U vezi sa tim,

Holtova ukazuje na specifičnu i komplikovanu upletenost emocija u nasilnom odnosu maloletni potomak-roditelj koja može rezultirati ostećenjima mentalnog zdravlja roditelja.

Nakon prikaza osnovnih fenomenoloških karakteristika viktimizacije roditelja nasiljem izvršenim od strane maloletnih potomaka, Amanda Holt se, u poglavlju pod nazivom *Explaining Parent Abuse*, osvrće na etiološka objašnjenja ovog oblika porodičnog nasilja. Polazeći od intrapersonalnog objašnjenja, autorka ukazuje da psihopatologija deteta, poput dijagnostifikovanog mentalnog poremećaja, može doprineti ispoljavanju nasilnog ponašanja prema roditelju. U osnovi interpesonalnog objašnjenja polazi se od učenja nasilnog modela ponašanja posmatranjem nasilja oca nad majkom. Sličan pristup zastupljen je i u okviru intrafamilijarnog objašnjenja, u kojem se polazi od poremećaja komunikacije između članova porodice kao ključnog okidača za nasilje maloletnog potomka prema roditeljima. Nešto drugačiji pristup prisutan je u strukturalnom objašnjenju nasilja maloletnih potomaka prema roditeljima, koji kao ključne okidače vidi određene socijalne činioce, poput rodne pripadnosti, socijalnog statusa, siromaštva i vršnjačkih grupa. Teorijska razmatranja etiologije ovog oblika nasilja u porodici upotpunjena su dosta sličnim tumačenjima roditelja žrtava, koji su kao ključne razloge nasilnog ponašanja njihove dece videli u mentalnim poremećajima, zloupotrebi psihootaktivnih supstanci, rodnim nejednakostima i uticaju vršnjaka.

U poglavlju pod nazivom *Parents, Children and Power Relations*, Amanda Holt detaljnije analizira ključnu ideju knjige, prema kojoj su sve interakcije između ljudi, uključujući i nasilne, kulturološki i istorijski uslovljene. U vezi sa tim, autorka analizira kako kulturološko određenje roditeljstva, detinjstva i odnosa moći između roditelja i njihovih potomaka (na širem makro nivou) utiče na njihove odnose unutar porodice (na mikro nivou). Posebnu pažnju u ovom poglavlju autorka je posvetila analizi roda i uzrasta, kao ključnih medijatora „sistema moći“ u situacijama nasilja maloletnih potomaka prema roditeljima.

Mogući društveni odgovori na nasilje maloletnih potomaka prema roditeljima u Engleskoj i Velsu, i način na koji roditelji percipiraju potencijalnu i pruženu pomoć i podršku, prikazani su u poglavlju pod nazivom *Frontline Service Responses to Parent Abuse*. Analizom su obuhvaćeni odgovori krivičnopravnog sistema na ovaj oblik nasilja u porodici (reakcija policije, pravosudnog sistema i maloletničkog pravosuđa), socijalnih službi na lokalnom nivou (socijalna služba za mlade i socijalna služba za odrasle) i obrazovnog i zdravstvenog sistema. Potom je autorka ukazala na ulogu nevladinog sektora, posebno

službi za pomoć žrtvama porodičnog nasilja i organizacija za podršku roditeljima. Polazeći od ograničenih kapaciteta ovih službi da reaguju u slučajevima nasilja maloletnih potomaka prema roditeljima, Amanda Holt poglavlje završava predlozima za prevazilaženje ovih ograničenja. U vezi sa tim, autorka kao prvi i ključni korak ističe neophodnost razvijanja metodologije za identifikovanje i monitoring slučajeva nasilne viktimizacije roditelja od strane maloletnih potomaka. Potom je, prema njenom mišljenju, na nacionalnom nivou, neophodno jasno utvrditi uloge i odgovornosti različitih vladinih i nevladinih službi i organizacija u pogledu reagovanja na nasilje maloletnih potomaka prema roditeljima. U vezi sa tim, autorka naglašava da je, kao i kod svih slučajeva nasilja u porodici, jedina adekvatna reakcija ona koja omogućava blagovremenu pomoć i podršku žrtvi, a u slučaju nasilja maloletnih potomaka prema roditeljima, i nasilniku. Prema Holtovoj, ova pomoć je moguća samo kroz međusektorsku saradnju svih uključenih službi i, jasno i transparentno praćenje slučaja od momenta identifikacije, kroz sve faze pomoći i podrške.

U poglavlju pod nazivom *Working with Parent Abuse*, Amanda Holt se nadovezuje na prethodno poglavlje analizom različitih programa usmerenih na problem nasilja maloletnih potomaka prema roditeljima. Autorka prikazuje grupne programe, poput *Breaking the Cycle*, *Who's in Charge?*, *Break4Change* i *Step-Up*, kao i porodične pristupe, poput sistemske porodične terapije, nenasilnog reagovanja i porodične konferencije, odnosno modela restorativne pravde. S obzirom da su svi ovi programi još uvek na početku realizacije, te nije moguće doneti utemeljene zaključke o njihovoј efektivnosti, a sa druge strane preventivni programi gotovo da ni ne postoje, Amanda Holt ukazuje na značajnu ulogu medija, javnih kampanja i škola u podizanju svesti o nasilju maloletnih potomaka prema roditeljima i identifikovanju ovog oblika nasilja u porodici.

Sedmim poglavljem pod nazivom *Adolescent-to-parent Abuse: Future Directions for Research, Policy and Practice*, autorka zaokružuje priču o viktimizaciji roditelja kroz preporuke za buduća istraživanja, kreatore politike i praksu postupanja u slučajevima nasilja u porodici u kojima su žrtve roditelji, a nasilnici njihovi maloletni potomci. Polazeći od toga da je nasilje maloletnika prema roditeljima zdravstveni, pravni, ekonomski, obrazovni, razvojni i problem ljudskih prava, autorka ističe da je to problem svih nas i da je jedino zajedničkim angažovanjem svih pomenutih segmenata društva moguće prepoznati problem, i na adekvatan način pružiti pomoć i zaštitu i žrtvi i nasilniku, i time što pre povratiti narušenu porodičnu dinamiku.

Publikacija *Adolescent-to-parent Abuse: Current Understandings in Research, Policy and Practice* predstavlja sveobuhvatnu analizu problema viktimizacije roditelja nasiljem izvršenim od strane maloletnih potomaka, baziranu na kvantitativnoj analizi zvaničnih podataka, i, što je još važnije, kvalitativnoj analizi iskustava roditelja žrtava. S obzirom da je ovaj oblik nasilja u porodici još uvek nedovoljno prepoznat i nedovoljno istražen, kako u svetu, tako i u Srbiji, ova knjiga je od izuzetne koristi kako za istraživače, tako i za sve one pojedince, službe i organizacije koje dolaze u kontakt sa žrtvama porodičnog nasilja. Svakako, može poslužiti kao polazna osnova za kreiranje metodologije prepoznavanja i praćenja ovog oblika viktimizacije roditelja i planiranja programa zaštite, kako za roditelje žrtve, tako i za maloletne nasilnike. Takođe, knjigu Amande Holt bih preporučila svim roditeljima kao literaturu koja će im pomoći da prepozna svoja iskustva i da spoznaju da nisu usamljeni u tom svom iskustvu.

MR LJILJANA STEVKOVIĆ

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Božica Mladenović

Sudbina žene u ratu: Rosa Pantić 1891-1945

Istorijski institut, Beograd, 2012, str. 113

Godine 2012. Istorijski institut u Beogradu objavio je knjigu *Sudbina žene u ratu: Rosa Pantić (1891–1945)* autorke Božice Mladenović, redovne profesorke Filozofskog fakulteta u Nišu, na Departmanu za istoriju. Objavljena u tiražu od 300 primeraka, smeštena na 113 stranica, od kojih je petnaestak ilustrovano crno-belim slikama, manjeg formata, sa prilozima, napomenama i bibliografskim referencama uz tekst i registrom ličnih imena, monografija predstavlja dragoceni izvor podataka.

Publikacija posvećena Rosi Pantić predstavlja odličan prikaz sudbine ne samo jedne žene u ratovima, već svih žena koje su poput Rose živele u teškim godinama prve polovine 20. veka. Pored toga, monografija je i odličan primer kako prave teme pronađu svoga pisca, u ovom slučaju Božicu Mladenović kojoj su teme iz društvene i vojne istorije Prvog svetskog rata primarno istraživačko polje, dok biografija o Rosi čini još jednu u nizu autorkinih objavljenih knjiga, kojih ima više od desetak¹. Dakle, teme nedovoljno proučene u srpskoj istoriografiji, ostavljene na periferiji interesovanja, odnosno, fragmentalno istražene dobine su centralno mesto u radovima autorke Mladenović. Njena stručnost i doslednost u proučavanju žene u ratnim okolnostima je upravo potvrđena ovom publikacijom.

¹ Mladenović, B. (1996) *Žene u Topličkom ustanku 1917. godine*. Beograd: Socijalna misao.
Mladenović, B. (1998) *Dnevnik Koste Milovanovića Pećanca od 1916. do 1918. godine*. Beograd: Istorijski institut.
Mladenović, B. (2000) *Grad u austrougarskoj okupacionoj zoni u Srbiji od 1916. do 1918. godine*. Beograd: Čigoja štampa.
Mladenović, B. (2006) *Porodica u Srbiji u Prvom svetskom ratu*. Beograd: Istorijski institut.
Mladenović, B. (2007) *Toplički ustanak 1917. godine*. Beograd: Istorijski institut.

Po strukturi, rukopis se sastoji od jedne uvodne teme (Žena u srpskom društvu), četiri povezane celine (Mladost, Ratovanje, U Kraljevini Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca i Jugoslaviji 1918-1941, U ratu 1941-1945) u okviru kojih je svaki značajan deo naslovljen određenim podnaslovom (Prvi svetski rat 1914; Toplički ustancak 1917; Nastavak gerile; Porodična kuća u Lazarevcu; Potomstvo; U javnom životu Toplice; Porodična tragedija; Smrt Rose Pantić; Konfiskacija imovine). Rezime se nalazi na kraju teksta i ima ulogu sinteze, zatim slede prilozi, spisak literature, registar ličnih imena i beleška o autoru.

Iz *Predgovora* saznajemo da je knjiga nastala kao rezultat istraživanja na projektu Ministarstva za prosvetu i nauku „Od univerzalnih carstava ka nacionalnim državama. Društvene i političke promene u Srbiji i na Balkanu.“ Inače, monografija je utemeljena na istorijskim izvorima prvog reda (Arhiv Vojno-istorijskog instituta, Arhiv Srbije i Istorijski muzej Toplice) i narativnim izvorima, koji su nastali kao rezultat trogodišnjeg terenskog istraživanja (1988-1990) i rada na projektu „Toplički ustancak u usmenom narodnom stvaralaštvu.“ U toku istraživanja izvršeno je intervjuisanje učesnika i savremenika ustanka iz 1917. godine i, nakon sprovedene kritičke analize, usmena kazivanja iskorишćena su kao dopuna izvora prvog reda. Pored toga, za pisanje biografije autorka je koristila i ličnu zaostavštinu Rose Pantić, koja se nalazi u privatnom posedu njene čerke, Jelene Čimburović. „Tada, jula 1988. godine, prvi put smo čuli priču o Rosi Pantić, ženi čiji je život po mnogo čemu podsećao na scenario nekog uzbudljivog filma. S'tom razlikom što to nije bio film, nego stvarni život. Po mnogo čemu potresan...“ (str. 5). Navedenim citatom autorka otpočinje pisanje *Predgovora* knjige. Iz sadržaja u *Predgovoru* saznajemo da je prvi pokušaj pisanja kratke biografije o Rosi Pantić urađen 2000. godine, kada je objavljen članak Rosa Pantić u književnom časopisu Tok iz Prokuplja. Međutim, same začetke istraživanja života koji je trajao 54. godine pronalazimo, i pre pomenu-tog rada, tj. u magistarskom radu Božice Mladenović. Nakon toga, tekst teze je dopunjjen, a podaci o Rosi prošireni, i kao epilog nastala je monografija „Žene u Topličkom ustanku 1917. godine“. Rečenicom „Njen život je izmenio Prvi svetski rat (str. 8)“ autorka će završiti jedan od paragrafa i time otpočeti priču o ženi koja je prešla put od heroja u Topličkom ustanku do „narodnog neprijatelja“.

Žena u srpskom društvu je tekst koji sledi nakon *Predgovora* i čija je funkcija da pojasni ulogu i položaj žene u svakodnevnom životu i društvu krajem 19. i na početku 20. veka, sa posebnim osvrtom na socijalni položaj žene na selu. Na osnovu prezentovanih podataka možemo zaključiti da je žena u patrijarhalnom društvu bila obespravljenja, potčinjena muškarcu i

bez zakonske potpore koja bi joj priznala i regulisala ulogu veću od dodeljene i pored toga što je bila stub porodice. Pošto je bila predodređena za udaju, bila je otrgnuta od mnogih prava i smatrana detetom druge kuće. Detinjstvo, u takvim okolnostima, nije ni imala, dok draži škole nikada nije osetila. Posvećena poslu u roditeljskoj kući, nije čak ni imale prilike da traži svog budućeg partnera. Realno, udaja devojke bila je pitanje roditelja i braće, koji su vodili računa o svim detaljima (o kući, imovini), za njenu budućnost. Uoči Velikog rata svadbe su trajale tri dana, nakon čega je za ženu počinjao zahtevniji život. Blagosloveno stanje nije bilo privilegovano stanje za ženu, u smislu smanjenja angažovanosti u kući i u polju. U prilog tome ide i činjenica da su mnoga deca i rođena na njivi, gde je trudnica obavljala poljske radove. Takođe, žene su često bile zlostavljane u domaćinstvu i bile sluškinje, pretežno svim ukućanima, do te mere da su svlačile obuću i odeću mužu, a svekru i deveru prale noge. Dakle, autorka u svom uvodnom izlaganju daje studiozan prikaz teške životne sudbine žena uoči Velikog rata. Kakvu je mladost imala Rosa, saznajemo u prvoj celini. Život koji je trajao 54 godine otpočeo je 16. januara 1891. godine u selu Lazarevcu kod Blaca, kada se rodila Rosa Smiljković. U pomenutoj celini autorka je uspela da utvrdi do sada nepoznatu godinu rođenja i venčanja Rose Pantić. Na osnovu Izvoda iz matične knjige venčanih i unuke Rose Pantić, Slavice Gočmanac, saznajemo da se Rosa udala sa 18 godina za Vučka Simića, četiri godine starijeg mladića, 8. novembra 1909. godine. Drugi značajan podatak koji autorka prezentuje, jesu okolnosti koje su dovele do promene prezimena Vučka Simića u Pantić.

Druga celina *Ratovanje* obuhvata dva značajna momenta, jedan se vezuje za Prvi svetski rat 1914., a drugi za Toplički ustank 1917. U ratnim okolnostima, Rosa je u trećoj godini Velikog rata uzela učešće u Topličkom ustanku i pokazala svoje herojstvo. Naime, ona je sa grupom žena oslobođila Blace od bugarske okupacione vlasti i pored toga pokazala svoje viteške sposobnosti i u borbama koje je vodio Ibarsko-kopaonički odred. Zajedno sa suprugom Vučkom bila je u odredu četničkog vojvode Koste Vojinovića, do njegove pogibije, u decembru 1917. godine. Iako je rat dočekala rođenjem sina Adama, rat joj nije dozvolio da ga i očuva. Sreća je potrajala koliko je kolevku ljudjala, a zatim su nastali crni dani koji su joj oduzeli dvoipogodišnjeg sina. Ipak, sreća se i njoj na kratko osmehnula u poslednjoj godini rata, kada je rodila čerku Bosiljku koja nažalost nije uspela da preživi preteške dane Prvog svetskog rata.

U *Kraljevini Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca i Jugoslaviji 1918–1941.* predstavljena je treća celina iz monografije. Podeljena na tri podnaslova (Porodična kuća u

Lazarevcu, Potomstvo, U javnom životu Toplice), do detalja prati porodicu Pantić, kroz sve segmente porodičnog života. Godine 1922. Rosa je rodila čerku Vukenu, a dve godine zatim i sina Vukosava. Deceniju od rođenja prve čerke rodila je još jednu, bila je to Jelena, zahvaljujući kojoj je autorka, prilikom istraživanja, došla do veoma značajnijih informacija o životu i sudbini Rose i Vučka Pantića. Međuratni period je porodici Pantić, sem dece, doneo i veliko poštovanje, proisteklo iz prethodnog ratnog perioda. U očima drugih ljudi, Rosa je bila „muška žena“, a Vučko hrabar četovođa. Ponosni na sebe i svoju decu, uspeli su da krenu od nule i radom povrate sve ono što su izgubili u Velikom ratu. Period prosperiteta je počeo, a sa njim i novo poglavlje u životu porodice Pantić.

U četvrtoj i poslednjoj celini, *U ratu 1941–1945*, u knjizi je prikazan život Rose i Vučka Pantića koji je bio obeležen Drugim svetskim ratom. I ova celina je podeljena na nekoliko podnaslova (Porodična tragedija, Smrt Rose Pantić, Konfiskacija imovine) i upravo je u njoj zaokružena priča žene heroja sa početka 20. veka. Naime, Drugi svetski rat su Rosa i Vučko dočekali u šestoj deceniji života. U prethodnom ratu su izgubili sina i čerku, ni ovaj rat ih nije štedeo. Čini se, da je porodici Pantić bilo suđeno da ostane bez sina Vukosava kao i da Vučko i Rosa budu svedoci bitke kod Čubure 1942. godine, u kojoj je Vukosav ubijen. U Drugom velikom ratu koji se vodio i građanskom ratu, koji je buktao na teritoriji Kraljevine Jugoslavije, Rosa i Vučko su bili životno ugroženi. Godine 1943. partizani su pokušali da izvrše atentat na Vučka Pantića. Posle ovog događaja bračni par Pantić iz Lazarevca se preselio u Prokuplje, gde se Vučko pridružio vojsci đeneralisa Draže Mihailovića i zauvek otisao iz života svoje porodice. Prema raspoloživim podacima, smatra se da je u Bosni i preminuo. Rosa je rat preživela, ali ne i sramotu i poniženje. Naime, narodna vlast u Blacu je aprila 1945. uhapsila Rosu, dok joj je život 27. aprila oduzeo islednik Stanko Milosavljević. Naime, par sati nakon ispitanja i maltretiranja na svirep način je ubijena. Njen spomenik, koji je trebao da podseća i porodicu i narod njene države, kako na nju tako i na njeno herojstvo, i nekim budućim generacijama bude pouka, srušen je, a Rosa time još jednom ubijena.

„U srpskoj istoriografiji je puno krupnih i važnih pitanja koja nisu do kraja dokučena. Budući da je Rosa Pantić bila obična žena iz naroda činilo nam se da je važno svako „otkriće“ kojim smo osvetlili neki detalj iz njenog života.“ Navedenim citatom ispisan je jedan od brojnih paragrafa u okviru Rezimea (str. 61). Pošto je u rezimeu načinjena sinteza cele monografije autorka je zapisala: „U ovoj knjizi prikazali smo život Rose Smiljković, udate Pantić, koji je trajao 54 godine. Rođena je 1891, a ubijena 1945. godine... supruga Vučka Pan-

tića, majka troje dece... Rosa Pantić je za života prešla put od heroja u Topličkom ustanku 1917. do „narodnog neprijatelja“ 1945. godine (str. 67).

Borbeni, pakleni i ratni put Rose Pantić bio je put skoro svih žena pod okupacionim režimom u Srbiji za vreme Svetskog rata, kada su i postale posebna društvena grupa. Izložene posebnim oblicima represalija (silovanju, ubijanju njihove dece), osuđene na rat, kao i čitava država, postale su nosioci svih obaveza koje je nametnuo okupator. Koliko je krvi doneo Veliki rat, toliko je i žena boraca iznedrio.

Na kraju se može konstatovati da je u studiji obrađena jedna potpuno nova istoriografska tema. Radovi koji opisuju položaj žene u srpskom društvu u 19. i na početku 20. veka² nisu u velikoj meri prisutni u našoj istoriografiji, često se njihova obrada svodi na po neki objavljen članak³. Delo je još značajnije jer otkriva pojedina pitanja koja su do pre godinu dana bila nepoznata. Takvim postupkom je autorka dala precizniju sliku položaja žene uslovленog sa opštim društvenim, privrednim i kulturnim razvitkom u Srbiji krajem 19. i u prvoj polovini 20. veka. Monografija koja je pred nama dobar je primer velike uloge mnogih žena u našoj istoriji, ali i pokazatelj da je masa takvih žena još uvek nepoznata istoriji. Ovom studijom autorka je uspela da odgonetne većinu nepoznatih detalja iz života Rose Pantić, kao i da neka pitanja ostavi otvorena, dok naknadna istraživanja ne ponude drugačiji odgovor od već ponuđenog. Dakle, do sada neistražen segment prošlosti Rose Pantić postaje istražen i svakako ga treba upoznati. Autorki upućujem sve pohvale na uloženom trudu u istraživanju, a budućim generacijama poziv na čitanje monografije, koja otvara jedno novo poglavlje u spoznavanju srpske društvene istorije, odnosno žene u srpskom društvu.

MILENA ŽIKIĆ

² Išić, M., Gudac Dodić, V. (2011) *Žena je temelj kuće: žena i porodica u Srbiji tokom dvadesetog veka*. Beograd: Institut za noviju istoriju Srbije.

³ Išić, M. (1998) *Žena u seoskoj porodici u Srbiji između dva rata*. U: L. Perović (ur.) *Srbija u modernizacijskim procesima 19. i 20. veka. Položaj žene kao merilo modernizacije (naučni skup)*. Beograd: Institut za noviju istoriju Srbije, str. 183-200.

Članci objavljeni u prethodnim brojevima za 2014. godinu

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Recenzenti članaka objavljenih u 2014. godini

Recenzenti iz Srbije

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Recenzentima se zahvaljujemo na uloženom vremenu i doprinosu kvalitetu časopisa *Temida*.

Takođe, zahvaljujemo se prof. dr Tim Chapman-u (Univerzitet Ulster, Belfast) i studentu doktorskih studija Philip-u McCready (Univerzitet Ulster, Belfast) koji su tokom 2014. godine vršili proveru apstrakata na engleskom jeziku.

Poziv na saradnju i preplatu

TEMIDA je časopis o viktimizaciji (stradanju), ljudskim pravima i rodu. Časopis objavljuje naučne i stručne radove koji za svoj predmet imaju problem žrtava kriminaliteta, rata, kršenja ljudskih prava i drugih oblika stradanja (sa posebnim naglaskom na probleme žena, dece, manjinskih grupa, osoba sa invaliditetom i drugih kategorija koje su posebno izložene viktimizaciji), strah od kriminaliteta, kršenje ljudskih prava u zatvoru i u krivičnom postupku, prevenciju viktimizacije i slično. Svaki broj je tematski koncipiran, ali se objavljuju i tekstovi van određenih tema.

Teme za 2015. godinu su: broj 1 – **Zaštita žrtava: međunarodno pravo, nacionalna zakonodavstva i praksa** (rok za predaju radova je 1. mart 2015. godine), broj 2 – **Sekundarna viktimizacija i podrška žrtvama** (rok za predaju radova je 1. jun 2015. godine), broj 3 – **Pozitivna viktimologija** (rok za predaju radova je 1. septembar 2015. godine); broj 4 – **Restorativna pravda, sigurnost i žrtve** (rok za predaju radova je 1. novembar 2015. godine). Članci van ovih tema mogu biti predati Redakciji bez obzira na navedene rokove.

Svi brojevi naučnog časopisa Temida u 2015. godini predstavljajuće doprinos obeležavanju 30 godina od usvajanja Deklaracije Ujedinjenih nacija o osnovnim principima pravde za žrtve kriminaliteta i zloupotrebe moći, pa se autori i autorke pozivaju da u svojim radovima učine vidljivom Deklaraciju i njenu implementaciju vezano za pojedinačne teme.

Radovi (članci i prikazi) se dostavljaju u elektronskoj formi prema priloženim tehničkim uputstvima na e-mail: vds@unet.rs.

Svi članci se anonimno recenziraju od strane dva kompetentna stručnjaka/stručnjakinje, na osnovu čega Redakcija donosi odluku o štampanju. Rukopisi se ne vraćaju.

Tehnička uputstva autorkama i autorima članaka

1. Članak treba da bude obima do 20 strana kucanog teksta duplog proreda. Koristiti font Times New Roman i veličinu slova 12, latinica.
2. Prva stranica teksta treba da sadrži: **naslov rada, ime i prezime autora/autorke, apstrakt** (do 150 reči) i **4-5 ključnih reči**.
 - 2.1 Odmah iza prezimena autora (na prvoj stranici) otvoriti fusnotu u kojoj treba dati naziv institucije u kojoj autor radi, zvanje autora i e-mail. U slučaju koautorskih radova, navesti podatke za svakog koautora/koautorku posebno.
Primer: Petar PETROVIĆ*
 - 2.2 U apstraktu moraju da budu jasno navedeni predmet i cilj rada, kao i osnovne teme koje će biti pokrivene.
3. Naslove pojedinih odeljaka u tekstu dati u sledećem obliku:

* Dr Petar Petrović je docent na Fakultetu..... u Beogradu. E-mail: nikola@primer.net

Naslov odeljka (Times New Roman, 12, Bold)

Podnaslov 1 (Times New Roman, 12, Italic)

Podnaslov 2 (slovo abecede u poluzagradi, Times New Roman, 12, Regular)

Primer:

Službe koje pružaju pomoć žrtvama

Kategorije korisnika

a) Žene i deca

4. Koristiti harvardski sistem citiranja. Na kraju citata u tekstu otvoriti zagradu i u njoj upisati prezime autora, godinu objavljinanja i broj strane.

Primer: (Christie, 2005: 28).

Kada ima dva ili tri autora trebalo bi ih odvojiti zapetom (npr. Boom, Kuijpers, 2012).

Kada ima preko tri autora, trebalo bi navesti prezime prvog autora uz dodatak „i dr.“ (npr. Shapland i dr., 2009).

U slučaju da dva autora imaju isto prezime, navesti i prvo slovo njihovih imena (npr. H. Jones, R. Jones, 2003).

Kada se navodi sekundarni izvor, potrebno je napisati „prema“ (npr. Ćopić prema Nikolić-Ristanović, 2011).

Ukoliko se navodi više radova različitih autora u istoj zagradi potrebno ih je razdvojiti znakom tačka i zapeta (npr. Dokmanović, 2011; Nikolić-Ristanović, 2012). U tom slučaju radove bi trebalo poređati hronološki prema godini kada su objavljeni.

- 4.1. U fusnotama davati samo propratne komentare, članove zakona i Službene glasnike.
- 4.2. Strana imena pisati izvorno.

5. Ukoliko se u tekstu nalaze slike ili tabele, na odgovarajućem mestu u tekstu uputiti na njih, npr. (Tabela 2).

Naslove dati iznad slika i tabela.

Primer: **Tabela 1.** Struktura viktimizacije prema polu

6. Obavezno priložiti popis **literature** na kraju teksta. Navesti sve citirane bibliografske jedinice abecednim redom, prema prezimenu prvog autora. Bibliografska jedinica treba da sadrži:

za knjige: prezime i prvo slovo imena autora, godina izdanja u zagradi, naslov knjige (kurzivom), mesto izdanja, naziv izdavača.

Primer: Milutinović, M. (1977) *Penologija*. Beograd: Savremena administracija.

za poglavlja u knjizi: prezime i prvo slovo imena autora, godina izdanja u zagradi, naslov poglavlja, u: prvo slovo imena (urednika), prezime (urednika), skraćena oznaka uredništva (u zagradi), naslov knjige (kurzivom), mesto izdanja, naziv izdavača, broj prve i poslednje strane poglavlja.

Primer: Benton, T. (2006) Do we need rights? If so, what sort? U: L. Morris (ur.) *Rights: Sociological perspectives*. New York: Routledge, str. 21-36.

za članke u časopisima: prezime i prvo slovo imena autora, godina izdanja u zagradi, naziv članka, naziv časopisa (kurzivom), broj i broj prve i poslednje strane članka.

Primer: Christie, N. (2005) Restorativna i retributivna pravda u kontekstu rata i ratnih zločina. *Temida*, 4, str. 27-32.

za dokumenta preuzeta sa interneta: pored web strane upisati datum pristupa internet stranicama sa kojih su preuzeta.

Primer: <http://webrzs.stat.gov.rs/WebSite/Public/PageView.aspx?pKey=2>, stranici pristupljeno 5.10.2012.

Pre web strane može stajati i ime autora (ako je poznat) kao i naslov teksta. U tom slučaju ispred web strane dopisati – dostupno na:

za zakone: pored imena zakona napisati u kom je Službenom glasniku objavljen.

Primer: Zakon o krivičnom postupku, Službeni glasnik RS, br. 58/04.

za saopštenja sa naučnih skupova: prezime i prvo slovo imena autora, godina u zagradi, naslov rada, naziv konferencije (kurzivom), broj strane u knjizi apstrakata u zagradi, mesto izdanja, naziv izdavača.

Primer: Kelly, L. (2011) Violence against women and children in the national legislations of the EU member states: an overview of the research results. *Druga godišnja konferencija Viktimološkog društva Srbije – Žrtve kriminaliteta i žrtve rata: međunarodni i domaći kontekst, knjiga apstrakta* (str. 13). Beograd: Viktimološko društvo Srbije i Prometej.

za članke iz novina: prezime i prvo slovo imena autora, godina i dan u zagradi, naslov teksta, naziv novina, broj strane.

Primer: Jovanović, A. (2012, 5. decembar) Otkriveni plagijati naučnih radova, Blic, str. 5.

Moguće je navesti i web izdanje novina, kada se umesto strane stavlja – dostupno na: a zatim web adresa stranice i datum pristupa stranici.

Dodatna napomena: U popisu literature ne sme biti bibliografskih jedinica koje se ne navode u tekstu rada, a moraju biti sve jedinice koje se pominju, uključujući zakone, izveštaje, ali i web strane (koje idu u sekciju Internet izvori u okviru Literature).

7. Obavezno priložiti na kraju rukopisa: naslov rada, apstrakt i ključne reči na engleskom jeziku.

Svi članci se anonimno recenziraju od strane dva kompetentna stručnjaka/stručnjakinje, na osnovu čega Redakcija donosi odluku o štampanju. Rukopisi se ne vraćaju.

Molimo Vas da vodite računa i da pravilno koristite intelektualnu svojinu drugih autorki i autora prilikom iznošenja navoda, rezultata istraživanja, ali i grafičkih prikaza iz njihovih tekstova. Temida podleže **kontroli na plagijarizam** i nalazi se u **DOI (Digital Object Identifier) bazi i u Srpskom citatnom indeksu (SCIndeks)**.

Promena nekoliko reči iz rečenice originalnog autora ili autorke, kao i promena redosleda reči u njihovim rečenicama predstavlja plagijarizam ukoliko se taj autor ili autorka ne citiraju.

Kada se parafrazira neki deo teksta drugog autora ili autorke trebalo bi reprodukovati tačno značenje njihovih ideja, ali ih izraziti kroz sopstvene reči i drugačiju strukturu rečenica:

Npr. Nedovoljno dobri mehanizmi prepoznavanja su najverovatniji razlog malog broja zabeleženih žrtava starosti ispod 18 godina (Nikolić-Ristanović, 2009).

Isto pravilo važi i za slučaj da se pozivate na navode nekog istraživanja:

Npr. Istraživanje nasilja u porodici u Vojvodini pokazalo je da skoro svaka druga žena trpi psihičko nasilje (Nikolić-Ristanović, 2010).

Ukoliko je jedini način da izrazite navode drugog autora ili autorke doslovno citiranje njihovih reči, neophodno je da te rečenice stavite pod znake navoda, a da u zagradi pored imena autora/autorke i godine u kojoj je rad objavljen, navedete i broj strane na kojoj se te rečenice nalaze u njihovom tekstu:

Npr. Autorka navodi da „manji broj maloletnih žrtava verovatno više govori o slabim mehanizmima prepoznavanja“ (Nikolić-Ristanović, 2009: 255).

Tehnička uputstva autorkama i autorima prikaza

Prikaz treba da bude obima do 6 strana kucanog teksta duplog proreda, font Times New Roman 12.

Naslov prikaza treba da sadrži sledeće podatke:

Prikaz knjige: naziv u originalu, prevod naziva na srpski jezik u zagradi (ukoliko je naziv na stranom jeziku), naziv izdavača, mesto izdanja, godina izdanja i broj strana.

Prikaz skupa: naziv u originalu, prevod naziva na srpski jezik u zagradi (ukoliko je naziv na stranom jeziku), mesto i datum održavanja skupa.

Radovi ne smeju biti već objavljeni, niti predati za objavljivanje na nekom drugom mestu.

Pretplata

Cena pojedinačnog štampanog primerka naučnog časopisa Temida iznosi 750 dinara. Pretplata na štampani primerak za 2015. godinu iznosi 3.000 dinara za pojedince i 10.000 dinara za institucije.

Cena pojedinačnog štampanog primerka naučnog časopisa Temida za inostrans-tvo je EUR 30. Za inostranstvo pretplata na štampani primerak za 2015. godinu iznosi EUR 60 za pojedince i EUR 120 za institucije.

Cena pretplate obuhvata dostavljanje poštom primerka časopisa Temida i pris-tup svim elektronskim brojevima Temide u 2015. i prethodnim godinama.

Godišnja preplata za pristup elektronskim izdanjima naučnog časopisa Temida preko internet stranice Viktimološkog društva Srbije za pojedince iznosi 2000,00 dinara, a za institucije 6000,00 dinara. Pristup pojedinačnom broju u elektronskoj formi iznosi 200,00 dinara.

Godišnja preplata za pristup elektronskim izdanjima Temide preko internet stranice Viktimološkog društva Srbije za inostranstvo iznosi EUR 40 za pojedince i EUR 100 za institucije. Pristup pojedinačnom broju u elektronskoj formi za inostranstvo iznosi EUR 5.

Časopis Temida će u 2015. godini biti dostupan u elektronskoj formi na internet stranici Viktimološkog društva Srbije www.vds.org.rs i preko EBSCO istraživačke baze podataka **samo za pojedince i institucije koji plate preplatu.**

U vezi preplate na štampano izdanje ili pristup elektronskim izdanjima naučnog časopisa Temida, molimo Vas obratite se redakciji časopisa.

Call for papers and subscription

Temida is the peer reviewed journal on victimization, human rights and gender, which is accredited as an academic journal by Serbian Ministry of Science. Papers are mainly published in Serbian. Papers written in other languages are either translated in Serbian or published in the language they are written in.

Topics for 2015 are: No. 1 – **Victims' protection: International law, national legislations and practice** (submission deadline: March 1, 2015), No. 2 – **Secondary victimisation and victim support** (submission deadline: June, 1 2015), No. 3 – **Positive victimology** (submission deadline: September, 1, 2015); No. 4 – **Restorative justice, safety and victims** (submission deadline: November, 1 2015). Contributions not specifically dedicated to these themes, as well as conference and book reviews, may be submitted irrespective of the indicated terms.

All issues of Temida in 2015 will present a contribution to the 30th anniversary of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Victims of Crime and Abuse of Power; therefore, we call authors to make the Declaration and its implementation visible in their papers in connection to the specific topics.

Manuscripts should be submitted by e-mail: vds@eunet.rs.

All articles will be peer reviewed anonymously by two competent scholars. Afterwards, the Editorial Board will decide about its publishing. The manuscripts will not be returned.

Technical instructions for authors of articles

1. Contributions should not exceed **20 pages** typed in double line spacing. The recommended font type is Times New Roman 12.
 2. First page should contain: **the title, the author's name, abstract** (up to 150 words) and **4-5 key words**.
 - 2.1. After the author's surname put the footnote that should contain the name of the institution where the author works, academic title, and e-mail. In case of multiple authors, specify data for each co-author separately.
Example: Petar PETROVIĆ*
 - 2.2. The abstract must clearly state the problem and the purpose of the paper, as well as the main topics that will be covered.
 3. Subheadings should be written in the following way:
Paragraph heading (Times New Roman, 12, Bold)
Sub-Heading 1 (Times New Roman, 12, Italic)
Sub-Heading 2 (alphabet letter in the bracket, Times New Roman, 12, Regular)
- Example: **Victim support services**
 Categories of the users
 a) Women and children

4. Please use the Harvard referencing system. At the end of citation you should open a bracket and give the author's surname, the year of publication and page number. Example: (Christie, 2005: 28).

When there are two or three authors they should be separated with a comma (e.g. Boom, Kuijpers, 2012).

When there is more than three authors, after the surname of the first author, add "et al." (e.g. Shapland et al., 2009).

In case that two authors share the same surname add the first letter of their first name (e.g. H. Jones, R. Jones, 2003).

When a secondary source is cited, add "according to" (e.g. Ćopić according to Nikolić-Ristanović, 2011).

If there are multiple papers of different authors in the same bracket, they should be separated with a semicolon (e.g. Dokmanović, 2011; Nikolić-Ristanović, 2012).

In that case the papers should be mentioned chronologically according to the year of publishing.

- 4.1. Footnotes should contain only brief accompanying comments, law articles and Official Gazzetes.

- 4.2. Foreign names should be written originally.

5. If the pictures and tables are included, please make a reference to them at the proper place, E.g. (Table 2)

Please give the titles above the pictures/tables.

Example: **Table 1.** Structure of victimization by gender

6. It is necessary to enclose the list of the **literature** at the end of the paper. List all the references in alphabetical order, according to the first author's surname. A list of references should contain:

For books: surname and initials of the author, year of publication (in the bracket), title of the book (italic), place of publication and publisher.

E.g. Milutinović, M. (1977) *Penologija*. Beograd: Savremena administracija.

For book chapters: surname and initials of the author, year of publication (in the bracket), chapter title, In: initial, surname of the editor followed by ed. in the bracket, title of the book (italic), place of publication, name of publisher and the page numbers of the chapter.

E.g. Benton, T. (2006) Do we need rights? If so, what sort? In: L. Morris (ed.) *Rights: Sociological perspectives*. London and New York: Routledge, pp. 21-36.

For journal articles: surname and initials of the author, year of publication (in the bracket), title of the article, title of the Journal (italic) and page numbers of the article.

E.g. Christie, N. (2005) Restorativna i retributivna pravda u kontekstu rata i ratnih zločina. *Temida*, 4, pp. 27-32.

For documents accessed by internet: give the electronic address and the date you accessed the source.

E.g. <http://webrzs.stat.gov.rs/WebSite/Public/PageView.aspx?pKey=2>, page accessed 5. 10. 2012.

Prior to the web page there can be the author's name (if known) and the title of the text. In this case, in front of the web page write – available at:

For laws: next to the name of the law, mention the Official Gazette in which it was published.

E.g. Zakon o krivičnom postupku, Službeni glasnik RS, br. 58/04.

For conference papers: surname and initials of the author, year of publication (in the bracket), title, name of the conference (in italics), page number in the book of abstracts (in the bracket), place of publication, name of the publisher.

E.g. Kelly, L. (2011) Violence against women and children in the national legislations of the EU member states: an overview of the research results. *Druga godišnja konferencija Viktimološkog društva Srbije – Žrtve kriminaliteta i žrtve rata: međunarodni i domaći kontekst, knjiga apstrakta* (str. 13). Beograd: Viktimološko društvo Srbije & Prometej.

For magazine articles: surname and initials of the author, year and day of publication in the bracket, headline, newspaper name, page number.

E.g. Jovanović, A. (2012, 5. decembar) Otkriveni plagijati naučnih radova, Blic, p. 5.

It is possible to specify the web edition of the newspaper, when instead of the page you can write – available at: and then web site address and the date of accessing the site.

Additional note: In the reference list there must not be bibliographic items that are not mentioned in the text, and should be all the items that are mentioned in the text, including laws, reports but also web pages (which go into a separate section called Internet sources within the Bibliography).

7. Be sure to attach the title, abstract and keywords in English at the end of the manuscript.

All articles will be peer reviewed anonymously by two competent scholars. Afterwards, the Editorial Board will decide about its publishing. The manuscripts will not be returned.

Please be sure to properly use the intellectual property of other authors during the presentation of statements, research results, and graphics from their texts. The journal *Temida* is a subject of plagiarism **control** and is located in the **DOI (Digital Object Identifier) database** and in the **Serbian Citation Index (SCIndeks)**.

Changing a few words from the sentence of the original author, as well as changing the order of words in their sentences is plagiarism if the author is not cited.

When you paraphrase a text of another author you should reproduce the exact meaning of their ideas, but express them through your own words and with a different sentence structure:

E.g. Lack of good mechanisms of recognition is the most probable cause for the small number of identified victims under the age of 18 years (Nikolic-Ristanović, 2009).

The same rule applies in the case when you wish to refer to the assertion from another research:

E.g. The survey of domestic violence in Vojvodina has shown that almost every second woman suffered psychological abuse (Nikolic-Ristanović, 2010).

If the only way to express the assertions of another author is to quote their words, you must put these sentences in quotation marks, and indicate the page number on which these sentences are located in their text in the bracket next to the names of the authors and the year in which their paper was published:

E.g. The author states that "a smaller number of minor victims probably speaks more of a poor mechanism of identification" (Nikolić-Ristanović, 2009: 284).

Technical instructions for authors of reviews

The review should not exceed 6 pages typed in double line spacing. Recommended font is 12 point Times New Roman.

Title of the review should include:

Book review: title of the book in original, translation of the book title in Serbian in the bracket (if the title is in foreign language), name of the publisher, place of publication, year of publication and number of pages.

Conference review: title of the conference in original, translation of the conference title in Serbian in the bracket (if the title is in foreign language), place and date of conference.

Papers should not be already published neither submitted for publishing at some other place.

Subscription

Price for single printed copy of scientific journal Temida is 750 Dinars. Annual subscription for printed copy for 2015 is 3000 RSD for individuals and 10000 RSD for institutions. Price for single printed copy for abroad is 30 EUR. Annual subscription rate for printed copy for abroad is 60 EUR for individuals and 120 EUR for institutions. The subscription includes delivery of the copy of Temida by mail and the access to all electronic issues of Temida in 2015 and all previous years. Regarding the subscription please contact the Editorial office.

The annual on-line subscription fees for Temida through the Victimology Society of Serbia web site for Serbia are 2000 RSD for individuals and 6000 RSD for institutions, while the on-line subscription for one issue is 200 RSD.

The annual on-line subscription fees for Temida through the Victimology Society of Serbia web site for abroad are EUR 40 for the individuals and EUR 100 for institutions. Subscription for one on-line issue is 5 EUR.

In 2015 journal Temida is available at the web site of the Victimology Society of Serbia www.vds.org.rs and through the EBSCO research database **only for individuals and institutions who pay the subscription.**

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