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Viktimološko društvo Srbije, Ismeta Mujezinovića 21/6,

11070 Novi Beograd, tel/fax: + 38111 22 88 040, e-mail: vdsrbija@gmail.com i temida.vds@gmail.com

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## **COVID-19 Pandemic and Intimate Partner Violence: Experiences and Outcomes for Shelters' Clients in Croatia<sup>1</sup>**

IRMA KOVČO VUKADIN\*

*Previous research on intimate partner violence (IPV) shows different approaches to answering the question of whether the pandemic has led to an increase and worsening of IPV. The purpose of this study was to examine the impact of the pandemic on the personal and family functioning of victims of IPV, the impact of lockdown on the incidence of violence, help-seeking, coping mechanisms, mental health indicators, and the relationship between the experience of violence, resilience, and mental health indicators. The research sample consisted of women (N=52) who were clients of women's shelters in Croatia. The pandemic worsened the financial situation of participants and led to changes in the substance use by participants' partners. Since the introduction of lockdown, there has been an increase in all forms of violence, ranging from 26% (economic violence) to 46% (psychological violence). Participants were most likely to seek help from social welfare centres and the police and showed relatively high resilience and relatively favourable scores on the depression, anxiety, and stress scales.*

**Keywords:** intimate partner violence, COVID-19 pandemic, shelter, Croatia.

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\* Dr Irma Kovčo Vukadin is a Full Professor, Department of Criminology, Faculty of Education and Rehabilitation Science, University of Zagreb, Croatia. E-mail: [irma.kovco.vukadin@erf.unizg.hr](mailto:irma.kovco.vukadin@erf.unizg.hr).

## **Introduction**

Intimate partner violence<sup>2</sup> (IPV) is a global public health issue. World Health Organization noted that 1 in 3 women experience IPV on a global level (WHO, 2021). Violence against women is a continuous challenge for many societies due to its multifaceted character. Early in the pandemic, the issue of intimate partner violence (IPV) attracted considerable interest from scholars and experts, who warned of the potential negative impact of measures taken by many governments (lockdowns) to protect citizens from the spread of the pandemic, placing victims of IPV in a form of captivity. These warnings were based on previous studies of intimate partner violence changes during and in the aftermath of disasters, like for example Hurricane Katrina (Anastasio, Shehab, Lawry, 2009) or the Sichuan earthquake (Chan, Zhang, 2011). The high risk of the negative impact of disasters on IPV may be understood within a concept of social vulnerability, a concept commonly used in the disaster literature (J. M. First, N. L. First, Houston, 2017), but also within the ecological framework (based on a public health approach to violence) proposed by World Health Organization (WHO, n.d.). This framework identifies different levels (individual level, relationships level, community level and societal level) and many factors at each level that increase the risk of interpersonal violence from both perspectives (perpetrator and victim). The important aspect of this model is that it recognizes IPV as an outcome of a complex interplay between different factors at different levels. This systemic approach may help us understand the effect of the pandemic (as an objective factor at the societal level that affected individual factors at all other levels) on IPV. Several possible specific mechanisms of impact of lockdown to increase the risk of violence have been identified: inability to escape the violent partner, the negative impact of social isolation (in terms of deterioration of mental health on the one hand and reduction of support resources) and economic insecurity (Peterman et al., 2020). Mostly used models in understanding the negative effects of the pandemic on IPV at the individual level were stress-based models.

The subject of this paper is intimate partner violence during the pandemic in Croatia. The purpose of the study was to gain insight into 1)

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<sup>2</sup> In this paper, intimate partner violence is defined according to WHO definition as „behaviour by an intimate partner or ex-partner that causes physical, sexual or psychological harm, including physical aggression, sexual coercion, phychological abuse and controlling behaviours.” (WHO, 2014: 74).

the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic and earthquakes in Croatia on personal and family functioning; 2) the impact of lockdown on changes in the incidence of violence; 3) seeking help; 4) coping mechanisms, and 5) mental health indicators. In addition, the specific objective of the study is to test the relationship between the experience of violence and the resilience of the participants, as well as some indicators of mental health. The paper is structured in such a way that it first gives an overview of the current knowledge about the changes in IPV due to the pandemic and then presents the research conducted in Croatia. After describing the methodological framework of the research, the results obtained are presented and discussed.

### **Changes in intimate partner violence during a pandemic**

Several studies have been conducted on changes in IPV during the pandemic, and the results are contradictory, in contrast to the statements of relevant international organizations (UN Women, 2021). Some researchers noted an increase in new cases of IPV during the pandemic (e.g. Peitzmeier et al., 2021), others noted an increase in frequency and severity (e.g. Akel et al., 2020; Gibbons, Murphy, Rossi, 2021; Gosangi et al., 2021), while still others noted a decrease in IPV (e.g. Abujilban et al., 2021; Ojahere et al., 2021). The results of the various studies are shown in Table 1 based on a search of the Web of Science database. These different results may be explained by the different approaches used in these studies in terms of different samples (some studies included the general population, others included victims, others included victim service providers, etc.), different types of violence (domestic violence, IPV, sexual violence, etc.), and different time periods (during the lockdown, after the lockdown, and after the lockdown, respectively to lockdown). Studies that relied on secondary data used a variety of data sources (e.g., police data, emergency department data, victim/help/support services/organizations, helplines, prenatal care clinics, forum posts, radiological findings, tweets, etc.).

**Table 1.** Changes in IPV across different studies

Author	Year	State	Sample	Results
Peitzmeier et al.	2021	Michigan	N=1169, the general population	No significant change in overall IPV prevalence. In 34% of cases, it was new violence, and in 26% of cases, the violence got worsened.
Chiaramonte et al.	2021	US Pacific Northwest	N=306, clients of domestic violence agencies	Experience of violence was not worsened due to stay-at-home orders.
Nesset et al.	2021	Norway	N=974, all police reports before the pandemic and during lockdown	Police reports during lockdown increased by 54%.
Baier, Biberstein, Kliem	2022	Switzerland	N(2018)=2111, N(2021)=3010, general population	There was no increase in 2021 with respect to 2018.
Abujilban et al.	2020	Jordan	N=215, pregnant women	Violence decreased during quarantine.
Akel et al.	2020	Lebanon	N=86, married couples	Physical and psychological violence increased during the lockdown.
Arenas-Arroyo, Fernandez-Kranz, Nollenberger	2021	Španjolska	N=8951, women	IPV increased by 23% during 3months of lockdown.
El-Nimr et al.	2021	Arab countries	N=490, married women	IPV increased during the lockdown.
Gibbons, Murphy, Rossi	2021	Argentina	N=1502, women with intimate partner	Increase in emotional violence by 12%, physical by 23%, and sexual for 45%.
Gosangi et al.	2021	USA	N=68 electronic health records – radiology reports (11 March-3 May 2020, 2019, 2018 and 2017)	Physical violence increased by 1.8 fold in respect to the previous 3 years.
Jetelina, Knell, Molsberry	2021	USA	N=1759, general population (male and female)	In 54% victimisation stayed the same during the pandemic, in 17% it worsened, and in 30% it got better.
Muldoon et al.	2021	Canada	N=2, emergency departments	Decrease in ED admissions for sexual assault and domestic violence during COVID-19
Ojeahere et al.	2021	Nigeria	N=474, the general population	Decreased prevalence of IPV during the early phase of the COVID-19 lockdown.
Sediri et al.	2020	Tunisia	N=751 women, the general population	Violence against women increased during the lockdown (from 4.4% to 14.8%)

## Methods

### Participants

The sample of this study consists of 52 people (one person did not provide gender information, and all others were women, so we refer to a sample as women) who were in one of the shelters in the period from June to the end of August 2021 in Croatia. According to communication with the person responsible for compiling data on shelters at the state level, as of August 1, 2021, in Croatia, „47% of the total shelter capacity was occupied, i.e., 160 out of 343 places in 25 shelters in Croatia.“ Therefore, the sample of this study represents 32.5% of the total population of people housed in shelters during this period<sup>3</sup>, which makes this sample, although small, relevant.

Participants in the study had an average age of 37 years (min=20, max=61, SD=9.858), in most cases had graduated from high school, less than half were employed, most had minor children, 2/3 of participants were in a marital or extramarital relationship, and the relatively largest number of participants resided in Istria County. The counties where the shelters are located are shown in bold in Table 2. Their violent partners were predominantly (96%, N=50<sup>4</sup>) male, with an average age of 41 years (min=20, max=62, SD=11.167) with a secondary (44%) or primary (34%) level of education, with whom they were in a marital or extramarital relationship (73.5%).

**Table 2.** Sample characteristics

<b>Education*</b>	<b>f</b>	<b>%</b>
No school	2	3.9
Elementary	21	41.2
High school	24	47.1
Undergraduate study	1	2.0
Graduate study	2	3.9
Postgraduate study	1	2.0

<sup>3</sup> In 2019 and 2020, shelters for victims of violence were established in six counties (MRMSOSP, 2021), but not all of them have started operating yet. Of the total 25 shelters, 14 are operated by civil society organizations, 5 by religious institutions, and 6 by other service providers (Red Cross Homes/ Institutions). In 2019, there were a total of 806 victims (543 children) in the shelters, 712 (402 children) in 2020, and 854 (491 children) in 2021 (MRMSOSP, 2022).

<sup>4</sup> Not all participants answered all the questions, so the number of participants who answered the question was indicated for such questions.

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<b>Employment**</b>		
No	30	57.7
Yes, full time	6	11.5
Yes, part-time	12	23.1
Yes, occasional jobs	1	1.9
Retired	3	5.8
Children**		
No	1	1.9
Yes, minor	41	78.8
Yes, adult	10	19.2
<b>Partner status*</b>		
Single	6	11.8
In relationship	1	2.0
Marriage, extramarital union, registered partnership	34	66.7
Divorced	10	19.6
<b>County of residence**</b>		
Bjelovar-Bilogora	3	5.8
Brod-Posavina	3	5.8
Istria	2	3.8
Karlovac	5	9.6
Krapina-Zagorje	1	1.9
Međimurje	2	3.8
Osijek-Baranja	1	1.9
Požega-Slavonija	1	1.9
Primorsko-Goranska	8	15.4
Sisak-Moslavina	4	7.7
Šibenik-Knin	1	1.9
Varaždin	3	5.8
Virovitica-Podravina	1	1.9
Vukovar-Srijem	5	9.6
Zadar	3	5.8
Zagreb	5	9.6
City of Zagreb	4	7.7

\* N=51, \*\*N=52

## Measures

A questionnaire was created for the study in paper-pencil format and a parallel online version. It contained several groups of questions in addition to general sociodemographic questions. The first group of questions examined the impact of pandemics and earthquakes<sup>5</sup> on personal and family functioning (questions about illness or death of a loved one due to COVID-19, change in the household financial situation due to pandemic, loss of job due to pandemic, the experience of earthquakes and damage, changes in substance use by person and partner). The second group of questions included experiences with different forms of violence (physical, verbal - threats, psychological, economic, and sexual) and changes in the frequency of different forms of violence following the lockdown in Croatia. The third set of questions analyzed help-seeking behaviours (from whom they sought help, whether they reported the violence to state authorities, and whether they were satisfied with their response). The fourth instrument was used as a measure of stress coping mechanisms - the Brief Resilient Coping Scale (Sinclair, Wallston, 2004), which measures a person's ability to cope with stress in an adaptive manner. The scale contains four items, the total score is the sum of the items (possible range of 4 to 20), and there are three categories of scores: low resilient copers (4-13), medium resilient copers (14-16), and high resilient copers (17-20). The internal reliability of the scale in this sample is higher (Cronbach's alpha = .841) than the values reported by the authors of the scale. The fifth part of the questionnaire consisted of instruments assessing indicators of mental health - Depression, Anxiety and Stress Scale (DASS-21; P. F. Lovibond, S. H. Lovibond, 1995) as a commonly used indicator of mental health and an item assessing overall life satisfaction (Personal Wellbeing Index, International Wellbeing Group, 2013). The DAS scale contains a total of 21 items (seven items per domain), and the score is obtained by summing the items in each domain. Various studies suggest that it is an instrument with high internal reliability, which was confirmed in this sample. Cronbach's reliability coefficient ( $\alpha$ ) for the whole scale is .934, for the subscale Depression it is .893, and .770 for the subscale Anxiety, and .893 for the subscale Stress). The results are classified into a total of five categories for symptom severity: 1=normal, 2=mild, 3=moderate, 4=severe,

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<sup>5</sup> In 2020, Croatia was a seismologically extremely active area: Zagreb was hit by a strong earthquake on March 22, 2020, and the surroundings of Petrinja on December 29, 2020.

and 5=extremely severe symptoms. An S-a form of the instrument was used to examine negative emotional states (participants were asked to rate how often they had experienced certain feelings in the past week). The item measuring overall life satisfaction asks participants to rate their overall satisfaction with their lives on a scale from 0 to 10 and is a reliable and valid assessment (Lauri Korajlija, Mihaljević, Jokić-Begić, 2019).

### *Procedure and ethical issues*

After obtaining approval from the Ethics Committee of the Faculty of Education and Rehabilitation Sciences, the University of Zagreb, all shelters in Croatia were contacted (first by e-mail, then by telephone) with a request to participate in the study. Shelter experts were informed about the purpose and ethics of the study. After they gave their consent, several questionnaires and consent forms were mailed to them, and an online version of the questionnaire was emailed to them. This indirect approach to victims of IPV was chosen for several reasons. The first reason is to maintain the confidentiality of the location of the women's shelter. The second reason relates to the ethical aspects of conducting research with vulnerable groups. The one-time appearance of the researcher and the 'request' to share an intimate and painful experience seemed ethically questionable. The importance of respecting the voluntary nature of participation in the research was emphasized. It was also agreed with the experts not to invite women who had just arrived at the shelter or were showing signs of mental health problems so that filling out the questionnaire would not further upset them. It was also agreed with the experts that they would be available to the clients after they had completed the questionnaire, should they wish to reflect on any thoughts or emotions that may have been triggered by the completion of the questionnaire<sup>6</sup>. The trauma-informed approach was used to create the questionnaire (participants were warned about violence-related questions and told that they were not obligated to answer these questions). In this dilemma – to get an answer or to respect the rights of the participants – we decided to fully respect the participants. At the end of the

<sup>6</sup> Griffin et al. (2003) conducted a study on the participation of people who have experienced various types of traumatic experiences in trauma research and concluded that survivors of traumatic experiences are not too fragile to participate in such research and that it can be a valuable experience.

questionnaire, participants were given a clear message about the right to live without violence. An expert in this field was consulted in the preparation of the questionnaire.

## **Results and discussion**

### *The impact of the COVID-19 pandemic and earthquakes in Croatia on the personal and family functioning of IPV shelter clients*

Only 9.6% of participants were infected with COVID-19, and in 1.9% of cases, a person close to them died of COVID-19. Data on the change in the financial situation due to the pandemic are presented in Table 3, which shows that in about half of the cases, the financial situation remained unchanged and in more than one-fourth of the cases, it worsened significantly. A worsening household financial situation is considered a risk factor for the occurrence or exacerbation of violent behaviour. El-Nimr et al. (2021) find that both a household's financial situation and a partner's loss of employment are predictors of IPV.

**Table 3.** Changes in the household financial situation due to the pandemic compared to the pre-pandemic period

<b>Changes in the household financial situation</b>	<b>f</b>	<b>%</b>
It got much worse	14	27.5
It got slightly worse	8	15.7
It reminded the same	26	51.0
It got slightly better	2	3.9
It got much better	1	2.0

N = 51

In a small number of cases, participants (5.8%) or their partners (2.2%) lost their jobs. Three-quarters (74%) of participants felt the earthquakes in March and December 2020, slightly more than half of the participants (52.8%) suffered no damage, 44.4% had psychological damage, and 2.8% had significant property damage. The following two tables show the results of changes in substance use among participants and their partners. Substance abuse is considered one of the possible negative outcomes for people exposed to prolonged violence (Ellsberg et al., 2008; Gresham et

al., 2021). From Table 4, we see that in most cases, participants did not use alcohol, marijuana, or „heavy” drugs. In a small number of cases, the use of tobacco and sedatives or sleeping pills decreased, in most cases, it remained the same, and in a smaller number of cases, it increased.

**Table 4. Changes in participants' substance use**

Substances	Not using		Decreased		The same		Increased	
	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
Tobacco*	19	40.4	2	4.3	20	42.6	6	12.8
Alcohol**	47	97.9	/	/	1	2.1	/	/
Sedatives or sleeping pills**	37	77.1	2	4.2	6	12.5	3	6.3
Marijuana*	46	97.9	/	/	1	2.1	/	/
“Heavy” drugs*	46	97.9	/	/	1	2.1	/	/

\*N=47, \*\*N=48

Table 5 shows that the participants' partners consumed more of the substances than the participants. The data suggest an increase in the use of certain addictive substances, particularly alcohol, tobacco, sedatives or sleeping pills. It is important to keep in mind that the use of addictive substances (especially alcohol) does not „cause” violent behaviour, but is a major correlate of that behaviour, which is of particular importance when developing prevention strategies.

**Table 5. Changes in substance use by participants' partners**

Substances	Not using		Decreased		The same		Increased	
	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
Tobacco*	12	27.9	/	/	15	34.9	16	37.2
Alcohol***	11	24.4	/	/	12	26.7	22	48.9
Sedatives or sleeping pills**	25	56.8	/	/	8	18.2	11	25.0
Marijuana**	38	86.4	2	4.5	2	4.5	2	4.5
Heavy drugs*	41	95.3	/	/	1	2.3	1	2.3

\*N=43, \*\*N=44, \*\*\*N=45

### *The effect of lockdown on changes in the incidence of IPV*

In this group of questions, participants were asked how often they were exposed to certain violent behaviours by their partners and whether these

behaviours changed after the lockdown was implemented. The data show that study participants most frequently experienced psychological violence ( $M=3.44$ ,  $SD=.733$ ), then verbal violence threats ( $M=2.81$ ,  $SD=1.04$ ), economic violence ( $M=2.76$ ,  $SD=1.06$ ), physical violence ( $M=2.64$ ,  $SD=.851$ ), and relatively rarely sexual violence ( $M=1.96$ ,  $SD=1.17$ ). If we look at the category of very often experiences of the analyzed forms of violence (Table 6), we see that participants very frequently experienced psychological violence, then in the same relative proportion economic and verbal violence, and finally physical and sexual violence. These data are interesting because the public might expect that women seeking shelter are most often victims of physical violence, but these data point to the detrimental effects of psychological violence. A specific variable was created to provide information on how many types of violent behaviours participants experienced. Participants were exposed to an average of 4 of 5 types of violence ( $M=4.145$ ,  $SD=1.091$ ). The data on exposure to different types of violence differ somewhat from the data obtained by the Autonomous Women's House Zagreb (AŽKZ, 2020) in its study. Participants in this study were more "often" and "very often" exposed to physical violence (52% in this sample and less than 20% in the AŽKZ sample) and sexual violence (30% in this sample, less than 15% in the AŽKZ sample). These differences are likely since the variables and categories were not the same and the samples were different.

**Table 6.** Experience with violent behaviour

Experience with violent behaviour	Never f %		Sometimes f %		Often f %		Very often f %	
Physical violence (e.g., hitting, pushing, pulling hair, throwing things at you) **	3	6.0	21	42.0	17	34.0	9	18.0
Threats of physical violence or some evil to you and people close to you*	6	12.5	13	27.1	13	27.1	16	33.3
Psychological violence (e.g., swearing, insulting, belittling, humiliating, banning contact with relatives and friends, destroying personal belongings, controlling movement) ***	1	2.0	4	8.0	17	34.0	28	56.0
Economic violence (e.g., denial of economic means, ban on employment, confiscation of funds, inability to dispose of personal property) ***	7	13.7	15	29.4	12	23.5	17	33.3
Sexual violence (coercion to unwanted sexual activities) **	26	52.0	9	18.0	6	12.0	9	18.0

\*N=48, \*\*N=50, \*\*\*N=51

Table 7 provides insight into changes in violent behaviour experienced by the participants. Relatively few types of violence occurred for the first time during the pandemic, and relatively few types of violent behaviour decreased. In most cases, the intensity of violence remained the same, and in many cases, violence increased after the lockdown was implemented. The relatively largest increase was in psychological violence (46.7%), followed by increases in threats of physical violence (37.5%), sexual violence (36.4%), physical violence (28.9%), and economic violence (26.2%). These data confirm the existing claims about the worsening of violence, i.e., its increase after the introduction of the lockdown. The results of the first occurrence of IPV during the pandemic are similar to those found by the AŽKZ (2020) in its research. The results on the frequency of certain forms of violence during the pandemic in the study by AŽKZ (2020) for comparable types of violent behaviours analyzed indicate that physical assaults were as common as before and were less frequent and more common than the results in this sample. The data on sexual assault in the AŽKZ (2020) sample are similar to those in this study, as are the data on economic violence.

**Table 7.** Changes in IPV after the introduction of the lockdown (March 2020)

	Occurred for the 1 <sup>st</sup> time during the pandemic		Decreased		Reminded the same		Increased	
	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
Physical violence (e.g., hitting, pushing, pulling hair, throwing things at you) ****	3	6.7	4	8.9	25	55.6	13	28.9
Threats of physical violence or some evil to you and people close to you**	3	7.5	2	5.0	20	50.0	15	37.5
Psychological violence (e.g., swearing, insulting, belittling, humiliating, banning contact with relatives and friends, destroying personal belongings, controlling movement) ****	1	2.2	2	4.4	21	46.7	21	46.7
Economic violence (e.g., denial of economic means, ban on employment, confiscation of funds, inability to dispose of personal property) ***	3	7.1	3	7.1	25	59.5	11	26.2
Sexual violence (coercion to unwanted sexual activities) *	/		4	18.2	10	45.5	8	36.4

\*N=22, \*\*N=40, \*\*\*N=42, \*\*\*\*N=45

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### *Seeking Help*

Social support has been shown to be a significant factor in adaptively coping with difficult life situations and predicting positive outcomes for individuals who have survived IPV (Jose, Novaco, 2016; Howell et al., 2018; Machisa, Christofides, Jewkes, 2018). Participants were asked if they had asked for help. The data (Table 8) show that participants most frequently sought help from social welfare centers and the police and least frequently from physicians. These results differ to some extent from those of the study by AŽKZ (2020).

**Table 8.** Seeking help

	N	Yes (%)
Friends	49	30.6
Relatives	49	44.9
Police	49	61.2
Center for social welfare	49	63.3
Physician	49	12.2
Psychologist / psychiatrist	49	30.6
Organisations of civil society	47	38.3

The majority of participants (90.2%) reported violence to government agencies, which is understandable since one of the ways to stay in a women's shelter is to contact government agencies (police or social services). Of the participants who reported violence, 62.8% were satisfied with the outcome. Participants were given the opportunity to elaborate on their responses. Those who were satisfied indicated that they and their children have peace of mind, that they do not live in fear, and that they feel safe (examples of statements: *"When I reported the violence, everyone stood by us."* *"They helped me and my son and now we live and breathe fully."* *"The centre gave me the opportunity to go to a safe house where I could solve the most important life issues."*) Those who were not satisfied most often cited a lengthy court process as a reason for their dissatisfaction (*"There was no hearing for six months"*), inadequate treatment (*"I was not examined in the emergency room, and my partner was released from custody after a few hours, the police wrote a note about minor injuries without attaching the medical report, and I was covered in bruises on my face and head."*), and dissatisfaction with the outcome of the court (*"The offender was not punished."*). An appropriate response from various

sources of help is very important to survivors of violence against women and influences their future coping strategies (Waldrop, Resick, 2004) as well as their perceptions of their own experiences (Mills, 1985).

### *Coping mechanisms*

Resilience is a very complex construct for which there is not yet a unified understanding. One definition states that resilience is "a dynamic process encompassing positive adaptation within the context of significant adversity" (Luthar, Cicchetti, Becker, 2000: 543). The two most important conditions are 1) exposure to significant threats or severe adversity, and 2) the achievement of positive adaptation despite major assaults on the developmental process (Muñoz, Brady, Brown, 2017: 102). The instrument used in this study to measure adaptive coping with stress is based on Polk's (1997) model according to which "resilient coping behaviour refers to a tendency to effectively use cognitive appraisal skills in a flexible, committed approach to activate problem-solving despite stressful circumstances." (Sinclair, Wallston, 2004: 95). This instrument has been used primarily with general and student samples and with samples of people with health problems. There is not much research on the resilience of women survivors of IPV. Anderson, Renner and Danis (2012), based on research with women who experienced intimate partner violence, report relatively strong resilience among participants in which social and spiritual support played an important role. Jose and Novaco (2016) examined the association between social support and resilience and mental health problems in a sample of women who had sought restraining orders. The authors found that participants exhibited relatively high levels of resilience and support and that self-expressed resilience, along with perceived social support, was a significant protective factor in alleviating mental distress. Howell et al. (2018) analyzed protective factors related to women's resilience in a sample of 112 women who had experienced IPV in the past six months and, using regression analysis, concluded that greater resilience was associated with greater social support and spirituality, as well as fewer (lifetime) violent partners. Alvarez, Fontanil and Alcedo (2022) conducted a systematic review of resilience and associated factors among IPV survivors and conclude that individual, relational and contextual factors are at the core of IPV survivors'

resilience. The results of the descriptive analysis for this sample by individual item, as well as the overall result in this sample, indicate relatively high resilience, i.e., adaptive coping with stress, which is consistent with the results of other studies (Anderson, Renner, Danis, 2012). The scores for the individual items in this sample are higher than those reported by Fung (2020) for a sample of Chinese students and by Sinclair and Wallston (2004) for a sample of patients with rheumatoid arthritis. The score on the total scale is higher than the total score of the Chinese students (Fung, 2020) and the female subsample of the German general population (Kocalevent et al., 2017). The results on this scale can be divided into three categories, with category 1 describing low resilience copers (23.9% in this sample), category 2 describing medium resilience copers (43.5%), and high resilience copers (32.6%). These positive results in the analyzed sample may reflect the fact that the participants in this study chose (by leaving the offender) to make positive changes in their lives by proactively adapting to adverse life circumstances. Waldrop and Resick (2004) note that existing research confirms the relationship between the frequency and severity of violence and coping strategies - the more frequent and severe the violence, the more likely a woman is to take action to leave such a relationship.

**Table 9.** The Brief Resilience Coping Scale - Descriptive statistics for items and scale

	N	min	max	M	SD
I look for creative ways to alter difficult situations.	48	2	5	3.92	.821
Regardless of what happens to me, I believe I can control my reaction to it.	49	1	5	3.76	1.031
I believe I can grow in positive ways by dealing with difficult situations.	50	1	5	3.98	.958
I actively look for ways to replace the losses I encounter in life.	48	1	5	3.98	.934
<b>Total score</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>15.60</b>	<b>3.12</b>

### *Mental health indicators*

The Depression, Anxiety, and Stress Scale (DASS-21) and overall life satisfaction were used as measures of mental health. Results for the Depression, Anxiety, and Stress Scale are presented in Table 10 by symptom severity categories. It is important to note that this scale was used in the

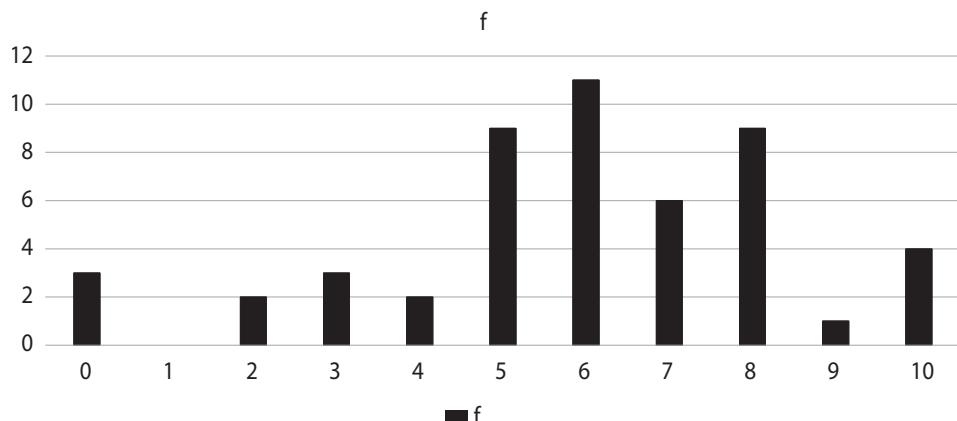
form that measures emotional states (S-form), in which participants are asked to rate how often they experienced certain emotions in the past week. The results suggest relatively favourable outcomes, as average scores on each scale range from mild to moderate symptoms. The results are relatively most favourable for stress and relatively least favourable (although there are small differences) for anxiety. These results should be interpreted in light of the fact that the participants are shelter clients meaning that they are in a safe and supportive environment. Research findings on the prevalence rates of negative mental health indicators among women survivors of violence indicate a significantly worse situation – some authors (according to Waldrop, Resick, 2004) state that the rate of depression is over 50%.

**Table 10.** DASS-21 – Descriptive statistics

	Per cent					min	max	M	SD
	Normal	Mild	Moderate	Severe	Extremely severe				
Depression*	43.8	16.7	16.7	10.4	12.5	1	5	2.31	1.446
Anxiety*	31.3	16.7	29.2	10.4	12.5	1	5	2.56	1.366
Stress**	55.1	14.3	12.2	6.1	12.2	1	5	2.06	1.434

\*N=48, \*\*N=49

As a second indicator of mental health, general life satisfaction was measured with one item. Cummins (1998), based on an analysis of life satisfaction data in 47 states, finds that average life satisfaction ranges from 60 to 80% of the positive portion of the scale. Chart 1 shows the results for the sample analyzed, indicating that most participants rate their life satisfaction in the positive part of the scale. The data on the mean ( $M=5.90$ ,  $SD=2.46$ ) show that this value is slightly lower than that reported by Cummins (1998), which is to be expected given the nature of the sample. Existing research indicates a relationship between IPV and lower life satisfaction (Hui, Constantino, 2021). Kaliterna Lipovčan (2019) studies the well-being of citizens in Croatia and finds that in Croatia (on the same scale) the average score for the total population is about 7. The average level of life satisfaction in this sample is similar to that found by AŽKZ (2020) in its survey.

**Chart 1.** Satisfaction with life

*Relationship between the experience of violence, resilience of participants and some indicators of mental health*

Existing research shows that resilience measures are positively correlated with mental health measures, optimism, coping strategies, self-esteem, self-efficacy, well-being, and life satisfaction, and negatively correlated with anxiety, depression, and negative coping strategies (Fung, 2020).

In this sample, the correlation between the Brief Resilience Coping Scale and symptoms of depression, anxiety, stress, and overall life satisfaction was tested. A negative correlation ( $r=-.431$ ,  $p<.01$ ) with anxiety and a positive correlation ( $r=.422$ ,  $p<.01$ ) with life satisfaction were found. The directions of the coefficients suggest that higher resilience is associated with lower levels of anxiety symptoms and higher life satisfaction, which is consistent with the findings of previous research (Fung, 2020). Considering that a negative correlation between life satisfaction and depression and anxiety is found in the literature (Lauri Korajlija, Mihaljević, Jokić-Begić, 2019), the correlation between life satisfaction and scores on the depression, anxiety, and stress scales was tested and a moderate negative correlation between life satisfaction and depression ( $r=-.448$ ,  $p<.01$ ) and anxiety symptoms ( $r=-.498$ ,  $p<.01$ ) was found.

Table 11 shows that a statistically significant but weak correlation was found only between resilience and economic violence and the number of violent behaviours experienced. A higher frequency of economic violence

correlates with greater resilience (which may be the result of greater use of available resources or "good management" by participants in terms of securing funds). Higher economic violence also correlates with more forms of experienced violence, which is very interesting because it speaks to the possible existence of positive adaptation to adverse life circumstances, which is consistent with research suggesting that the development of resilience is possible even in the "chaos and devastation of domestic violence" (Anderson, Renner, Danis, 2012: 1296).

**Table 11.** Correlation between the experience of violence, resilience, and mental health indicators

	<b>BRCS</b>	<b>Depression</b>	<b>Anxiety</b>	<b>Stress</b>	<b>Life satisfaction</b>
Physical violence	.168	-.059	-.035	-.152	.189
Threats	-.071	.063	.274	-.077	-.024
Psychological violence	-.134	-.004	.145	-.140	.238
Economic violence	.319*	-.055	.031	-.186	.140
Sexual violence	.243	.106	-.064	-.068	.116
Number of types of violence	.323*	.091	.013	-.135	.119

\*Correlation is significant at the .05 level

### *Limitations of the study*

This study has some limitations. The first limitation relates to the sample size. The second limitation refers to the fact that it is impossible to generalize the results to the total population of victims of IPV because they are shelter clients. The next limitation is methodological and refers to the way the research was conducted (by proxy), which leaves people outside the research team in control of the research process. In addition, according to the results obtained, it is felt that some questions (i.e., answers offered) may not have been clear enough for the research participants.

### **Conclusion**

The purpose of this study was to get insight into 1) the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic and earthquakes in Croatia on personal and family

functioning, 2) the impact of lockdown on changes in the incidence of violence, 3) seeking help, 4) coping mechanisms, and 5) mental health indicators. Study results show a worsening of the financial situation in a quarter of the sample although only a smaller portion of participants and their partners lost their jobs. The major impact of the earthquakes in Croatia was psychological damage. There were some slight changes in participants' substance use. Participants' partners used different substances more often than participants and the use of tobacco, alcohol and sedatives or sleeping pills increased during the lockdown period. The most dominant type of violence that participants experienced was psychological violence, and participants were exposed to 4 (out of 5) types of violence. In smaller amounts, the violence occurred for the first time during the lockdown, and in most cases (approximately in half of the cases) the intensity of violence remained the same. In all types of violence, there was a certain increase, the highest for psychological violence. Participants sought help mostly from the police and social welfare centres. Results on the resilience scale indicate that participants are good "copers", and results for indicators of mental health indicate that participants show normal symptoms of depression, moderate symptoms of anxiety, and normal symptoms of stress. Overall life satisfaction is lower than life satisfaction in the general population in Croatia. Correlation analysis shows that higher resilience is associated with lower levels of anxiety symptoms and higher life satisfaction and that higher life satisfaction is associated with higher levels of symptoms of depression and anxiety.

Obtained results are relevant for shaping the governmental response to IPV during the crisis but also for further approaches to the prevention of IPV. Information about the vacancy in shelters in Croatia during lockdown is a clear message that relevant authorities should put more emphasis on public campaigns in times of crisis about the possibilities to use shelters, and also adapt admission procedures in such cases. IPV should be an important part of policies, strategies and measures taken by the government and policy-makers. More emphasis on some individual factors that are proven to contribute to IPV (such as alcohol abuse) should be put in times of crisis. Results about the increase of different types of IPV in the lockdown period suggest that there is a need for further narrative exploration of mechanisms that contributed to such an increase to design specific preventive strategies and measures. In the end, the strength of the IPV victims (good results in

resilience and mental health) should be emphasized. A strength-based approach at each level of the ecological model could be used for enhancing the prevention of IPV in future.

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IRMA KOVČO VUKADIN<sup>7</sup>

## **Pandemija COVID-19 i partnersko nasilje: Iskustva i ishodi za klijente sigurnih kuća u Hrvatskoj<sup>8</sup>**

Postojeća istraživanja intimnog partnerskog nasilja pokazuju različite pristupe u davanju odgovora na pitanje je li pandemija dovela do povećanja i pogoršanja intimnog partnerskog nasilja. Cilj ovog istraživanja odnosio se ispitivanje utjecaja pandemije na osobno i obiteljsko funkcioniranje kod žrtava intimnog partnerskog nasilja, utjecaja vladinih mjera za suzbijanje pandemije na frekvencnost doživljenog nasilja, traženje pomoći, mehanizme nošenja, indikatore mentalnog zdravlja i povezanost iskustva doživljenog nasilja i otpornosti sudionica te indikatora mentalnog zdravlja. Uzorak istraživanja činile su žene (N=52) koje su bile korisnice skloništa u Hrvatskoj. Pandemija je donijela pogoršanje finansijske situacije za sudionice te do promjena u konzumiraju sredstava ovisnosti kod partnera sudionica. Od uvođenja vladinih mjera za suzbijanje pandemije bilježi se povećanje svih oblika nasilja koje se kreće od 26% (ekonomsko nasilje) do 46% (psihičko nasilje). Sudionice su najčešće tražile pomoć od centara za socijalnu skrb i policije, te pokazuju relativno visoku otpornost, kao i relativno povoljne rezultate na skali depresivnosti, anksioznosti i stresa.

**Ključne riječi:** intimno partnersko nasilje, COVID-19 pandemija, sklonište, Hrvatska.

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<sup>7</sup> Dr Irma Kovčo Vukadin je redovna profesorka u trajnom zvanju, Odeljenja za kriminologiju, Edukacijsko-rehabilitacijski fakultet, Univerzitet u Zagrebu, Hrvatska.

E-mail: irma.kovco.vukadin@erf.unizg.hr.

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## **Pandemija COVID-19: Viktimološke perspektive**

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### **Going against the Flow: Motivations of Professionals with Critical Views on Vaccination**

ETY ELISHA\*

JOSH GUETZKOW

YAFFA SHIR-RAZ

NATTI RONEL

*The controversy over vaccines has persisted since their introduction in the eighteenth century. While many studies have addressed the concerns and motivations of the general population regarding hesitation and resistance to vaccination (especially parents, concerning routine childhood immunization), the present study was designed to examine this issue among professionals from a victimological perspective, thus its uniqueness. Study participants were researchers and practitioners involved with vaccines who hold a critical position on vaccines and their ways of dealing with what they perceived as suppression of dissent in the field of vaccination. The motivations identified among the researchers and practitioners in our study referred to ethical aspects of professional obligation to patients, patient rights, freedom of choice, and lack of trust in the medical establishment. The participants also perceived themselves as victims of suppressive tactics due to their critical position, to which they responded in two contrasting ways: continuing to dissent while insisting on their right to have their voices heard or abandoning their public dissent due to*

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\* Dr Ety Elisha is a Senior Lecturer at the Department of Criminology, The Max Stern Yezreel Valley College, Israel. E-mail: etye@yvc.il.

Dr Josh Guetzkow is a Senior Lecturer at the Institute of Criminology, Department of Sociology & Anthropology, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel.  
E-mail: joshua.guetzkow@mail.huji.ac.il.

Dr Yaffa Shir-Raz is a Lecturer at the Department of Communication, University of Haifa, Israel and Raphael Recanati International School, IDC, Herzliya, Israel. E-mail: yaffas@netvision.net.il.

Dr Natti Ronel is a Full Professor at the Department of Criminology, Bar Ilan University, Israel. E-mail: roneln@biu.ac.il.

*the reactions and repercussions they faced. The article discusses the implications of these findings in the context of scientific integrity, violation of democratic and ethical values, freedom of speech, and its impact on the public's trust in science and medicine.*

**Keywords:** vaccination, vaccine hesitancy, dissenters, public health, ethical values, victimization.

## Introduction

The official position of health organizations and the medical establishment on the issue of immunization, adopted by most researchers, physicians and citizens, is that vaccines are safe and effective in reducing morbidity and mortality from infectious diseases (Andre et al., 2008; Offit, 2010; Remmel, 2021). Yet, controversy over vaccines has persisted since the introduction of vaccines in the eighteenth century (Johnston, 2004; Bragazzi et al., 2017). While the history of immunization abounds with heroic stories about the eradication of many infectious diseases, it also presents evidence of unethical and sometimes immoral experiments (Gesser-Edelsburg, Shir-Raz, 2016), biases, conflict of interests and even scams in clinical trials of vaccines (e.g., Doshi, 2013; Cernic, 2018; Holland, Rosenberg, Iorio, 2018; Jorgensen et al., 2018; Gøtzsche, 2020). Nevertheless, physicians and researchers who point to safety issues with vaccines are often subjected to personal and professional attacks and negatively labelled as "vaccine opponents" or "anti-vaxxers" (Martin, 2015; Vernon, 2017; Elisha et al., 2021).

Most of the academic research on vaccine critics focuses on lay persons and is aimed at understanding the phenomenon of vaccine refusal or hesitancy (e.g., Salmon et al., 2005; Wei et al., 2009; Stahl et al., 2016; Brunson, Sobo, 2017). The present study seeks instead to examine the motivations of scientists and professionals who have critical positions on vaccines, some of whom claim to be subjected to suppression of dissent. Allowing their voices to be heard first-hand may contribute to a better understanding of their sources of motivations and promote a substantive discussion in the controversial field of vaccines, which is most relevant in this period of the global SARS-CoV-2 pandemic and the new vaccines developed against COVID-19.

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## Vaccine hesitancy and the anti-vaccination movements

In recent decades, studies have increasingly revealed that absolute refusal and direct opposition to vaccination are marginal phenomena (Jacobson, 2010; Velan, 2011; CDC 2013). Instead, anti-vaccination attitudes are coming to be understood through the lens of "vaccine hesitancy" (Jacobson, 2010; Smith, Marshall, 2010; Diekema, 2012). This phenomenon, wherein parents rationally evaluate what they view as the benefits and risks of each vaccine (Jacobson, 2010; Velan et al., 2012; Brunson, Sobo, 2017), is reflected in the growing number of parents who delay immunizing their children or vaccinate them with selected vaccines. Although compliance with immunization programs has generally been considered high even in countries where immunization is voluntary (Haverkate et al., 2012), the trend of vaccine hesitancy is growing in many countries worldwide (Stahl et al., 2016). Health authorities argue that this has led to a significant decrease in vaccination, which is an obstacle to the eradication of infectious diseases (Feikin et al., 2000; Saint-Victor, Omer, 2013; Hornsey, Harris, Fielding, 2018) and has led to a resurgence of outbreaks of vaccine-preventable diseases (Gowda, Dempsey, 2013). Without widespread compliance, they maintain, vaccines have a limited impact on public health (Saint-Victor, Omer, 2013). Recently, the World Health Organization (WHO), relating to vaccine hesitancy as "the reluctance or refusal to be vaccinated", declared this phenomenon as one of the top 10 global health threats (Chandler, 2019).

Some researchers point to the significant role of the internet and social networks in disseminating critical information, which they refer to as misinformation that may fuel the controversy on vaccines and influence public opinion and behaviour in relation to immunization (Grant et al., 2015; Nugier et al., 2018; Harvey et al., 2019). However, some studies have claimed that vaccine hesitancy is rooted in personal beliefs, attitudes, and values. These include religious beliefs (Simpson, Lenton, Randall, 1995; Muhsen et al., 2012); ethical considerations, such as concern over animals and children used in vaccine development (Keane et al. 2005), and beliefs regarding individualism and personal autonomy (Keane et al. 2005; Hobson-West 2007); distrust in the medical establishment (Hobson-West 2007) and physicians (Smith, Marshall, 2010); and health considerations, such as the belief that getting the disease naturally is healthier (Flanagan-Klygis, Frader, 2005; Healy, Pickering, 2011).

Other explanations include parental concerns about adverse events and vaccine safety; individual risk assessments; certain beliefs about the origins of diseases and the effectiveness of modern medicine; changes in the status of science, expertise, and medical authority; changes in the status of patients who express their desire to be involved in medical decisions (Smith et al., 2011; Zimmerman et al., 2005; Dubé et al., 2015); and the belief that immunization policies are driven by economic motives (Wolfe, Sharp, Lipsky, 2002). However, contrary to early assumptions that ignorance is responsible for vaccine hesitancy, it has been found that missing or incorrect information only partially explains this phenomenon (Gesser-Edelsburg et al., 2016).

The new vaccines developed for COVID-19 have once again sparked controversy between supporters and opponents of vaccines. However, alongside the high immunization rates, at least in the first doses of the new vaccines, health authorities worldwide have pointed to the phenomenon of vaccine hesitancy, mainly due to safety concerns, despite statements by health authorities about their safety and effectiveness in protecting against serious illness and mortality (Verger et al., 2018; Dube, MacDonald, 2022).

The leading conclusion is that vaccine hesitancy should be fought by increasing institutional presence on websites and monitoring online debates on vaccines (e.g., Stahl et al., 2016; Arif et al., 2018). Recently, following widespread information on the internet about the potential risks of the new vaccines developed against COVID-19, there have been calls for government regulation and even compulsory vaccination to overcome vaccine hesitancy (Verger, Dubé, 2020; Marco-Franco et al., 2021). Others, however, propose to involve vaccine opponents in vaccination discussions, to address their concerns and reduce their resistance (Boodoosinhg et al., 2020). However, as Blume (2006) noted, focusing attention on opponents of vaccination unites health professionals behind the banner of reason, but diverts attention from the critique of vaccination practices, which may result in the opposite effect.

## **Characteristics and motivations attributed to vaccine opponents**

Many studies have been conducted to identify the characteristics and motivation for hesitation among the general population, and especially parents of young children, with mixed findings. However, no study has exami-

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ned the characteristics and motivations of professionals with critical attitudes toward vaccines, who have also experienced suppression as a result, as the present study suggests.

For example, Reuben et al. (2020) pointed to the following characteristics of hesitant parents: younger age, lower levels of education, a high level of religiosity, less trust in physicians and greater disgust sensitivity. Similarly, a study from Turkey found a correlation between parents' reluctance to vaccinate their children with the flu vaccine and low parental education, lack of acquaintance with a relative who suffered from the disease, and a perception that the severity of the epidemic is exaggerated and that there are more effective prevention means than vaccines (Sule et al., 2011). A study aimed at examining the psychological factors that motivate anti-vaccination attitudes, which involved 5323 participants from 24 different countries around the world, found that such attitudes are most common among those with a high score in conspiratorial thinking, in reactance (low tolerance for impingements on freedoms), and with high levels of disgust toward blood and needles and strong individualistic and hierarchical worldviews. No association was found with demographic variables or education (Hornsey et al., 2018).

Other studies, however, have yielded somewhat different findings. Several studies have indicated that people who hold anti-vaccination attitudes are often no less and even more educated than others (Larson et al., 2014; Amit-Aharon et al., 2018), and tend to spend a relatively long time searching for information about vaccines on the internet (Jones et al., 2012). Parents who are hesitant about vaccinating their children with routine vaccines were found to have high levels of communicative and critical health literacy (Amit-Aharon et al., 2017) and were more likely to reside in well-educated, higher-income areas compared to non-refusers (Wei et al., 2009). A recent study of COVID-19 vaccine hesitancy found a U-shaped distribution, where people with PhD were the most hesitant (23.9%), followed by people with a high school education or less (20.8%) and college graduates (31.5%) (King et al., 2021).

In addition, it was found that hesitant parents tend to hold the most vibrant intrafamily discussions at home regarding vaccination compared with both anti-vaccination and pro-vaccination parents and are also more likely to search for information from scientific sources (Gesser-Edelsburg, 2016). Compared to parents of vaccinated children, parents who refused to vaccinate their children tended to view vaccines as less safe and efficacious, reported

lower levels of confidence in medical, public health, and government sources for vaccine information, and were more likely to report confidence in alternative medicine professionals (Salmon et al., 2005).

While vaccine advocates portray vaccine critics as charlatans and conspirators who spread "fake news" that endangers public health (e.g., Lewandowsky, Gignac, Oberauer, 2013; Jolley, Douglas, 2014; Arif et al., 2018; Marco-Franco et al., 2021), opponents argue otherwise. To support their arguments, vaccine critics point to safety issues and adverse events following vaccination (e.g., Halvorsen, 2007; Habakus, Holland, 2012; Palmer, 2019), which they claim are not addressed adequately by public health authorities and the media, allegedly to protect the pro-vaccine hegemony. Vaccine critics also point to biases, conflict of interests and even scams in clinical trials of vaccines of pharmaceutical and officials in health and regulatory organizations, out of political-economic considerations (e.g., Doshi, 2013; Gesser-Edelsburg, Shir-Raz, 2016; Cernic, 2018; Holland, Rosenberg, 2018; Jorgensen, Goetzsche, Jefferson, 2018; Gøtzsche, 2020).

## **The suppression of vaccine dissent**

Some researchers, physicians and civic activists claim to be subjected to suppressive tactics due to their critical position on vaccines (Martin, 2015; Vernon, 2017). Suppression of vaccine dissent refers to actions taken by powerful organizations to silence those who challenge the dominant views on vaccine safety and efficacy, actions which deviate from a fair debate (Martin, 2015). Such tactics include spreading rumours, vilification, harassment, reprimands, deregistration, and dismissal (Martin, 1999a). Other suppressive tactics include exerting pressure on organizations and institutions to prevent vaccine critics from presenting their opinion (Martin, 1999b). Quite often, those who express doubts about vaccination experience ostracism, are cited incorrectly, denounced as "anti-vaxxers," and have their research retracted (Vernon, 2017; Elisha et al., 2021).

Regardless of the validity of vaccine critics' arguments, suppression of critical positions on a controversial topic constitutes a particular form of impediment that is unfair, unjust, contrary to ethical standards of the scientific process, and violates the basic principle of freedom of speech (Martin, 2014,

2016; Delborne, 2016). Confidence in medicine and vaccines depends on trust in healthcare professionals, the healthcare system, and science (Larson et al., 2018). Suppression of dissent tends to undermine this trust.

The present paper is part of a larger study, aimed to explore the neglected phenomenon of suppression of dissent in the field of vaccination, from the subjective point of view of professionals involved with vaccines. In our previous studies, we explored the various suppressive tactics and the censorship applied to researchers and practitioners in medicine who are vaccine critics and their implications (Elisha et al., 2021; 2022). These researchers and practitioners represent a new method of victimization, that is, professional suppression, which has a negative impact on their personal and professional lives (e.g., losing a job). While defining them as victims, we adopt Ben-David's (2000) approach defined as "victim's victimology", which explores the victimization experience by pronouncing the victims' perspectives, needs, and struggles. This victimological approach served as a precursor to the more developed positive criminology (e.g., Toren, 2015), which strongly emphasized the need for integration of survivors of victimization. Note that we do not take any position on the issue of vaccination nor argue for or against any side of the debate.

## **Methodology**

### *Aim of the study*

Our aim is to explore the motivations of dissenter professionals in the field of vaccines who experience professional victimization, a rather neglected field of research. The overarching goal of the study is to lead to an open, fair, and balanced scientific discourse in the field of vaccination, that will integrate any professional, scientifically based perspective and avoids any consequent victimization of professionals following their contribution.

### *Method*

The study is a qualitative one (Aspers, 2004), which aims to identify the internal perceptions of those who have experienced the phenomenon under question.

### *Participants*

Participants are researchers and practitioners recognized as critical of vaccines, some of whom are active in the field and are publicly labelled as "anti-vaxxers." We used a purposeful sampling method, i.e., a non-probabilistic sampling according to which a deliberate selection is made of individuals who could teach us about the phenomenon under study. The final number of participants is determined following a sense of saturation due to repetitive information (Creswell, 2013).

Study participants include 26 professionals involved in vaccines (15 men and 11 women), whether in research and/or practice, from different countries around the world (e.g., Israel, USA, UK, Spain, Italy, Finland). Of these, 16 are well-established researchers (MD or PhD) from a variety of fields of knowledge (e.g., immunology, microbiology, biochemistry, public health); 7 are practising doctors (MD) (family doctors, paediatricians, homeopaths); and three are nurses. We decided to include nurses in the study for triangulation purposes, that is, to support the trustworthiness of the study (Stahl, King, 2000) by providing an additional perspective to the viewpoints of doctors and researchers concerning vaccination. To preserve the respondents' anonymity, details that might lead to their identification were omitted.

### *Research tool and procedure*

The study is based on in-depth interviews using a semi-structured interview guide. The questions focused on the respondents' stance towards vaccines, events they experienced due to their stance and the implications of these events. The study was approved by the Bar-Ilan and Hebrew University IRBs (Institute Research Board). The main research tool was an in-depth interview. We constructed an interview guide that included questions derived from the study objectives, for example: general background about the interviewee; the position of the interviewee in relation to vaccines; an explanation of the critical position towards vaccines; experiences following his/her critical position towards vaccines and the response to them.

Recruitment was done in several ways. To recruit researchers who are known for their critical stance toward vaccines, we located their contact information through a Google search. As for researchers whose papers were

retracted, we located their details through a search in the PubMed database (we identified 24 retracted papers in the field of vaccines, all of which indicated safety issues with one or more vaccines, though not necessarily the same one). We reached the remaining respondents – researchers, doctors, and nurses – using the “snowball” method. The initial contact with the respondents was through an email in which we explained the purpose of the study and asked for their consent to be interviewed anonymously.

The interviews were conducted from July 31, 2019, to March 10, 2021, via Skype, Zoom, telephone or face-to-face, and lasted about an hour and a half on average. Each respondent was asked to sign an informed consent form, and they were assured they could stop the interview at any moment. The interviews were recorded and transcribed.

Data analysis and coding were based on identifying the key issues that emerged from the interviews while classifying and grouping them into meaningful categories. The interviews and themes derived from them were read and approved by all authors. We assured the reliability and validity of the study by applying different methods: the analysis of the data was discussed by all of us as an expert peer group; different sources of data served as triangulation of the data, and we provided a “thick description” of the findings, i.e., presenting many quotes that illustrate the themes that emerge from the interviews with study participants (Creswell, 2013).

## **Findings**

The findings section is divided into three main themes that emerged from the interviews with study participants: 1) development of their critical view on vaccines; 2) the motivation for their critical stance on vaccines; and 3) ways of dealing with the perceived suppression of vaccine dissent.

### *Development of a critical view on vaccines*

All the respondents stated that their position regarding vaccines began to shift following an encounter with vaccine injuries, whether as part of medical practice, research and/or personal experience (e.g., a child or a patient who was vaccinated and soon after developed adverse symptoms). Following

this, they decided to explore the issue independently. They also noted that they learned almost nothing about vaccines during their academic training, other than that "vaccines are safe and life-saving." The information to which they were exposed about vaccine risks led them to feel cheated by and distrustful of the medical establishment, which they allege conceals critical information from the public, for reasons that they view as illegitimate or irrelevant.

*"My attitude began to change after I started reading. For most of the years of work you sit in the clinic and get a lot more patients than you can handle... All my knowledge about medications and side effects of vaccines stemmed from the internet..."* (doctor)

*"During our studies, we were not taught anything about vaccines, not about the structure of vaccines and not about what it does in the body and nothing, but only that vaccination is mandatory and that it is what saves humanity."* (nurse)

Following their encounter with vaccine injuries, many of the respondents indicated that they had become more involved and active in the subject, in practice or research. For example:

*"I became interested in vaccines a few years ago, after years of practising homeopathy, from clinical experience... Thousands of vaccine-injured of all ages have come to me, and I have been lecturing and teaching and writing on the subject."* (doctor)

*"I had about 2000 patients. I had a patient regress into severe autism, who was completely normal at one year or 18 months, but by age two, they were completely severely autistic, nonverbal, with no eye contact... So, I've got a lot of data. Hearing those stories, oh my goodness..."* (paediatrician)

### *The motivation for the critical stance on vaccines*

The motivations identified through the interviews regarding the respondents' critical attitude toward vaccines and the activities of some of them on the subject, include: a) insisting on their right to tell the truth about the risks of certain vaccines; b) ethical aspects, i.e., moral and professional obligation to patients (do no harm), patient rights (informed consent), and freedom of choice (whether to get vaccinated or not); and c) lack of trust in health authorities, which they claim are driven more by political-economic interests than public health concerns.

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- a) Insisting on their right to express their views about the risks of certain vaccines

According to the respondents, their critical stance on vaccines was formed through an in-depth reading about vaccines following an encounter with vaccine injuries, as noted above. They object to their labelling as "anti-vaxxers" or "conspirators", and claimed that they were not opposed to vaccines in general, but to specific vaccines in which, according to them, safety issues were found. Rather, the respondents perceive themselves as warriors for truth, against interested and powerful parties (vaccine manufacturers, public health organizations and regulators).

*"I came from the Soviet Union where people are not allowed to speak their minds and think independently. Then I found the same in Finland, the country where they made the Helsinki Declaration. It's absurd... The dean said to us, you can continue with your research, let's see who is right and who is wrong if the earth is round or flat. So, we come back to Galileo Galilei. Fortunately, they don't set us on fire..."* (researcher)

- b) Ethical aspects

Some respondents noted that they decided to voice their position and warn the public about the risks of certain vaccines out of a moral and professional obligation, first and foremost to do no harm and protect the vulnerable.

*"The first Hippocrates postulate is not to harm. We are not to harm anybody, even not one of a million. If you take a million healthy children to protect the majority but harm one, I think this is unethical, because this child can be yours... Health authorities should investigate the cases of those affected by vaccines and learn about them, to protect the vulnerable."* (researcher)

*"I felt that I had a moral obligation. No one else is going to stand up and look after these children. I've made this decision, whatever the risks, I'm going to act on their behalf."* (researcher)

Respondents also emphasized the democratic principles of patient rights and freedom of choice regarding immunization. According to them, the information they provide about the risks of certain vaccines is an expression of

informed consent and hence not only do they not harm anyone, but rather protect the public from potential risks.

*"There is the Patient Rights Act, the patient's right to receive information about every medical procedure he goes through, including risks and effectiveness. In fact, what I do is to give my patients informed consent... It is their choice what to do with this information." (doctor)*

*"It's not that I don't recommend vaccines. I do recommend them, but we go through pros and cons and informed consent, and let the parents decide." (paediatrician)*

c) Loss of trust in health authorities

The respondents noted that the extensive information to which they were exposed regarding the risks of certain vaccines made them feel cheated and undermined their trust in health authorities. This contributed to their desire to convey information on vaccine risks and injuries to the public, out of the sense that the official medical system does not provide reliable information on this matter.

*"I have encountered a lot of side effects, for sure. There were those who complained that a week after the vaccination they did not get out of bed with muscle aches and shivers. Some told me: In the year I was vaccinated, I was the sickest, things like that... There is no real follow-up, no active tracking." (nurse)*

*"They basically say there may be damage due to the vaccine, but they are negligible while the disease will cause greater damage and will doubt any negative side effect on the grounds that it is a coincidence..." (researcher)*

*Ways of dealing with the perceived suppression of vaccine dissent*

Respondents perceived themselves as being subjected to suppression, silencing and censorship due to their critical position on vaccines, designed to harm them personally and professionally and to deter others. The suppression tactics reported by the respondents include defamation, retraction of papers after publication, calls for dismissal and summonses to a disciplinary hearing. We identified two ways of dealing with these tactics according to our interviewees' responses: a) continuing their activities despite the heavy price,

and even sometimes escalation while using alternative media to spread their critical view, and b) aligning with the system's dictates, at least outwardly, to avoid further damage.

d) Insisting on their path despite the heavy price

Respondents who noted they decided to continue with their critical path, despite the heavy price involved, explained it in terms of an inner belief in their righteousness, their right to make their voices heard, and their desire to prevent further vulnerabilities, especially in the context of childhood vaccines.

*"When you enter a place like this, you know you might pay a price and I will pay it. I am not afraid of them; my commitment is to babies. I want to prevent as many babies as possible from harm."* (doctor)

Some of these respondents noted that the attempts to suppress and silence them not only did not deter them but even led to redouble their efforts, including by using an alternative media channel to disseminate their critical position on vaccines.

*"In fact, we use different types of social media. I mean, I have several thousand people on contacts, on emails that I make sure get hold of the research... So, the research does get out. The [controversial] paper officially published in early 2018 has been viewed more than 1 million times..."* (researcher)

*"I was on the radio, it's an independent radio, this is just other crazy people like me talking to each other..."* (researcher)

e) Aligning with the dictates of the system to avoid further damages

Some of the respondents noted that they chose to align with the dictates of the system, at least outwardly, to avoid further trouble. This was generally accomplished through the exercise of self-censorship expressed in the removal of publications that indicate vaccine safety issues, and/or the removal of their medical degree or institutional affiliation from such publications.

*"Some wise individuals have told me if you just kind of calm it down, you'll have a chance at least at getting your license back. So, that's my approach..."* (paediatrician)

*"If you look at my website now, I don't have any of my medical qualifications. I don't say I am a doctor. I don't even say I went to medical school. They said that's what I should do so that they couldn't complain about my lectures... Well, I'll see if they'll let me off. I'll be a good girl." (doctor)*

## **Discussion**

The purpose of the present study was to explore the professional victimization of researchers and practitioners involved with vaccines, their motivations for their critical view on vaccines despite an experience of victimization, and the ways they deal with what they perceive as professional suppression.

The respondents, who initially held orthodox views on vaccination, revealed during the interviews the process they went through towards their current critical position on vaccines. It typically began with their encounter with the side effects of a particular vaccine, after which they explored the issue in-depth. The main motivations pointed out by the respondents in our study are related to moral values, especially a concern for public health, patient rights, freedom of speech, ideological aspects related to natural remedies, and safety issues which they believed are hidden from the public due to political-economic interests. As they began to experience what they perceived as suppression, their distrust of the medical establishment intensified. In response, some chose to continue to voice their critical position through independent media channels.

These findings are consistent with those found in studies conducted among hesitant individuals and parents, related to high intellectual education and curiosity (Jones et al., 2012; Larson et al., 2014; Amit-Aharon et al., 2017; Amit-Aharon et al., 2018); ideological beliefs about alternative medicine and natural resilience of the body (Flanagan-Klygis et al., 2005; Salmon et al., 2005; Healy, Picring, 2011), and distrust of the medical establishment (Hobson-West, 2007).

The respondents also dismissed accusations against them as "conspiracy theorists" and distributors of "fake news", as they are often portrayed in the mainstream media and by the medical establishment (e.g., Jolley, Douglas, 2014; Lewandowsky et al., 2013; Arif et al., 2018; Marco-Franco et al., 2021). The respondents, however, accuse officials in health and regulatory organizations of conflicts of interest in the background of commercial and research relation-

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ships with pharmaceutical companies, while perceiving themselves as victims of suppression on the part of powerful parties, for challenging their pro-vaccine agenda (e.g., Doshi, 2013; Gesser-Edelsburg, Shir-Raz, 2016; Cernic, 2018; Holland et al., 2018; Jorgensen et al., 2018; Gøtzsche, 2020).

The suppressive tactics reported by the respondents, which according to them were intended to harm them personally and professionally, and to deter others, including defamation, retraction of papers from medical journals after publication, calls for their dismissal, and summonses to a disciplinary hearing. The implications of suppression can be severe, as reported by our respondents and identified in previous studies conducted in other controversial areas in science (e.g., AIDS, fluoridation, and environmental studies), including tarnished reputation, blocking of research opportunities, and sometimes even the destruction of a career (e.g., Martin, 1991, 1996, 2016; Kuehn, 2004; Delborne, 2016; Vernon, 2017; Elisha et al., 2021, 2022).

The respondents reported two main ways of dealing with their perceived suppression. Some decided to continue their activities while standing up for their right to tell their truth despite the heavy price. This group presented high resilience in response to their victimization experience (Dutton, Greene, 2010). These respondents also reported an escalation of their actions and have become well-known activists, to the point of being labelled as "vaccine opponents" or "anti-vaxxers". This echoes the "boomerang effect" pointed out by Jansen and Martin (2004, 2015), according to which the targets of suppression may feel resentful, while repression of contrary positions may be perceived as a cover-up. Some of the respondents, however, choose to align with the dictates of the medical establishment, including through the imposition of self-censorship, to avoid further damage. This echoes the "chilling effect" on research and freedom of speech (Kempner, 2008), which may lead to neglect and even distortion of certain areas of research.

In the current study, we adopt the victims' victimology perspective (Ben-David, 2000), that is, to bring the perspective of victims of professional suppression. The findings indicate that the respondents perceived themselves as ideological victims (Milgram, 2008) in the fight for their truth. Therefore, as usually happen with ideological victims, avoiding suppression by compliance did not reduce their sense of victimization or counteracting, which generated an even stronger victimization experience. Their major need is probably to have the ability to freely continue their practice without

suppression. If that happens, their “natural healing powers” (Fattah, 2000: 42) may carry them over this victimization experience.

Suppression of opposing or alternative opinions impairs the quality of science and violates democratic and ethical values of freedom of opinion, diversity of opinions and respect for controversy, which in turn undermines trust in medicine and science (Martin, 2014, 2016; Vernon, 2017; Cernic, 2018). These methods have far-reaching consequences, as they send a warning signal to other scientists that it is dangerous to research or even talk about certain issues (Delborne, 2016). Such phenomena are further intensified in situations of crisis and uncertainty, such as the current global pandemic of COVID-19 (Stewart, 2020), which has re-inflamed the debate between vaccine advocates and opponents (Doshi, 2020, 2021). One example is the debate over the origins of COVID-19. Initially, the lab-leak hypothesis was condemned by leading scientists as scientifically implausible. Recently, however, some scientists asserted that the hypothesis is credible (Wade, 2021). This example illustrates the danger of silencing unorthodox opinions, which may initially be dismissed as a conspiracy theory, but later turn out to be plausible or even true.

The main limitation of the study is the small and non-heterogeneous sample, which does not allow generalization of the findings. However, considering the uniqueness of our study population – researchers and health professionals who have publicly expressed a dissenting position on a sensitive issue that is at the heart of a heated debate – a sample of 26 people is sizable. Yet, our findings are restricted to the subjective perspective of those interviewed. It is possible that if we included more heterogeneous groups, we would have come to other interpretations. Therefore, we recommend conducting further studies among broader groups of professionals and policymakers involved with vaccines, to expand our knowledge and to suggest effective ways to mediate between vaccine advocates and dissidents.

The novelty of the study is expressed in voicing, for the first time and firsthand, the motivation of dissenting professionals, who claim to be suppressed due to their unorthodox position in the field of vaccines. Recognizing their victimization experience and its negative implications may be the first step in healing and reconciling, rather than labelling and isolating them.

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ETY ELISHA\*  
JOSH GUETZKOW  
YAFFA SHIR-RAZ  
NATTI RONEL

## **U suprotnosti sa mišljenjem većine: Motivi stručnjaka za kritičke stavove o vakcinaciji**

Kontroverze u vezi sa vakcinama su prisutne još od njihovog otkrića u 18. veku. Za razliku od brojnih istraživanja koja su se bavila brigama i motivima opšte populacije koji su u osnovi neodlučnosti i otpora prema vakcinaciji (posebno roditelja u vezi sa rutinskom imunizacijom dece u detinjstvu), ovo istraživanje je imalo za cilj da ispita ovaj problem iz viktimološke perspektive na uzorku stručnjaka, što ga čini jedinstvenim. Uzorak su činili istraživači i profesionalci koji rade sa vakcinama, a koji imaju kritičke stavove o vakcinaciji, zbog kojih se suočavaju sa onim što oni percipišu kao supresija neistomišljenika. Motivi za kritičke stavove prema vakcinama, koji su identifikovani kod istraživača i profesionalaca iz uzorka, odnose se na etičke aspekte profesionalne obaveze prema pacijentima, prava pacijenata, slobodu izbora i nedostatak poverenja u medicinski establišment. Ispitanici su, takođe, sebe percipirali kao žrtve supresivnih taktika zbog svoje kritičke pozicije u vezi sa vakcinama, na koje su odgovorili na dva suprotna načina: nastavljujući javno da iskazuju svoje neslaganje, instistirajući na pravu na slobodu izražavanja ili, pak, prestankom izražavanja sopstvenog neslaganja sa opšte prihvaćenim stavovima u vezi sa vakcinacijom.

**Ključne reči:** vakcinacija, neodlučnost u vezi sa vakcinama, neistomišljenici, javno zdravlje, etičke vrednosti, viktimizacija.

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\* Dr Ety Elisha je viša predavačica na Odeljenju za kriminologiju, Koledž Max Stern Yezreel Valley, Izrael. E-mail: etye@yvc.il.

Dr Josh Guetzkow je viši predavač na Institutu za kriminologiju, Odeljenje za sociologiju i antropologiju, Hebrejski univerzitet u Jerusalimu, Izrael. E-mail: joshua.guetzkow@mail.huji.ac.il.

Dr Yaffa Shir-Raz je predavačica na Odeljenju za komunikaciju, Univerzitet Haifa, Izrael i na Raphael Recanati International School, Herzliya, Izrael. E-mail: yaffas@netvision.net.il.

Dr Natti Ronel je redovni profesor na Odeljenju za kriminologiju, Univerziteta Bar Ilan, Izrael. E-mail: roneln@biu.ac.il.

## **Pandemija COVID-19: Viktimološke perspektive**

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# **COVID-19 Pandemic and the Challenges for Urban Informal Sector: An Insight from Street Vendors of the District Srinagar, Kashmir**

SHABIR AHMAD NAJAR\*

AADIL BASHIR

SHAZIA MANZOOR

BILAL AHMAD KHAN

BISMA FAROOQ SHEIKH

*This paper aims at presenting the findings of the study on the position of street vendors in the District Srinagar, Kashmir, in India, including both men and women, during the COVID-19 lockdown. The purpose of the study was to explore various challenges street vendors faced during the COVID-19 lockdown and to highlight the vulnerability of this particular group of informal workers. The data was collected through face-to-face interviews with the use of a questionnaire, on a sample of 150 street vendors from the District Srinagar. In addition, a certain number of in-depth interviews with selected respondents from the sample was done. The study findings show that the majority of the respondents have lost their job during the peak period of COVID-19, i.e. from March to July 2020. The findings have also revealed that the lockdown directly impacted the socio-economic conditions of the workers*

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\* Dr Shabir Ahmad Najar is a Research Scholar, IGNOU Faculty at S.P. College Srinagar, Jammu and Kashmir, India. E-mail [keats\\_7771@yahoo.com](mailto:keats_7771@yahoo.com).

Dr Aadil Bashir is an Assistant Professor, Department of Social Work, University of Kashmir, Srinagar, India. E-mail address: [kashmir.adil@gmail.com](mailto:kashmir.adil@gmail.com).

Dr Shazia Manzoor is an Associate Professor, Department of Social Work, University of Kashmir, Srinagar, India. E-mail address: [shaz18@gmail.com](mailto:shaz18@gmail.com).

Dr Bilal Ahmad Khan is a Research Fellow, Tribal Research Institute, Srinagar, Kashmir, India. E-mail address: [khanbilz@gmail.com](mailto:khanbilz@gmail.com).

Bisma Farooq Sheikh is a Research Scholar, Department of Psychology, University of Kashmir, Srinagar, India. E-mail address: [sheikhbismafarooq@gmail.com](mailto:sheikhbismafarooq@gmail.com).

*which made it very difficult for them to survive during the peak of COVID-19. Additionally, workers were struggling very hard in order to fulfill the basic daily needs of their families. Therefore, it is suggested that the government of India should provide financial support to street vendors in order to compensate for the loss caused due to the COVID-19 lockdown.*

**Keywords:** COVID-19, street vendors, living conditions, loss of work, income loss, India.

## **Introduction**

The spread of Coronavirus from the epicentre of Wuhan in China to other countries around the world was due to the movement and mobility of people. This is why health professionals mainly consider that the control of this communicable disease is achievable through the restriction of movement, like lockdown, and social distancing (Bhagat et al., 2020). The COVID-19 pandemic and the measures taken for suppressing the spread of the virus have had a serious impact on economies and societies globally. When it comes to the labour market, amongst the most vulnerable are informal sector workers: approximately 1.6 billion informal sector workers were drastically impacted by the lockdown procedures and/or working in the hardest-hit sectors (ILO, 2020). It was anticipated that the first month of the pandemic was expected to result in a turn down in earnings of informal workers by 60 per cent worldwide (ILO, 2020). When it comes to the regions, the anticipated decline was the largest in Africa and Latin America - by 81 per cent. As for the income groups, the anticipated decline was 82 per cent in lower-middle and low-income countries, 28 per cent in upper-middle-income countries and 76 per cent in high-income countries (ILO, 2020). The rate of comparative poverty, which is described as the percentage of workers with monthly earnings that fall below 50 per cent of the median earnings in the population, is projected to increase by almost 34 percentage points worldwide for informal workers, ranging from 21 percentage points in upper-middle-income countries to 56 percentage points in lower-middle-income economies. For this purpose, the International Labour Organization (ILO) calls for vital and important policy responses to guard both enterprises, predominantly smaller businesses, and workers, particularly those operating in the informal economy (ILO, 2020).

The unexpected economy-wide lockdown in India lasted from March 24 to May 31, 2020. It stopped most economic activities and resulted in a huge

collective supply and demand shock to the economy. The results have been unparalleled in scale and intensity, resulting in the radical destruction of livelihoods (Kesar et al., 2020). Informal sector, albeit its high contribution to the overall economy, is frequently ignored when it comes to policies aimed at assisting informal workers, particularly in times of crisis. In the context of the COVID-19 pandemic, there is noteworthy advocacy by policymakers, governments, and health professionals for 'social distancing' and the continuance of good hygiene (e.g. minimizing contacts with the outer world, taking private hygiene procedures, like regular use of hand sanitisers, wearing masks when ill, etc.). Though these advisory guidelines may seem easy enough to carry out for a huge proportion of the formal sector workforce, they are exclusionary towards informal sector workers as it is unworkable for them to implement these procedures due to the nature of their occupation and their socio-economic standing (SEWA, 2020). It is important to point out that the informal sector varies and it has wrapped up the main part of the population. Unavailability of formal jobs, few skill sets, simple entry, low capital intensiveness, stretchy operation scales, and varied sets of employment types, have made service in the informal sector lucrative, particularly in the field of food vending business. There are contradictory statistics on the size of vending in India's cities. The Street Vendors (Protection of Livelihood and Regulation of Street Vending) Act, 2014 calculates an utmost of 2.5 per cent of a city's population as street vendors (NSSO, 2011-2012). The main three types of street vendors are weekly market vendors<sup>1</sup>, mobile market vendors<sup>2</sup> and static or stationary vendors<sup>3</sup> (Chakraborty, Ahuja, 2021).

Although the COVID-19 pandemic extensively impacted both big and large businesses, the street food vending sector was majorly hit. With the fallout of contagion and repercussions, customer shock, and unexpected changes in consumption patterns, the preventive procedures were all taken to be hard to be met by the food vendors operating on the streets (Geetha, 2021). Lockdown affected street vendors multi-dimensionally. Numerous street vendors stopped working and many had to change their occupation to selling fruits and vegetables within a limited time zone which had its repercussions. Along with bearing financial loss, street vendors also had to undergo

<sup>1</sup> Weekly markets are the markets found at a place during one or two days of the week.

<sup>2</sup> Mobile vendor means a transient business selling or delivering foods or goods in the city.

<sup>3</sup> Stationary vendor means any vendor who sells goods, foodstuffs or services from a removable stand at a fixed location without the necessity of moving from place to place.

psychological stress due to limitations imposed by the local authorities (Meher et al., 2020).

Bearing in mind the plight of street vendors during the COVID-19 lockdown, the present research will highlight various problems that the street vendors in District Srinagar of Kashmir valley in India faced during the COVID-19 lockdown. This paper aims to discuss the minor and major familial problems faced by street vendors during the COVID-19 lockdown as well. In general, the paper will elucidate how far the government was able to minimize the problems of street vendors in the context of the COVID-19 crisis. Furthermore, this research can be used as a policy document for the government; it can provide the government directions for taking appropriate steps for the welfare of not only street vendors but also other informal workers who are least protected by the government. The paper is structured into six parts, including the introduction and the conclusion. Introduction is followed by a review of the literature on the position of street vendors. Afterwards, we present the objectives and methodology of the study and then analyse the main research findings. Based on the research findings, policy suggestions for the protection of street vendors are summarized in the fifth part.

## **Literature review**

Chigudu (2021) has found that given their miserable, unreliable, and anxious incomes, street hawkers<sup>4</sup> cannot simply access appropriate COVID-19 private protective equipment (PPE) like sanitisers and masks, let alone apply meaningful social distancing. For street vendors working under ruthless conditions with unreliable or no water supplies, enhancing personal hygiene, like hand washing with water and soap to prevent COVID-19 infection, is rather challenging. The author pointed out that street vending during the COVID-19 pandemic as well as afterwards needs to be vigilantly addressed through inclusive urban planning to maximize the national economy's benefits. The administration must incorporate the street entrepreneurship economy into the conventional national economy and make certain sustainable economic growth and development.

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<sup>4</sup> A person who travels in order to sell the goods, typically advertising them by shouting.

Maniktala and Jain (2020) pointed out that street vending or hawking constitutes a significant part of the informal economy in India, catering mainly to the urban demand for reasonable goods and services. As per the data compiled by Greater Chennai Corporation during the COVID-19 pandemic, 7965 street vendors, who had been selling necessary commodities like vegetables and fruits, have closed their business in the past few months. The authors have also mentioned that as many as 2509 vendors told the officials, who called them, that they were 'out of station'. In addition, during the field verification, the officials found that another 1849 street vendors had left the city and did not answer the phone calls, while 2947 vendors were not reachable on the phone and they were missing in action. Some 68 street vendors have died. It is pertinent to mention that with the onset of lockdown, there is hardly any source of income left with the street vendors owing to the low levels of their capital base which must have been consumed; it is hard for them to survive in such tough conditions. At last, the authors have narrated that in regular times or during the pandemic, the beneficiaries need to be aware of the safeguards they are provided by the state. Thus, there is an increasing need for the laws and schemes to be simplified for their beneficiaries so that they can have the most favourable access to the incentives that such public policies entail.

As per the Periodic Labour Force Survey in 2017-2018 there were about 11.9 million street vendors in the country, out of which around 1.2 million were women (Chakraborty, Ahuja, 2021). As pointed out by the authors, the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on the street vendors in Delhi started even before the imposition of the lockdown, because weekly markets were closed one week before the lockdown and vendors were not permitted to function. Female street vendors suffered the most because they do not have access to assets and savings. Furthermore, the pandemic impacted female street vendors in particular, since this kind of work demands extreme mobility and continuous dealing with the customers, and mobility was limited due to the lockdown.

As street vendors belong to the informal economy, which is also found in Latin American cities, but in other parts of the world as well, this places them outside of the set of laws regarding the use or profession of public areas and roadways as workplaces (Ramirez-Michel et al., 2021). The 'stay at home' initiative did not consider street vendors' lifestyles and livelihood, given that they have no fixed salary. Their very existence is in danger if they stop functioning

because they have no access to a social support system or a broad network of public support services. Ramirez-Michel and associates (2021) concluded that governments must implement procedures which address vulnerable sectors. Even though they belong to the informal sector, street vendors are an essential part of society, just as employees are. Lastly, street vendors are a sector of the population that is extremely vulnerable to significant economic loss during the restrictions imposed in suppressing the COVID-19 pandemic.

## **Research methodology**

The objectives of the study were:

- 1) To study the socio-economic challenges faced by street vendors in the District Srinagar due to the COVID-19 lockdown.
- 2) To examine the minor and major familial problems faced by street vendors during the lockdown.
- 3) To study the social support received by street vendors during the lockdown.

The study is both qualitative and quantitative. The data was collected through face-to-face interviews with the use of a questionnaire. In addition to this, a certain number of in-depth interviews were conducted as well. Various issues related to the life and working conditions of street vendors during the COVID-19 pandemic lockdown in the District Srinagar were explored.

The data was collected from 150 street vendors, including both men and women from the District Srinagar. Since there is no available data about the exact number of street vendors operating within the District Srinagar, the researchers randomly selected 150 respondents. The researchers could not do research on the entire population of the street vendors in the given district due to the time constraints and limited resources available for the research. The District Srinagar was selected because of the extremely deteriorating conditions for the street vendors, as reported by both printed and electronic media.

The study was carried out during August and September 2020, when the COVID-19 restrictions were lifted. The study was conducted on the basis of the informed consent of the respondents. Respondents were informed that they will remain anonymous, while the data collected shall be used only for

the academic purposes. The respondents were also informed that the researchers are not from any governmental or non-governmental organization in order to ensure no false hopes were given to the respondents.

The research primarily focused on the socio-demographic profile of the respondents, living conditions, familial problems faced during the lockdown, health problems, economic problems faced during the lockdown, and social support received from the government during the lockdown. In order to better understand the problems faced by the respondents, in-depth interviews were conducted, and some case studies were mentioned.

A simple random sampling method was used because the respondents were readily available everywhere in the District Srinagar. Face-to-face interviews were conducted. The researchers conducted interviews and filled in the questionnaires based on the answers provided by the respondents as all the respondents were illiterate or their literacy was rather low. In this study, some of the case studies are also mentioned and for this purpose, the researchers conducted four in-depth interviews with the respondents selected from the total sample. Interviews were carried out in a regional language i.e. Kahmiri. They were recorded and later translated into the English language by the researchers. Both quantitative and qualitative analyses of the collected data were performed.

## **The research results**

The data analysed in this part of the paper include the general socio-economic profile of the street vendors, their working conditions, livelihood conditions during the pandemic, health issues, indebtedness, community support, access to health care during the lockdown period, and the nature of state support provided to the street vendors.

**Table 1.** Age of the respondents

Age	Frequency	Per cent
18-25	19	12.7
26-30	28	18.7
31-40	56	37.3
41-50	37	24.7
51-60	10	6.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>150</b>	<b>100</b>

The data in Table 1 show that the majority of the respondents were between 31 and 40 years old, while only ten respondents were aged 51 to 60 years.

**Table 2.** Gender of the respondents

Gender	Frequency	Per cent
Male	83	55.34
Female	67	44.66
<b>Total</b>	<b>150</b>	<b>100.00</b>

The majority of the respondents were males but at the same time, the percentage of female respondents involved in street vending is also substantial (Table 2). Thus, in the District Srinagar women also take part in economic activities, contributing to the development of their families and society as well.

**Table 3.** The educational level of the respondents

Educational level	Frequency	Per cent
Illiterates	79	52.7
Up to primary, i.e. 5th class	53	35.3
Up to middle, i.e. 8th class	15	10.0
Up to secondary, i.e. 10th class	3	2.0
Up to higher secondary, i.e. 12th and above	-	-
<b>Total</b>	<b>150</b>	<b>100</b>

The majority of the respondents are illiterate, while the educational level of those who are literate is also very low (Table 3). However, keeping in mind the overall position of the street vendors, it might be concluded that respondents were not able to receive education or to go for higher education due to poverty.

**Table 4.** Type of occupation – Type of street vending

Type of occupation	Frequency	Per cent
Fruits and vegetables	71	47.3
Clothes	34	22.7
House utensils	17	11.3
Electronic appliances	9	0.6
Juice	19	12.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>150</b>	<b>100</b>

The data in Table 4 highlights that the majority of the respondents (47.3%) are engaged in selling fruits and vegetables, followed by those who

are selling clothes (22.6%), while the least of them are engaged in selling electronic appliances. A possible explanation for engaging most of the respondents in selling fruits and vegetables could be that both items are essential for daily usage.

**Table 5.** Number of years working as a street vendor

Years	Frequency	Per cent
3 to 5 years	47	31.3
6 to 7 years	33	22.0
8 to 9 years	19	12.7
10 to 11	29	19.3
11 to 12 years	17	11.3
12 years and above	5	3.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>150</b>	<b>100</b>

As pointed out in Table 5, a third of the respondents work as street vendors for 3 to 5 years, 22% of respondents have been in this profession for 6 to 7 years, while every fifth has been working in this sector for 10 to 11 years. The smallest percentage of the respondents have been working as street vendors for 12 years and above. It can be concluded that all the respondents are in the street vending profession for a longer period, which indicates that they have good experience in this sector of the informal economy.

**Table 6.** Monthly income before COVID-19

Monthly income in rupees/US dollars	Frequency	Per cent
3000 to 5000 / 37.79 to 62.98	13	8.7
5001 to 7000 / 62.99 to 88.17	35	23.3
7001 to 8000 / 88.19 to 100.75	44	29.3
8001 to 9000 / 100.77 to 113.36	31	20.7
9001 to 10000 / 113.37 to 125.95	17	11.3
10001 and above / 125.97 and above	10	6.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>150</b>	<b>100</b>

The majority of the respondents (n=110; 73.3%) had been earning between 5001 and 9000 rupees per month (between 62.99 and 113.36 US dollars) before the COVID-19 pandemic, while the monthly income for others was less than 5001 rupees (8.7%), or above 9000 rupees (18.0%) (Table 6). The differences in the monthly income before COVID-19 could be the result of

different demand for some items over others and the length of the time spent on selling of products. All the respondents mentioned that during the COVID-19 lockdown they lost their means of livelihood completely and were not allowed to run their businesses. All the respondents mentioned that during the COVID-19 lockdown they were suffering in a somewhat similar manner.

**Table 7.** Reason/s for losing job during the pandemic

<b>Reasons for losing job during the pandemic</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Per cent</b>
The government ban on running businesses on roadsides	59	39.3
Unavailability of transport	29	19.3
To avoid mixing of people on the streets	15	10.0
Fear of getting infected	30	20.0
Family pressure	17	11.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>150</b>	<b>100</b>

Almost 40% of the respondents lost their job during the COVID-19 lockdown due to the restrictions imposed by the government on street vendors and were not allowed to continue their business on the roadsides (Table 7). Every fifth respondent lost his/her job due to a fear of getting infected, and in order to protect themselves from COVID-19, they decided to stop their business. In addition to this, for every fifth respondent, the reason for losing their job was the unavailability of public transport, due to which they were not in a position to reach the place where they run their business. Other reasons mentioned by the respondents were: governmental restrictions on mixing of people on the roads in order to prevent people from getting infected, and familial pressure (family members did not allow them to continue business on roadsides because of fear of getting infected). All the respondents mentioned that the COVID-19 lockdown badly affected their lives, economically and psychologically, and the lives of their family members. Due to the loss of work, their lives started becoming hell as they were not in a position to earn anything, and lack of daily earnings started affecting their mental health.

Many associations are working for the welfare of poor and vulnerable social groups in India. Bearing that in mind the respondents were asked whether they possess membership in any association or not. The majority of the respondents ( $n=135$ ; 90%) answered that they are not members of any association devoted to protecting the rights of street vendors. The respondents who are not members of any association revealed that nobody either

from the government or from the private sector has ever offered them membership in an association for street vendors, which could improve the safety of street vendors in situations like the COVID-19 pandemic lockdown. They further narrated that due to a lack of support from such associations they were badly hit by the COVID-19 lockdown.

**Table 8.** Managed household expenses during the COVID-19 lockdown

Household expenses during the lockdown	Frequency	Per cent
Government support	-	-
Relatives support	16	10.7
Neighbours support	67	44.7
Friends support	33	22.0
Own previous saving	24	16.0
Borrowed money	10	6.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>150</b>	<b>100</b>

Respondents were asked how they managed their family expenses during the COVID-19 lockdown, as their businesses were banned by the government. As the data in Table 8 suggests, none of the respondents has received financial or any other kind of support from the government. Almost half of the respondents received support from their neighbours and friends, while 16% managed their family expenses during lockdown owing to previous savings. Some respondents got help from relatives. Although the least, it cannot be ignored that 10 (4.7%) respondents had to borrow money from money lenders. It can be concluded that during the COVID-19 lockdown street vendors involved in this study were dependent on many people in order to manage their family expenses. The study also revealed how far the government failed in mitigating the sufferings of the street vendors. On one hand, the government imposed restrictions on street vendors for operating their businesses on roads in order to prevent the spread of the virus, while on the other, government did not provide any support to street vendors during the lockdown, which deteriorated their conditions badly. The respondents stated that the government proved to be a total failure in supporting the informal workers during the lockdown, knowing that informal workers depend on daily earnings for living their life.

**Table 9.** Minor problems within the family due to the COVID-19 lockdown

Family problems	Frequency	Per cent
Increase family conflicts	36	24.0
Loss of self-respect due to loss of work	77	51.3
No problem faced	13	8.7
Increased level of stress	24	16.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>150</b>	<b>100.0</b>

As suggested by data in Table 9, almost all the respondents (91.3%) faced minor problems in their families during the lockdown. Every fourth respondent stated that the lockdown increased conflicts in their families. The respondents mentioned that due to loss of work and loss of daily earnings they were not able to fulfill the basic needs of their family members, and this situation created family conflicts which further affected their lives. Half the respondents faced the loss of respect within the family due to the non-availability of work. The respondents mentioned that they were considering themselves a burden on their families because of not being able to earn the money. A certain number of the street vendors involved in the study (24 or 16%) felt stressed during the lockdown. They were afraid of getting infected, but, at the same time, they were not in a position to run their business. The respondents stated that both these conditions increased their level of mental stress, but somehow they managed these issues and they did not affect their families so much. Finally, 13 respondents did not face any problems during the lockdown. They reduced their daily needs which helped them somehow to manage their life during the lockdown. Some of the respondents mentioned that during the lockdown they started to eat food only once a day, as they had to manage their life with limited resources until they could start their business again. Some of the respondents also mentioned that local charitable trusts used to provide food items for some time. Although the assistance of charitable trusts was very helpful, it did not remain for the entire period of the COVID-19 lockdown.

**Table 10.** Major consequences of the COVID-19 lockdown

Consequences of COVID-19	Frequency	Per cent
Job insecurity increased	51	34.0
Increased dependence on community support	25	16.6
Not able to take the required diet	22	14.7
Increased social embarrassment	33	22.0

Difficulty in paying the borrowed money back	10	6.7
Fear of family conflicts	9	0.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>150</b>	<b>100</b>

Along with some minor problems, the respondents also faced some major consequences of the lockdown. As the data in Table 10 suggests, 34% (51) of the respondents stated that the continuous lockdown increased job insecurity. For every fifth respondent, the lockdown increased social embarrassment because of not being able to work and earn for their families, but also increased the dependency of the respondents and their families on community support for basic survival needs. In addition, around 15% of the respondents were not able to take the required diet, i.e. balanced diet, which in turn affected their health badly. Although to a lesser extent, it is important to point out that for 10 respondents the lockdown brought a problem with re-payment of loans, while for 9 respondents it created fear of social insecurity and family discord.

Based on the data collected, it can be concluded that indebtedness will have an unfavourable impact, particularly for those families with children, the elderly or any other member having some serious health issue. Some of the respondents also mentioned that they had to sell the jewellery of their wives in order to meet the essential requirements of their families like medicine, food, and other necessary items. The respondents also mentioned that they had to sell the golden jewellery at a very low price because the goldsmith took advantage of their helplessness and paid them a meagre amount in exchange for gold. The respondents also narrated that they felt socially alienated and embarrassed as well because their socio-economic conditions were deteriorating day by day and they felt helpless in facing prevailing conditions and problems. Some of the respondents also mentioned that they felt bad for asking for assistance from their neighbours because nobody, in the beginning, allowed them to enter their homes due to the fear of getting infected.

**Table 11.** Expectations from the state/government

Expectations	Frequency	Per cent
Compensation for work loss	88	58.7
Social security net	34	22.7
Proper management at the workplace for re-opening business	17	11.3
Free ration at least for one year	11	7.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>150</b>	<b>100</b>

The researchers asked the respondents what they expected from the government and 88 respondents answered that they expected the government to provide them with financial support in order to compensate for the loss caused by the COVID-19 lockdown. Furthermore, they want the government to provide social security to all street vendors so that during any emergency, such as the COVID-19 lockdown, they will not face any problems. It is important to mention that the majority of the informal workers in India are out of social security coverage. Social security means providing financial assistance to informal workers when they are not able to work due to various reasons like health issues, old age, sudden accidents, and when there are restrictions by the government on continuing business. In addition, 17 respondents answered that the government should take proper measures for the re-opening of businesses on roadsides so that they can run their businesses without making a crowd on the street. This may help them to run their business without the risk of spreading the virus. Lastly, 11 respondents thought that the government should provide them with a free ration at least for one year. The respondents also mentioned that it will take them a long time to come out of the trauma they faced due to the COVID-19 lockdown.

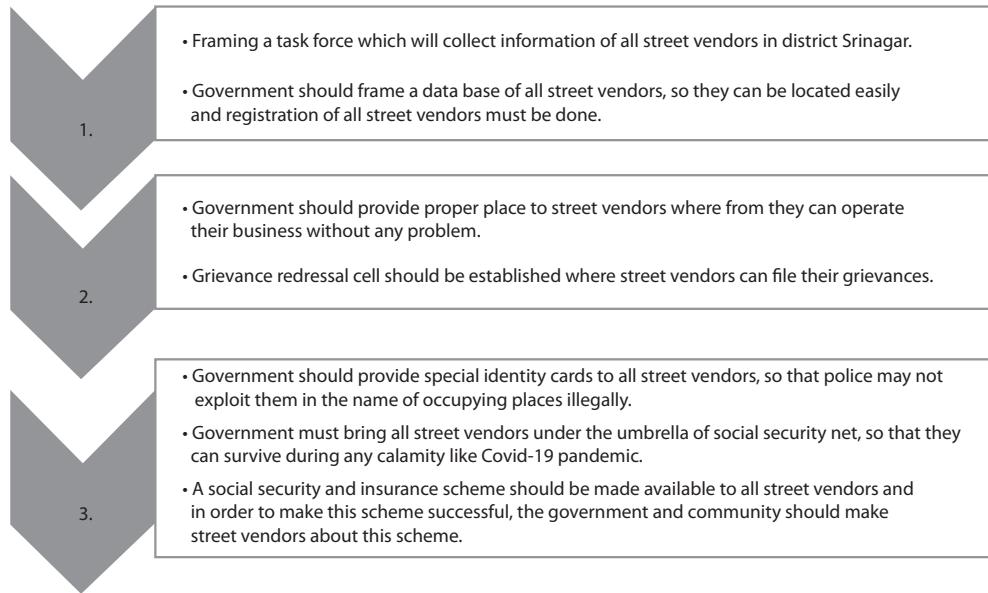
Many street vendors also mentioned that due to the lockdown they did not earn anything and after the lockdown, they were left by the government; they faced many problems as most of the people were not ready to purchase items from them due to the fear of getting infected. On the other hand, they were receiving calls from the schools of their children to pay their school fees. The respondents mentioned that they are not in a position to pay the school fees for their children and if they fail to pay them, they fear that their children will be expelled from school. The respondents worried both about the deteriorating economic conditions as well as the future of their children.

### **Policy suggestions for the development and protection of street vendors**

The COVID-19 pandemic has resulted in a huge economic and labour market shock and it has adversely impacted the lives of informal workers, including street vendors. Therefore, keeping in mind various problems and challenges street vendors faced due to the continuous lockdown in the Dis-

trict Srinagar, some of the suggestions are mentioned below in the form of a flow chart which needs to be implemented by the government for the welfare of street vendors.

**Figure 1.** A developmental model for street vendors



**Source:** The authors of the paper

These steps must be taken and implemented on the ground for the improvement of the overall position of the street vendors of the District Srinagar. Due to the informal nature of work, street vendors remain always vulnerable to exploitation and are often considered to be perpetrators of violence on the roadsides. Therefore, it is essential to recognize the services street vendors provide to wider society, as well as that this sector employs thousands of people not only in the District Srinagar but also all over India. So it is very important to protect street vendors from disasters like the COVID-19 pandemic and the government should implement the above-mentioned steps for the overall development of street vendors.

## **Conclusion**

Due to the lockdown street vendors were not in a position to run their businesses and due to less or no savings they lived a life of hardships. The study has revealed that street vendors did not receive any support from the government during the lockdown. They were not able to fulfill the basic life needs of their families. Lockdown affected street vendors multi-dimensionally. Numerous street vendors stopped working and many had to change their occupations. Along with economic problems, street vendors also had to undergo psychological stress due to limitations imposed by the local authorities (Meher et al., 2020). As revealed in the present study, the street vendors were feeling stressed due to the lockdown and many of them had sold their gold jewellery at a lower price, just to arrange two times of meals for their families. Therefore, the study proved that the lockdown affected street vendors economically, socially and psychologically. The informal nature of work and working conditions, as well as policy and legal loopholes, worsen the social and economic insecurity of street vendors. Therefore, short-term measures of the government should provide free rations to all street vendors within the District Srinagar in order to at least ease their sufferings. Governmental support is essential for the well-being of street vendors. Long-term measures should be directed towards framing strict laws which will protect street vendors from exploitation at workplaces. For this purpose, proper space to operate business should be provided to street vendors. It is essential to mention here that the community as a whole has an important role to play towards street vendors; they can raise consciousness among street vendors regarding their legal labour rights. It can be said that social security and legal follow-up can address the issues of street vendors. Social security will protect them from uncertainties, like the COVID-19 pandemic, and the law will protect their basic labour rights. For the welfare of street vendors and other informal workers, their social, economic, psychological, and political well-being need quick attention. From a broader perspective, the street vendors, which employ both men and women, need a human rights-based approach. This goal can be achieved with the involvement of many institutions such as the central government, local government, voluntary organizations, the local community, and the labour welfare department. These different institutions can perform various roles for the protection and welfare of street vendors within their capacities.

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SHABIR AHMAD NAJAR\*

AADIL BASHIR

SHAZIA MANZOOR

BILAL AHMAD KHAN

BISMA FAROOQ SHEIKH

## **Pandemija COVID-19 i izazovi za urbani neformalni sektor: Uvid uličnih prodavaca okruga Srinagar u Kašmiru**

Cilj ovog rada je predstavljanje rezultata istraživanja o položaju uličnih prodavaca, uključujući muškarce i žene, u distriktu Srinagar, Kašmir u Indiji, tokom COVID-19 lockdown-a. Svrha istraživanja je bila da se ispitaju različiti izazovi sa kojima su se susretali ulični prodavci tokom COVID-19 lockdown-a i da se istakne vulnerabilnost ove posebne grupe neformalnih radnika. Podaci su prikupljeni anketiranjem 150 uličnih prodavaca u okrugu Srinagar. Pored toga, nekoliko ispitanika je intervjuisano primenom dubinskih intervjuja. Rezultati ovog istraživanja su pokazali da je većina ispitanika izgubila posao tokom vrhunca pandemije COVID-19, odnosno u periodu između marta i jula 2020. godine. Rezultati su, takođe, pokazali da je lockdown imao direktni uticaj na pogoršanje socio-ekonomске situacije uličnih prodavaca, što je

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\* Dr Shabir Ahmad Najar je naučni istraživač na Fakultetu IGNOU, S.P. koledž Srinagar, Jammu i Kashmir, India. E-mail [keats\\_7771@yahoo.com](mailto:keats_7771@yahoo.com).

Dr Aadil Bashir je docent na Odeljenju za socijalni rad, Univerzitet u Kašmiru, Srinagar, India. E-mail: [kashmir.adil@gmail.com](mailto:kashmir.adil@gmail.com).

Dr Shazia Manzoor je vanredna profesorka na Odeljenju za socijalni rad, Univerzitet u Kašmiru, Srinagar, India. E-mail: [shaz18@gmail.com](mailto:shaz18@gmail.com).

Dr Bilal Ahmad Khan je naučni saradnik na Naučnom institutu, Srinagar, Kashmir, India. E-mail: [khanbilz@gmail.com](mailto:khanbilz@gmail.com).

Bisma Farooq Sheikh je istraživačica na Odeljenju za psihologiju, Univerzitet u Kašmiru, Srinagar, India. E-mail: [sheikhbismafarooq@gmail.com](mailto:sheikhbismafarooq@gmail.com).

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znatno otežalo njihovo preživaljavanje tokom vrhunca pandemije COVID-19. Takođe, rezultati su pokazali da su se ulični prodavci suočavali sa ozbiljnim teškoćama kada je u pitanju zadovoljavanje osnovnih potreba članova njihove porodice. Stoga, na osnovu rezultata ovog istraživanja preporučeno je da vlada Indije obezbedi finansijsku podršku uličnim prodavcima u cilju kompenzacije za gubitke koje su pretrpeli zbog COVID-19 lockdown-a.

**Ključne reči:** COVID-19, ulični prodavci, okrug Srinagar, uslovi života, gubitak posla, gubitak prihoda, Indija.



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## Pretpostavke efektivnosti programa izgradnje rezilijentnosti sistema

MARIJA NEŠIĆ\*

*Savremeno sistemsko shvatanje rezilijentnosti kao sposobnosti pojedinca, ali i zajednica i drugih sistema da izaberu i obezbede resurse koji su potrebni za pozitivno funkcionisanje uprkos izloženosti rizicima, otvorilo je prostor za dizajniranje programa koji će osiguravati te iste resurse. Pregledom literature uočava se da su stručnjaci i naučnici uspešne rezultate iz prakse, koji se odnose na pozitivno funkcionisanje sistema uprkos prisustvu rizika, usmerili ka kreiranju preporuka za dizajniranje programa koji će pomoći kako pojedincima, tako i zajednicama i drugim sistemima da izgrade rezilijentnost. Takvi programi od posebnog su značaja za osnaživanje žrtava. Cilj rada predstavlja objašnjenje osnovnih pretpostavki efektivnosti programa usmerenih na izgradnju rezilijentnosti sistema, a koje se odnose na elemente procene, principe dizajniranja i ključne karakteristike programa izgradnje rezilijentnosti.*

**Ključne reči:** rezilijentnost, preventivni programi, dizajniranje programa, planiranje programa, izgradnja rezilijentnosti.

### Uvod

Ideje rezilijentnosti vode poreklo još od tumačenja preživljavanja u kontekstu opasnosti usled ratnog stanja i koncentracionih logora (Garmezy, 1971; Werner, 2000). Ova rana razmišljanja o istrajnosti ljudskog duha u najgorim uslovima nastojala su da razumeju faktore koji bi mogli objasniti obrasce suočavanja u situacijama rizika. U početku, fokus istraživanja rezilijentnosti

\* Marija Nešić je doktorandkinja na Fakultetu za specijalnu edukaciju i rehabilitaciju Univerziteta u Beogradu. E-mail: marija87markovic@yahoo.com.

bio je na osobinama ličnosti pojedinca koje predviđaju bolje prilagođavanje tokom izloženosti riziku. Nakon toga, usledila su istraživanja koja su preusmjerila fokus na procese interakcije pojedinca sa okruženjem (Garmezy, Masten, Tellegen, 1984; Rutter, 1998). Generalno gledano, koncept rezilijentnosti se široko koristi za rešavanje humanitarnih kriza, zaštitu dece od trauma, pomaštanje zajednicama da se oporave od prirodnih i veštackih katastrofa, i sprečavanje dugoročnih negativnih ishoda mnogih drugih vrsta izazova. Takođe, poseban značaj rezilijentnosti se daje kao protektivnom faktoru kriminalne viktimizacije (Želeskov Đorić, 2011) i doprinosu na polju oporavka žrtve, što je ujedno i fokus pozitivne viktimalogije (Nikolić-Ristanović, 2019). Budući da rezilijentnost utiče na toliko oblasti života ljudi, nije iznenađujuće što istraživanja pokazuju da rezilijentnost nije samo osobina pojedinca. Rezilijentnost se bolje razume kao proces koji menja sisteme (Ungar, 2018).

Rezilijentnost se definiše kao „kapacitet dinamičkog sistema da se uspešno adaptira na promene koje ugrožavaju funkcionisanje, održivost i razvoj sistema“ (Masten, 2014a: 6). Koncept se može primeniti na mnoge sisteme živih i neživih vrsta, kao što su mikroorganizmi, dete, porodica, bezbednosni sistem, ekonomija, šume, globalna klima i slično. Bilo da je reč o osobi (biološkom sistemu), zajednici (društvenom sistemu), ekonomiji (ekonomskom sistemu), državi (političkom sistemu) ili prirodnom okruženju (ekološkom sistemu), rezilijentnost podrazumeva sposobnost sistema da se „nosi“ sa promenama i ostane snažan, u najmanju ruku, onoliko koliko je bio i pre promena. Najčešće, a nadovezujući se na razvojno ekološki model Bronfenbrenner-a, rezilijentnost multiplih sistema se zamišlja kao set ruskih lutki, gde svaki sistem predstavlja zaseban deo koji je podređen ili nadređen drugim sistemima. Svaki od ovih sistema je na neki način povezan sa drugim (Ungar, 2019).

Značajan doprinos na ovom planu, posebno kada je u pitanju jačanje faktora socijalnog okruženja, ostvaren je pod uticajem socijalno-ekološkog pristupa rezilijentnosti koncipiranog od strane kanadskog naučnika Ungara. On rezilijentnost definiše kao „sposobnost biopsihosocijalnog sistema (može uključivati pojedinca, porodicu ili zajednicu) da ‘navigira’ do resursa koji su mu potrebni za pozitivno funkcionisanje i ‘pregovara’ o obezbeđivanju ovih resursa na smislen i značajan način“ (Ungar, 2019: 2). Pri tome, pod „navigacijom“ se podrazumeva da pojedinac izabere resurse koji su mu potrebni (što podrazumeva da ti resursi moraju biti dostupni i pristupačni), a potom i da ih

pronađe u zajednici, dok se „pregovaranje“ odnosi na njegovu aktivnu participaciju pri obezbeđivanju ili planiranju ovih resursa (Ungar, 2011b; 2018).

Pod terminom „program“ podrazumevaju se programi i intervencije koji olakšavaju promene sistema, odnosno pojedinca, porodica ili zajednica. Oni predstavljaju dobro osmištjene napore za obezbeđivanje resursa koji su potrebni za izgradnju rezilijentnosti. Program može biti u formi dobrog saveta putem interneta ili lično, ali može i podrazumevati promene socijalne politike, koje poboljšavaju šanse da deca, porodice i zajednice koje se suočavaju sa problemima, prežive (Ungar, 2018). Činjenica je da promena retko opstaje kada programi deluju samo na jedan aspekt, na primer, detetovog života, bez razmišljanja o ostalim sistemima koji mogu doprineti promeni. Međutim, dizajn programa ne može biti ni toliko kompleksan, te menjati istovremeno sve sisteme. Potrebno je uspostaviti pravilan balans u delovanju na samog pojedinca i određene sisteme koji mogu biti od koristi u prevazilaženju rizika. Dobro osmišljen dizajn programa će pomoći učesnicima da se adaptiraju na promene istovremeno transformišući njihovo okruženje tako da se i glavni uzroci problema promene (Ungar, 2018).

Terminom rezilijentnost opisuju se tri različita procesa – oporavak, adaptacija i transformacija (Ungar, 2018). Pod oporavkom se podrazumeva da se sistem, bilo da se radi o osobi, zajednici, privredi, zemlji ili prirodnom okruženju, vraća na isti nivo funkcionisanja koji je imao pre nego što se suočio sa rizikom. Adaptacija predstavlja menjanje sistema kako bi se prilagodio rizicima, odnosno napredovao. Transformacija se odnosi na menjanje okruženja, poput zajednice, ekonomije ili države, na način koji olakšava sistemu u riziku, poput pojedinca, da dobro funkcioniše. U sva tri slučaja, sistem pokazuje rezilijentnost kada može da reaguje na iznenadni ili dugotrajni stres koji ga prisiljava da učini neku promenu kako bi uspeo. Zahvaljujući procesu adaptacije, rezilijentne osobe lakše podnose i suočavaju se sa viktimizacijom (Nikolić-Ristanović, 2019). U literaturi se rezilijentnost često povezuje sa uspešnim oporavkom žrtve i njenim posttraumatskim rastom, koji podrazumeva doživljavanje viktimizacije kao testiranje kapaciteta žrtve, promene načina života i razmišljanja, što ojača žrtvu i pomogne u razvoju (Nikolić-Ristanović, 2019). U praksi se često provlači pitanje postojanja „recepta“ za programe izgradnje rezilijentnosti. Oslanjajući se na uspešne rezultate iz prakse, stručnjaci i naučnici usmerili su se ka kreiranju preporuka za dizajniranje programa koji će pomoći različitim sistemima, a pre svega mладимa, njihovim porodicama i zajednicama,

da razviju rezilijentnost na način prilagođen njihovim kulturama i socijalnom kontekstu (Ungar, 2018).

Cilj rada je objašnjenje osnovnih prepostavki efektivnosti programa usmerenih na izgradnju rezilijentnosti sistema, koje se odnose na elemente procene i principe dizajniranja takvih programa, kao i identifikovanje njihovih ključnih karakteristika. S obzirom da je sistem široka kategorija, te da može, od pojedinca do političkog sistema, obuhvatati sve žive i nežive vrste, u radu će se pod sistemom podrazumevati pre svega pojedinac, a potom i njegova porodica i zajednica, kao najvažniji elementi njegovog sistema. Pod pojedincem se najčešće podrazumevaju mlade osobe jer su najprijemčivije promenama koje se programima žele postići, a kako bi se rezilijentnost uopšte dovela u pitanje, onda su to pojedinci koji su iskusili rizike, odnosno negativna životna iskustva, kao što su, na primer, izloženost nasilju, zlostavljanju ili zanemarivanju u porodici, roditelji sa teškim psihopatologijama, život u ekstremnom siromaštvu, odrastanje bez roditelja, i slično.

## **Osnovni elementi procene za dizajniranje programa izgradnje rezilijentnosti sistema**

Neophodan segment planiranja bilo kog preventivnog programa jeste procena. Procena usmerava dalje dizajniranje programa, a rezultati procene osiguravaju njegovu uspešnost. Programi usmereni ka izgradnji rezilijentnosti kombinuju tri osnovna elementa procene koji prethode dizajniranju programa, i to: izloženost riziku, željeni ishodi i procesi i faktori rezilijentnosti (Ungar, 2018). Oni predstavljaju centralna pitanja o rezilijentnosti čiji odgovori usmeravaju dalje delovanje: koji su rizici sa kojima se sistem suočava, koji su ishodi potrebni za njegovo uspešno prilagođavanje i koji faktori i procesi podržavaju ostvarivanje uspeha sistema (Masten, 2021).

### *Izloženost riziku*

Kako bi se kreirao program koji će izgraditi rezilijentnost, uvek se počinje procenom rizičnih faktora sa kojima se suočavaju pojedinci, institucije i zajednice. U proceni rizika treba obuhvatiti pet karakteristika (Ungar, 2018): težinu rizika (ozbiljnost), hroničnost (koliko dugo je rizik zastupljen), širinu uticaja

rizika (da li utiče na jedan ili više sistema istovremeno), odnos pojedinca prema riziku (da li krivi sebe ili druge) i značenje rizika za pojedinca. Ova poslednja karakteristika, procena značenja rizika za pojedinca, posebno je važna za pro-nalaženje rešenja koji će doprineti izgradnji rezilijentnosti (da li pojedinci vide rizike sa kojima se suočavaju kao potencijalne probleme, mogućnosti za lični razvoj ili kao očekivani deo života). Procena izloženosti rizicima je složena, multisistemska i teška za predviđanje i od svih karakteristika zajedno zavisi da li će rizik ostvariti manji ili veći uticaj na ishode (Ungar, 2018).

Različiti rizici po funkcionalisanje i razvoj pojedinca bili su predmet studija rezilijentnosti, poput smrti ili razvoda roditelja, seksualnog zlostavljanja deteta (Masten, Cicchetti, 2016), odrastanja u siromaštву ili nepovoljnem položaju, koje karakteriše mnoštvo rizika (Maholmes, 2014), nasilja u porodici ili psihopatologije roditelja (Jaffee, 2005), ili rizika koji su rezultat kaskadnih efekata globalne pandemije COVID-19 virusom, a koji trenutno privlače najveću pažnju stručnjaka (Masten, Motti-Sefanidi, 2020).

Postoje dokazi da doživljena iskustva rizika povećavaju verovatnoću javljanja jednog ili više problema tokom kasnijeg odrastanja i života dece. Nalazi različitih studija su pokazali da je često u životima pojedinaca prisutno više rizika koji se tokom vremena „gomilaju“ (Seery, Holman, Cohen Silver, 2010; Masten, 2014b; Thompson i dr., 2015). Na osnovu toga, prilikom procene rizika utvrđeno je da pažnja treba da bude usmerena i na kumulativnost rizika, odnosno kumulativni skor rizika. Kumulativni skor rizika predstavlja sumu rizičnih faktora koji su prisutni u životu deteta (Masten, Reed, 2002).

### *Željeni ishodi*

Drugi element procene odnosi se na utvrđivanje željenih ishoda koji se postižu delovanjem programa. Dobar ishod je pokazatelj pozitivne promene uprkos izloženosti riziku pojedinca ili grupe. Ishodi mogu biti pozitivna ponašanja (poput razmišljanja, promene stavova ili povećanog samopoštovanja kod dece), ili se mogu manifestovati kroz odsustvo ili smanjeno prisustvo problema i nepoželjnog ponašanja (na primer, manje prisutna anksioznost, trauma ili delinkventno ponašanje). Takođe, ishodi mogu da budu promene u stupu resursima (kao što su bolji uslovi stanovanja, sigurnije ulice ili povećanje vremena provedenog u zdravim odnosima sa roditeljima), kao i promene soci-

jalne politike (poput novih zakona koji pružaju pristup besplatnoj zdravstvenoj zaštiti ili finansiranje antibulking programa u školama) (Ungar, 2018).

U razvojnoj literaturi, dobri ishodi podrazumevaju uspešno ispunjene razvojne zadatke, koji se odnose na uzrasno očekivana i društveno poželjna ponašanja deteta u određenim situacijama i kulturama (Masten, Reed, 2002; Wright, Masten, Narayan, 2013). Istraživači neretko razmatraju normativne ishode u smislu utvrđivanja kako pojedinci održavaju ili ponovo dostižu normativne nivoe funkcionalisanja uprkos prisustvu rizika (Masten, Reed, 2002). Stručnjaci koji se bave traumama se često fokusiraju na simptome mentalnog zdravlja kao kriterijume za (ne)funkcionalisanje, dok se drugi istraživači usmeravaju na psihološko blagostanje ili sreću, a ima i onih koji se fokusiraju na određeni kriterijum adaptivnog uspeha (na primer, akademsko postignuće) (Masten, 2021).

### *Faktori i procesi*

Poslednji element procene odnosi se na nosioce promene, odnosno ispitivanje prisustva individualnih i sredinskih faktora koji omogućavaju da pojedinac, odnosno sistem, uprkos prisustvu rizika, uspostavi dobre ishode (Masten, Reed, 2002). Ovi faktori posmatraju se kao filteri između rizika i ishoda, koji utiču na to da li će sistem imati problem, oporaviti se ili napredovati pod uticajem rizika. Oni su kontekstualno specifični, te iz toga proizilazi da ono što dete čini rezilijentnim u jednom okruženju ne mora uticati u drugom (Masten, 2021). Faktori ili procesi rezilijentnosti podeljeni su u dve osnovne grupe (Masten, Reed, 2002; Wright, Masten, Narayan, 2013; Masten, 2021). Prvu grupu čine faktori i procesi koji su povezani sa boljim funkcionalisnjem sistema bez obzira na nivo rizika. Oni su kontinuirano prisutni, a u situacijama rizika mogu da kompenzuju njihove negativne efekte. Faktori koji čine drugu grupu javljaju se isključivo u prisustvu rizika i to visokog nivoa rizika, te ublažavaju delovanje rizika i menjaju vezu između rizika i ishoda (moderator-ski procesi) (Masten, Reed, 2002; Wright, Masten, Narayan, 2013; Masten, 2021).

Faktori i procesi rezilijentnosti proučavani su u rasponu od neurobioloških i psiholoških unutar pojedinca, potom dijadnih ili grupnih odnosa (uključujući i porodice), do kulturnih verovanja i usluga ili politike zajednice ili države. S obzirom da su sistemi međusobno povezani i često ugrađeni u druge sisteme (kao što je dete čiji je život ugrađen u porodicu i školu), faktori jednog sistema mogu uticati na druge sisteme sa kojima je ta osoba povezana. Postoje slično-

sti u faktorima ili procesima rezilijentnosti identifikovane istraživanjima rezilijentnosti različitih sistema (od dece, porodica, škola, zajednica, do kultura ili religija). Zajednički protektivni faktori opisani u različitim sistemima su: društvena povezanost, osećaj pripadnosti, optimizam, opažanje svrhe i značenja, samoefikasnost, veštine rešavanja problema, egzekutivne funkcije ili sposobnost liderstva (Masten, 2021).

Efektivni programi rezilijentnosti poboljšavaju pristup procesima i faktorima koji povećavaju verovatnoću da sistemi koji su izloženi jednom ili više faktora rizika i dalje dostižu dobre ishode. Ukoliko je, prema proceni karakteristika rizika, rizik složeniji i veća njegova kumulativnost, biće potrebnija kompleksnija kombinacija faktora kako bi se programom izgradila rezilijentnost sistema (Ungar, 2018). Procena ova tri elementa jedna je od pretpostavki uspešne primene programa izgradnje rezilijentnosti sistema, te je pri planiranju važno definisati šta se tretira kao rizik, koji faktori i procesi doprinose promeni i koji su željeni ishodi najvažniji za sisteme na koje se deluje (deca, njihove porodice i zajednica), a koje treba ostvariti.

## **Principi za dizajniranje programa izgradnje rezilijentnosti sistema**

Efektivni programi izgradnje rezilijentnosti baziraju se na primeni sedam principa: 1) obezbeđivanje pristupačnosti i dostupnosti resursa (tzv. navigiranje); 2) odgovaranje na potrebe korisnika (tzv. pregovaranje); 3) multisistemski pristup; 4) koordinacija usluga; 5) kontinuirana podrška; 6) kulturna i prostorna relevantnost, i 7) podeljena odgovornost (Ungar, 2018). Prva dva principa predstavljaju temelj svakog uspešnog programa, dok se ostali principi, zavisno od sistema, odnosno populacije kojoj je program namenjen, po potrebi koriste. Nije nužna primena svih principa, ali što je više njih pri dizajniranju programa primenjeno, veća je verovatnoća da će program biti efektivniji i dostići očekivane ishode kod učesnika.

### *Obezbeđivanje pristupačnosti i dostupnosti resursa („navigiranje“)*

Efektivni programi rezilijentnosti omogućavaju deci, porodicama i zajednicama da „navigiraju“ ka resursima koji su im potrebni za prevazilaženje rizika. Ovaj princip podrazumeva da bi programi trebalo da obezbede resurse

koji su dostupni i pristupačni, a potom i da informišu korisnike o njihovom postojanju. U nekim programima neretko se dešava da obezbeđivanje određene usluge nije dovoljno, već je neophodno obezbediti i uslove koji utiču na njeno korišćenje kako bi bila dostupna i pristupačna. Na primer, u programu za regulisanje posttraumatskog stresa nakon cunamija, korisnicima se kao resurs obezbeđuje savetodavna podrška stručnjaka za mentalno zdravlje. Kako bi se dostigla potpuna efektivnost programa, potrebno je da taj resurs bude potpuno pristupačan (na primer, obezbeđen prevoz korisnicima do mesta pružanja usluge, kako bi mogli nesmetano da je koriste) (Ungar, 2018). Omogućavanje pristupačnosti i dostupnosti aktivnosti programa preduslov je njegove uspešne realizacije, ali ne i dovoljan uslov jer bi, u tom slučaju, svaki program koji se nudi bio jednak uspešan (Ungar, 2018).

### *Odgovaranje na potrebe korisnika („pregovaranje“)*

Korisnici, posebno mladi, rado učestvuju u programima koji su prilagođeni njihovim specifičnim potrebama ili u kojima imaju prilike da participiraju u dizajniranju. Ukoliko se učesnicima nudi program u čijem dizajniranju nisu učestvovali ili ga bar odabrali, mala je verovatnoća da će program postići željene ishode i izgraditi rezilijentnost. Shodno tome, ako programi pružaju ono što korisnicima treba, na načine koji su značajni za njih, osluškujući njihove potrebe, veća je verovatnoća da će biti efektivni. Ovaj princip podrazumeva da bi programi trebalo da budu dizajnirani na način da odgovaraju na potrebe dece i porodica sa različitim problemima (Ungar, 2018). Iako programi teže pridržavanju predviđenog plana programa, rezilijentnost je previše kontekstualno osetljiva da bi se svaki program realizovao bez prilagođavanja. Dizajn programa bi trebalo prilagođavati promenljivim socijalnim uslovima i menjati u skladu sa biopsihosocijalnim razvojem pojedinca. S obzirom da je očekivano da će učesnici programa imati različite probleme i različite nivoje izloženosti riziku, programi bi trebalo da nude različite kurikulume, od najmanje intenzivnih do najintenzivnijih, zavisno od problema korisnika. Može se dogoditi da se pri planiranju programa previde potrebe učesnika, ne odvoji dovoljno vremena za razumevanje njihovih problema ili previše usmeri na menjanje svih sistema koji stoje u vezi sa problemom. Rešenje ovog problema pronalazi se u evaluiranju programa, odnosno dobijanju povratnih informacija od učesnika o zadovoljstvu programom kako bi se program unapredio.

Prilikom dizajniranja preventivnog programa, trebalo bi imati na umu da su protektivni procesi koji najviše dovode do promene najznačajniji za učesnike programa u specifičnom kontekstu i određenom vremenu (Ungar, 2018).<sup>1</sup>

### *Multisistemski pristup*

Ovim principom je predviđeno da programi svojim delovanjem treba da obuhvate što više sistema (individualni, relacioni, socijalni, politički, ekonomski, kulturni, ekološki i drugi). Sistemi ostvaruju uticaj jedni na druge, tako da bi programi trebalo da se bave rizicima i protektivnim procesima iz više sistema istovremeno (Ungar, 2018). Postoje brojni dokazi da različiti sistemi utiču na mentalno i fizičko zdravlje pojedinca (na primer, javni prevoz, zelene površine u zajednici, socijalna politika i slično), te da u situacijama negativnih životnih događaja imaju značajan uticaj na izgradnju rezilijentnosti pojedinca (Ungar, 2011a). Istraživanja širom sveta pokazuju da kod dece, koja su doživela jedno ili više od deset negativnih iskustava u detinjstvu (verbalno, fizičko ili seksualno zlostavljanje, emocionalno ili fizičko zanemarivanje, nasilje u porodici, psihopatologija roditelja, razvod, korišćenje alkohola ili droga od strane roditelja i roditelji u zatvoru), postoji veća verovatnoća da se razviju mentalni i fizički zdravstveni problemi u odrasлом dobu (Felitti i dr., 1998; Bellisi i dr., 2015; Centers for disease control and prevention, 2022). Studije negativnih iskustava u detinjstvu upućuju na dve činjenice koje su relevantne za kreira-

<sup>1</sup> Na primeru jednog programa može se jasno videti delovanje ovog principa. U pitanju je kanadski program koji je usmeren na sprečavanje boravka mladih ljudi na ulicama smeštanjem u centar, uz istovremenu izgradnju rezilijentnosti (Ungar, 2018). S obzirom da većina mladih na ulicama imaju potrebu za sigurnim mestom i toplim obrokom svaki dan, cilj programa je upravo na to bio i usmeren. Donirana je zgrada koja je adaptirana za potrebe smeštaja i boravka ovih mladih ljudi. Kako se centar razvijao, stručnjaci različitih profila (zdravstveni radnici, prosvetni radnici, terapeuti i savetnici) su počeli da nude svoje usluge centru. Međutim, uprava centra je insistirala na tome da mlađi nisu tražili te usluge i da im za sada nisu potrebne. Ono što je centru i mlađima bilo potrebno jesu kuvari. Na taj način su profesionalci, poput medicinskih sestara, psihologa i terapeuta, pozvani da dođu u centar i pomognu mlađima u pripremi obroka. U početku, to nije dobro prihvaćeno jer su profesionalci smatrali da to nije njihov posao. Vremenom, kada su pristali da pomognu mlađima u kuvanju, mlađi ljudi koji su pohađali ovaj program počeli su da traže od ovih stručnjaka pomoć. Ukrzo se kuvanje obroka pretvorilo u rasprave o zloupotrebi droga, samoubistvu i drugim problemima. To je odličan primer kako se može pomoći mlađim ljudima da izgrade rezilijentnost dizajnirajući program prilagođen njihovim potrebama i na koji način može da se „pregovara“ sa učesnicima kako bi se osiguralo da su njegove aktivnosti percipirane od strane učesnika kao smislene i značajne.

nje programa rezilijentnosti (Ungar, 2018). Prva se odnosi na to da je moguće sprečiti negativna iskustva iz detinjstva (na primer, može se promeniti socijalna politika tako da manje roditelja odlazi u zatvor, može se pomoći porodicama u krizi i tako sprečiti izmeštanje deteta, ili uticati na stope zlostavljanja i nasilja u porodici i slično). Druga značajna činjenica je da većina pojedinaca ne razvija bolesti i poremećaje koji su predviđeni njihovim doživljenim negativnim iskustvima. Objasnjenje leži u tome da mnoga deca u riziku imaju i dalje pristup resursima iz drugih sistema koji su im potrebni za dobro funkcionisanje. Dobri programi treba da minimiziraju izloženost deteta (porodice ili zajednice) riziku, ali i da olakšaju pristup resursima različitih sistema koji promovišu rezilijentnost. Multisistemski pristup za izgradnju rezilijentnosti je mnogo efektivniji od pristupa koji se fokusiraju na promenu samo jednog sistema (Ungar, 2018).

### *Koordinacija usluga*

Efektivni programi bi trebalo da koordinišu uslugama različitih pružalaca (na primer, mentalnog zdravlja, obrazovanja, socijalne zaštite) i aranžiraju njihovu podršku. Svi oni imaju zajedničke ciljeve u odnosu na mlade, ali to ne znači i da uspešno sarađuju. Često se dešava da ne žele da dele resurse, odbijajući međusobnu saradnju. Na primer, dete sa problemom mentalnog zdravlja koje je prekršilo zakon nalaziće se u vaspitnoj ustanovi, te će mu biti ponuđen program za promenu delinkventnog ponašanja, ali bez obzira na to, trebaće mu podrška i u oblasti mentalnog zdravlja. U vezi sa tim, moguće je proceniti rizike koje je takvo dete iskusilo u svom detinjstvu, te utvrditi koji protektivni resursi su neophodni za postizanje pozitivnih ishoda u daljem odrastanju, što bi značilo primeniti program izgradnje rezilijentnosti. Ako ovakav program ne koordiniše različitim uslugama, postoji veća verovatnoća da se dete koje ispoljava delinkventno ponašanje i ima traumatsko iskustvo u detinjstvu, vrati u isto okruženje gde mu je takvo ponašanje bilo strategija preživljavanja. Dobra koordinacija usluga u okviru programa omogućava mlađima i njihovim porodicama da se lakše usmere, odnosno navigiraju ka dostupnim resursima (Ungar, 2018).

### *Pružanje kontinuirane podrške*

Programi koji pružaju kontinuiranu podršku i koji su održivi u dužem vremenskom intervalu su efektivniji i korisniji za sve korisnike, a posebno mlade osobe. Jedan od primera održavanja kontinuiteta za programe u kojima su mladi učesnici jeste pitanje „dužine prisutnosti“ osoba u njihovom životu. Mladi ljudi koji su doživeli traumu očekuju da će odrasli, kojima su se obratili za pomoć, ostati deo njihovog života. Poželjno je da sa mladom osobom radi najmanje jedna osoba, tokom dužeg vremenskog perioda, koja će je bliže upoznati. Korisnici programa ne prihvataju olako promenu osoba koje im pružaju podršku jer ne vole da ponavljaju svoje životne priče i iznova počinju proces vezivanja. Takođe, menjanje programa retko korisnike čini otpornijim kada su njihovi problemi složeni. Stoga, obezbeđivanje kontinuiteta usluga tokom vremena doprinosi uspešnosti programa i razvijanju rezilijentnosti deteta (Ungar, 2018).

### *Kulturna i prostorna relevantnost*

Programi izgradnje rezilijentnosti ne mogu biti jedinstveni za sve kulturno različite zajednice. Uvažavajući činjenicu da zajednice na različite načine pristupaju rizicima i problemima, programi treba da budu prilagođeni datoj kulturi i prostoru. U ovom smislu, pod kulturom se podrazumevaju vrednosti, uverenja i svakodnevna praksa koju grupa ljudi ima i smatra važnom. Korisnici će pre prihvatiti podršku i aktivnosti koje im se nude ukoliko prepoznaju vrednosti, običaje i interesu svoje kulture. Kulturno kompetentni programi podrazumevaju da voditelji programa ulažu napor da razumeju i uvažavaju razlike među učesnicima (Ungar, 2018).

### *Podeljena odgovornost*

Izgradnja rezilijentnosti je retko odgovornost samo jednog pojedinca, već zahteva mobilizaciju neformalnog sistema podrške korisnika kako bi se kreirali programi koji bi delovali тамо где је подршка најпотребнија. Када су корисници млади луди, opravдано је, чак и поželjно, преузимање одговорности младих да делују за себе све док имају ресурсе који су им потребни за решавање проблема, и док су ти проблеми довољно мали да их могу самостално решити. Када

to nije slučaj, odgovornost za rešavanje problema se mora podeliti između svih relevantnih osoba za njegovo rešavanje, kao što su roditelji ili staratelji, pružaoci usluga, nastavnici ili članovi zajednice (Ungar, 2018).

## **Karakteristike programa izgradnje rezilijentnosti sistema**

Pored primene ovih sedam principa, programi izgradnje rezilijentnosti sadrže određene karakteristike koje doprinose njihovoj efektivnosti. Te karakteristike su zapravo protektivni procesi koji pomažu različitim sistemima da se izbore sa negativnim iskustvima koje su doživeli. Ungar (2018) ih je simbolično uporedio sa osnovnim namirnicama koje kuvar mora imati kako bi pripremao obrok. Važnost sastojaka zavisi od obroka koji se spremi, kulturoloških sklonosti ljudi i dostupnosti različitih namirница. Upravo tako programi rezilijentnosti imaju svoje „sastojke“ po kojima su karakteristični, a koji se odnose na pružanje iskustava učesnicima u izgradnji odnosa, podsticanju razvoja snažnih identiteta, pružanju mogućnosti za moći i kontrolom, promovisanju socijalne pravde, poboljšanju pristupa osnovnim materijalnim potrebama, razvoju osećaja pripadnosti, razvijanju odgovornosti za druge, spiritualnosti i smisla života, podsticanju osećaja za kulturu i istorijske korene (Ungar i dr., 2017; Ungar, 2018). Sva ova iskustva su od suštinskog značaja za izgradnju rezilijentnosti korisnika koji se suočavaju sa negativnim iskustvima. Uspešni programi obezbeđuju učesnicima da dođu do što većeg broja ovih iskustava, dok im istovremeno pomažu da pregovaraju za svako iskustvo, kako bi se dogodilo na način koji odražava vrednosti i verovanja učesnika. Što je više ovih iskustava, odnosno protektivnih procesa pokriveno delovanjem programa, veća je njegova uspešnost u izgradnji rezilijentnosti učesnika.

### *Izgradnja odnosa (značajnih veza) sa drugima*

Podržavajući odnosi sa prijateljima, porodicom, nastavnicima i članovima zajednice pružaju složen assortiman podrške učesnicima za vreme negativnih životnih događaja. Formiranje i održavanje odnosa poverenja sa drugima nudi učesnicima, koji su doživeli ili trenutno doživljavaju traumu, osećaj pripadnosti, poverenja, emocionalnu podršku (Ungar i dr., 2017). Efektivni programi rezilijentnosti, pored odnosa između učesnika i osoblja, podstiču nove

odnose učesnika u zajednici, posebno kada su deca u pitanju. Kroz aktivnosti se deca, koja su učesnici programa, povezuju sa roditeljima, vršnjacima i profesionalcima koji imaju zadatak da im pomognu. Uspešni programi doprinose razvoju socijalne mreže mladih osoba, čime se sprečava njihova izolacija, apatija i frustracija. Što je veći broj i raznovrsnost odnosa koji se podstiču programom, veća je verovatnoća da će mladi i njihove porodice imati resurse da prevaziđu buduće negativne događaje (Ungar, 2018). Istraživanja su pokazala da se mladi koji imaju pozitivan i podržavajući odnos sa svojim nastavnicima više angažuju u školi, imaju viši nivo autonomije, bolji uspeh, socijalno su kompetentniji i bolje rešavaju probleme, od mladih koji nemaju ovakve odnose (Morrison, Allen, 2007; Sharkey, You, Schnoebelen, 2008; Malindi, Machenjedze, 2012). Ili, žrtve kriminaliteta koje imaju socijalnu podršku brže i bolje prevazilaze rizike i imaju razvijeniju rezilijentnost (Želeskov Đorić, 2011).

### *Jačanje ličnog identiteta*

Programi rezilijentnosti stvaraju mogućnost učesnicima da upoznaju sebe na nov i bolji način, nudeći im siguran prostor da iskažu svoje prednosti i demonstriraju ih drugima (Ungar, 2018). Na taj način se učesnicima, posebno mladima, pruža prilika da eksperimentišu sa novim identitetima i potvrđuju svoje izbore. Programskim aktivnostima pažnja se fokusira na to kako učesnici vide sebe, koja su im lična uverenja, budući ciljevi, vrednosti i snage, ali i kako ih drugi vide. Tako, na primer, veoma važan segment rada sa učesnicima programa koji su doživeli viktimizaciju jeste prihvatanje tog iskustva i svesnost doživljenog, ali vodeći računa da se učesnici ne identifikuju samo kroz iskustvo viktimizacije (Želeskov Đorić, 2011). Razvoj poželjnog ličnog identiteta i samopoštovanja se u brojnim studijama pokazao značajnim za razvoj rezilijentnosti (Costigan, Su, Hua, 2009; Settles i dr., 2010; Evans i dr., 2012).

### *Pružanje iskustva moći i kontrole*

Iskustva moći i kontrole odnose se na osećaj lične moći, odnosno na verovanje učesnika programa da može da promeni i kontroliše svoj život. Kako bi se podstakla rezilijentnost važno je kod učesnika, posebno kod mladih osoba, osvestiti da imaju pravo da donose odluke o stvarima koje su im važne i da moraju biti sposobni da se odupru drugima kada pokušavaju umesto njih da

donesu odluke koje nisu u njihovom najboljem interesu. Tako su, na primer, istraživanja pokazala da su zlostavljana deca koja su imala razvijenu samokontrolu, pre izgradila rezilijentnost i pozitivne obrasce ponašanja (kao što je, na primer, bolje angažovanje u školi) u odnosu na decu koja imaju niži stepen samokontrole (Cauce i dr., 2003; Lin i dr., 2004; Kidd, Davidson, 2007). Takođe, uverenje da je sve što se dešava, bilo dobro ili loše, deo iskustva koje pruža priliku za napredovanjem, pomaže žrtvama i osobama u rizicima da prevaziđu negativna iskustva (Želeskov Đorić, 2011). Efektivni programi rezilijentnosti dizajnirani su na načine koji učesnicima pomažu da razviju svoj lični doživljaj moći i pružaju im stvarne mogućnosti da donesu odluke za sebe (Ungar, 2018).

### *Promocija socijalne pravde*

Programi koji pokušavaju da promene ponašanje pojedinca manje pažnje posvećuju socijalnim barijerama koje te pojedince pogađaju. Međutim, promene u ponašanju učesnika programa neće biti održive ako programi nisu usmereni na pravično postupanje i u drugim sistemima, kod kuće, u školi ili zajednici. Uspešni programi izgradnje rezilijentnosti bave se razlozima zbog kojih se učesnici osećaju izolovano, nesigurno ili nebezbedno, poput rasizma, seksizma, homofobije ili predrasuda zbog fizičkih ili intelektualnih teškoća. Što više program promoviše socijalnu pravdu, to će rezilijentnost deteta biti održivija (Ungar, 2018).

### *Pristup osnovnim materijalnim resursima*

Pristup materijalnim resursima podrazumeva omogućavanje učesnicima programa da zadovolje osnovne životne potrebe, kao što su hrana, odeća, stambeni uslovi, medicinska nega (Ungar, 2008). Teško je izboriti se sa traumatskim događajima, poput prirodne katastrofe ili smrti člana porodice, ukoliko prethodno nisu zadovoljene osnovne potrebe. Iz tog razloga, programi koji su usmereni na izgradnju rezilijentnosti neizbežno će se baviti socijalnim i materijalnim determinantama zdravlja. Oni ne moraju da obuhvate sve odrednice zdravlja, već bi trebalo da prepoznaju prepreke sa kojima se učesnici suočavaju, pa da, dok deluju na probleme, poput depresije ili problema ponašanja, doprinose i zadovoljavanju osnovnih potreba učesnika. Nalazi studija ukazuju da mladi čije su osnovne potrebe zadovoljene pokazuju veću rezili-

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jenitnost u odnosu na one koji nisu uspeli da ih zadovolje usled ograničenog pristupa resursima (Nettles, Mucherah, Jones, 2000).

### *Razvoj osećaja pripadanja, odgovornosti za druge, spiritualnosti i svrhe života (socijalna kohezija)*

Ljudi svih starosnih kategorija imaju potrebu za pripadanjem koja može da se zadovolji kroz odnose sa drugima, ili može poticati iz osećanja privrženosti zemlji, zajednici, veri ili naciji. Osećaj pripadnosti može da se održava putem onlajn virtuelne zajednice ili da se uspostavlja kroz česte fizičke kontakte. Bez obzira kako postižemo povezanost sa drugima, osećaj pripadanja ima potencijal da podstakne razvoj osećaja svrhe života i duhovnosti (Ungar, 2018). Programi koji pomažu učesnicima da dožive osećaj pripadnosti ostvarile pozitivniji uticaj na njih, pre će izgraditi rezilijentnost i obezbediti održivost učešća korisnika (Fredricks, Blumenfeld, Paris, 2004). Na primer, za marginalizovanu omladinu, školski angažman može pružiti jedan od retkih prostora u njihovim životima, gde imaju osećaj povezanosti koji doprinosi pozitivnim razvojnim ishodima, poput osećaja sopstvene vrednosti, vezanosti za odrasle i samoefikasnosti (Dotterer, McHale, Crouter, 2009).

### *Podsticanje osećaja kulture i istorijskih korena*

Kultura može da utiče na svakodnevnu rutinu pojedinca i rituale koji se koriste u prevazilaženju rizika. Može se graditi na pričama predaka ili kroz nove oblike društvene interakcije (Ungar, 2018). Studije su pokazale da se mladi koji prihvataju pozitivan kulturni identitet bolje snalaze u školi (Byrd, Chavous 2009), uzdržavaju od rizičnog ponašanja i pokazuju bolje sposobnosti suočavanja sa rizikom, u odnosu na mlade koji nemaju snažnu povezanost sa svojom kulturom (Settles i dr., 2010; Evans i dr., 2012). Stoga, mnogi programi rezilijentnosti koriste kulturu kao sredstvo kako bi korisnicima pružili više resursa tokom izazovnih perioda u životima, nudeći time načine da ostanu bliski sa drugima (Ungar, 2018).

## Zaključak

Ranijim razmatranjima rezilijentnosti ukazivalo se da je rezilijentnost samo u pojedincima, kao i da je direktnim delovanjem na pojedinca bilo jedino moguće unapređivati rezilijentnost. Socijalno-ekološki pristup rezilijentnosti je doprineo da se primat pruži promenama okruženja i različitim sistema, koje se odnose na povećanje prilika da se rezilijentnost razvije. Uspešno dizajnirani programi osiguravaju te prilike, odnosno obezbeđuju da različiti sistemi daju ono što je potrebno pojedincu za postizanje pozitivnih ishoda u situacijama rizika, istovremeno transformišući sisteme tako da se osnovni koren problema, takođe, menja. Poštujući opisane prepostavke efektivnosti programa koje se odnose na prethodnu procenu, principe i karakteristike programa, odnosno obezbeđivanje doživljaja različitih iskustava, osigurava se veća verovatnoća u izgradnji rezilijentnosti učesnika i postizanju očekivanih ishoda. Preporuke za dalje izučavanje bile bi u pravcu temeljnijeg razmatranja evaluacija primenjenih programa izgradnje rezilijentnosti sistema koji su poštivali opisane prepostavke efektivnosti.

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MARIJA NEŠIĆ\*

## **Assumptions of the Effectiveness of the System Resilience Building Program**

Modern, systemic understanding of resilience as the ability of the individual, but also the community and other systems to select and provide the resources needed for positive functioning despite risk exposure, has opened space for designing programs that will provide the same resources. A review of the literature shows that experts and scientists have successfully directed the results of practice, which refer to the positive systems functioning despite the presence of risk, to create recommendations for designing programs that will help individuals, communities and other systems to build resilience. Such programs are of particular importance for victim empowerment. This paper aims to explain the basic assumptions of the effectiveness of programs aimed at building system resilience, which relate to the elements of assessment, design principles and key characteristics of resilience-building programs.

**Keywords:** resilience, prevention programs, designing of the program, program planning, resilience building.

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\* Marija Nešić is a PhD student at the Faculty of Special Education and Rehabilitation, University of Belgrade. E-mail: marija87markovic@yahoo.com.

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## **17<sup>th</sup> International Symposium of the World Society of Victimology: Victimization in a digital world: Responding to and connecting with victims**

(Sedamnaesti međunarodni simpozijum Svetskog viktimološkog društva  
*Victimizacija u digitalnom svetu: Odgovori i povezivanje sa žrtvama*)  
San Sebastijan, Baskija, Španija, 5-9. jun 2022. godine

U San Sebastijanu je od 5. do 9. juna 2022. godine održan sedamnaesti međunarodni simpozijum Svetskog viktimološkog društva. Glavna tema Simpozijuma bila je *Victimization in a digital world: Odgovori i povezivanje sa žrtvama*, ali je Simpozijum imao i čitav niz podtema, koje su se odnosile na najrazličitija pitanja viktimološke teorije i prakse. Organizatori simpozijuma bili su Svetsko viktimološko društvo, Baskijsko viktimološko društvo i Baskijski institut za kriminologiju.

Simpozijum je svečano otvoren 5.6.2022. godine u Gradskoj skupštini. Učesnicima su se na otvaranju obratili Eneko Goia, gradonačelnik San Sebastijana, prof. dr Gema Varona, predsednica Baskijskog viktimološkog društva i prof. dr Robert Peacock, predsednik Svetskog viktimološkog društva.

Program Simpozijuma činilo je šest plenarnih izlaganja, petnaest paralelnih sesija i jedna izvestilačka sesija, na kojoj su, od strane unapred određenih izvestilaca, prof. dr Jo-Ann Wemmers i prof. Stephan Parmentier-a, prezentirani izveštaji o sadržini izlaganja koja su predstavljena na Simpozijumu. Program Simpozijuma je, kao i uvek, uključio i više stručnih poseta relevantnim institucijama, organizacijama i događajima. Radni deo Simpozijuma počeo je plenarnom sesijom u kojoj je izlagač bio Viacheslav Tuliakov, profesor Univerziteta u Odesi (Ukrajina) sa temom *Žrtve međunarodnih zločina u ratu u Ukrajini iz perspektive diskursa ljudskih prava*. Profesor Tuliakov je predstavio raspoložive podatke i ukazao na različite oblike viktimizacije kojima je narod Ukrajine

izložen u ratu sa Rusijom. Osim neposrednih ratnih stradanja i viktimizacije u izbeglištvu, Tuliakov je ukazao i na viktimizaciju različitim oblicima kriminaliteta koje rat podstiče, poput krijumčarenja migranata, trgovine ljudima i drugih oblika organizovanog kriminaliteta, seksualnih i ekonomskih zloupotreba, zločina iz mržnje i slično. Ukazao je i na negativnu ulogu medija u ratu, kao i na neophodnost reagovanja mehanizmima međunarodnog prava u cilju obezbeđivanja naknade štete žrtvama. Iako se prevashodno fokusirao na viktimizaciju građana Ukrajine, Tuliakov se osvrnuo i na neke oblike viktimizacije kojima su izloženi građani Rusije, poput gubitka života u borbama u Ukrajini i, kako je naveo, ponižavajuće kompenzacije od 120 evra, koje je država nudila porodicama poginulih kao oblik pomoći.

Na drugoj plenarnoj sesiji izlaganje je imala profesorka Robyn Holder, viša istraživačica Instituta za kriminologiju Griffith univerziteta (Australija). Tema njenog izlaganja bila je *Izvan ranjivosti: Redefinisanje žrtve kao građanina*. U svom izlaganju, profesorka Holder je kritički analizirala upotrebu koncepta ranjivost (eng. *vulnerability*) i njegovih negativnih posledica na žrtve i mogućnost njihove zaštite. Profesorka Holder je najpre ukazala na negativan uticaj, koji pristupi bazirani na konceptu ranjivosti određenih žrtava (pojedinaca i grupa) imaju na njihovu autonomiju i aktivitet. Posebno je ukazala na problem dovođenja u pitanje autonomije dece, koja su oduvek tretirana kao ranjiva grupa žrtava. Profesorka Holder je koncept ranjivosti prepoznala kao deo koncepta idealne žrtve i ukazala na njegove negativne konsekvence na jednak pristup svih žrtava pravima koja su im garantovana međunarodnim dokumentima. Posebno je naglasila da, iako primena ovog koncepta ima značaja onda kada je potrebno pružiti veću zaštitu određenim žrtvama, poslednjih 10-20 godina ona je vodila ka sužavanju priznanja statusa žrtve, pa tako i ka obezbeđivanju sredstava i usluga pomoći i podrške za manji broj (ranjivih) žrtava. Korišćenje koncepta ranjive žrtve, po rečima profesorke Holder, jača državu i raspršuje njenu odgovornost da uradi ono što se od nje očekuje. Profesorka Holder je završila svoje izlaganje zalaganjem da se država odnosi prema žrtvama kao prema građanima koji imaju prava i odgovornosti kojima treba da korespondiraju odgovarajuće obaveze države.

Treća plenarna sesija, pod nazivom *Restorativna pravda za žrtve terorizma: Povezivanje različitih perspektiva*, bila je posvećena razmeni iskustava i gledišta plenarnih izlagачica koje su, kao posredne žrtve, učestvovale u projektima primene restorativne pravde u Baskiji. Plenarne izlagачice bile su Barbara Duhr-

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kop, čiji suprug je ubijen od strane terorističke grupe koja je bila ogrankak ETA, i Pili Zabala, čiji brat je, zbog svog navodnog članstva u ETA, mučen i ubijen od strane pripadnika državne terorističke grupe GAL. Obe izlagačice su se posvetile aktivističkom radu posvećenom zalaganju za prava žrtava terorizma i mir i pomirenje, i bile su učesnice više restorativnih projekata. Polazeći od sadašnje situacije u Baskiji, one su govorile o stradanju njihovih najbližih, o sopstvenoj viktimizaciji, kao i o svom iskustvu učešća u restorativnom procesu.

Na četvrtoj plenarnoj sesiji izlagačica je bila dr Clair Aldington (Škotska), koja je, nakon uvoda koji je dao prof. dr Stephan Parmentier (Belgija), govorila na temu *Čuvar vetrova: Ispitivanje prostora između oštećenog i štetnika u restorativnim susretima*. Dr Clair Aldington je govorila o restorativnom susretu kao prostoru koji je obeležen traumom i bolom zbog viktimizacije, ali koji je isto tako pun mogućnosti i kreativnosti. Oslanjajući se na svoje iskustvo kao umetnice, dizajnerke i facilitatorke u restorativnim programima, ona je ispitivala različite aspekte tog prostora između, koristeći vizuelnu metaforu laviginta kao čuvara vetrova i kao dizajn za prevenciju kriminaliteta. Ukažala je na to da su vizuelizacija i pokreti važna oruđa za artikulaciju traume. Učesnici su imali mogućnost da tokom njene prezentacije i sami ispituju lavigint, i da preko njega istraže prostor između štetnika i oštećenog, kao i mogućnosti uspostavljanja dijaloga između različitih perspektiva.

Peta plenarna sesija bila je posvećena temi *Žrtve i tranziciona pravda: Narativne istine iz interseksionalne perspektive*. Izlagač je bio profesor Camilo Umana sa Externado univerziteta (Kolumbija). On je govorio o izazovima sprovođenja tranzicione pravde u Kolumbiji u uslovima postojanja dva mehanizma. Jedan mehanizam implementira restorativni pristup u okviru krivičnopravnog sistema (specijalno pravosuđe za mir). Na drugoj strani, drugi mehanizam, komisija za istinu (Komisija za osvetljavanje istine), iako vanudske mehanizam, nema eksplicitni restorativni identitet, već je fokusirana na interpretaciju oružanih sukoba na način koji gradi mostove i mirni suživot sukobljenih strana. Profesor Umana je o ovoj temi govorio iz perspektive svog praktičnog iskustva učesnika u radu komisije za istinu i raznih tela Ujedinjenih nacija, ali isto tako i iz perspektive žrtve, s obzirom da je sa 12 godina ostao bez oca, što je i odredilo njegovu posvećenost ljudskim pravima i zaštiti žrtava.

Najzad, šesta plenarna sesija odvijala se u formi dijaloga između dva eminentna stručnjaka koji se problemima sa kojima se žrtve suočavaju u krivičnom postupku bave iz dve različite perspektive, pravne i psihološke. Profesori

Baskijskog univerziteta (Španija) Jose Luis de la Cuesta i Enrique Echeburua, diskutovali su na temu *Interdisciplinarnost na sudu: Razgovor o holističkoj viktimologiji u pravu i psihologiji*.

Paralelne sesije su se bavile najrazličitijim temama iz oblasti viktimologije, od kojih bih izdvojila sledeće: različiti oblici viktimizacije u digitalnom svetu, rodno bazirano nasilje, zelena viktimologija i žrtve korporativnog kriminaliteta, restorativna pravda, žrtve rata i tranziciona pravda, COVID-19 i viktimizacija, seksualno nasilje u različitim kontekstima, viktimizacija dece i mlađih, trgovina ljudima, nasilje u porodici, žrtve terorizma, žrtve zločina iz mržnje, žrtve i krivičnopravni sistem, viktimizacija u zatvoru i podrška žrtvama. Paralelne sesije su imale različit format, što je uključivalo kako prezentacije i diskusije, tako i okrugle stolove, radionice, promocije novih knjiga i slično. Nekoliko tematskih sesija bilo je posvećeno izlaganjima učesnika i učesnika međunarodnog projekta COST Action 1821 *Cultures of Victimology (Viktimološke kulture)*. Na jednoj od ovih sesija izlagačica je bila i autorka ovog prikaza, koja je predstavila svoj koautorski rad (sa prof. dr Sanjom Ćopić i Jasminom Nikolić) pod nazivom *Ka rodno senzitivnom i na žrtvu fokusiranom pristupu seksualnom nasilju na fakultetima u Srbiji*, u kome su izneti rezultati istraživanja koje je tokom 2021. godine sprovelo Viktimološko društvo Srbije.

Tokom Simpozijuma održana je i promocija knjige *An International Perspective on Contemporary Developments in Victimology. A Festschrift in Honor of Marc Groenhuijsen* (Međunarodna perspektiva savremenog razvoja viktimologije: Knjiga u čast Marc Groenhuijsen-a). Knjiga je posvećena prof. dr Marc Groenhuijsen-u (Holandija), u kojoj su njegove koleginice i kolege širom sveta, svojim radovima, iskazali priznanje i poštovanje njegovom doprinosu viktimologiji i unapređenju prava žrtava širom sveta. Autorke i autori radova koji su objavljeni u ovoj knjizi, koji su bili prisutni na ovom događaju, među kojima je i autorka ovog prikaza, podelili su svoja sećanja na profesionalnu saradnju i druženje sa profesorom Groenhuijsen-om.

Simpozijum je završen izlaganjima izvestilaca, a zatim i informacijom da je nova predsednica Svetskog viktimološkog društva profesorka Janice Joseph iz Sjedinjenih Američkih Država, kao i da će sledeći simpozijum, koji je planiran za 2024. godinu, biti održan u Indiji.

PROF. DR VESNA NIKOLIĆ-RISTANOVIC

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## Feminizam, aktivizam, politike: Proizvodnja znanja na poluperiferiji

Zbornik radova u čast Marine Blagojević Hughson  
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*Feminizam, aktivizam, politike: Proizvodnja znanja na poluperiferiji – Zbornik radova u čast Marine Blagojević Hughson<sup>1</sup>* uredile su prof. dr Sanja Ćopić i dr Zorana Antonijević. Ovo voluminozno delo od 620 strana osim grupe naučnih radova i eseja, sadrži dokumentarne priloge i ilustrativni materijal. Počasni zbornici (nem. *Festschrift*), poseban su akademski žanr kojim članovi akademske zajednice odaju počast i iskažuju zahvalnost nekom naučniku ili naučnicima za doprinos struci. Objavljaju se kao knjiga ili specijalni broj časopisa povodom proslave rođendana, penzionisanja ili, kao što je to sada slučaj, komemoracije. Ovaj počasni zbornik sadrži ukupno četrdeset tekstova: tri uvodna teksta, trideset jedan rad, pet auto-dokumentarnih radova i bibliografiju autora i autorki. Knjiga sadrži dosta ilustrativnog materijala kojim se učvršćuje sećanje na lik Marine Blagojević Hughson. Na korici knjige je mural Marine Blagojević Hughson koji je, prema inicijativi Centra E8, radila strit-artistkinja TKV, a na početku svakog poglavlja nalazi se grupa fotografija iz života i rada ove naučnice i aktivistkinje.

Feminizam, aktivizam, politike:  
Proizvodnja znanja na poluperiferiji

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Urednice  
Sanja Ćopić  
Zorana Antonijević

<sup>1</sup> Zbornik je dostupan u štampanoj formi, a elektronska verzija se može besplatno preuzeti na stranici Instituta za kriminološka i sociološka istraživanja, [www.aksi.ac.rs](http://www.aksi.ac.rs).

Uvodno poglavlje sadrži zahvalnicu urednika, dr Zorane Antonijević i prof. dr Sanje Ćopić, koje su u drugom svom tekstu *Marina Blagojević Hughson: Predvodnica* objasnile značaj ove naučnice i opisale njene uticaje, a potom i koncept knjige i njen sadržaj. Između ovih radova stoji tekst sećanja Filipe Blagojević, kćerke Marine Blagojević, pod naslovom *Vodila je svoj život uspešno, pozitivno i slobodno*. Iako sažet, rad Filipe Blagojević predstavlja dragocenu biografsku refleksiju o vaspitnom modelu Marine kao naučnice/intelektualke i samohrane majke.

Prvo poglavlje *O teoriji poluperiferijalnosti, poluperiferija i proizvodnja znanja* sadrži pet radova. U ovom poglavlju, kao ključni pojam se izdvaja koncept poluperiferije, koji je u Srbiji i u republikama bivše Jugoslavije uvela i razvila dr Marina Blagojević Hughson. Jeff Hearn u svom radu *Individualni transnacionalni istraživači i transnacionalna društva: Transnacionalizacija pojedinaca i individualizacija transnacionalnog* taj koncept sagledava pomoću ličnog iskustva raznovrsne međunarodne saradnje sa Marinom Hughson i udružuje ga sa konceptom transnacionalnog u sferi naučnog istraživanja i razmišljanja o pojedincima u nauci i društвima kao strukturnim odnosima, koje pojedinci mogu i ne moraju da reprodukuju i ojačaju u svom naučnom radu. U vreme porasta populističkog nacionalizma, ovakva sagledavanja omogućavaju čitaocima i istraživačima da potpunije razumeju prirodu lakog ili teškog povezivanja feminističkih istraživača i istraživačica iz različitih transnacionalnih okvira, njihov kosmopolitizam/univerzalizam nasuprot lokalizma/partikularizma. Transnacionalni istraživači, poput Marine Blagojević Hughson, i njihovi životi, projekti, istraživačka polja i fokusi podrazumevaju fuziju prakse i teorije, politike, nauke i aktivizma. Oni istražuju kosmopolitske teme koje su njihov sociološki i politički izvor mišljenja, ali i imperativ rada i života; poseduju izoštren, jasan pogled na vremenske i prostorne kontekstualizacije i istorizacije; posvećuju se kontradiktornim, ambivalentnim i hibridnim pitanjima mikro i makro kapitalističkih odnosa, patrijarhalnih društava, organizacija i institucija; kritički ispituju i dekonstruišu feminizam, ali i maskulinitete, mušku hegemoniju i različite vrste materijalizacije te moći;<sup>2</sup> istražuju znanja i proizvodnju znanja. Jednom rečju, Hearn pokazuje da takvi članovi naučne zajednice odražavaju samu prirodu transnacionalnog: istovremeno afirmišu i dekonstruišu različite perspektive i procese *unutar, preko i izvan* nacionalnih granica. Marija

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<sup>2</sup> Marina Blagojević Hughson je 2015. napravila skice za koautorsku knjigu sa Jeff Hearn-om – *Men On the Top of the World: The Flesliness of Power*.

Babović je svoj rad *Sutra je bilo juče: Osvrt na knjigu i refleksije na teoriju Marine Blagojević o transformaciji patrijarhata u transformaciji društva Srbije*, zasnovala na prikazu knjige Marine Hughson *Sutra je bilo juče* (2015), sagledavajući je u širem kontekstu Marininog naučnog rada, počev od njenog pionirskog a još uvek aktuelnog istraživanja o feminističkom, marksističkom i sociološkom položaju profesionalno uspešnih žena iz 1980-ih, do analize blokirane transformacije i patrijarhata u tranziciji poluperiferije (prostora bivše Jugoslavije). Babović kao ključne koncepte Marine Hughson vidi „sistemske inhibicije“ i „samožrtvujući matrijarhat“, a njen ukupan rad definiše kao nadu u progres. U radu *Feminizam i poluperiferija: Alati Marine Hjuson za stvaranje znanja*, Sonja Avljaš, nakon autobiografske refleksije o poznavanju Marine i njenom dragocenom ohrabrenju da se povezuju lična iskustva i teorijsko-istraživački rad, osvetljava Marinina razmišljanja o specifičnostima poluperiferije i idealnim načinima komunikacije unutar naučne zajednice na poluperiferiji. U narednom radu, naslovljenom *Lociranost znanja: Novije kritike slepih mrlja društvene teorije*, Ivana Spasić koristi određena područja Marininog rada (proizvodnja znanja, politička ekonomija i geografija znanja, pozicioniranost autora, globalne akademske hijerarhije) kao polazište za pregled nekih savremenih pristupa epistemološkim osnovama društvene teorije. To su postkolonijalnost, dekolonijalnost, feminizam, intersektionalnost, poluperiferija. Upravo su prednosti poluperiferijskog pristupa u fokusu istraživanja Milice Resanović prikazane u radu *Kulturna potrošnja i proizvodnja kroz prizmu poluperiferijalnosti*. „Međupozicija“ pruža sofisticiraniju analizu globalnih akademskih hijerarhija, mogućnost kritičkog sagledavanja epistemologije centra, podsticanje stvaranja novih teorija na poluperiferiji, a pokazuje se i kao koristan alat u borbi za društvenu pravdu i osnaživanje marginalizovanih grupa.

Drugo poglavlje je naslovljeno kao *Rod, rodne teorije i urodnjavanje znanja* i sadrži šest radova. Mirjana Bobić je u svom radu *Rodna demografija u Srbiji: Zasluga Marine Blagojević Hjuson*, prikazala ne samo zasluge Marine Blagojević Hughson za uvođenje rodnog principa u domaću demografiju i uvođenje rodno senzitivne statistike, nego i njene doprinose u otvaranju sociologije prema tzv. privatnim temama, kao što su roditeljstvo, fertilitet, bračno ponašanje i demografsko ponašanje mlađih. Bobić ocenjuje Marinino ispitivanje rodnih režima na poluperiferiji kao krunu izgradnje originalnog naučnog aparat, koji omogućava empirijsku proveru i izdvaja ključne naučne pojmove koje je Marina uvela i razvila. Ovaj rad omogućava sticanje šireg uvida u raznovr-

sne i složene interdisciplinarne naučne rezultate Marine Blagojević i potpuno razumevanje veze Marininog aktivizma i društveno-političkih promena. Ana Pajvančić-Cizelj u svom radu *Prepreke i podsticaji za razvoj sociologije roda*, osvetljava podsticaje i prepreke za razvoj sociologije roda, koja se od 1960-ih u Zapadnoj Evropi i SAD-u razvijala pomoću feminističke kritike opšte sociologije (zbog zanemarivanja doprinosa žena nauci i zbog zanemarivanja ženske perspektive i tema), dekonstrukcije znanja o feminitetima i maskulinitetima, i približavanja kulturnističkim pristupima. Cizelj prikazuje urođnjavanje ovog predmeta na univerzitetima u Srbiji i Hrvatskoj, i ilustruje širenje naučnog proучavanja u regionu: objavljanje udžbeničke literature i rečnika i osnivanje sekcije, koje je Marina inicirala u Beogradu (SEFEM – Sekcije za feministička istraživanja i kritičke studije maskuliniteta). Potom poentira Marinine doprinose u sferi sociologije rada, izdvaja kritičko uočavanje problema koji su u vezi sa institucionalnim nedovoljnim poznavanjem sociologije roda, ali i sa kulturno-loškim otporima, povezuje ih sa kritikama Žarane Papić i Adrijane Zaharijević, i ukazuje na Marinine podsticaje za institucionalizaciju discipline na univerzitetima. U nastavku, Olivera Pavićević u svom radu *Relaciona autonomija: Ka feminističkom konceptu lične autonomije*, objašnjava feminističko rekonceptualizovanje autonomije, podsećajući da je pojam lične autonomije u vezi sa rodnim ugnjetavanjem. Ovaj rad pokazuje da relaciona teorija omogućava razumevanje složenih i slojevitih procesa socijalizacije koje ne treba razmatrati izvan odnosa moći i normativnih okvira. U okviru ovog poglavlja, rad *Stavovi prema rodnoj podeli uloga u Srbiji 1989–2018*, autora Jelene Pešić i Dragana Stanojevića, donosi istraživanje o stavovima prema rodnoj podeli uloga u Srbiji u periodu 1989–2018. godina, realizovano na reprezentativnim uzorcima punoletne populacije, sa metodološki utemeljenim objašnjenjima, u okviru istorijske kontekstualizacije pomena (koje su u Jugoslaviji nastupile posle Drugog svetskog rata) i uz ekonomsko-pravne specifičnosti (tradicionalno društvo sa drugačijim kapitalističkim poretkom, ubrzana industrijalizacija i urbanizacija, ograničavanje političkih prava žena). Pešić i Stanojević uočavaju da kod muške populacije patrijarhalnost i autoritarnost ne nestaju nego i dalje opstaju. Kod žena postoji smena generacija, ali nedovoljno snažna da bi uticala na odbacivanje dominantne kulturno-škole paradigme. Rad *Porodične prakse, profesionalni rad i bračna satisfakcija žena*, autorke Sladjane Dragišić Labaš, opisuje rezultate istraživanja o porodičnim praksama, profesionalnom radu i bračnoj satisfakciji žena. Ovo istraživanje je realizovano u periodu između 2015. i 2017. godine,

na uzorku od 89 prevashodno udatih ispitanica uzrasta 40-60 godina, sa višim i visokim obrazovanjem. Dragišić Labaš utvrđuje da na početku 21. veka porodične prakse u Srbiji nisu bitno promenjene u odnosu na kraj 20. veka: žene obavljaju složene uloge koje im donose preopterećenost, sukobe i stres; postoji asimetrija rodnih uloga koja žene čine nezadovoljnim u braku, a uočava i jednu novinu, a to je da postoje promene kod mlađih i obrazovаниjih parova (podela poslova oko male dece je simetričnija u odnosu na ranija istraživanja). Poslednji rad u ovom poglavlju, naslovjen *Mizoginija u diskursu književne kritike, zastupljene u školskom programu povodom pesme „Banović Strahinja“*, pokazuje važnost ispitivanja jezika i diskursa za razumevanje mizoginije - veoma složene i kontroverzne teme kojom se Marina Blagojević bavila i koja se i dalje pokazuje inspirativnom. U svom radu, Biljana Milovanović Živak ukazuje na značenja reči koje jesu i nisu u vezi sa rečima „preljuba“ i „izdaja“, te poredi tekst epske pesme „Banović Strahinja“ (radi se o atipičnoj verziji pevača Milije koja je uključena u čitanke za prvi razred gimnazija i srednjih škola) i tumačenja istraživača i istraživačica (iz prošlosti i sadašnjosti), koja u nekim slučajevima prenose mizoginije stavove. Za dalja čitanja biće zanimljivo i tumačenje onog dela pesme u kojem, prema mišljenju Milovanović Živak, pevač Milija stavlja figuru muža (ljubav prema ženi) iznad figure oca - dok prvi pokazuje ljubav, drugog definišu mržnju i prezir prema kćerki.

Treće poglavlje zbornika, *Ka rodnoj ravnopravnosti – Institucije, aktivizam i politike*, obuhvata pet radova. Sa ciljem da posluži kao svedočanstvo, ali i sa željom da podstakne dalji razvoj u budućnosti, Marijana Pajvančić u svom radu *Institucionalni mehanizmi rodne ravnopravnosti: 20 godina iskustava u Srbiji*, sagledava ključne korake (izvore, dokumenta) koji su pomogli integriranje rodne ravnopravnosti u sferu javne vlasti Republike Srbije tokom dve decenije. Na te procese, svojim istraživanjima i aktivizmom, uticala je i Marina Blagojević Hughson. Pajvančić polazi od međunarodnih dokumenata i glavnih koncepata (eng. *gender mainstreaming*), domaćih podsticaja (zaključci sa konferencije žena u Paliću, februara 2000) i podrške misije OEBS aktivnostima koje su vodile ka formiranju institucionalnih mehanizama. Vojvodina se i u sadašnjosti, kao i u prošlosti, pokazala kao mesto formiranja prvog institucionalnog mehanizma rodne ravnopravnosti. Pajvančić ukazuje na probleme (nestabilnost institucionalnih mehanizama, nedostatak kvalifikovanih kadrova i nedostatak finansijske podrške), ali i na pravce daljeg delovanja (jasno pozicioniranje institucija rodne ravnopravnosti, fokusiranje na odgovornost za

primenu javnih politika i intersektorski pristup). U radu *Mehanizmi za rodnu ravnopravnost i koncept lokalnog vlasništva na poluperiferiji: Slučaj Srbije*, Zorica Mršević i Svetlana Janković razmatraju koncepte „lokalnog vlasništva”, „učenja mesta”, „domorodačkog začina”. Autorke napominju da koncept lokalnog vlasništva donedavno nije bio u fokusu Centra za ženske studije, ni ženskih nevladinih organizacija. Posebno je važno što ove naučnice razmatraju posledice neuvažavanja lokalnog znanja za domaće i inostrane aktere. Mršević i Janković osvetljavaju važnost međusobnog podsticanja domaćih i stranih institucionalnih modela, i podvlače značaj domaćeg institucionalnog oslonca i transverzalnih političkih veština. Jelena Milinović u radu *U svrhu javnog dobra: Doprinos Marine Blagojević Hughson rodnoj ravnopravnosti u Bosni i Hercegovini*, opisuje doprinose Marine Blagojević Hughson rodnoj ravnopravnosti u Bosni i Hercegovini (BiH), kao i Marininu saradnju sa Gender centrom Republike Srpske. Marina je uradila prvu analizu rodnih sličnosti i razlika u stavovima muškaraca i žena u BiH, napisala je komparativnu studiju *Položaj žena na Balkanu* (2004), studiju o položaju žena na selu (2009), što je omogućilo stvaranje Akcionog plana (Milinović, Krunić, 2010), koji je Narodna skupština Republike Srpske usvojila 2010. godine, a sa regionalnim istraživačkim timom istražila je same i samohrane roditelje (*Single Parents in the Western Balkans*, 2012). Marina Blagojević Hughson je zajedno sa Samrom Filipović Hadžiabdić uticala na razvoj regionalnih studija roda i akademskog magistarskog programa na Univerzitetu u Sarajevu (2006), što će kasnije, na istom Univerzitetu, omogućiti realizaciju doktorskih studija. Marina Blagojević Hughson je razvila i vodila modul „Rod i razvoj”, u evaluaciji javnih politika unela je metodološke inovacije, doprinela je i istraživanjima maskuliniteta na Balkanu, analizirala je stvarno stanje rodne ravnopravnosti u BiH, inače prve studije te vrste za zemlje koje su u pretpristupnom procesu evropskih integracija. Ne samo za istoriju integrisanja rodne ravnopravnosti u akademsku zajednicu BiH i sferu javne vlasti, nego i za rekonstrukciju i dekonstrukciju sećanja na Marinu, od neprocenjivog je značaja što je Milinović prenela reči Spomenke Krunić koje suštinski pokazuju da je Marina bila prava, autentično humanistička liderka ili predvodnica znanja, pokreta, promena u instituciji, akademiji, ličnom životu mnogih od nas. U narednom radu naslovljenom *Urodnjavanje Hladnog rada: Sonja Bakić, Žena danas i levi feminizam u Bugarskoj 1960-ih i 1970-ih*, Krassimira Daskalova vraća intelektualni dug Marini Blagojević i njenom razumevanju proizvodnje znanja na poluperiferiji tako što analizira profesionalni put Sonje

Bakić, glavne urednice bugarskog feministički levičarskog časopisa *Zhenata Dnes* (Žena danas) u periodu između 1965. i 1980. godine. Putem objavljivanja kritičkih radova o bugarskom socijalizmu i diskusija o važnim društvenim i ženskim pitanjima (ekološki protest iz 1988. godine), pomenuta urednica je uticala na reakcije komunističkog rukovodstva. Posebno se izdvaja rešavanje pitanja porodiljskog odsustva u korist žena. Ovakva istraživanja pokazuju zašto je važna potreba kritičkog ispitivanja zapadnoevropskih istorijskih studija o Istočnoj Evropi. U poslednjem radu ovog poglavlja *Rod i pandemija COVID-19 u Indiji*, Karen Gabriel otvara temu o pogoršanju prekarijata u Indiji, gde se prvi put posle 1947. godine zbog pandemije dešavaju masovne prisilne migracije iz gradova u sela. Gabriel utvrđuje pogoršanje socio-ekonomskih nejednakosti, a postojanje „rodnog slepila“ vidi kao jedan od glavnih razloga problema. Zdravstvena kriza pretvorila se u krizu humanosti, u kojoj žene ne trpe diskriminaciju samo po pitanju asimetrije radnih i studijskih politika i prava, već i po pitanju vakcinisanja.

Četvrtog poglavlje zbornika naslovljeno *Ka pozitivnoj istoriji: Pomirenje, nenasilje i bezbednost* sadrži četiri rada. U prvom radu na temu *Feministkinje i instrumentalizacija stradanja žena u ratovima u bivšoj Jugoslaviji*, Vesna Nikolić-Ristanović analizira uticaj i posledice instrumentalizacije ženskog stradanja u ratnom i posleratnom periodu, na stvaranje nacionalističkog i antinacionalističkog javnog diskursa, kojima se kao uspešna protivteža suprotstavio inkluzivni pristup: put ka istini i pomirenju, koji ne stigmatizira ni žrtve ni učinioce. Pomenuta naučnica ukazuje i na neke ozbiljne antipistemološke probleme u savremenim istraživanjima, u kojima se nisu predstavile činjenice o beogradskim feministkinjama, krugu kojem pripadaju i Marina Blagojević i Vesna Nikolić-Ristanović. Kao neko ko je bio svedok tog vremena i insajder jednog dela feminističkog kruga, Nikolić-Ristanović iznosi kontračinjenice koje nisu samo važna epistemološka korekcija, nego i osnova za adekvatno razumevanje domaćih i međunarodnih feminističkih odnosa i umrežavanja. Ona podvlači važnost predstavnica onog trećeg pristupa, koje su pomoću demokratskih praksi transverzalnih politika početkom 1990-ih pokrenule neke važne inicijative koje su uticale na dugoročne promene u srpskom društvu. Zaključuje da etnizacija žrtava i izvršilaca u medijima i među nekritički orijentisanim feminističkim istraživačicama i aktivistkinjama nije umanjila već je ponovila etnizaciju, podele, stigmatizaciju i isključivost. U radu *Osnazivanje znanja? Bosanske mirovne aktivistkinje na studijskoj poseti u Švedskoj*, Sanela Bajramović opisuje

pozitivne i negativne odlike prenosa znanja sa centra na poluperiferiju, odnosno kakav su uticaj imale studijske posete bosanskih mirovnih aktivistkinja Švedskoj u prvo posleratno vreme (1995–2005). Autorka je intervjuisala bosanske aktivistkinje u jesen 2020. i početkom 2021. godine. Ocenila je kognitivnu i psihološku dimenziju nekih obrazovnih programa o ženskom aktivizmu i kolektivnom delovanju kao izuzetno značajne: uticali su na jačanje kritičke svesti i samopoštovanje aktivistkinja, a doprineli su i konkretnim akcijama i postignućima. Sa druge strane, Sanela Bajramović uočava da je kod švedske organizacije (Kvinna till Kvinna) izostala svest o tome da je učenje dvosmeran proces i da je kod bosanskih aktivistkinja (premda su svesrdno prihvatile nadu) postojao otpor da znanja direktno implementiraju u Bosnu. Nevena Petrušić u svom radu *Refleksije na nasilje prema ženama u radovima Marine Blagojević Hjuson*, izdvaja teorijska i empirijska istraživanja Marine Blagojević Hughson u kojima je dala dragocena objašnjenja faktora koji utiču na nasilje prema ženama u poluperiferijskim društvima, poput Srbije. Petrušić, takođe, upućuje i na Marinina razmišljanja o neiskorišćenim resursima i mogućnostima suzbijanja nasilja nad ženama. Ona izdvaja Marinino upućivanje na važnost feminističkog znanja proizvedenog na poluperiferiji jer omogućava rodno odgovorno i kontekstualizovano projektovanje i sprovođenje javnih politika, dalji razvoj rodnih studija (koje danas nažalost doživljavaju blokadu i restrikciju), neutralizaciju rodnih dimenzija nasilja prema ženama od strane institucija sistema i postojanje institucionalnog seksizma, potrebu kontekstualizacije opštih znanja kritičkih studija maskuliniteta, potrebu dekonstrukcije patrijarhalne matrice pomoći rodne senzibilizacije obrazovanja (kojoj se, inače, obrazovne institucije opiru, pa se urodnjavanje obrazovnih programa čini veoma teškim zadatkom) i potrebu traženja podrške od profeminističkih muškaraca za procese konstruktivističkog urodnjavanje javnih politika. U poslednjem radu ovog poglavlja *Žene i bezbednost: Integrativni pristup otpornosti*, Aleksandra Bulatović razmatra društvenu regulaciju uloge žena u bezbednosti, objašnjava transformaciju koncepta otpornosti (sposobnosti adaptacije u kriznim situacijama), skreće pažnju na ključna međunarodna dokumenta i empirijska istraživanja i konstatuje probleme i izazove. Iako je utvrđena veza bezbednosti žena i zajednice, slaba je stopa učestvovanja žena u bezbednosnoj strukturi (prevencije i sprečavanja sukoba), a rodne perspektive su nedovoljno integrisane u strateškim dokumentima.

Peto poglavlje nazivom, takođe, poentira jedno od glavnih istraživačkih polja Marine Blagojević Hughson. Poglavlje *Kritičke studije maskuliniteta* obuhvata četiri rada. Lilijana Čičkarić u svom radu *Muškarci u Srbiji, promene, otpori i izazovi: Značaj kritičkih studija maskuliniteta*, čitaoce upućuje na značaj studije Marine Blagojević iz 2018. godine *Muškarci u Srbiji: Promene, otpori, izazovi*. Muškarci u Srbiji doživljavaju promene u privatnoj i javnoj sferi; nosioci tih promena su najobrazovaniji muškarci a izazovi se tiču ekonomsko-političkog konteksta: siromaštva, postratnog perioda, starenja društva i emigracije najobrazovanijih mlađih muškaraca. Repatrijarhalizacija (retradicionalizacija) ostavlja negativne posledice i za muškarce i za žene, zbog čega se obrazovanje vidi kao moćna protivteža desničarskim i antiemancipatorskim političkim strujama. John Hugson, Marinin suprug, autor je dva rada u ovom zborniku. U prvom radu, na temu *Manje (ili više) od igre? Razmatranje implikacije transnacionalnog maskuliniteta za igranje i organizovanje igara u oblasti savremenog elitnog sporta*, on objašnjava početke Marininog istraživačkog interesovanja za sport kao oblika popularne kulture koji ima veliki društveni značaj. Ukazuje na važnost implementiranja Marininih ideja o „transnacionalnim maskulinitetima“ i „transnacionalnim institucijama muškaraca“ u zajedničkom istraživanju „FIFAizacije“ (konceptualna inovacija Jeff Hearn-a). John objašnjava Marininu ulogu u kouređivanju publikacije *Unsustainable Institutions of Men* (Routledge, 2019) i zajednički istraživački rad o FIFI kao vodećoj međunarodnoj fudbalskoj organizaciji, ali i novu inspiraciju, koja je nastala tim povodom, za istraživanje jednog skandala u australijskom kriketu (Sandpapergate scandal). U oba proučavanja zaključci mogu da deluju pesimistično jer se tiču porasta privatizacije „javnih dobara“, iza kojih zaštitnički stoje države, jačanja autokratske kontrole, relativizacije etičkih vrednosti i samointeresnih ciljeva rukovodstava. Završna razmatranja John Hugson-a su dragocena i ovde ih prenosim u prevodu: „Marina nije verovala da su muškarci prirodno predisponirani za autokratiju, nego da je ovakva vrsta muškog eksplorativnog liderstva često rezultat vaspitanja u ranom detinjstvu, te da je mala verovatnoća da takav obrazac vladavine postane sredstvo pozitivne i istinske promene.“ (str. 467). John Hugson vidi aktivizam, novinarstvo, nauku i demokratske reforme kao moćnu protivtežu autokratiji sportskih organizacija. Dalju primenu Marinih ideja o „transnacionalnim maskulinitetima“ i „transnacionalnim institucijama muškaraca“ vidimo u radu *Univerzitet kao maskulina hegemonija: Iskustva iz Indije*, autora Prem Kumar Vijayan, naučnika iz Indije, koji polazi od globalnih zapažanja

promene prirode prostora univerziteta, koji postaje zatvoreno i netolerantno mesto, te na primeru Indije pokazuje razloge i implikacije takvih dešavanja. Vijayan sagledava vezu političkih promena i privatizovanja visokog obrazovanja, što je proces prema kojem su indijski autoriteti dugo vremena pokazivali otpor. Posebno su zanimljivi pokazatelji odnosa znanja, novca i moći, koji se tiču upisa studentkinja na privatnim obrazovnim institucijama. Ukoliko ne pripadaju srednjoj već nižoj klasi, mlade žene ostaju isključeni subjekti ili postaju studentkinje koje su prisiljene da odaberu one kurseve koje finansiraju državne obrazovne institucije, a koje ih u startu ostavljaju bez više karijernih mogućnosti i sa manjim šansama za zaposlenje. U poslednjem radu ovog petog poglavlja, Dragana Jeremić Molnar i Aleksandar Molnar proširuju opseg razmišljanja o muškim transnacionalnim hegemonijama upoznajući čitaoce sa teorijom arijevskog Männerbunda, koja je nastala u vreme uspona fašizma, a tiče se otkrivanja sposobnosti stvaranja države kod indo-iranskih pripadnika organa pravosuđa. Nakon analize teoreтиzације različitih naučnika, ovi autori sumiraju trostrukе doprinose pomenute teorije: pomogla je utvrđivanje sličnosti starih iranskih sa indijskim, germanskim i afričkim Männerbund-ovima, utvrđivanje njihove transformacije od kraljevih pomoćnika do feudalnih vazala, te razumevanje osnovnih problema u njihovom iskorenjivanju.

Šesto poglavlje zbornika nosi naslov *Marinina intelektualna kuhinja: Razgovori i sećanja*. Premda u solidnom broju radova domaćih i inostranih istraživača i istraživačica postoje odlomci ličnih sećanja na Marininu ličnost i saradnju (Jeff Hearn, Sonja Avlijaš, Mirjana Bobić, Jelena Milinović, Prem Kumar Vijayan), u ovom šestom poglavlju radovi u celini prenose sećanja na Marinu. Prvi takav rad *Kafa sa Marinom kod kuće: Jutarnji uvidi, popodnevne refleksije*, napisao je Marinin suprug, John Hugson, koji opisuje Marinin veliki intelektualni i kreativan kapacitet i mentorski značaj koji je imala u njegovom naučnom radu. John pomaže da razumemo poreklo Marinine estetske senzibilnosti, njeno veliko zanimalje za književnost i umetnost. Objasnjava njen odnos prema aktivizmu i medijima, kao i oprezno pristupanje intervjuu kao žanru koji je podložan manipulaciji u stampi i na TV-u. Čitaoci mogu saznati zašto je Marina napustila ulogu kolumnistkinje *Politike*, kao i koji su to autobiografski i umetnički projekti ostali u začetku. Biljana Dojčinović u svom radu *Feminizam, prijateljstvo i nemogući poduhvati*, podseća na dva važna projekta koja je otpočela sa Marinom: Indok centar Asocijacije za žensku inicijativu (AŽIN) 1998. godine i IRIS - nacrt modula Interdisciplinarnih studija rođa krajem 2016.

godine. Osim toga, Dojčinović izdvaja Marinin tekst *Nevidljivo telo i moćna bestelesnost: Mediji u Srbiji 90-ih*, u kojem je odlično predstavila karakteristike srpskog društva tog perioda. Poput Sonje Avlijaš na početku zbornika, Biljana Dojčinović i Zilka Spahić Šiljak na njegovom kraju podvlače važnost korišćenja iskustava za stvaranje novog znanja. Spahić Šiljak u radu *Tri kahve razgovoruše s Marinom Blagojević Hughson*, naglašava Marininu čovečnost, ali i podršku u istraživanju feminizma i religije, kao i u sagledavanju ličnih iskustava i njihovo teoretičkoj razvijenoj teoriji. Prema Zilkinom mišljenju, Marina je bila „jedna od rijetkih znanstvenica u regionu koja se interesira za uključenje i religijskih uvida u pitanja rodne ravnopravnosti“ (str. 542). U narednom radu, Svetlana Tomić prenosi delove elektronske prepiske sa Marinom, usmenog razgovora, poezije, dva grafička priloga (algoritam njenih istraživačkih tema i pozivnicu/glas). Tomić sagledava vezu Marinine izuzetne produktivnosti i složenih tipova Marinine kreativnosti: u nauci, književnoj, slikarskoj i primenjenoj umetnosti, u mentorskom radu. Otkriva njenog bavljenje poezijom i nekoliko ideja koje su nastale tokom njihove saradnje. Marininu kulturu komunikacije u suštini odlikuju poštovanje i priznanje Drugog i izrazita sposobnost radovanja zbog razmene pozitivne energije, koja se, pomoću podsticanja na dalju produktivnost i kreativnost, prenosi kao poruka o lepoti stvaranja i lepoti življenja. U tekstu *Marina Hughson: Bila je neko*, Branislava Knežić sumira lične osobine Marine Blagojević Hugson koje je čine autentičnom ličnošću. „Darovitost, jedinstvenost, radoznalost, neustrašivost i hrabrost... Odisala je upornošću, neposrednošću, energičnošću, lepotom i gospodstvom duha.“ (str. 561). Tanja Đurić Kuzmanović, pomoću analize dve Marinine studije kojima je bila recenzentkinja (*Rodni barometar u Srbiji*, 2013; *Sutra je bilo juče*, 2015), poentira Marinino promišljanje novih ideja pomoću novih pristupa i njenog prepoznavanja pojedinih prostora za efikasnije i efektivnije sprovođenje rodnih politika. U poslednjem tekstu ovog poglavlja, Nina Lykke (profesorka emerita rodnih studija na Linkeping Univerzitetu u Švedskoj) sa čitaocima deli svoje sećanje na poznanstvo sa Marinom, koje se kasnije nastavilo kroz naučnu saradnju. Njihovo poznanstvo otpočelo je 1989. godine na naučnoj konferenciji u Bukureštu, koja se odvijala pola godine pre pada komunističkog režima Nikolaja Čaušeskog, rušenja Berlinskog zida i raspada Sovjetskog saveza. Pomenuta profesorka pamti da se Marina izdvojila u odnosu na druge učesnice konferencije po dubokom razumevanju situacije na Balkanu, i da je već tada upozoravala na strahovite posledice jačanja nacionalizma, što naučnice sa Zapada

nisu mogle da razumeju jer su smatrale da su najveći balkanski problem anti-demokratski komunistički režimi.

Poslednje, sedmo poglavlje zbornika, *Marina o Marini: Intervjui, govor, kolumnе*, donosi pet Marininih tekstova: *O znanju, feminizmu i aktivizmu: Moja životna priča*; *Govor dr Marine Blagojević Hughson na dodeli nagrade 'Andelka Milić' 2016. godine*; *Govor dr Marine Blagojević Hughson na dodeli nagrade 'Andelka Milić' 2017. godine*; *Feminizam u Srbiji: Svetlost na kraju tunela, i Kultura zaboravljanja ili zabranjeno znanje*. Ova grupa tekstova različitih žanrova (auto-intervju, govor, kolumna) veoma je važan autodokumentarni prilog koji iz socio-psihološkog ugla osvetjava Marininu kritičku svest. Prvi tekst je zapravo auto-intervju ili moderna vrsta kvalitativnog ispitivanja samospoznanja.<sup>3</sup> Na ovaj tekst John Hughson je skrenuo pažnju u svom drugom radu u ovom zborniku. Marina se odlučila da intervjuje sebe, da umesto „među-pogleda“ koristi kritički „pogled u sebe“ (na primer, četvrti pitanje je veoma oštro), sa ciljem da izbegne manipulacije interpretativnim okvirom koje mogu da nastanu zbog moći onoga ko formira često neadekvatna i ukalupljena pitanja.<sup>4</sup> Marina pojašnjava specifičnosti i posledice svog javnog delovanja, kao i filozofiju tog delovanja, u kojem sebe prepoznaće kao liderku još u detinjstvu, te da je potom u devojaštvu otkrila svoje „spontane izraze feminizma“ (str. 587). U ovom tekstu, ona najpre odbacuje uobičajen hronološki tok intervjeta i koristi autobiografski model, koji su urednice *Srpkinje* iz 1913. godine (prvog albuma slavnih žena u srpskoj kulturi) uvele u žensku auto/biografiju.<sup>5</sup> Marina objašnjava zašto menja strategiju i zašto u javnosti govoriti samo kada želi da prenese neku poruku. Ovaj auto-intervju se u domaćim naučnim radovima retko pominje, premda osvetjava neke metodološke probleme koji su u vezi sa novinarskim žanrom intervjeta. Prvi takav problem je u naučnoj komunikaciji. Ona uočava promene u proizvodnji informacija i u kreiranju tumačenja, dovodi u vezu hiperinflaciju informacija sa površnošću tumačenja, a ovo drugo u nauci predstavlja ogroman problem sa kojim se, nažalost, danas sve češće suočavamo. No, stvari se ne zaustavljaju kod „površnih informacija“, koje

<sup>3</sup> Prethodno je objavljen u knjizi Savić, S., Šijački, V., Krajinović, K. (2014) *Deset godina Godišnjeg priznanja u oblasti ravnopravnosti polova (2003–2013)*, Novi Sad: Zavod za ravnopravnost polova

<sup>4</sup> O tipovima novinara i intervjuisanih ličnosti korisno je pročitati tekst Cvijić, A. (2021) Predavanje: Intervju, *Reči*, str. 196–204.

<sup>5</sup> U vezi sa tim, dragoceno bi bilo sprovesti istraživanje o promeni i razvoju žanrova autorefleksivnih žena. Auto-intervjui se mogu uključiti u listu od 60 autobiografskih žanrova, koju su pre 12 godina objavile Sidoni Smit i Julia Watson. Videti: Smith, S., Watson, J. (2010) *Reading Autobiography: A Guide for Interpreting Life Narratives*. University of Minnesota Press.

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se mogu razumeti kao vrsta eufemizma koju Marina odmah želi da raskrinka. Radi se o konglomeratu iskrivljavanja, jer je u pitanju „konstantno mobingovanje, osporavanje, zlonamerna interpretacija, marginalizacija, pre svega u ovoj maloj i provincijalnoj sredini” (str. 578).<sup>6</sup>

Drugi ozbiljan problem je onaj o kome se takođe retko govori a to je problem odsustva kritike i suočavanja sa odgovornošću u feminističkim krugovima i ženskom pokretu; a uz ovaj problem zajedno idu „sukob kvaziakademizma i kvaziaktivizma”. „Celo polje je isuviše ideologizovano i zaparлоženo u rituale samosavljenja, samočestitanja, samodiviljenja, autoafirmacije i automitologizacije.” (str. 580). Inače, u ovom zborniku retke su i kritičke opaske o feminismu i feministkinjama. Treći problem je „otimanje i uništavanje razvojnih resursa” (str. 584), problem urušavanja svesti o javnom dobru, o kolektivu i solidarnosti, i slično. Među ostalim autodokumentarnim prilozima u ovom poglavljiju, ovaj prvi i najobimniji tekst (auto-intervju) je od ogromnog značaja. Najpre, on je primarno autobiografskog žanra, rađen je iz pozicije „ja-znanja” i „ja-sećanja” i „iz dubine” (višeslojno, analitički i kritički sagledava uzroke i posledice delovanja) objašnjava karakter, samosvest i rezultate rada Marine Blagojević Hughson. Osim toga, taj auto-intervju konstruiše „autobiografska sećanja”, koja su potrebna za izgradnju ličnosti i identiteta Marine Blagojević Hughson, njenog doživljaja prošlosti i budućnosti.<sup>7</sup> Problemi koje je Marina opisala u tom tekstu mogu da se razumeju i kao ključne tačke preobražaja Marininog znanja i srpskog društva. U narednim tekstovima, u dva govora održana 2016. i 2017. na dodeli nagrade „Anđelka Milić”, koju je Marina uspostavila (odajući priznanje svojoj profesorki i koleginici), podvučeno je sistemsko institucionalno ignorisanje postignuća feministkinja i perpetuiranje mizoginije neznanja i predrasuda. Primarni ciljevi uspostavljanja ove nagrade bili su stvaranje i prenošenje kontekstualizovanog znanja, koje postaje sastavni deo pozitivne istorije, jačanje solidarnosti i podrške. Poslednja dva dokumentarna priloga su kolumnе koje je Marina pisala za *Politiku*, objavljene 26. jula 2017. i 18. oktobra 2017. godine. Povod za pisanje prve kolumnе bila je otvorena i agresivna mizogina rasprava u *Politikinoj* rubrici „Pogledi”. U tom radu Marina pojašnjava suštinu mizoginije i nasilja nad ženama. Povod za drugu kolumnu je predavanje dr Svetlane Tomić o ignorisanim i iskrivljenim znanjima o književnicama i znanjima o srpskoj knji-

<sup>6</sup> Na neke specifičnosti tog konglomerata deceniju kasnije ukazala sam u svom govoru povodom dodele nagrade Anđelka Milić, 17. februara 2022.godine.

<sup>7</sup> O autobiografskom sećanju videti više u: van Dejk, J. (2018) *Posredovana sećanja u digitalnom dobu*, prevod sa engleskog Jelena Kosovac, Beograd: Clio.

žavnosti i društvu (posebno o konzervativizmu muške elite). Marina ignorisanje i iskrivljavanje povezuje sa bahatošcu neznanja, mizoginijom, odbijanjem istine i odbijanjem modernosti.

*Feminizam, aktivizam, politike: Proizvodnja znanja na poluperiferiji – Zbornik radova u čast Marine Blagojević Highson* predstavlja voluminozno delo, koje je koncipirano tako da počinje i završava složenom idejom sećanja. Između prvog takvog teksta (ličnog sećanja Filipe Blagojević, Marinine kćerke, na Marinu-majku) i poslednjeg (kolumnе koju je Marina pisala o kulturi kolektivnog i javnog sećanja i narativne tradicije koja zaboravlja i ignoriše istaknute žene), stoji veliki broj naučnih radova i eseja o ključnim temama kojima se bavila Marina Blagojević Hughson. Svaki tekst u ovoj knjizi pokazuje da je ona ostavila neizbrisiv trag u domaćoj i međunarodnoj naučnoj, akademskoj i aktivističkoj zajednici. Tom svojom primarnom misijom zbornik je uspeo da oda naučno i aktivističko priznanje Marini Blagojević Hughson.

Zbornike naučnih radova odlikuju raznolikost autorstva i kvaliteta radova. *Feminizam, aktivizam, politike* sadrži dosta važnih, informativnih, kritičkih i samokritičkih istraživanja i pregleda, ali i nove uglove razmišljanja. Suštinski, ovom knjigom pokazuju se doprinos i snaga Marinine naučne i aktivističke kreativnosti i uticajnosti, njena beskrajna znatiželja prema idejama i ljudima koji ih nose, istraživački kapaciteti, uspešnost naučnog, akademskog i aktivističkog rada, koji su prevazilazili domaće okvire. O tom velikom međunarodnom ugledu i uticajnosti u celini svedoče radovi Jeff Hearn-a (Švedska), Jelene Milinović (Bosna i Hercegovina), John Hugson-a (Velika Britanija), a nekim delovima i radovi Krasimire Daskalove (Bugarska), Sanele Bajramović (Bosna i Hercegovina/Švedska), Prem Kumara Vijayana (Indija). U tom kontekstu, zbornik se može tumačiti i kao svojevrsna metonimija, koja pomoći Marinine polifonije, erudicije i znanja pokazuje polifoniju, erudiciju i znanje članova naučne i aktivističke zajednice sa kojima je radila i koje je inspirisala na rad.

Osim toga, ovaj zbornik može da posluži i kao udžbenička literatura za razne discipline, naročito za one koje su tokom nekoliko poslednjih decenija počele da sagledavaju pitanje roda i rodne ravнопрavnosti: sociologija, epistemologija, istorija društva i kulture, studije sećanja, pravo, političke nauke, ekonomija, organizacija i bezbednost. Jednako je važno što korisnost ove publikacije ne ostaje u okvirima obrazovnih institucija, već se tiče i onih koji učestvuju u procesu kreiranja javnih politika. Najkraće rečeno, iz raznih uglova se pokazuje koliku konstruktivnu vrednost za društvo može imati integrisanje

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rodne perspektive u obrazovanje i javne politike, kao i kritičko sagledavanje feminiteta i maskuliniteta.

Zbornik ne odaje samo priznanje Marininom naučnom i aktivističkom radu, on oblikuje sećanja na nju. Takođe, pomaže razumevanje osobina istinski progresivne liderke. Tema liderki je još uvek retka u srpskoj naučnoj zajednici, a bilo bi dragoceno interdisciplinarno kontekstualizovati ta znanja iz istorijske perspektive.<sup>8</sup> Primetimo da je dosta sećanja u mikro i makro obimu sadržavalo napomene o međusobnom uvažavanju, srdačnoj otvorenosti za razmenu ideja i odsustvu nametanja naučnog ili institucionalnog autoriteta. Marinine biografske i autobiografske informacije u zborniku pokazuju šta znači istražavati na javnom dobru, na prenosu znanja, razmeni ideja i proučavanju onih tema i oblasti koje su institucije odbijale da prihvate kao naučno relevantne, šta znači rukovoditi se principom otvorenosti za diskusiju i međusobnim uvažavanjem.

U okviru slojevitih sećanja utvrđuje se da je Marina Blagojević Hjuson, kroz decenije, inspirisala mnoge naučnike i naučnice, da je inicirala i učestvovala u važnim domaćim i međunarodnim naučnim i obrazovnim projektima, i onim domaćim projektima koji se tiču javih politika, da je nekim međunarodnim projektima dala nacrt, da je veći broj domaćih istraživanja (naročito iz sociologije) zasnovano na njenim teorijsko-metodološkim polazištima. Urednice zbornika, prof. dr Sanja Ćopić i dr Zorana Antonijević, pomoću okupljene grupe saradnika i saradnica, uspele su da predstave Marinino raznovrsno intelektualno i političko nasleđe, koje dalje treba koristiti i razvijati i na tom poduhvatu im čestitamo.

PROF. DR SVETLANA TOMIĆ

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<sup>8</sup> Jedno nedavno istraživanje (sprovedeno 2015. godine) o ženskom liderstvu u savremenim političkim strankama Srbije objavile su sociološkinje Pajvančić Cizelj, Baćanović, V. (2016) *Rodna ravnopravnost i žensko političko liderstvo u strankama u Srbiji: Osnovni rezultati istraživanja*. Akademija ženskog liderstva. Dostupno na: <https://liderke.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/12/AZL-Brosura-Istrazivanje.pdf>. Videti i Milinović, J. (2017) *Liderke izbliza: Prilog proučavanju liderstva žena u Bosni i Hercegovini*, Sarajevo: Sarajevski otvoreni centar.



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**Viktimizacija kroz životne cikluse**

Beograd, Službeni glasnik i Institut za kriminološka i sociološka istraživanja, str. 193

Zoran S. Pavlović je redovni profesor čije je polje interesovanja zaštita ljudskih prava i prava žrtava. U knjizi *Viktimizacija kroz životne cikluse*, autor analizira kriminološke i viktimološke probleme trudnica, porodilja i majki, dece, vulnerabilnih grupa, mladih u intimnim vezama, žena u porodičnim, partnerskim i nepartnerskim odnosima, osoba sa HIV ili HCV/HBV infekcijom, priпадnika LGBT zajednice i lica lišenih slobode, uključujući sve neprimerene kvalifikacije nabrojanih grupa u javnom diskursu, koje su dokaz o svakodnevnoj potencijalnoj izloženosti individue nasilju kroz životni tok, koji se sastoji od devet faza koje počinju začećem, a završavaju smrću.

S obzirom da potencijalna izloženost različitim vidovima trpljenja i nasilja počinje već intrauterinim začećem i sam autor je prvo poglavje posvetio prvom životnom ciklusu i zaštiti trudnica i njihovog potomstva. U drugom poglavlju, autor se osvrće na zlostavljanje dece u porodici, ukazujući da su roditelji najčešći zlostavljači dece, pri čemu pritisak nasilnog roditelja može imati „deteriorirajući hronični efekat na porodicu i psihu nezlostavljućeg roditelja“ (str. 42). Neki roditelji decu zlostavljaju pod okriljem vaspitanja, a obrasci prikrivenog zlostavljanja se produbljuju kroz dalji proces socijalizacije deteta, što autor opisuje u trećem poglavlju, ističući da se vršnjačko nasilje sve više romantizuje i normalizuje. Tom trendu doprinose rijaliti emisije i video-igre koje obiluju nasiljem, kao i digitalni prostor, koji odlikuje anonimnost koja u nasilnicima budi sigurnost da njihovo nasilje neće biti otkriveno.



U četvrtom poglavlju, autor kao posebno problematično ističe nedostatak kontinuiranog nadzora nad decom, od njihovog izlaska iz porodilišta do polaska u školu, jer jedini monitoring u tim godinama vrši porodica. Postoji društveno uvreženo mišljenje da je upravo porodica ta koja želi detetu najbolje i ima najbolje namere za detetov razvoj, kao što važi mišljenje i za osobe koje se staraju o deci koja imaju određene poteškoće u razvoju ili imaju neku vrstu telesnog, senzornog ili intelektualnog invaliditeta. Međutim, iskustva iz prakse pokazuju da su čak i te sredine pogodno tlo za ispoljavanje najperfidnijih oblika nasilja prema deci. U cilju sprečavanja nasilja nad decom sa invaliditetom, dr Pavlović ukazuje na značaj koncepta situacione prevencije, koji predstavlja ideju „uspostavljanja specifičnog prostornog konteksta, kao i pravila neposrednog postupanja sa decom, koja garantuju viši nivo nadzora nad profesionalcima koji pristupaju deci“ (str. 63). Situaciona prevencija se sprovodi jer se kao česti učinci nasilja navode oni koji su zaduženi za brigu o licima nad kojima se vrši nasilje, kao što su, na primer, deca ili osobe starije životne dobi, koji, najčešće, neće znati da prepoznaju nasilje. U tom smislu, kao posebno vulnerabilne, autor pominje decu sa invaliditetom, jer oni imaju ograničene mogućnosti da uvide, a potom i prijave nasilje iz razloga što su manje ili više zavisni od drugih. Kod takve dece se javlja i dodatni problemi jer roditelji često odbijaju da private invaliditet ili smetnje u razvoju svog deteta, pa se obraćaju raznim „negovateljima“ i „stručnjacima“, koji svojim lažima uzrokuju odustajanje roditelja od medikamentozne terapije, zanemarujući tako potrebe svog deteta. Kao dokaze za te tvrdnje autor navodi razgovor sa roditeljem koji je bezuspešno tri godine vodio dete logopedu, gde je na osnovu pogrešno predstavljenih stručnih informacija stekao pogrešan utisak o ne/napretku svog deteta.

U šestom poglavlju, autor se bavi nasiljem nad ženama, ističući da ono počinje na ranom uzrastu žena, dok kao devojčice stupaju u svoje prve emotivne veze i odnose, čija priroda uslovljava njihovo samopoštovanje i njihove kasnije bračne odnose. U bračnim odnosima često se desi da prava žena ostaju zanemarena u odnosu na obavezu da budu društveno poželjne supruge, ispunjavajući tako vekovima ukorenjene nepisane norme koje simbolizuju žensku inferiornost. Pavlović pominje longitudinalne studije koje ukazuju na visok rizik za kasniju seksualnu revictimizaciju žena, koja svoje korene ima u detinjstvu i ranim intimnim odnosima. U vezi sa tim, potrebno je osvrnuti se na peto poglavlje u kojem autor objašnjava učestalost nasilja u intimnim vezama mladih, pozivajući se na rezultate empirijskog istraživa-

nja nasilja u intimnim vezama mladih, koje je sprovedeno od 2015. do 2018. godine na uzorku od 340 studenata. Rezultati ovog istraživanja su pokazali da 96% studenata iz uzorka poznaje vršnjake koji su žrtve nasilja u intimnim partnerskim odnosima, a oko 30% ih je odgovorilo da su za godinu dana intimnih odnosa pretrpeli bar jedan vid nasilja (str. 86-87), dok je 30% devojaka koje su nakon prvog incidenta fizičkog nasilja odlučile da ostanu u emotivnoj vezi doživelo i revictimizaciju (str. 89). Autor ističe da nasilje nad ženama može biti vidljivo i na samom početku emotivnog odnosa, navodeći kao primer tzv. *dating rape*, odnosno silovanje ili pokušaj silovanja na prvom sastanku, koje se u medijima često neetički „opravdava“ provokativnim izgledom ili izazovnim odevanjem žena (str. 79). U tim slučajevima, žena je žrtva muške moći, seksualizacije i degradacije, dispariteta snage i dominantnosti samo iz razloga jer je žena. Sve to ima pozadinske veze sa vrednosnim i kulturološki podržanim projekcijama, u kojima društvo favorizuje ideal muškosti i ekstremne forme nasilja nad ženama, koje su predmet svojine muškaraca prema kojoj se oni odnose prevaspitavački, naročito u domenu bračnih odnosa u kojima nasilje ostaje privatna stvar, a nikako pitanje društva ili države.

U sedmom poglavlju, autor nas upoznaje sa primerima medijskog senzacionalizma i spektakularnog izveštavanja o određenim stigmatizovanim grupama, poput osoba zaraženih HIV virusom, a koje je stvarna slika svakodnevne diskriminacije tih osoba. Gotovo uvek, HIV pozitivne osobe postanu predmet interesovanja svih koji ne prezaju od prepričavanja i osude, izazivajući radikalnim diskriminatornim kontekstom negativne implikacije u zdravstvenoj zaštiti takvih osoba, u procesu zaposlenja ili socijalnim kontaktima. U osmom poglavlju, autor, opet kroz medijski i društveni kontekst, objašnjava demonizaciju LGBT populacije na krajnje neempatičan način, uz česta pozivanja na nasilje i linč pripadnika LGBT zajednice, bez obzira što oni koji ih osuđuju možda svakodnevno čine i veće „prestupe“ od izbora prema njima neprihvatljivog seksualnog partnera.

U devetom poglavlju, autor nas upoznaje sa fenomenologijom viktimizacije lica lišenih slobode, kojima se posvećuje vrlo malo medijskog prostora. Profesor Pavlović ističe da su lica lišena slobode izložena lošim uslovima boravka u zatvoru i torturi od strane zaposlenih, koji se takmiče u svojim agresivnim postupcima umesto u analizama situacije i stručne provere stanja i potreba samih zatvorenika, kako bi se sprečio kriminološki recidivizam po izlasku iz zatvora. U okviru ovog poglavlja bitno je pomenuti ispitivanje tre-

tmanskih grupa osuđenika za porodično nasilje iz Okružnog zatvora u Novom Sadu,<sup>1</sup> kojim je utvrđeno odsustvo kajanja kod ove grupe osuđenih lica, a autor pri analizi ovog fenomena ističe da nasilnici ne moraju nužno imati istoriju „agresivnih incidenata van porodice“, nego takvim licima intimna sfera „donosi slobodu da kompenzuju vanporodične frustracije“ (str. 104).

Deseto poglavlje knjige je posvećeno starijim osobama, na koje se gleda kao na teret i finansijsko opterećenje i za državu i za porodicu, te takve osobe često bivaju fizički, seksualno i ekonomski zlostavljanje, izložene tehnološkom nasilju, zanemarene, tretirane kao deca od strane svojih partnera, dece ili negovatelja u domovima. Autor navodi da se, kao posledica toga, starija lica prilagođavaju tom društvenom pritisku i zanemaruju sebe i sopstvene potrebe iz razloga što je, prema Pavloviću, uzaludno svako oslanjanje na zakon o obavezi brige o roditeljima jer se u sudskoj praksi takvi slučajevi retko procesuiraju. Jedanaesto poglavlje govori o ulozi zaštitnika građana, zasnovano na autorovom bogatom praktičnom iskustvu kao Pokrajinskog zaštitnika građana, funkciji na kojoj je od 2016. godine. Kroz brojne primere, dr Pavlović daje pregled dostupnih pravnih dokumenata koji garantuju građanima bezbednost, slobodu, dostojanstvo i integritet, što ovoj knjizi daje poseban kvalitet. Na kraju, autor napominje da postoje antidiskriminatori mehanizmi i da antidiskriminativne temelje pruža većina ustava u svetu, koji garantuju svojim građanima bezbednost, slobodu, dostojanstvo i integritet. Takođe, zakoni o javnom informisanju, kao i drugi zakoni i podzakonski akti, međunarodni propisi, konvencije i deklaracije, zabranjuju podsticanje diskriminacije, mržnje i nasilja protiv lica ili grupe zbog njihove rasne, verske, nacionalne, polne i seksualne opredeljenosti. Međutim, postojeća nacionalna, kao i ratifikovana regulativa u praksi se nedosledno i selektivno primenjuje.

U knjizi su direktno, bez estetizovanja stvarnosti, opisani svi oblici manifestno suptilnijih formi nasilja, kao što su psihičko i emocionalno zlostavljanje nad osobama svih životnih ciklusa, jer društvo na nasilje reaguje samo kada su posledice vidljive ili sa fatalnim ishodom. Kao eventualni nedostatak knjige može se uzeti u razmatranje manja zastupljenost određenih tema (iako su i one prisutne u knjizi), kao što su nasilje nad osobama sa invaliditetom i nasilje nad nacionalnim manjinama, odnosno nasilje zasnovano na etničkoj pripadnosti, koje je, u nekoj meri, obrađeno u kontekstu nasilja nad decom, ali nedovoljno iz ugla vrste nasilja usmerene na ostale starosne kategorije, i sve aktuelnijeg

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<sup>1</sup> Koje je profesor Zoran Pavlović sproveo u saradnji sa dr Nikolom Petkovićem.

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pitanja nasilja nad migrantima. U poglavlju u kojem se autor bavi nasiljem nad decom, spominju se najviše romska deca koja su žrtve trgovine ljudima u cilju ugovorenih brakova, što se u praksi ne sankcioniše, bez obzira na izričitost zakona u pogledu maloletničkih brakova. U knjizi se na nekoliko mesta daju značajne smernice koje bi mogле pokrenuti istraživanje uvek aktuelne problematike o neuređenim odnosima među romskom populacijom. U predgovoru prvom izdanju ističe se metodološka neujednačenost i kontekstualna ograničenja trogodišnjih empirijskih istraživanja, uz napomenu da će se „opseg viktimizacije kroz životne cikluse u ovoj monografiji posmatrati promenljivo“ (str. 11).

Rezultati empirijskih istraživanja predstavljeni u knjizi imaju višestruku korist za naučnu, ali i nenaučnu čitalačku publiku, jer ova knjiga ima za cilj da nagna sve one koji su direktno uključeni u procesuiranje ili izveštavanje o nasilju nad ugroženim grupama da prekinu sa neetičnom i praksom legitimizacije nasilja u svrhu prevaspitavanja, sa praksom racionalizacije nasilnih postupaka i apologetskim odnosom prema nasilniku, minimizirajući perspektivu žrtve, kojoj se često ne omogućava puna participacija i integracija u društvo. Nasilje je kontinuirano i nadnacionalno, te se jedino saradnjom i angažovanjem svih raspoloživih nacionalnih i međunarodnih resursa mogu implementirati preventivne mere. Ipak, trebalo bi imati na umu da su resursi često ograničeni s obzirom na kulturološke, ekonomski, sociološke i brojne druge okolnosti pojedinih država. Kako bi se postigao željeni efekat, autor predlaže sistemski ekološki model projekcije, odnosno, sadejstvo mikro i makro nivoa rešavanja problema, koji se međusobno prožimaju. Potrebno je raditi i na usvajanju vrednosnih i preventivnih mera, počev od najranijeg uzrasta, kao i na modifikaciji legislativnih okvira koji postoje, ali čija je primena upitna.

Autor poziva na solidarnost jer, u krajnjoj liniji, svi članovi društva, u nekom trenutku, mogu postati žrtve, bez obzira koliko mislili da se to uvek nekom drugom dešava. Knjiga ima nemerljiv stručni i naučni značaj jer lični ugao, direktni odnos i razgovor sa žrtvama, Pavlovića dovode do zaključaka koji nam mogu pomoći da prepoznamo mnogobrojne uzroke i činioce nasilja, identifikujemo potencijalni profil žrtve i profil nasilnika, koji su često za ostatak društva ugledni i dobri ljudi, ali fatalni za žrtvu. Knjiga nam pomaže da uvidimo koji mehanizmi već postoje, ali i koji mehanizmi nedostaju, kako bi se nasilje adekvatno tretiralo, sankcionisalo i preveniralo.

JOVANA BOKAN



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Teme za 2022. godinu su: Broj 3: **Zelena viktimologija**. Članci van ovih tema mogu biti predati Redakciji bez obzira na rokove.

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