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Living in Misery: Child to Parent and Grandparent Violence and Abuse

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This article investigates the hidden and under-researched phenomenon of child/adolescent-to-parent violence and abuse (CAPVA). Despite the attention given to spousal and child abuse, very little is known about why children abuse their parents or what can be done to prevent it. This article explores how this issue is explained, its effects on parents and carers and the different interventions that have emerged to tackle it. Based on in-depth focus groups with parents, grandparents and practitioners participating in a 'Who's in Charge' intervention in the United Kingdom, this article explores the complex intersection of parenting skills, intergenerational violence, gender, neurodiversity and the associated response (or lack thereof) from education and law enforcement. The article concludes with important new recommendations on 1) the need for better referral routes, 2) greater emphasis on neurodiversity, 3) very early intervention, and 4) the benefit of online platforms used during the COVID-19 lockdown for engaging parents and grandparents.

Keywords: Who's in Charge, CAPVA, parents, grandparents, neurodiversity, intergenerational, Zoom, WhatsApp, violence, abuse.

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Introduction

Over the past decade, there has been a growing acknowledgement of the prevalence of child/adolescent-to-parent violence and abuse (CAPVA), however, it remains one of the least studied types of family and interpersonal violence (Simmons et al., 2018). There exists no legal definition of CAPVA in the United Kingdom (UK) (Sanders, 2020) and defining precisely what CAPVA is, becomes further complicated by different disciplines using inconsistent definitions and varied conceptual frameworks, on which interventions are based. Broadly, CAPVA describes a range of violent, harmful, or controlling behaviours, which includes acts of psychological, physical, emotional, coercive, sexual, or financial abuse by a child under the age of 18 years, toward a parent or primary caregiver (Holt, 2016; Brennan et al., 2022).

Some studies include any single incident of CAPVA in the definition whereas others categorise CAPVA as a pattern of behaviour (Simmons et al., 2018) which complicates the range of experiences that can be defined as CAPVA. Furthermore, there are many terms which refer to this phenomenon, such as child-to-parent violence (Wilcox et al., 2015), child-to-parent-abuse (Simmons et al., 2018), and adolescent violence in the home (Sutherland et al., 2022). The variations in the labels and definitions of CAPVA reflect the lack of consensus among disciplines and agencies regarding how CAPVA is conceptualised and understood in context. This article will use the term CAPVA, in recognition that abuse is not always physical, nor always well-represented by the term 'violence', and to acknowledge the wide age range of young people who enact CAPVA.

Much of the research literature has attempted to conceptualise CAPVA and explore contributory factors through single-theory frameworks. For example, social learning theories emphasise the role of exposure to violence as a child, by either being the victim of child abuse or witnessing domestic abuse, and propose that through the transmission of intergenerational violence and observational learning the young person develops violent and abusive behaviours themselves (Margolin, Baucom, 2014). Other perspectives, such as feminist approaches, emphasise the gendered nature of violence and focus on gender inequality, control of women, and misogyny when exploring contributory factors (Burck, Walsh, Lynch, 2019). More recently, researchers have been promoting the advantages of using multifactor frameworks, in order to synthesise existing research and to address the fact that complex

behaviours in young people (e.g., violence and abuse) are determined by interactions of multiple processes at the individual, family, community, and societal levels. Bronfenbrenner's social ecological model (1979) is particularly useful in this regard and is increasingly being utilised to explore the context of CAPVA (Simmons et al., 2018).

It is important to note that how CAPVA is conceptualised often varies between service providers, caregivers (victims) and young people (instigators). It has been reported that parents often view their child's violent and abusive behaviours through a pathological lens of diagnoses and disorders (Clarke, 2015). This can provide some comfort to parents by repositioning self-blame regarding the abuse in the context of impulse control disorders. Understandably, clinicians recommend against this strategy of conceptualising CAPVA due to the risk of normalisation of violence leading to unwillingness on behalf of the parents to report crimes or implement strategies to resist or prevent violence (Baker, Bonnick, 2021). Though, it should also be noted that a young person's diagnosis of mental illness or recognition as neurodivergent can open doors to specialist services and community support (Clarke, 2015). Therefore, acknowledgement of the young person's diagnoses and integration into interventions is not inherently harmful.

Qualitative studies have indicated that parental blame is a common explanatory factor for parent/caregiver victims of CAPVA. Williams, Tuffin and Niland (2017) demonstrate that mothers and grandmothers questioned their competency in parenting and felt responsible for the violence they had experienced, whilst also attributing blame to the absence of a father figure and the impact of their child lacking a male role model. There is a notable absence of the views of young people who instigate CAPVA in the literature. One thematic analysis of adolescent's accounts of CAPVA in the UK (Papamichail, Bates, 2022) demonstrated that the young people, similar to the parents in Williams et al.'s study, viewed the absence of their biological father as a contributory factor to their violence. Though unlike the findings of Williams, Tuffin, and Niland (2017), half of the young people lived with a step-father, indicating that a sense of rejection from their biological parents contributed to their conceptualisation of CAPVA, rather than the lack of a male role model. The theme of rejection was a consistent finding in Papamichail and Bates' study (2022), which reported that the young people also felt rejected by other members of their family.

This article aims to explore the phenomenon of CAPVA through an evaluation of one intervention program in the UK. This evaluation combined routinely collected data, interviews, and focus groups with clients and staff involved in the *Who's in Charge* program (Holt, 2015) to investigate the barriers and enablers of this approach to helping families living with CAPVA. The following sections will outline the difficulties of determining the prevalence of CAPVA within the UK and throughout Europe, and will discuss the *Who's in Charge* program, and the evidence relating to its efficacy. This is followed by presentation of the methodology used and demographic data, followed by the results of our analysis. The article is concluded by relating our findings to the complex intersection of risk factors associated with CAPVA and providing recommendations to improve the provision of CAPVA interventions and enable early support for families.

Prevalence of CAPVA

The prevalence of CAPVA in the UK, and globally, is currently difficult to distinguish, due in part to differing conceptualisations of CAPVA, inconsistent definitions and the variety of research methods which can be used to assess prevalence rates. Further obscuring true prevalence rates of CAPVA is the hidden nature of this phenomena, similar to other types of abuse, victims feel high levels of shame and stigma which can result in hesitance to disclose what is happening or lead to a fear of repercussions from their child (Burck, Walsh, Lynch, 2019). Additionally, some parents and caregivers choose not to report occurrences of CAPVA due to mistrust of police or social services, worries about their child being removed from the home, or fears of criminalising the young person and affecting their future as an adult (Brennan et al., 2022).

In large-scale population surveys from the US, Canada, and Australia, prevalence rates range from 4.6% to 20% (Holt, 2021), and one examination of CAPVA across five European countries (England, Ireland, Bulgaria, Sweden, and Spain) estimated that CAPVA affects 1 in 10 families (Wilcox et al., 2015). Community based survey data often reveals even higher prevalence rates. Simmons et al.'s (2018) literature review estimated the global prevalence of physical CAPVA to be between 5% and 21%, and psychological CAPVA to be between 33% and 93%, however this study did not differentiate between sin-

gle instances of violence and patterns of behaviour, which likely contributes to the large range of these prevalence estimates.

In the UK, a small number of studies have utilised self-report survey data from young people to estimate the prevalence of CAPVA. One cross-sectional study examined CAPVA among 890 secondary school students in England (aged 11 to 18 years) and revealed that 64.5% of the sample reported an incident of either psychological (64.4%) or physical (4.3%) CAPVA in the last 6 months (McCloud, 2017). These results do not necessarily represent patterns of abuse because the responses 'sometimes' and 'often' are combined in these figures, which may lead to inflation of the rates of abuse, however, the overall prevalence of CAPVA is comparable to a similar cross-sectional study in Serbia (Stevković, 2022) which reported that 69.5% of 1335 students (aged 12 to 19 years) had been psychologically or physically violent to a family member at some point. Another study explored the prevalence of CAPVA among a sample of 210 college students in England (aged 16 to 18 years) and reported lower frequencies of psychological and physical patterns of CAPVA (Baker, 2021). This study more clearly distinguished between one-off incidents and patterns of behaviour, revealing that 94% reported psychological aggression and 18% of the sample reported physical aggression to parents at least once. The author devised six thresholds of patterns of physical and/or psychological abuse to identify potential cases of CAPVA; overall 10% of the sample met these criteria.

It is also possible to estimate the prevalence of CAPVA by examining police and crime statistics and youth justice samples. Although these data are likely to be lower than the true prevalence, due to under-reporting on behalf of victims, and potential areas of bias in arrest and prosecution rates leading to boys being more likely to be identified in these samples (Sanders, 2020). Brennan et al. (2022) examined CAPVA-related offences across London, using Metropolitan Police Service (MPS) incident data from 2018 to 2020, as well as data from the annual Crime Survey for England and Wales (CSEW) from 2011 to 2020. Their analysis revealed that 60% of incidents reported to MPS involved physical violence (violence against the person), with a lesser proportion consisting of criminal damage (25%). However, this data is limited because MPS only record a primary offence, therefore it is possible that multiple offences were committed but only one could be recorded. Furthermore, analysis of CSEW data (Brennan et al., 2022) revealed that approximately 40% of CAPVA victims did not report any offence to the police, and even when

CAPVA-related crimes are reported to police, there is no consistency in how this is recorded and managed due to a high level of police discretion (Miles, Condry, 2014). Therefore, the utility of using police and crime statistics to estimate CAPVA prevalence is limited.

Who's in Charge⁴

Who's in Charge is a solution-focused parenting support programme developed by Eddie Gallagher in Australia (Holt, 2015). Emerging from support groups for mothers who experienced CAPVA, the aim of the programme is to empower parents through a supportive environment and solution-focused discussions, to build self-esteem and reduce shame, and to encourage practical changes by implementing consequences to change unwanted behaviour. Based on the idea that parental guilt about being victimised by their child may contribute to sustaining unbalanced power dynamics in the parent-child relationship, *Who's in Charge* emphasises parental assertiveness and self-care, while discouraging victim-blaming perspectives on CAPVA. This programme acknowledges that young people engaged in CAPVA are unlikely to meaningfully engage with CAPVA interventions initially, and that sessions with CAPVA instigators and victims together may cause violence and abuse to escalate. For these reasons the *Who's in Charge* programme focuses on working to support and empower parents, who are likely more motivated than the young person to enact change in the home. The programme is aimed at parents and caregivers of children aged 8 to 18 years.

Who's in Charge is a structured group support programme, typically consisting of nine sessions in a three-part structure, involving worksheets, hand-outs, and group discussions. The first part of the programme focuses on understanding the nature of CAPVA, parental attitudes about their child's behaviour, and exploring the roles of entitlement, shame, and power in the parent-child relationship. The second part of the group focuses on the use of consequences in parenting, aiming to empower the parents to become more confident and assertive. This section also explores the difficulties of identifying appropriate consequences and implementing them in a safe and practical manner. The final section supports parents to sustain and reinforce changes within the home, as well as exploring topics such as anger (both from the par-

ent and from the young person), self-care, and assertiveness. The programme is followed up 2 months after completion with a group session exploring goal achievement and evaluation of the impact of the programme, as well as providing support for parents to set future goals and sustain changes.

Who's in Charge is recognised as an emerging effective practice from the Youth Justice Board for England and Wales (Baker, Bonnick, 2021). There are no specific protocols for working with neurodiversity, English as a second language, or additional learning needs. Gallagher highlights that due to the use of handouts and worksheets in sessions, those who struggle with reading and writing may experience barriers in the programme, however there are no recommendations for ameliorating these difficulties (Holt, 2015). Anecdotally, Gallagher reports that over two-thirds of young people, whose parents or carers engaged with the programme, demonstrate meaningful changes in CAPVA-related behaviours (Holt, 2015). There are no published quantitative data relating to programme effectiveness, Gallagher states that a qualitative evaluation was conducted in 2007, however this report is not currently available.

Methodology

This paper is based on an evaluation combining focus group interviews, individual interviews, and routinely collected data about the *Who's in Charge* programme, to examine the referral processes currently in place and explore the views and experiences of clients and staff involved in the programme. The dataset below reveals essential information about the delivery of the programme and routinely collected information from clients over a period of 29 months from the start date in April 2020. To provide a deeper understanding of the programme, focus groups with *Who's in Charge* clients ($N=4$) and staff ($N=3$), and an interview with the *Who's in Charge* manager were also conducted (total participants, $N=8$).

Data collection

Participants for the two focus groups and the individual interview were identified and recruited through the intervention team, and data collection and analysis were conducted by the research team at the University of Hull.

Ethical approval was granted from the FACE Ethics Committee at the University of Hull, and all participants provided informed consent verbally. The client focus group took place online and consisted of four parents and grandparents who had completed, or were currently participating in the *Who's in Charge* programme. The staff focus group took place online and was conducted with three employees from the programme who facilitate the *Who's in Charge* programme, their job titles included family harm prevention worker, senior domestic abuse (DA) prevention worker, and young person's harm prevention worker. Two members of the research team conducted the focus groups, and one researcher interviewed the program manager. An individual interview with the *Who's in Charge* manager was also conducted. All qualitative data collection used a strengths-based approach, which focused on affirmative experiences and outcomes of the programme and explored what could be done to further enhance the *Who's in Charge* programme. A semi-structured interview schedule was designed for each focus group and the interview. Each consisted of up to 13 open-ended questions, with multiple prompts, questions included "What is the most important lesson you can take away from your experience of this programme?" (client focus group).

Access to routinely collected data regarding referral and demographic information of clients was supplied to the research team by the program provider. This consisted of all referral information between the dates April 2020 and September 2022, and included basic demographic information of 398 clients who had been referred to the *Who's in Charge* programme.

Data analysis

We conducted a SWOT analysis of each qualitative data source, which enabled us to identify the overall Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities, and Threats of the *Who's in Charge* programme from the perspectives of clients, staff, and the delivery manager. The findings were combined to provide an overall impression of what is currently working well and to identify areas which could be expanded upon to provide additional value or opportunities to enhance and streamline the delivery of the programme. The following sections provide an overview of the findings from the routinely collected data, focus groups, and the individual interview, and recommendations based upon these findings will be discussed.

All results are presented anonymously and although we interviewed the manager separately, we have taken the decision to merge any quotes from the manager with the wider staff group to avoid breaching anonymity. Any identifying details or context were altered or removed for the same reasons, and we have generally sought to include those quotes that are representative of the general sentiment and that do not relate any personal details.

Results

Referral and demographic data

Between April 2020 and September 2022, the *Who's in Charge* programme received 398 referrals. The service demonstrated rapid growth between the first and second year of operation and appears to be maintaining this level of service into the third year. Overall, 45 out of the total 398 were repeat referrals, demonstrating that the service is continually reaching new clients and the majority are not re-referred. Clients were referred from a range of agencies and organisations, the three most common referral pathways were from Children and Family Support Services (N=99), Children and Young People Services (N=91), and directly from the young person's school (N=74).

Table 1. Demographics of clients in Who's in Charge for the period 2020-2022

(N)		2020-2021	2021-2022	2022 (April-September)	Total (2020-2022)	
		(N)	(N)	(N)	(%)	
Gender	Female	30	229	111	370	93.0
	Male	5	14	9	28	7.0
Age	18 - 35	9	85	35	129	32.5
	36 - 50	20	122	61	203	51.0
	51 +	6	26	19	51	12.8
	Unknown	0	10	5	15	3.7

Risk level	Standard	30	218	110	358	90.0
	High	4	24	9	37	9.3
	Very High	0	0	1	1	0.2
	Unknown	1	1	0	2	0.5
Number of children	0	2	12	3	17	4.4
	1	8	46	22	76	19.1
	2	13	70	40	123	30.9
	3	5	66	30	101	25.5
	4+	7	49	24	80	20.1
Disability	Physical	2	3	10	15	4.0
	Mental health	7	75	29	111	28.0
	Learning	0	5	3	8	2.0

Most people referred to *Who's in Charge* were female (92%), White British (91%), with a standard level of risk (90% of cohort). Only one case in the data from 2020-2022 was assessed as a very high level of risk. The ages of adult clients referred to *Who's in Charge* ranged from 25 to 76 years, with a mean age of 40 years ($SD=8.41$), although it should be noted that 15 clients had not provided their age or date of birth, and therefore were not included in this analysis (Table 1).

The number of children of people referred to *Who's in Charge* ranged from 0 to 8. Those recorded as having 0 children typically meant that the children were not currently in the care of the client, or the client was a grandparent or other relative. 76% of clients had more than one child. Nearly one third (28%) of clients were classified as registered disabled in relation to mental health, far higher than physical (4%) or learning disabilities (2%). The genders and ages of children, and whether they had any disabilities or additional needs, were not recorded (Table 1).

Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Threats

a) Strengths

The importance of group-based work, peer-support and the use of a WhatsApp group were deemed to be particularly beneficial by both parents and staff:

"You knew people weren't going to judge you because everyone was in the same boat (...) so you can just be open and honest about the things you were struggling with and I think that's important, and you have to kind of give that vulnerability to get something out of it." (Parent)

This sense of support was further enhanced by the use of a WhatsApp group which allowed parents to talk to each other and offer support 24/7. As one staff member put it:

"We started at the end of the group saying 'how about you form a WhatsApp group between you all', because obviously we only work Monday to Friday 9-5, so then they've got that added support after we finish working, and we've been doing that now for every group that we've done (...) I do that's very beneficial to have that and have it as a closed group and not an open, rolling program." (Staff)

This sense of being able to talk to other people living through the same experience was deemed hugely valuable by the parents. In particular, the sense of not being judged – or having to explain – made people feel more comfortable talking about their experiences. The 'closed' WhatsApp group allowed this sense of group cohesion and support to develop and sustain itself after the programme ended.

Related to this, one surprising result was the value parents and staff placed on the 'online' delivery of the programme using Zoom. At one level it feels counter-intuitive that remote delivery would make people feel comfortable, but the overwhelming opinion was that the online format worked well, made people feel more comfortable and safer:

"When I'm doing the *Who's in Charge* program [online] I've found definitely that people...if they're not sat in a room with somebody, they seem to be able to be more open, and maybe tell us more than they would tell us if

they were in a room being looked at directly by somebody. So, I think they actually feel more open to sharing their experiences online." (Staff)

"[on Zoom] we've got a lot less people missing sessions, I think because it's online for those who maybe have previously worried about the anxiety of how they're portrayed in front of people and face to face, this is a nice barrier and a nice support and protection for them." (Staff)

Whilst some parents/grandparents expressed initial anxiety about meeting online, they all told us that they quickly became more confident as they had used various video-conferencing platforms during COVID-19 lockdown. The logistical advantages of not having to travel (especially in terms of managing childcare, work obligations and travel costs) were seen as very beneficial. Similarly, familiar surroundings made parents feel more relaxed and less like they were under a 'microscope'.

Beyond the clear importance of the group dynamics and peer-support, another major strength that was identified was the way in which the programme engendered a positive mindset and behaviour change in parenting style:

"Things changed for me straight away, as in my mindset, but things we were implementing took time." (Parent)

"Sometimes you can feel like the process is slow, but it is going in the right direction and it's just about having the momentum and the motivation and having the support behind you to just keep going." (Parent)

b) Weaknesses

There were two weaknesses identified during the interviews. The first of these is a dissonance between the parent and staff group regarding the role of neurodiversity in a child's behaviour:

"It still confuses me as to which behaviours are driven by the autism and that I need to be compassionate to and understanding of, and which behaviours are the ones that need the consequences and the challenging and dealing with...and it's just trying to find that balance." (Parent)

"I (...) have a child with ADHD, ODD, autistic tendencies, anxiety disorder, attachment disorder to me, and it (...) was a minefield of what is classed as learned behaviours, whether that's within the home or outside of the home like at school, or what is actually linked to my child's conditions." (Parent)

"I think sometimes referrals are probably mis-referred, because the child might be diagnosed with ADHD or autism, and it's probably not the right particular programme- there might be other agencies that should be involved, but due to time scales and waiting lists and things like I just feel like, it's very rare that we'll say 'no I'm not accepting that'." (Staff)

No single programme can realistically be expected to meet the complex needs of every child. The staff group generally seemed to ascribe to the view that they can offer help with the parenting skills whilst the parenting group exhibit some frustration about more specialist needs regarding neurodiversity. Some of this dissonance is almost certainly to do with the nature and focus of the *Who's in Charge* programme compared to how parents make sense of their children's behaviour.

Another weakness that both parents and staff pointed to is the limited age range of the *Who's in Charge* which is aimed at 8 -18 years of age. The consensus was that many behaviours are entrenched by age 8 and it would be a very good idea to extend *Who's in Charge* or develop a sister programme aimed at younger children as an early intervention initiative. The perceived benefit of this is that it would avoid needless suffering for the parents, nip the problem in the bud and reduce the risk of 'learnt behaviour' from other siblings in the family household (a pressing concern as 76% of clients had multiple children).

"Because this is an 8-18 program, I think when you get the older children, I think their behaviour is so entrenched (...) and I'm not saying it won't change, but I think it takes that behaviour longer to change, because I think that by the time they get to 17 or 18 they're not bothered because their behaviour is that entrenched." (Staff)

"In assessments we ask parents 'when did your child's behaviour start to concern you?' and I would say that a massive percent of them would say 'I started to notice by the time they were 18 months or 2 years of age and

they weren't behaving developmentally appropriately (...) but if you've got parents who are only coming to us when their child is 8, 9, 10 , 11, 12, and they've been experiencing this behaviour since the child was 18 months...how can we recoup 8 or 9 years in 8 weeks? And a lot of the time we do it successfully." (Staff)

These comments directly inform some the findings in the 'Opportunities' section below. It was very clear from the parent group that many of them had been wrestling with their children's behaviour for many years before reaching the *Who's in Charge* programme. A history of blocked access to services, misplaced advice from well-meaning (but largely unhelpful) law enforcement and education services and a great deal of 'self-medication' to manage an increasingly fraught homelife suggests that an earlier engagement with families would reap dividends and potentially head off other social problems stemming from CAPVA.

c) Opportunities

Two clear opportunities relate to the aforementioned weaknesses regarding neurodiversity and the age-range of the programme. For example:

"I think if intervention is done earlier with a child then the outcome could be a lot better, whereas some children and families do not get this opportunity, so they suffer, suffer, suffer for long, long periods of time, and by the time children get to their teenage years some stuff is lost, some stuff you just can't reprogram, some things you can but for others that is it, because if you don't get it at an early enough age then it's a whole different can of worms, so the whole process earlier and intervention earlier is a must." (Parent)

"It would be nice to cover that age group wouldn't it, like going back to the wish list, if maybe we could have a slightly different program that could deal with the behaviours of much younger children as well, to nip it in the bud while they're young, rather than them then becoming teenagers that are more difficult to handle." (Staff)

Another element that many of the parents felt would be beneficial was more meaningful advice and support about how to stay calm, manage family life and cope with the stresses and strains that led many of them to struggle with their own health and wellbeing. For some people, this meant becoming too reliant on alcohol or painkillers, for others it was the damage done to their own confidence and mental health. These represent hidden needs that create additional pressures on families and services:

"I think maybe that's a piece that's missing, is that mental health support. I know we do have our individual workers and they are very good, but they're not counsellor-type level trained, and yeah, I guess if we are the key ones to be at the root of moving our children forward then we need our own support too." (Parent)

"Everyone tells you to stay calm but they don't tell you how, they just tell you 'the best thing to do is stay calm' well how the hell do I stay calm when I've got someone coming at me with a pair of scissors, coming at my face, how the hell do I stay calm in that situation?" (Parent)

A final opportunity relates to the limited awareness of the *Who's in Charge* programme. Both staff and parents expressed some frustration with the police and school response to this type of domestic abuse in their home, suggesting a need for some partnership engagement and clearer referral routes. These opportunities are fundamentally about external engagement, awareness raising and routes into *Who's in Charge*:

"Parents phone the police and are told 'it's your child deal with it' and the phone is hung up...I know the police force is run ragged just like we are, but I think it's just that understanding, and that training and support for them to realise it's happening in our communities (...) and I know we're keen to try and train up a lot more within the local police so they understand that it is happening in our community." (Staff)

"My experience with the police and my child's behaviour is not a healthy... good one...at all. I thought 'oh my god I've got to ring the police'. I was at the lowest, so low it was unreal, I didn't know what to do and I didn't know where to turn, and so I rang the police and I got a lecture off the policeman on the other end of the phone, saying 'do you realise what you are

doing? Your child will have this on their record for the rest of their life', so then he made me feel that I was the person in the wrong, well no, my child was, because my child was hitting me all the time and that is not right or acceptable one bit, so my experience with the police has not been the best at all." (Parent)

d) Threats

One of the most commonly cited frustrations by both staff and parents was the difficulties in getting referred to *Who's in Charge* and the confusion sometimes caused by other parenting programmes with slightly different goals:

"I've been waiting quite a few months to get her [a client] on the *Who's in Charge* program, so I did all the assessments and keep in touch with her, and she was due to start (...) the next core group, then they said 'we want her to do this parenting program before *Who's in Charge*', and I'd got this parent ready to start *Who's in Charge* program and now I have to close it." (Staff)

"You have to jump through hoops to get the help, you have to prove that you are not a bad parent, so straight away that question is there straight away, so you believe that what you are doing is wrong and that you are a bad parent, until you do these courses and someone says it's not you, it's that process that can take far too long for some of us." (Parent)

Similarly, the response from the police when contacted by parents was generally viewed as underwhelming:

"[Police] need to understand that [CAPVA] is happening in our community and when these parents reach out you can guarantee they've dialled the number 30 or 40 times before they've actually had the confidence to call and say 'I'm being physically abused, mentally abused by my child' to then be told 'it's your child, it's your problem, you have to deal with it'...it's not very helpful." (Staff)

"I've got a couple of clients where parents have called the police quite a few times and they either haven't been out or they've come out and said to them 'stop it, be kind to your mum' and then they're gone." (Staff)

These types of obstacles represent a real and present danger to *Who's in Charge* as they effectively block referrals and negatively impact the initial engagement with *Who's in Charge* due to poor prior experiences. Sometimes this is about competition between services that can lead to confusion for parents, and sometimes it is a lack of awareness about what advice and support is available to parents.

Discussion: Gender, age, abuse and neurodiversity

Gender

The evidence reported in the majority of the literature reflects that CAPVA is a gendered phenomenon, with mothers being more likely than fathers to be the victim of CAPVA (Simmons et al., 2018). Some studies have concluded that 'typical' profiles of instigators and victims are white males aged 14-17 and white adult females, respectively (Hong et al., 2012). Baker's (2021) exploration of adolescents' views on CAPVA revealed insights from the young person's perspective regarding why mothers are more likely to be targets. The young people in this study highlighted the role of their mother as primary caregiver meant closer physical proximity, as well as being more actively involved in parenting decisions. Furthermore, the young people described how they perceived their mother to be a 'safer' target; not only physically but also emotionally, with one participant stating, "I knew Mum would stay...no matter what would happen". The gendered nature of CAPVA is also evident in studies which focus on kinship care. Holt and Birchall's (2020) qualitative project investigating CAPVA in kinship care contexts in the UK reported that 24 of 27 participants were grandmothers. A similar qualitative examination of family violence in kinship care in Australia reported that 96% of 101 kinship carers in this study were female, predominantly grandmothers (68%) or an aunt (18%) (Breman, MacRae, Vicary, 2018).

Age

In a similar manner to the variation in definitions of CAPVA, the age range of young people who are instigators of CAPVA is also a contentious issue. The

majority of studies focus on young people aged between 10 and 18 years old (Brennan et al., 2022); the lower cut-off reflecting the minimum age of criminal responsibility in England and Wales (Brown, Charles, 2021). Simmons et al. (2018) argue that pre-adolescent children (under the age of 13) should not be included in CAPVA literature because their developmental stage precludes them from intending harm as a result of their actions. However, the usefulness of defining CAPVA based on 'intent' is diminished in the context of neurodivergent young people (Baker, Bonnick, 2021). Additionally, many definitions of CAPVA do not specify intent, but rather focus on the pattern of abusive behaviours and feelings of fear and control experienced by the victim (Paterson et al., 2002). By limiting our understanding of CAPVA to that instigated only by teenagers, may serve to perpetuate the hidden nature of this phenomenon, by overlooking families with younger children who are struggling, and ignoring the necessity of early interventions into violent and abusive behaviour (Thorley, 2017).

The upper age of 18 years is also debated in the literature. Although legally, in the UK, a young person aged 18 or over is considered an adult, in developmental terms adolescence is often considered to extend up to the age of 24 years (Sawyer et al., 2018). Furthermore, the number of young adults continuing to live with parents in the UK has increased by 24% since 2011 (Sharfman, Cobb, 2022). This has important implications for our conceptualisation of CAPVA, as much of the literature demonstrates that incidents of CAPVA tend to escalate over time in a similar manner to other types of domestic abuse (Simmons et al., 2018). There is a distinct lack of research that involves adult-aged children, however emerging research demonstrates that this phenomenon is present but often not captured in literature due to CAPVA services typically only providing support to under 18's and age-related exclusion criteria in research samples (Baker, Bonnick, 2021). Brennan et al.'s (2022) examination of CAPVA offences across London revealed that 65% of cases reported to the police involved a young person aged 19 to 25 years, demonstrating that CAPVA does not end when a young person legally becomes an adult. It is of particular importance to recognise the continuation of violent and abusive behaviours into adulthood, not only to support victimised parents, but also because research suggests that young people who have enacted CAPVA may then go on to perpetrate intimate partner violence in adult relationships (Ibane, Arnoso, Elgorriag, 2020).

Mental health and neurodiversity

Multiple reviews into CAPVA have identified that young people with mental health concerns are more likely than their peers to engage in CAPVA (Baker, Bonnick, 2021; O'Hara et al., 2017; Simmons et al., 2018). However, the precise role of psychopathology in young people who instigate CAPVA is still unclear. It is important to note that although psychological disorders and neurological/neurodevelopmental disorders (i.e., neurodiversity) may co-exist, they are separate entities that affect people differently. Psychological disorders are typically related to emotional, behavioural, and mood symptoms that cause distress and negatively affect daily functioning. The term 'neurodiversity' is an umbrella term to describe alternate thinking and processing styles typically seen in autism spectrum disorder (ASD), attention deficit hyperactivity disorder (ADHD), and Tourette's syndrome, to name a few. The use of the term 'neurodiversity' communicates the idea that neurological differences are normal and valuable variations in the way that humans can process and use information, and therefore should not be seen as pathologies that necessitate a cure (Dyck, Russell, 2020).

Studies have reported that young people who enact CAPVA display high levels of general psychological distress, depression, and low self-esteem (Calvete Orue, Gámez-Guadix, 2013). Qualitative research from the UK with mothers experiencing CAPVA from their pre-adolescent children reported that all the participants in the study conceptualised CAPVA as resulting from mental health struggles, such as anxiety or emotional dysregulation (Rutter, 2020). Similar qualitative research with young people in the UK who enact CAPVA revealed that six (of eight) participants were involved with Child and Adolescent Mental Health Services (CAHMS), and five related their violent behaviour to emotional dysregulation and feeling 'out of control' (Papamichail, Bates, 2022).

In CAPVA literature, the role of neurodiversity and developmental disabilities in young people is often framed as a causative factor (Simmons et al., 2018). Disorders such as ASD and ADHD are frequently named as risk factors that may lead to CAPVA, often due to the emotional dysregulation, impulsivity, and struggles with social interactions inherent in these disorders (Baker, Bonnick, 2021). However, as noted by Sutherland et al. (2022), this view can be problematic due to the range of factors which may induce violence from neurodivergent young people, such as physical pain, fear, or methods of com-

munication. Furthermore, the authors argue that current frameworks used to understand CAPVA, such as feminist or social learning theories, tend to miss out these contextual factors that could contribute to violent behaviours. Some studies caution against framing neurodiversity as a cause of CAPVA, describing how parents may use their child's diagnosis as a reason to tolerate violence (Baker, Bonnick, 2021), while others describe how parents may attempt to assuage feelings of self-blame by positioning such diagnoses as the sole cause of CAPVA (Clarke, 2015). Crucially, there has been little evidence that demonstrates that CAPVA is caused by developmental disabilities, and therefore the role of neurodiversity would be best understood by taking a socio-ecological perspective (Sutherland et al., 2022). Taking such an approach would be particularly useful when developing CAPVA interventions, due to the lack of resources for these families, and questions regarding the suitability of existing interventions into CAPVA for neurodivergent young people (Holt, Lewis, 2021).

Conclusion: Recommendations and further research

Based on focus groups with parents, grandparents and practitioners involved in a *Who's in Charge* intervention in the UK, this article has provided fresh insights into the hidden phenomenon of CAPVA. *Who's in Charge* provides parenting skills combined with peer group support to help manage and reduce this type of largely unacknowledged domestic abuse. Our research demonstrates that whilst parents and grandparents found *Who's in Charge* to be a positive experience that did help them slowly introduce new, more successful, strategies for managing violence and aggression in the home, the efficacy of the intervention could be considerably enhanced by implementing the following recommendations.

We found that a stronger integration of the *Who's in Charge* intervention into education and law enforcement referral routes that provide clearer signposting, eligibility criteria and training about how to engage with, and support parents struggling with this difficult issue is needed. Further, a greater emphasis on supporting parents with neurodivergent children is required. Specifically, engagement with the sensory and behavioural experiences, and the support available for neurodivergent children was a missing ingredient

in the intervention. Parents, grandparents and practitioners also felt that the *Who's in Charge* intervention should be developed for younger children (4-8) as well as the 8-18 age range. Parents with lived experience of this phenomenon felt very strongly that the behaviour manifested earlier than 8-years-old, and if addressed earlier would be less likely to establish itself, or adversely affect their siblings. Finally, the benefit of online platforms to enable engagement with *Who's in Charge* was an unanticipated benefit of COVID-19 lockdown. The use of WhatsApp (or similar) to foster ongoing peer support was seen as a very important 'spin-off' from the intervention. The capacity of technology to offer greater reach, inclusivity and sustainability of the *Who's in Charge* intervention is worthy of further study, as is engagement with the young people (and their siblings) who benefit from living in a more tranquil family environment.

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Tyler Mills*

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NICOLA O'LEARY

Život u patnji: Nasilje i zlostavljanje roditelja i baka i deka od strane dece

U ovom radu je analiziran skriveni i nedovoljno istraženi fenomen nasilja i zlostavljanja roditelja od strane dece/adolescenata (CAPVA). Uprkos pažnji javnosti koja je usmerena na parnersko i nasilje nad decom, malo se zna o tome zašto deca zlostavljaju svoje roditelje i šta bi trebalo uraditi da se to spreči. U radu je prikazano kako se ovaj oblik porodičnog nasilja objašnjava, kako utiče na roditelje i staratelje, kao i različite intervencije koje su se pojavile u cilju njegovog sprečavanja i suzbijanja. Polazeći od rezultata dubinskih fokus grupnih intervju sa roditeljima, bakama i dekama i stručnjacima uključenim u interventni program 'Who's in Charge' u Ujedinjenom Kraljevstvu, u radu je analizirana kompleksna isprepletanost faktora koji doprinose pojavi i održavanju ovog oblika porodičnog nasilja, poput roditeljskih veština, međugeneracijskog nasilja, roda, neurodivezititeta i povezanog odgovora (ili odsustva istog) od strane obrazovnog i pravog sistema. U zaljučnom delu su date preporuke u vezi sa: 1) potrebom za boljim putevima upućivanja nasilne dece i roditelja/staratelja na program rane intervencije, 2) većim fokusom na neurodiverzitetu, 3) neophodnošću rane intervencije, i 4) prednostima upotrebe

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onlajn platformi koje su korišćene tokom COVID-19 lockdown-a za motivisanje i uključivanje roditelja i baka i deka u program.

Ključne reči: *Who's in Charge, CAPVA, roditelji, bake i deke, neurodiverzitet, međugeneracijsko nasilje, Zoom, WhatsApp, nasilje, zlostavljanje.*

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Intimate Partner Violence in Germany Before and During the COVID-19 Pandemic: A Gender Perspective

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INES HOHENDORF

The article discusses intimate partner violence (IPV) before and during the COVID-19 pandemic, focusing on the extent to which victimization has changed. International studies on IPV have attributed victimization to the social character of the sexes, with an explicit analysis of gender attitudes, beliefs and gender roles. Consistent with this international approach, the gender attitudes of individuals are used to examine the link between social character and victimization. The study draws on a sample of mainly young adults as the empirical basis for a quantitative analysis conducted at a German University in the spring of 2021. The article explores the extent to which gender stereotypes occur, their impact on the likelihood of victimization and how the COVID-19 pandemic has affected IPV and role models.

Keywords: COVID-19 pandemic, gender beliefs and roles, intimate partner violence, victimization, young people.

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Introduction

The 1970s emancipation movement in Germany brought domestic violence to public attention. Since then, it has become an integral part of discourses in the media, politics, and academia (Gahleitner, Oestreich, Lenz, 2007: 11). The Council of Europe Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence Against Women and Domestic Violence (known as the Istanbul Convention) entered into force in Germany in 2018. Its implementation involved the federal funding program "Together against violence against women" of the Federal Ministry for Family Affairs, Senior Citizens, Women and Youth in 2020, coinciding with the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic.

During 2020, the issue of intimate partner violence (IPV) gained significant attention, as prolonged curfews raised concerns about a possible increase in IPV cases.¹ It is likely that latent conflicts in cohabiting couples intensified, resulting in an increase in physical disputes in both number and intensity. The Federal Ministry initiated the "Help System 2.0" project to address this issue, which supports women's shelters and specialized counselling centres. This project has been extended until the end of March 2022. Despite these efforts, the extent of partner violence during the pandemic remains largely unknown, and victimological research in Germany is still in its infancy (Steinert, Ebert, 2020).

An online study conducted at a German University focused on analyzing gender-specific relationship violence among young people during the COVID-19 pandemic. During the period of the so-called federal emergency break (*Bundesnotbremse*) in April 2021, 1,218 university members responded to a questionnaire about IPV. This paper specifically highlights the findings about victimization in relationship violence before and during the COVID-19 pandemic and gender beliefs and roles. The article will begin by outlining the current state of research on sex and gender in German criminology.

Sex and gender in German criminological research

In Germany, research on unreported cases of IPV has been extensive since the late 1980s, but longitudinal surveys are still lacking (overview by Schwithal, 2004). At the centre of these studies has been the sex of perpetrators and victims; it has been attributed to a significant role in explaining

¹ This is suggested by international studies such as Niraki (2023) or McKinlay et al. (2023).

the phenomenon (Ohms, 2007: 228). Although the use of violence is condemned by boys and men, it continues to be tolerated as a manifestation of social masculinity. In contrast, the use of violence remains taboo for girls and women because it conflicts with social femininity (Lenz, 2007: 21). Thus, violence is a striking example of persisting rigid notions about masculinity and femininity, with masculinity linked to perpetration, aggressiveness, and dominance, and femininity linked to victimization, fearfulness, and gentleness.

The internalization of gender-typical role configurations and behaviours occurs through ascription and prescription, which are perpetuated by symbolic interaction. The social constructivist approach provides insight into how violence and its actors are judged and dealt with. In partnerships, socialization institutionalizes gender attitudes by developing characteristics that are considered gender-typical, and which originally constituted gender-specific institutionalization (Kotthoff, 2001: 162). This creates an action-theoretical circle where the outcomes of gender constructions become both their precondition and cause (Wetterer, 2002: 27). Both, in everyday life and in empirical research, biological sex and social gender attitudes are often implicitly linked. Though the differentiation between sex and gender dates back to the 1970s (Stephan, 2000: 58), empirical studies in German criminology are usually based on an indistinguishable linking of the two categories. However, the assumed static correlation distorts the empirical research on gender attitudes in criminology and other academic disciplines (Johnson, Repta, 2012: 18).

In German criminology, gender, its causes, and consequences are primarily discussed in theoretical terms, with the construct rarely being used in empirical studies in contrast to international research. In addition to Hohen-dorf (2019), only two German studies have taken gender into account as a determinant of IPV, namely Volz, Zulehner (2009) and Gründler (2012).

Theoretical assumptions

Various social institutions (primarily family, friends, and school) lead to every human being experiencing a (mostly) gender-specific socialisation based on (power-distributing) cultural attributions. The acquired gender then structures an actor's behaviour because doing gender enables us to classify and understand the actions of our communication partners (symbolic interactionism: Mead, 1973) and has an impact on the perception and handling of violence in gender relations, as posited by the labelling theory of Becker (2014).

Our study assumes that sex and gender are two independent structural categories with distinct effects on IPV. In other words, it is not sexual differences as such that influence victimization and perpetration, but rather personal characteristics associated with gender. However, individuals' gender attitudes are related to their sex as well as other factors such as age and cultural background. Findings show that being male (Grunow, 2014), being older (Becher, El-Menouar, 2014) and/or having a migrant background (Kohlmann, 2000) are associated with a more traditional attitude towards gender role expectations.

In light of the above assumptions, we have developed several hypotheses for our study. Firstly, we hypothesize that the presence of traditional gender attitudes and the acceptance of violence legitimizing masculinity norms will increase among those who are male (H1a), older (H1b), and/or have a migrant background (H1c). Secondly, we hypothesize that sex will not directly impact victimization, but gender attitudes will (H2). Lastly, we hypothesize that the greater the level of traditional gender role models and acceptance of violence-legitimizing masculinity norms, the higher the likelihood of victimization (H3).

Method

We used an online campus survey conducted in the spring of 2021 to investigate IPV before and during the COVID-19 pandemic. The survey collected cross-sectional data on socio-demographic characteristics, gender role attitudes, victimization, and perpetration of IPV among students, members and affiliates of a German university. In addition to lifetime prevalence, the survey also measured 12-month prevalence to capture IPV during the COVID-19 pandemic.

Experience and perpetration of IPV were measured using the German translation (Müller, Schröttle, 2004) of the Murray Straus' *Conflict Tactics Scale 2* (CTS2) (Straus et al., 1996). The CTS2 recorded psychological² and physical³ violence

² Items of victimization: "My boyfriend/girlfriend tried to control me", "My boyfriend/girlfriend hurt me by calling me names and insulting me", and "My boyfriend threatened to physically hurt me". Items of perpetration: "I tried to control my boyfriend/girlfriend", "I hurt my boyfriend/girlfriend by calling him/her names and insulting him/her", "I threatened to physically harm my boyfriend/girlfriend".

³ Items of victimization: "My boyfriend/girlfriend angrily pushed me away", "My boyfriend/girlfriend slapped me", "My boyfriend/girlfriend hit me". Items of perpetration: "I angrily pushed my boyfriend/girlfriend away", "I slapped my boyfriend/girlfriend", "I hit my boyfriend/girlfriend".

through three items, and sexual⁴ violence through two items. The response scale ranged from "never" to "1-2 times", "3-5 times" and "more than 5 times". The campus survey used both a wide and a narrow definition of violence, where only acts associated with psychological and/or physical injury or intentions for the victim or the perpetrator was considered under the narrow definition. The survey therefore explicitly asked about the consequences of experienced IPV and the intentions of perpetrators. Based on the calculated Structural Equation Models (SEM), the study described the experience of IPV using the wide definition.

The *Normative Gender Role Attitudes Scale* (Athenstaedt, 2000) was used in the study to measure internalized gender roles. This comparatively recent Austrian gender scale measures the traditional or egalitarian role image of the respondents using a 7-point response scale ranging from „strongly disagree“ to „strongly agree“. The sample consisted of three items each that asked about traditional and egalitarian gender role attitudes.⁵ In addition, the Acceptance of Violence Legitimizing Masculinity Norms (Enzmann et al., 2004) was surveyed as an indicator of a culture of honour. This concept is closely linked to the concept of gender and can be used to explain IPV in a gender context. Four items out of eight were used from the German scale to assess the characteristics of a culture of honour,⁶ using a 4-point response scale ranging from "completely disagree" to "completely agree".

Based on the assumption that the social character of a person (their gender), not their primary and secondary sexual characteristics, determines victimization and perpetration we have calculated a Structural Equation Model

⁴ Items of victimization: "My boyfriend/girlfriend touched me in a sexual way although I did not want it", "My boyfriend/girlfriend forced me to have sex even though I didn't want it". Items of perpetration: "I touched my boyfriend/girlfriend in a sexual way although he/she did not want it", "I forced my boyfriend/girlfriend to have sex even though he/she didn't want it".

⁵ Traditional gender role attitudes: "Girls prefer to help around the house more than boys", "It is necessary for the woman to provide at least one hot meal a day", "Higher education is especially important for men because they are more represented in leadership positions than women". Egalitarian gender role attitudes: "Boys and girls should take on the same duties in the household", "Women are just as responsible as men for the financial maintenance of the family", and "Women are just as well suited to managing a technical company as men".

⁶ "A real man is strong and protects his family", "The father is the head of the family and is allowed to assert himself by force if necessary", "A man should be prepared to defend his wife and children using violence", "Wife and children must obey the father as the head of the family".

(SEM) that considers the effects of sex and gender in a joint model. Additionally, we can examine the factors which influence the contours of gender.

Samples

The response rate ($N=39,389$) was 3.1% with a total of 1,218 questionnaires received. About three-quarters of participants identified as female (77%), while less than a quarter identified as male (22%), and 15 respondents identified as diverse. Given that the survey was conducted among university students, the sample was predominantly young, with an average age of 25 years and a range of 14 to 71 years.⁷ Thus, the younger cohorts are dominant: specifically, respondents aged up to 29 years accounted for 89% of the sample, with the largest respondent group being those between the ages of 21 to 29 years, comprising 70% of the sample being the typical student age group. In contrast, the two older age groups (30-39 years and at least 40 years) comprised a minority of the sample, with 7% and 4% respectively.

The campus sample is highly educated, with 90% of the respondents having a general qualification for university entrance, an academic or doctoral degree. The vast majority of the respondents have only German citizenship⁸ (82%). Almost all participants have had relationship experiences (93%), which is a crucial factor for gaining knowledge about victimization and perpetration of IPV.⁹ During the survey period, 79% of the respondents were in a relationship, and 64% reported previous partnerships. The participants almost exclusively had experiences in heterosexual partnerships (97%).

As the sample is composed primarily of university students and affiliates, any conclusions drawn from the data are limited to tendencies and variable correlations within this particular population and cannot be fully generalized to the broader German population due to differences in socio-demographic characteristics.

⁷ The age range indicates that the access link to the surveys was forwarded to non-university members.

⁸ Concerning the respondents and their parents, nationality was measured using the response options "German only" and "German and other". There was no detailed inquiry about other nationalities.

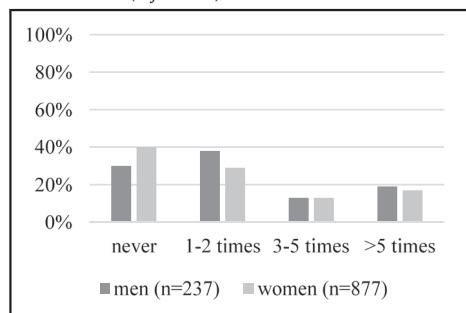
⁹ Respondents without partnership experience were not considered in the analysis.

Findings

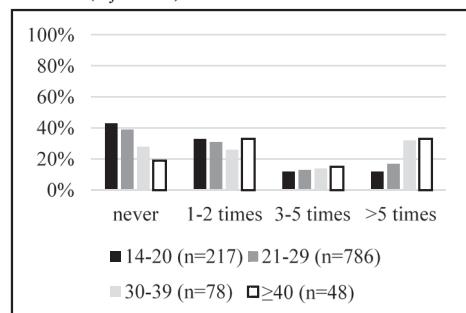
Intimate partner violence before and during the COVID-19 pandemic

Out of 1114 respondents, 62% had experienced IPV in a broad sense at least once in their lifetime. More men (70%) reported being victims than women (60%) (Graph 1). The higher victimization rate of male participants is put into perspective when taking into account the numerical unequal distribution of the sexes in the sample, where male respondents constitute only 22%. Both sexes reported experiencing multiple IPV to a similar extent, with 13% each reporting 3 to 5 times, 19% of men and 17% of women reporting more than 5 times. Concerning age (Graph 2), the expectation is confirmed that at least 40-year-olds (81%) and 30-39-year-olds (72%) tend to be victims more often than the younger age groups. However, more than half of the younger respondents also reported experiencing IPV, with 61% of 20-29-year-olds and 57% of 14-20-year-olds reporting victimization. IPV was most commonly experienced once or twice in the two younger age groups (14-20: 33%, 21-29: 31%), while more than five times was most common for the 30-39-years age group (32%), and once and twice as well as more than five times was most common for those at least 40 years old (33%).

Graph 1. Victimization by sex 2021
(lifetime)



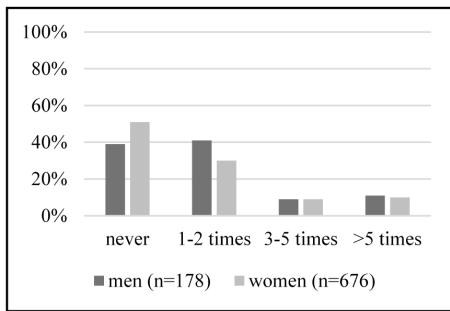
Graph 2. Victimization by age 2021
(lifetime)



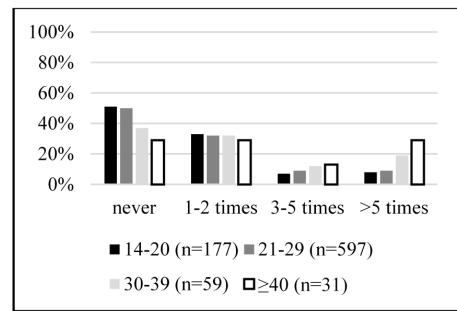
During the pandemic, from April 2020 to April 2021, a little over half of 1114 respondents experienced IPV. In percentage terms, significantly more men (61%) reported being affected than women (49%) (Graph 3). Regarding the sexes, IPV was predominantly experienced once or twice by male and

female participants (men: 41%, women: 30%). Less frequently, the respondents reported experiencing more than 5 events (men: 11%, women: 10%) and 3 to 5 events of IPV (9% each). As expected, the two older age groups were affected more often than the two younger age groups (aged 14-20 - 48%; aged 21-29 - 50%; aged 30-39 - 63%; aged ≥ 40 - 71%) (Graph 4). The three younger age groups named 1 to 2 cases of IPV as the most frequent category (aged 14-20 - 33%; aged 21-29 - 32%; aged 30-39 - 32%), while those aged 40 and over, once again, reported experiencing 1 to 2 cases and more than 5 cases of IPV (29%) in the past twelve months.

**Graph 3. Victimization by sex 2021
(12 months)**



**Graph 4. Victimization by age 2021
(12 months)**



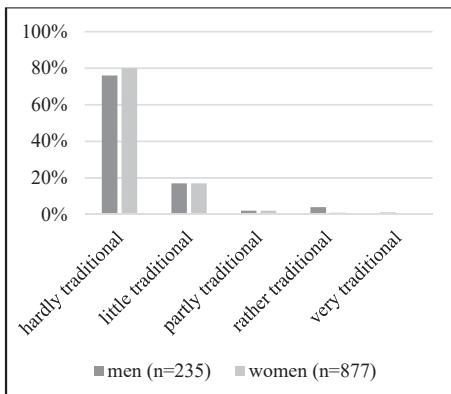
A comparison between the lifetime and annual prevalence of IPV before and during the pandemic revealed that 62% of the 700 respondents who had experienced IPV had done so within the past 12 months, indicating the acute nature of relationship violence. Overall, 23% of the 700 respondents had suffered IPV for the first time during the COVID-19 pandemic, a time when it was particularly difficult to seek formal and informal support. Unsurprisingly, the two younger cohorts of both sexes were more likely to experience IPV for the first time than the older cohorts: 67% of 14 to 20-year-olds and 61% of 21 to 29-year-olds reported experiencing IPV for the first time, compared to 10% of 30 to 39-year-olds and 2 individuals aged at least 40 years. At this point, it is worth exploring whether and how differences in gender attitudes vary across the sexes and age groups.

Gender role attitudes

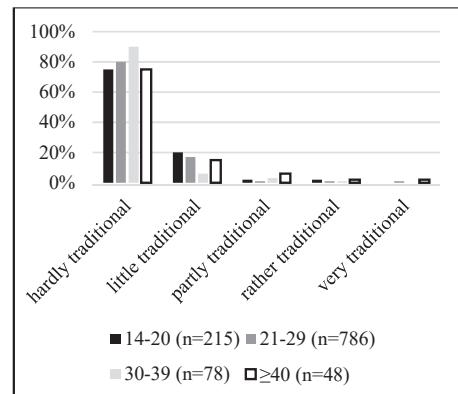
The Normative Gender Role Attitudes scale was used to measure internalized gender roles, and it was found that traditional gender role attitudes were scarcely present in the campus survey. Of the 1127 respondents, 79% exhibited hardly any and 17% showed little traditional role thinking. This finding is most likely due to the liberal and open-minded environment at the university. When differentiating by sex, slightly more men (5%) than women (1%) showed a rather or very traditional gender attitude (Graph 5). Conversely, somewhat more women (80%) rejected this gender thinking than men (76%). However, age did not appear to significantly affect gender thinking (Graph 6). Although slightly more people aged 40 and over reported being rather very traditional (4%) than the other age groups (14-20, 21-29 - 2%; 30-39 - 1%), the percentages were too small to be meaningful.

It appears that the vast majority of the respondents (97% of 1127) considered themselves to be rather very egalitarian, as they perceived themselves to be somewhat to hardly traditional. The differences between the sexes were minor, with 98% of women and 95% of men endorsing egalitarian role thinking (Graph 7). Conversely, only 2% of women and 4% of men described themselves as somewhat to hardly egalitarian. Differentiation by age (Graph 8) showed the egalitarian role attitude to be similarly prevalent in all four age groups. It is highest among 14 to 20-year-olds and over 40-year-olds (98%), and slightly lower among 21 to 29-year-olds (97%) and 30- to 39-year-olds (95%).

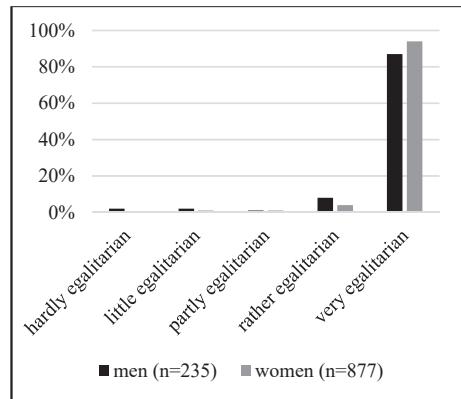
Graph 5. Traditional role attitudes by sex (2021)



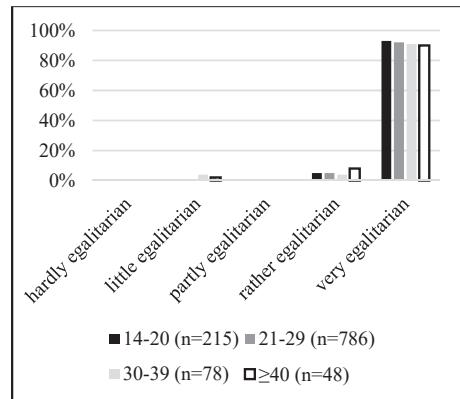
Graph 6. Traditional role attitudes by age (2021)



Graph 7. Egalitarian role attitudes by sex (2021)

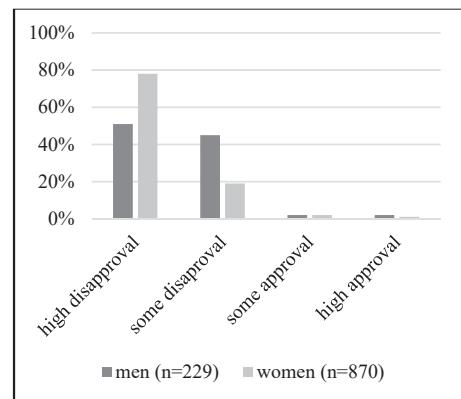


Graph 8. Egalitarian role attitudes by age (2021)

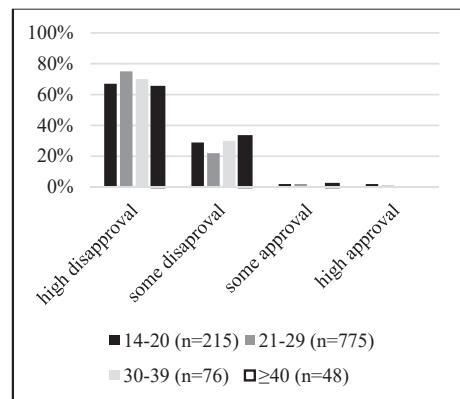


The findings do not provide much evidence for the acceptance of violence legitimizing masculinity norms, which is an indicator of a culture of honour, among the 1114 respondents. Only a small minority (3%) accepted these norms; 72% highly disapprove, and 25% showed some disapproval. Differences between the sexes (Graph 9) are apparent, as the women surveyed expressed their disapproval more strongly: 78% of the women disapproved strongly, compared to 51% of men; yet 45% of men showed some disapproval, while only 19% of women did. Regarding age (Graph 10), the highest disapproval ratings were among 21 to 29-year-olds (75%) and 30 to 39-year-olds (70%). The disapproval rates were lower for 14 to 20-year-olds (67%) and those aged 40 and above (65%). Notably, absolutely no approval was found among 30 and 39-year-olds.

Graph 9. Acceptance of violence-legitimizing masculinity norms by sex (2021)



Graph 10. Acceptance of violence-legitimizing masculinity norms by age (2021)



In terms of gender concepts, the survey results indicate a strong inclination towards egalitarian role orientation, with 97% supporting it and a rejection of traditional role behaviour, with 79% showing disapproval. 97% of the participants disapproved of violence-legitimizing masculinity norms, which allow men to use violence to exert power and control. The differences in attitudes by sex and age are not particularly noteworthy.

Structural Equation Modelling

Structural Equation Modelling (SEM) allows for the verification of complex patterns of relationships between dependent and independent, latent and manifest variables simultaneously within a statistical model (Seddig, 2014: 138). To test the hypotheses formulated initially, two SEMs were calculated that simultaneously consider dependent variables as independent variables in a cause-effect relationship. The two models "lifetime prevalence 2021" (Graph 11) and "12 months prevalence 2021" (Graph 12) were constructed in the same way to analyse sex-/gender effects before and during the COVID-19 pandemic. First, the effects of sex, migration background and age on gender were examined and then the effects of sex, migration background, age, gender and perpetration¹⁰ on becoming a victim were considered. Sex, migration background, and perpetration were included as binary independent variables¹¹, with gender included as a metric independent variable and victimization as a metric dependent variable¹². Model quality was assessed by Chi², R² and SRMR.¹³ For better clarity, the graphs only display the significant regression coefficients.

Both SEMs are suitable for predicting victimization: Chi² is significant in both models, R² (SEM1: 0.21, SEM2: 0.23) and SRMR (SEM1: 0.05, SEM2: 0.05) are within the acceptable value range. Graphs 11 and 12 show that the effects of independent variables are identical in both models, but the significances differ in part.

¹⁰ 65% of all 1129 respondents had been perpetrators at least once in their lives, 44% during the pandemic.

¹¹ A categorical variable that can only take one of two values, in this case: male/female, migration background yes/no, perpetration yes/ no.

¹² The characteristic values can be compared and sorted and distances between the values can be calculated.

¹³ R²: Values > 0.2 are acceptable, and values > 0.4 are good (Rohrlack, 2009: 272).

SRMR (Standardized Root Mean Square Residual): Values between 0.081 and 0.100 are acceptable, and values < 0.080 are good (Acock, 2013: 23).

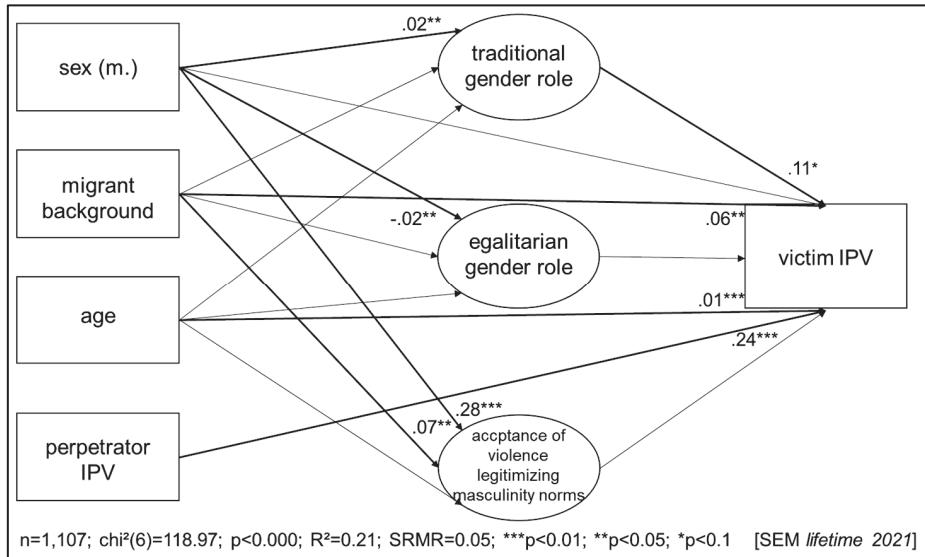
The results of the SEMs for H1 and H2 are as follows. First, regarding H1 (Being male (H1a), being older (H1b) or having a migrant background¹⁴ (H1c)) increases the presence of traditional gender attitudes and the acceptance of violence-legitimizing masculinity norms, the SEMs show that being male increases the presence of traditional gender roles and the acceptance of violence-legitimizing masculinity norms; conversely, being male decreases the likelihood of having an egalitarian gender role orientation. Having a migrant background only increases the acceptance of violence-legitimizing masculinity norms. Age does not play a significant role. As a result, H1b (being older) is completely rejected, H1c (having a migrant background) is partially rejected; H1a (being male) is accepted.

Second, regarding H2 (It is not sex that influences victimization, but gender attitude), the results show that a person's gender attitude influences victimization, not a person's sexual characteristics. Traditional gender role attitudes significantly increase victimization, whereas sex does not play a significant role. Since an egalitarian gender role and the acceptance of violence legitimizing masculinity norms have no significant effects, H2 can be at least partially accepted.

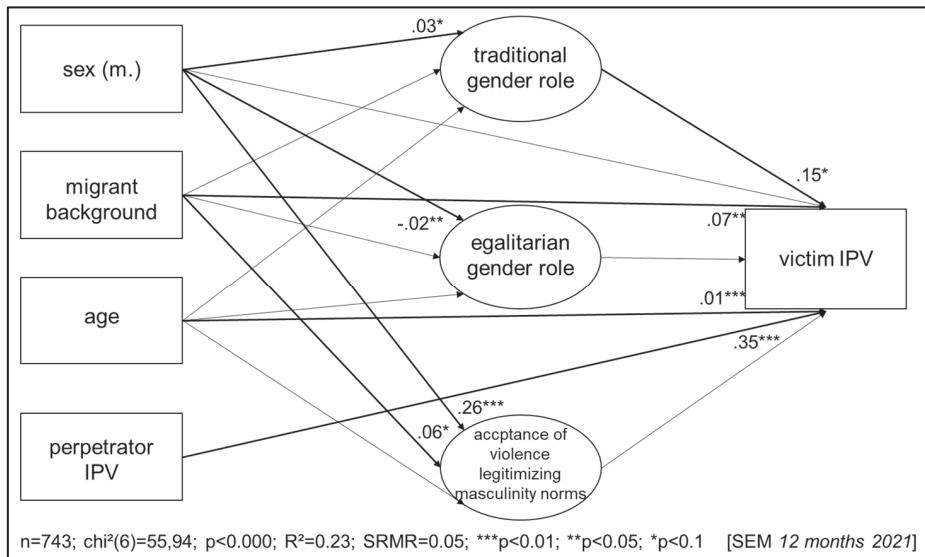
Third, regarding H3 (the greater the level of traditional gender role models and acceptance of violence-legitimizing masculinity norms, the higher the likelihood of victimization), a traditional gender role orientation significantly increases the likelihood of victimization, supporting H3 to some extent. In addition, it becomes clear that victimization does not only increase as a result of traditional gender roles but also by having a migration background, increasing age, and experiences with perpetration within the context of IPV. This finding supports the concept of victim offender overlap and highlights the importance of collecting data not only on victimization or perpetration (someone is a victim *or* a perpetrator) but also on victimhood and perpetration (someone is a victim as well as a perpetrator), as there may be overlaps and mutual influences between these two factors.

¹⁴ Migrant background is determined by whether the respondent and/or at least one parent has another nationality in addition to German.

Graph 11. SEM1 "lifetime 2021"



Graph 12. SEM2 "12 months prevalence 2021"



Discussion

The aim of this study was to gather empirical evidence on whether university members experienced higher rates of IPV during the COVID-19 pandemic between April 2020 and April 2021, when individuals were faced with considerable changes in their daily lives. In Germany, the federal government and the governments of the federal states implemented official stay-at-home policies during the three waves to contain the spread of the virus. The first nationwide curfews began at the end of March 2020 and lasted until May 2020. Depending on the incidence rate, different restrictions on public and private life were imposed in municipalities and federal states from the end of October 2020, which were tightened from November 2020. Different curfew orders were introduced in the federal states around Christmas 2020, followed by relaxations in view of the pandemic development, and culminating in the federal emergency brake (*Bundesnotbremse*) with binding restrictions. From late December 2020 to May 2021, night-time curfews and bans on meeting other households were common, but couples with their own households were exempt from the contact restrictions and were allowed to meet in their residences.

The campus survey provides initial results on IPV victimization among university members before and during the pandemic. However, the data do not reveal an increase in IPV during the pandemic months from April 2020 to April 2021.¹⁵ The higher victimization rate of male participants is put into perspective when considering the numerical unequal distribution of the sexes (male respondents only 22%) in the sample. The proportionally higher or equal victimization of the men surveyed may be misleading since in absolute numbers many more women surveyed reported experiencing IPV. Moreover, the information about consequences was limited to emotional and/or physical consequences of IPV, and a detailed questioning about the type and severity of the consequences (e.g., sleeping or eating disorders, bruises, or pain in the intimate area) is lacking. Nonetheless, the victimological findings would lead us to expect that the consequences for female respondents would be considerably more severe than those for male respondents.

¹⁵ Gehringer and Wössner (2022) confirm this assertion with regard to Germany: so far, clear empirical findings are lacking regarding a quantitative change in partner violence due to the pandemic. In contrast, international studies show an increase in IPV, such as findings from Great Britain (McKinlay et al., 2023) or Greece (Niraki, 2023).

During the COVID-19 pandemic, 49% of female participants (n=676) and 61% of male participants (n=178) experienced IPV in a broad sense. In that 12-month period, 17% of women (n=634) and 20% of men (n=172) had suffered 'narrowly defined' IPV based on acts associated with psychological and/or physical injury or intentions. The first instance of victimization by IPV during the pandemic can be determined by comparing lifetime prevalence and 12-month prevalence at 1 to 2 incidents: this is the case for 19% of all 864 respondents, with the share of the women surveyed being 18% and 25% for men. Although a lower prevalence of IPV during the pandemic was not initially expected, a closer look reveals that almost one-fifth of all participants were affected by IPV for the first time in this period. This result highlights the significance of the phenomenon during the pandemic in a university setting. Moreover, experiencing IPV during the pandemic meant that informal help from relatives, friends and acquaintances could not be easily obtained. Counselling services were only available by phone or online during the long shutdowns in the spring of 2020 and from late autumn to spring 2021. The German help hotline "violence against women" reported a rapid increase in counselling sessions in 2020 by 15% compared to the previous year (from 44,672 to 51,407). However, this growth does not necessarily indicate an actual increase in IPV against women, as it only reflects the counselling activities at the helpline. Since the beginning of the pandemic, the helpline has become a strong first point of contact nationwide, which may have led more people in need to seek support from its services. However, this example shows that it is still too early to make reliable assertions about an increase in IPV during the pandemic for 2020.

The SEMs conducted to demonstrate the importance of considering the social character of a person explaining victimization directly in terms of a person's gender attitudes. IPV requires a gender-reflexive approach to explain its origins, as people internalize gender-specific role attitudes under social systems of order, where sex orders society and society orders gender. The results of the SEMs highlight the absence of important explanatory variables for predicting victimization, such as relationship satisfaction and duration, shared residence, and power and resource distributions, which the campus survey cannot satisfactorily address. As the participants are predominantly from a university background and probably familiar with the discourse on sex and gender, as well as on the distribution of power and roles in partnerships,

some may have answered in a socially desired way that supports egalitarian role models in the survey only but may in fact prefer and live traditional roles. According to an in-depth analysis of the representative 2004 German survey of women, education can only counteract IPV if male partners desire and accept equality in the relationship (Schröttle, Ansorge, 2008: 128).

Conclusion and outlook

A more thoroughgoing analysis of the representative 2004 German survey of women (n=8862) reveals that IPV is not merely a problem of socially disadvantaged environments but also occurs in all other social milieus (Schröttle, Ansorge, 2008). These findings also suggest that education is no safeguard against IPV, although its absence might increase it (Schröttle, Ansorge, 2008: 128). Consequently, IPV is common in the university environment, a fact confirmed by our campus study. Regarding lifetime prevalence, under two-thirds of the respondents reported experiencing victimization of IPV in a broad sense (62%). However, the sample is not representative of the university members, and thus more respondents who had experienced IPV may have tended to answer.

According to the narrow definition of violence, more than a quarter of the participants had experienced the consequences of IPV. This finding is consistent with the proportion of female and male respondents in the representative 2004 German survey of women - 25% (Müller, Schröttle, 2004) as well as the 2004 pilot study for men (25%, n=190) (Puchert et al., 2004). However, given the long period since those studies were conducted and the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic, a representative survey on IPV among all genders is long overdue. A nationwide survey called "life situation, safety and strain in everyday life" is currently in the planning stages in Germany for 2023/2024.¹⁶ The Federal Ministry for Family Affairs, the Federal Ministry of the Interior and the Federal Criminal Police Office plan to investigate the dark figure in the area of violent incidents including IPV, in a gender-specific manner. Given the social changes in recent years, particularly the impact of the 'Me Too' movement, it is important to consider further questions regarding the concept of gender.

¹⁶ Lebenssituation, Sicherheit und Belastung im Alltag (LeSuBiA). For more information see: https://www.bka.de/DE/UnsereAufgaben/Forschung/ForschungsprojekteUndErgebnisse/Dunkelfeldforschung/LeSuBiA/Projektbeschreibung/projektbeschreibung_node.html.

Our analysis on gender associated with IPV underscores the need for more nuanced research on this phenomenon. Our SEMs reveal, at least partially, the significance of the internalized gender roles, indicating that in a joint model with sex and gender, the personality of an individual influences victimization. Yet, the modest effects of traditional gender role attitudes raise the question of whether gender may be overrated in its impact. Nevertheless, our SEMs suggest that gender attitudes not only influence the probability of victimization, but also the probability of perpetration. It is worth noting that in German research, this victim-offender overlap is largely ignored. It would therefore be promising to measure gender in relation to victimhood and perpetration in future studies.

Moreover, the prevalence of IPV among young people in Germany is significant, as indicated by our findings. 57% of 14 to-20-year-olds questioned and 61% of 21 to-29-year-olds questioned have experienced IPV under a broad definition of violence. However, research on teen dating violence or IPV among young adults in Germany is still limited. Nevertheless, the rates of IPV among young people are consistent with other studies on unreported cases of IPV in Germany, including a nationwide online survey conducted by one of the authors (Hohendorf, 2019). It is therefore reasonable to assume that IPV occurs among young people in Germany to a similar extent as among adults. Further analysis of the representative 2004 survey on women reveals more details about the severity of IPV among different age groups. The study shows that physical violence of varying degrees of severity is more relevant in the couple relationships of women up to the age of 25, while severe psychological violence occurs to the same extent in all groups; in addition, women up to the age of 25 seem to be most frequently exposed to sexual violence (Schröttle, Ansorge, 2008: 110). These findings, combined with the results of our survey, underscore the need for criminological research on IPV among young people in Germany, especially given the increased likelihood of becoming a victim in adulthood if one experiences IPV at a young age.

Although our study does not indicate an increase in IPV among respondents during the COVID-19 pandemic, it would be premature to conclude that there is no need for support, as almost one-fifth had experienced IPV for the first time during this period. On the contrary, the European Institute for Gender Equality (2021: 11) suggests that “[a]necdotal evidence and quantitative data relating to previous pandemics and natural disasters indicate that the

prevalence and severity of gender-based violence, particularly sexual and domestic violence, are exacerbated in times of crisis [emphasis in the text deleted]". In our sample, presumably, participants under 30 did not share their residence with their partner, which may have acted as a protective factor against IPV. Nevertheless, our findings highlight the urgent need for representative studies to make reliable claims about the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on IPV among all sexes in Germany. Regarding the situation after the pandemic, a promising initiative is an already mentioned plan to conduct a nationwide population survey called "life situation, safety and strain in everyday life" in the near future.

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Partnersko nasilje u Nemačkoj pre i tokom pandemije COVID-19: Rodna perspektiva

Rad se bavi partnerskim nasiljem pre i tokom pandemije COVID-19, sa fokusom na promene viktimizacije. Međunarodne studije o partnerskom nasilju su doprinele sagledavanju viktimizacije partnerskim nasiljem u kontekstu društvenog karaktera polova, uz eksplicitnu analizu rodnih stavova, verovanja i rodnih uloga. U skladu sa ovim međunarodnim pristupom, u radu su prikazani rezultati kvantitativnog istraživanja povezanosti između društvenog konteksta i viktimizacije partnerskim nasiljem, zasnovanom na ispitivanju stavova mladih o rodu i rodnim ulogama. Istraživanje je sprovedeno u prolećnom semestru 2021. godine na jednom univerzitetu u Nemačkoj, na uzorku studenata, zaposlenih i saradnika Univerziteta. U radu je prikazano u kojoj meri su kod ispitanika zastupljeni rodni stereotipi, njihov uticaj na rizik viktimizacije i uticaj pandemije COVID-19 na partnersko nasilje.

Ključne reči: pandemija COVID-19, rodna uverenja i uloge, partnersko nasilje, viktimizacija, mladi.

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"My Happiness Turned into Sadness": Intersectional Analysis Proposal on Gender Violence in the First Dating Relationships¹

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ROSA MOGENA PANADERO

Using the intersectional feminist proposal as a conceptual tool, this study analyses the experiences of young women who have suffered abuse from the beginning of the dating relationship and who have remained in the relationship for several years. The aim is to bring to light in a differentiated way the identities that converge in these young women and that, analyzed separately, favour a more elaborate and profound analysis of these experiences. The in-depth interviews have been the vehicle to get to know these experiences and the results show how being a woman, being young, and being a partner are identities that in a differentiated way are revealed as sustaining violence. Capturing these contrasts makes it possible to avoid a simplistic and generalizing analysis of all women victims, allowing for a more singular and specific understanding of this concrete reality.

Keywords: teen dating violence, integrative feminism, intersectional criminology, narratives.

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Introduction

This paper approaches a subject that is not so frequently addressed in the study of gender violence in Spain: the experiences of women who began to suffer this kind of violence in adolescence and, by continuing the relationship, it was maintained over time into their youth. Moreover, the study approaches this subject with qualitative techniques, an aspect that should be highlighted, since access to minors always entails more difficulties, as has also been proven in this fieldwork. The results, therefore, provide contributions from perspectives not often visited.

The most recently carried out empirical studies confirm that this phenomenon has different characteristics from the one suffered by adult couples, therefore it is necessary to deepen our knowledge in order to be able to act more effectively to prevent it.

Teen dating violence is conceptualised as abusive psychological, physical and/or sexual behaviours shown by the boys towards the girls as a form of submission, control and power that occur in couples or ex-partners who are adolescents and minors (Mulford, Blanchman-Demner, 2013).

Through in-depth interviews with these women, their experiences are collected with all the emotional, physical, and social impact they have on each of them. The long process is relived from the beginning of the relationship, the emergence and peak of violence and the end of the relationship after the breakup process. From the perspective of integrative feminist theory, we have facilitated the recognition, individualisation, and characterisation of the components that can explain the elements that underlie this experience of suffering, which, based on the recognition of structural inequality between men and women as the original cause of violence, bring to light aspects that should not be ignored and enrich the understanding of this reality.

Taking integrating feminist theory as a framework, this paper aims to show which are the specific elements that, together with structural and ideological inequality between men and women, can explain the emergence and maintenance of gender violence in Spanish adolescents and young women.

Theoretical framework

Crenshaw's seminal work (1989) on discrimination against black women in the United States, analyzing the influence of race and social class, and not only gender-related matters, has led to what is known as an intersectional perspective. This way of approaching social reality has been driven mainly by feminist academicians who reject a simple, narrow, and unidirectional view of violence suffered by women: they promote the importance of valuing the diverse identities and experiences that intersect in a woman when analysing and evaluating her experience with crime (Potter, 2013). As the Swedish feminist Lykke (2011) makes clear, the aim of this approach is not a fixed definition of 'how to', but to provide a conceptual tool for a broad, inclusive, and open-ended feminist analysis.

From this feminist theoretical proposal, the criminological analysis of the experiences of gender violence is proposed based on three identities that converge in these subjects of study: being a woman, being young, and being in a dating relationship.

The first identity to be taken into account is being a woman in a culture dominated by the patriarchal code, where gender violence has had to be conceptualized and covered by criminal law in order to be counteracted by the institutions as a violent social dynamic exercised on women simply because they are women. In order to recognize this identity in young women, the concept of sexism as it is currently experienced will be used. Martínez Brotóns' (2020) detailed review characterizes sexism as the attitudes and assumptions that a person makes about another person on the basis of their sex. It is described as 'hostile' when it promotes the maintenance of inequalities, advocating the maintenance of traditional roles and punishing the attempt of some women to leave this role behind. This sexism currently coexists with the so-called 'benevolent' sexism, in which women are no longer conceived as inferior beings but their duties must be relegated and differentiated from those of men; it relates to superficially positive attitudes towards this social group. This expression of ambivalent sexism is still alive among Spanish adolescents and young people and is linked to psychological and sexual violence among them (Rojas-Solís, Carpintero, 2011; Díaz Aguado, Arias, Barbarro, 2013).

Being a young person, a person in the process of reaching adulthood is another identity that distinguishes this group. As we know, adolescence and the

first steps in youth are vital stages for the formation of personality and individual identity. Within this process, essential elements are self-encounter and self-confidence, the meaningful relationships created with the peer group in need of affirmation, and the strengthening of one's own identity vis-à-vis others. This aspect of the differentiation process involves esteem and respect for oneself and for the other by whom one is recognized. A determining aspect in the valuation and validation of oneself is the achievement and execution of skills in different social areas, among others, in the relationship with peers, which will facilitate the possibilities of integration (Ives, 2014; Quiroga et al., 2021).

Lastly, the identity acquired by these young women as belonging to a couple in a dating relationship is singled out. The romantic style of love as a social construct has been rooted in Western culture since the period of romanticism, entrenched and maintained through the diverse channels of socialization. It has its positive and negative psychological characteristics. The second one is based on a series of myths that promote possessive and obsessive love and requirements that are impossible to achieve (Ruiz Repullo, 2016) but are taken as expressions of 'true love'. This leads to feelings of frustration and deep disappointments in real life, which can lead to conflicts and even violence in some cases (Ferrer, Bosch, Navarro, 2010). Sharing space with this style of love is tolerance and attitudes in favour of intimate partner violence among young people. Numerous studies carried out in Spain confirm this presence in both adolescent and university populations (Rodríguez Franco et al., 2012; de Miguel Luken, 2015; García Díaz et al., 2020) without forgetting that the experience of violence is common throughout the lives of some young people, so it is trivialized (Henriksen, Bengtsson, 2018).

Methodology

Objectives

The main objective of this research is to use intersectionality perspective in order to guide the study of gender violence in young couples in our cultural and social environment. Specifically, the appearance, form of expression and characterization of seven elements in the women's stories are observed. Each one of them is an exposition of one of the three intersecting identities of

the study subjects: being a woman, being young, and experiencing a dating relationship.

- Aspects of sexism: 1) attitudes and behaviours that degrade and subordinate women and 2) possessive and controlling behaviours related to jealousy and sexual activity.
- Aspects related to identity and personality formation: 1) poor interpersonal skills and lack of personal resources, 2) dependency and 3) loneliness and lack of support.
- Aspects of being a couple: 1) romantic love style and 2) personal and social tolerance to the situation and attitudes favourable to violence.

Research technique, instrument and sample

The research technique chosen for this study was to conduct in-depth open-ended interviews with young women who had begun their dating relationship as minors and had been in this relationship for years. This technique allows women to access and communicate their experience in their own words, with all the nuances and feelings, sometimes contradictory, that they have experienced. Through their own narration, it is easier for them to provide the context of their experience and to explain the reasons for their decisions to themselves and to others; it also makes it possible to reflect on the changes that have taken place in the relationship and what were the elements of personal maturity that led to a change of attitude and a break with the violent situation (Vallés, 2003).

The work activity of one of the authors in different areas of institutional attention for families and children in a Spanish province guided the sample selection process. Knowing the violent reality of her relationship with her partner and with the trust that had emerged in the working relationship, the young woman was invited to take part in the study, informing her of its objective and the need for her consent for the recording of the encounter, as well as guaranteeing confidentiality and anonymity.

The open interview was based on a script that made it possible to go through different areas of the experiences and whose general approach was to review three fundamental moments in the girls' lives: before, during and after the violent relationship. From then on, communication flowed naturally in various meetings, to which the close age between the interviewer and

the interviewees contributed significantly, generating a climate of trust on both sides, in addition to the familiarity that already existed due to the work context. In this way, the interview became a peer-to-peer conversation rather than a mere sequence of questions and answers (Ruiz Repullo, 2016).

In total, ten interviews were conducted. Nonetheless, for various reasons, the discourse analysis study presented here was only carried out on the basis of the experience of five girls. Two women, for personal reasons, finally decided not to have their stories included in this study; another was a minor at the time of sharing her experience and her parents did not consent her story to being used; two other girls did not complete the interview and contact was lost with both of them.

It can be said that this small sample is close to the structural representativeness of the group. All of them are Spanish nationals, one of Roma origin; three of them from middle to upper-middle socioeconomic environments, with structured families; two from dysfunctional or conflictive family and/or social environments; two of them from rural areas; two with university studies, two with secondary education and one with no education. In three of the cases, there is a judicial process with a sentence; and in two cases the justice system has not intervened.

It should be noted that the experience of one of the young women is based on the words of her sister, as she committed suicide. It has been decided to include this story because it is consistent with the aim of analysing the circumstances and elements that explain the emergence and maintenance of gender violence from an integrative feminist perspective (Ismael, Berman, Ward-Griffin, 2007).

The following is an analysis of the results of the interviews with the aim of singling out the three identities that converge in these young women, allowing the different expressions and facets of each of their experiences to emerge². The analysis was conducted from a sociolinguistic approach, relating the discourse to the social: structures, beliefs, and dogmas intrinsic to our patriarchal culture. The names used are pseudonyms.

² In order to write a text adjusted to the requirements of the journal, we have chosen the words of one or two women in each example. We would like to point out that most of the situations were shared by all of them.

Results

Being a woman: Sexism

Sexism, conceptualised as a reflection of hostility towards women, has three components, which can occur simultaneously: cognitive, affective, and behavioural. We identified the third component that puts sexist beliefs and values into practice in both genders: in men through discriminatory and violent behaviours towards women, and in women, through submission and guilt (Díaz Aguado, Arias, Barbarro, 2013).

"Even though Antonio would rarely come for lunch or dinner, I had to have lunch and dinner ready every day and every night, just in case he came; because if he came home and there was no food prepared, he would get very angry and lash out at whatever was in his way." (Marta)

"Sometimes I felt guilty because I thought that if I had a boyfriend, there was no need to meet new guys or talk so much to my friends." (María)

According to Glick and Fiske (1996, 2001), it is assumed that sexist persons may have predominantly hostile, benevolent, and ambivalent attitudes and behaviours. Our results show that in the vast majority of cases, behaviours derived from hostile sexism, and not so much from benevolent sexism, take shape in the stories of these young women, although it is the combination of the two in their articulation of punishments and rewards that results in the so-called ambivalent sexism, promoting women's submission and indicating where they belong.

"... although he would give me a carrot and a stick. On the one hand, that violent attitude of his, those insults, and disrespect. On the other hand, he was satisfied and happy to be by my side, had many plans for a future with me, showed me affection and made me feel desired." (Azucena)

It is articulated around three variables: paternalism, gender differentiation and heterosexuality. Paternalism, in its dominating facet, sets off attitudes of hostile sexism and views women as inferior, incompetent, and dangerous beings because they pretend to take power away from men.

"He started yelling at me like crazy saying 'Hey, how can you be so stupid?', 'You're so lame!', 'For God's sake, what a useless chick!' and put out his cigarette on my arm." (Irene)

This paternalism has also a protective facet and both aspects can coexist. This paternalist protection views women as someone weak and fragile, and must be protected. Sara's sister says, "From the very first moment he was protective of her."

This view also leads to the need for women to be cared for and safeguarded because they are weak and need a protector, setting themselves up as the authority figure for decision-making: men are expected to be strong.

"We were dating for a year and a half and Antonio treated me well; he used to pick me up to go out and then take me home so that nothing would happen to me; he cared for me a lot and respected me as a woman; he used to tell me that he wanted to have many children with me (...) because I was an upright and respectable woman, and we'd make a very honourable family. He used to be very proud of me in front of everyone" (Marta)

Gender differentiation based on biological differences between sexes is also linked to hostile sexism in its competitive aspect; it is based on the assumption that it is men who have the necessary traits to exercise power and, since women do not have them, they have to be confined to the private sphere.

"The day I was going back to work (after a beating) he saw me getting ready and putting on makeup and told me: 'You look like a clown; do you think it's fine to go to work looking like a slut.' (Irene)

Based on heterosexuality, romantic relationships between both sexes are conceptualised as one of the essential variables in achieving happiness. Heterosexual hostility shows the idea that women make men dependent on them through sex and this generates hostile sexism, which, by relying on sexual violence, maintains inequalities.

"Sometimes I'd cry while we were at it because it felt so humiliating (...) he used to abuse me orally, vaginally, and anally." (Azucena)

Women also sustain this abuse.

"As he would beat me, I would only think of protecting my tummy and cover my face, so that he would not leave any bruises or marks that could be seen." (Irene)

This hostile sexism portrays women as persons with powerful sexuality that makes them potentially dangerous or, on the contrary, lacking in sexuality.

"The first time he mistreated her in public was when they were sitting on the terrace of a bar at night with other couples, and he suddenly started to complain about how infrequently they had sex and hit her on the head." (Sara)

Being young: The formation of identity and personality

As commented previously, the starting point is three aspects related to the vital period of these women whose presence may denote the absence of important resources and abilities in this transition to adulthood.

a) Poor interpersonal skills and lack of personal resources

During this period, it is essential to develop an adequate self-assessment when relating to other people. In addition, the necessary skills must be acquired to express and defend personal opinions, feelings, wishes and requests, and to defend one's own rights, always respecting and attending to all these aspects in others. The effectiveness of performing in the different social scenarios will depend on this acquisition.

Not all the girls had notable deficits in this area, since María, Irene and Azucena had groups of friends with whom they went out and interacted without problems. However, they would lose all their self-confidence in front of their partners,

"With him next to me, I would not take part in the conversations because I was ashamed of him cutting and belittling me in front of other people." (Azucena)

To the extreme of not telling their family about the abuse and denying the beatings:

"But I never went to the doctor, I never told anyone anything (...) because I felt indebted to him for being with me, because I assumed that was the price someone like me had to pay for being with someone like him." (Azucena)

Marta and Irene said that they did not commit suicide because they already had a child and were pregnant. They thought of that solution before telling their family or reporting it.

"How I wished myself dead!" (Marta)

b) Dependence

Another of the situations developed is dependence on the partner. On the one hand, emotional and affective dependence can become so intense that, despite the physical and psychological pain repeatedly suffered, they are not able to leave this situation.

"I was completely dependent on him emotionally and thought I was madly in love." (Azucena)

On the other hand, material and financial dependence in cases of young women from disadvantaged socioeconomic backgrounds is observed. Sara finished her adolescence in a protection centre and while she was in a resource for formerly fostered young people, she met her partner, dropped out of her studies and, without a job, she went to live with him. Marta, of Roma origin, reiterates on various occasions:

"He'd give me little money and I would have to struggle to buy the basics with what he'd give me." (Marta)

c) Loneliness and lack of support

The aspect of loneliness and lack of support has very different dimensions in the stories of these women. There are two elements that coincide. On the one hand, the isolation to which the young woman is driven after the relationship begins and matures, withdrawing from family and friends as time goes by; withdrawal, which is more or less serious depending on the case. On the other hand, lack of family support was self-imposed by not telling anyone what was happening to them and, when they inevitably realised what was

going on, they denied it or withdrew the complaint if it had been lodged. The socio-familial environment of upbringing does seem to play a role in these possibilities of environmental support, even after the lodging of the complaint. María never told her parents anything, but she did not distance herself from her hometown and university friends who supported and kept her company after she left her partner. Irene worked and despite the couple's isolation, she kept seeing her family every day. Azucena endured years of silence but let herself be accompanied by her parents after the complaint. In the Roma environment, dating violence is not always rejected, which is why Marta would be usually sent back to her home despite taking refuge in her parents' house after severe beatings; only when she was half-dead in the hospital did she consent to be persuaded to separate from him, and her recovery took place in a foster home with her three children. Without a doubt, Sara was in the most painful situation, as she was subjected to violence for eight years and the most important reason for not leaving her partner was that she had nowhere to go since her only family was her younger sister.

"We started to go out less and less, both with friends and by ourselves."
(Azucena)

Being a couple: Styles of love

The myth of romantic love changes the essence of love as a couple and turns it into a tool of control and women's submission. The following are extractions of words and scenarios from the testimonies that reveal adherence to the beliefs that this myth instils in these young women and lead to dissatisfaction with the relationship and, not only that, but it generates tolerance of attitudes and situations harmful to themselves without them doing anything to prevent it. In addition, special attention will also be paid to the attitudes of tolerance or favouring of dating violence, both on the part of the protagonists and in the surrounding social space around them. In the end, women are at the mercy of men and their subordination seems unavoidable.

In order to highlight the different aspects in which romantic love takes shape, we will identify each of the beliefs or myths that make it up and that have been gathered by Repullo (2016) from several authors.

The myth of the better half, according to which our lives are not complete if we do not find the other half we are missing.

"This allowed him to treat me like a queen... we used to travel together, dine out, he'd give me gifts... and he was the one paying, because, obviously, I was still a 15 years-old student, you can imagine the money I'd have." (Irene)

The myth of fidelity and exclusiveness has different readings for different genders.

"... but it paid off for me, it paid off because everything else was like a fairy tale, or so I thought... and we kept it that way until December when he finally left his girlfriend to be with me." (Azucena)

The myth of jealousy is related to true love.

"... we seemed like two different people, two people who got along perfectly... but jealousy was something that Marcos was unable to control." (María)

The myth of the omnipotence of love because it is enough to overcome any of the obstacles in the relationship.

"It looked like the situation was getting better and that together we could go back to being the happy couple we had always been, together we can do anything for love can do anything." (María)

The myth of free will entails that what happens in the couple is their own problem.

"That is why I went to my family because we gypsies always sort things out among ourselves... that night I slept there with my children, but the next day my siblings took me back to my husband." (Marta)

The myth of marriage, that is, love is a stable union based on living together.

"But I was very forward and very confident, or rather, I was very much in love... and I got married at the age of 18." (Irene)

The fallacy of changing the other person for the sake of love often turns girls into saviours of their boyfriends.

"It seemed that Marcos was a different person. I saw him again as that cheerful, kind, and loving boy I fell in love with. We decided to start over,

from scratch, and forget about all previous rough patches, we needed to give it another shot... I needed to believe in him, we loved each other." (María)

Normalisation of the conflict, in the beginning, considers that it is normal in a couple's adaptation process.

"For everyone else, we were the perfect couple, however, I started realising it wasn't the case (...) he'd constantly get angry without a reason, check my phone, ask me to give explanations of everything, call me at any time, distrust, jealousy" (María)

The myth of compatibility of love and abuse legitimises any harmful or violent behaviour.

"He begged for forgiveness again and again while crying, claiming to love me and to be afraid of losing me (...) and I loved him too much." (María)

True love forgives and endures everything.

"There was more than one confrontation between Marcos and other guys that I had to witness, but I always ended up understanding Marcos' behaviour and jealousy 'because he was extremely afraid of losing me'." (María)

Believing that when one truly loves, the other one is the most important, and everything else is dispensable.

"Three days after leaving the hospital and with the doctor's warning to be on absolute rest, my sister, in a pitiful state and with her mood hitting rock bottom, had to put on her high heels and go with him to one of his friend's birthday party: after that she couldn't get out of her bed for a week because of how sick she was." (Sara)

Attribution of the ability to give happiness to the other person in the relationship: Personal happiness depends on the other.

"I was happy because I achieved what I aimed for, to pass all of them, and I felt that it was all thanks to Marcos' help and support." (María)

The fallacy of total surrender leads to the idea of love as fusion and the giving up of things for the sake of the relationship.

"All those denigrations and humiliations, which were not pleasant, I took them as the price someone like me should pay for being with someone like him." (Azucena)

Love is a process of depersonalisation that leads to forgetting the self.
"That night (...) my sister walked away, walked to the swamp, where she left her shoes on the shore and...went with mum." (Sara)

If there is love, one must give up intimacy and have individual spaces or spaces that the other does not know about.

"He even demanded that I delete the number of all the guys I had on my cell phone, as well as those on my social media to show him that the only guy I cared about was him to show him that I truly loved him...and so I did." (María)

For their part, personal tolerance and attitudes favourable to violence are present in the relationship from its beginning. In some cases, the women's immaturity or youth does not make them able to see what is happening.

"During the relationship that lasted from when I was 15 to 18 years old, he had already shown 'strange things', but how was I supposed to know at that age that those were violent or controlling reactions?" (Marta)

In others, though they understood that what was happening was not the right thing, they tried to make light of it or hide it, or even justified it out of love.

"Sara never responded to his humiliations and aggressions in front of people; she'd dissimulate, smile, and start talking about anything else in order to erase as soon as possible the embarrassing comments, the abuse, the belittling..." (Sara)

Even if the violence became severe as the relationship continued, the girls were unable to draw a line under it, tolerating what was happening, perhaps in order to avoid even greater violence.

"In the end, I'd allow him, even though I was wishing he would 'finish' so that we could do something together without quarrels and anger for not having already done it, but nah... in the end, we'd stay home and do it

several times... I'd keep quiet, lay down and let him do whatever he wanted until he got tired." (Azucena)

This tolerance is also present in the social environment, in the family and in the neighbours. In such cases, one may think that this tolerance is mistaken for the impossibility of doing anything practical if the girl has come of age, does not say anything to her family, denies the facts, or lives together with her partner and is isolated. However, in any case, the situations that these young women describe are still surprising:

"Probably our neighbours [heard us] too; though nobody talks about it there because these things stay at home..." (Marta)

This exculpatory and normalising idea of dating violence can become so deep that it can make it difficult for young women to accept the abuse they have received over the years.

"My relationship wasn't like the ones of those girls who are beaten, stabbed or humiliated all day long... mine was a toxic relationship, but I wouldn't say it was abusive." (María)

Discussion and conclusions

The young women who have shared their stories suffered years of humiliation, and psychological, physical, and sexual violence since the beginning of their dating relationship as minors. It took extremely serious behaviour for them to make the decision to separate or, in the case of Sara, to take her own life. On the basis of the complexity of this phenomenon, we have approached it from the feminist and non-restrictive analysis, highlighting the identities that come together in these girls: being a woman, being young and being an intimate partner. The analysis shows that each one of these identities supports different facets of their experiences. Not only do we see concretisations in their stories derived from being women in this society that lives an asymmetry of power between genders, but they also converge with situations that derive directly from being young and being an intimate partner in our current sociocultural context, with all the burden that this entails.

The proposal of an intersectional study allows us to dissect the phenomenon of gender violence suffered by underage women from a different perspective. We agree with Platero (2013) that the notion of identity is very complex, and it is necessary to provide a multifaceted view that goes beyond linear and binary logic. From this assumption, we turned to intersectionality as an analytical tool to deepen and reveal the intersection of some of the identity fragments of these women that generate unique and differentiated experiences. Thus, it may be the case that even if women are not a homogeneous group, certain experiences and circumstances remain obscured or even invisible. Responses must be offered in an appropriate manner, and, to this end, it is necessary to know which problems affect only a specific group (Mellgar, Valls, 2010). In order to generate this knowledge, it is necessary to start from the specific context and, in this case, from the experience of inequality and/or loss of power, to get a full picture of the complexity of the phenomenon, which goes beyond the rigorous and static categories already assumed in legal and institutional systems. In this particular case, the actions taken to eradicate gender violence against women may not be fully effective in the case of adolescents and young people who begin a dating relationship as minors and maintain it for years, because not all the specific aspects that make up this identity have been identified. If this is the case, the action programmes do not reach their full potential.

The dynamics of intersectional analysis take us even further in the analysis of diversity that has been reflected in this work, which is one of its limitations. Despite the small number of this sample, there are identity fragments that emerge strongly and could not be elaborated here: being of Roma origin, having grown up in a protection centre, or being a mother. An example of a similar situation would be Latin American adolescents in South Florida: a particular situation is revealed due to their cultural conflict, the difficulty of accessing institutionalized support and the family characteristics (González-Guarda et al., 2016). These identities only come to light when a bottom-up approach is used to reveal and distil how certain circumstances shape the lives of some women, distinguishing them from others, as they are not under the influence of the same personal and social components (AWID, 2004).

Being a woman is the first identity attribute analysed. This 'simple' fact is full of content determined by social relations, culture and power structures of a certain time and society. The in-depth study of the content of this identity

has been and continues to be the subject of numerous studies and from different perspectives (Fernández Romero, 2015). The situation of domination and violence experienced by women and manifested by social control and unequal distribution of power between genders is the aspect that is explored in depth here. Sexism as an attitude of antipathy towards women, hostility, stereotypes or prejudice is one of the manifestations that perpetuates inequality between genders (Merino Verdugo, 2018). The women in the sample suffer behaviours resulting from hostile sexism on the part of their partners, but they also manifest beliefs typical of benevolent sexism by considering the receipt of consideration and affection as prosocial behaviour while adopting a conventional role. These results follow the line of studies that show the presence of hostile and benevolent sexism in Spanish adolescents and young people of both sexes and how this influences their mutual attraction and their dating relationships (Lameiras, Rodríguez-Castro, 2002; de Lemus, Moya, Glick, 2010; Montañés et al, 2013; Ferragut et al, 2017; Marqués, Mestre, 2018), a reality that manifests itself in very different cultures (Glick et al., 2000; Glick et al., 2004). The unquestionable presence of sexism in the experience of dating violence among very young people leads to programmes and proposals for prevention, recovery and support with different resources aimed at making boys and girls aware of these harmful patterns of thought and behaviour (Paz-Rodríguez, Fernández-Zurbarán, 2016; Fernández-Zurbarán, 2018).

The second identity facet that was examined in depth was the vital stage in which the women in the sample found themselves during the experience of abuse. The transition from adolescence or early youth to the beginning of adulthood is a vital period of maximum importance due to the psycho-evolutionary process that takes place during these years. This leads to the fact that data on the general phenomenon of gender violence always refer specifically to this part of the population.

Figures from the latest national macro-survey reveal that young women, between 16 and 24 years old, show a greater prevalence of violence than other women: 19.3% have suffered physical and/or sexual violence, 46.1% have suffered some type of psychological violence and 43.8% have experienced controlling psychological violence (DGVG, 2020a). It should be noted that these data do not necessarily mean that this group suffers violence more than the rest and some reasons that may explain these figures are pointed out. Young women may be more natural when talking about identifying behaviours that

older women do not recognise as intimidating, especially in aspects of control, but it may also be the case that, indeed, young women suffer more violence than the rest. During the four years prior to the interview, young women had suffered injuries as a result of physical or sexual violence (35.8%) more frequently than the rest (10.1%), but they needed medical care on fewer occasions. Young women also reported more frequently that the violence they had suffered had psychological consequences and many of them were unable to go to their place of study or work. Lastly, these women report or seek formal support on fewer occasions, but they do talk about their experiences to people around them (DGVG, 2020a). By the end of 2020, the active cases of women between 14 and 17 years old who were subject to police attention in the Comprehensive Monitoring System (VioGén) with a low, medium or high-risk level were 443 nationwide (DGVG, 2020b). All these data confirm that a significant number of minors and young people have to deal with and incorporate these violent experiences in their transition to adulthood.

As has been seen in detail in the results, the experience of the young women in the sample has been influenced by poor interpersonal skills, lack of personal resources, dependence, loneliness and, for some of them, lack of support from friends and/or relatives, that have even been severely diminished throughout the process of mistreatment. In other words, their vulnerability was accentuated by the early life stage during which they experienced violence. This is in line with the evidence that underlines that the quality of couple relationships in adolescence correlates with self-confidence, self-esteem, and social skills (Zimmer-Gembeck, Siebenbruner, Collins, 2001, 2004; Pearce, Boergers, Prinstein, 2002), affecting the sense of self-worth. Along the same lines, these elements stand out as key aspects to be worked on in prevention, detection, and recovery tasks for this age group. The special vulnerability comes from the vital moment that leads them to experience and explore roles and situations for the first time, such as dating relationships. There is often a lack of realistic role models, girls tend to idealise and take as their role models violent romantic relationships starring teenagers in films and other forms of audio-visual media. The role of friends is very important: it is negative if they do not condemn or downplay such episodes (Nardi-Rodríguez et al., 2019) and positive if they know about the situation and offer some help (Melgar et al., 2021). Family relations also play a key role, but girls often question their critical opinion of their partner, hiding the difficulties or opting for their partner in the

face of a problematic family relationship (Paz-Rodríguez, Fernández Zurbarán, 2014). One last issue that further increases their vulnerability, and which has been seen in the experience of some of the women in this sample, is the fact that prior to the relationship they had difficulties of some kind, such as family absence, mental health issues, substance use or environments in which dating violence is normalized (Carbonell, Fernández, Navarro-Pérez, 2021). Probably, the age of the victims has also influenced the lack of complaints, a criminal proceeding already in need of adjustments from a feminist perspective (Larrauri, 2022). Reconnecting with one's social environment, with others, and with the world is essential in the recovery from trauma (Sinko, Saint Arnault, 2020), a task that can be even more challenging and unique in cases such as those of these young women, considering the particular characteristics of adolescent victimisation (Rebollo Catalán et al., 2022).

Lastly, the identity trait of being part of a couple is another of those that determine the experience of these young women. Thus, very different aspects of the myth of romantic love have been revealed in the experience of the dating relationship of each of these young women from the beginning, as well as showing attitudes of tolerance and encouragement of violence both on a personal level and in their environment. This prolonged experience of abuse sustained in beliefs generates acceptance of psychological and physical abuse (Duque, 2006). The findings obtained complement the analyses and findings made in other studies in which aggressions are based on aspects related to romantic love, both at a personal and virtual level (Bosch et al., 2007; Donoso-Vázquez, Rubio Hurtado, Vilà Baños, 2017), which is why the prevention proposals focus on overcoming these beliefs (Flecha, Puivert, Redondo, 2005; Fundación Mujeres, 2009; Melgar, Valls, 2010), differentiating preventive strategies for boys and girls (Nardi-Rodríguez et al., 2022).

This research has shown, once again and from a different perspective, that this group of underage victims presents a range of circumstances and conditions that need to be addressed in more detail in order to understand their reality as victims and a vulnerability with particular components. The small sample size of this study is its main limitation, but the results of this intersectional feminist analysis are clear, and it would be advisable to carry out studies with larger samples in order to deepen and adjust the results and the possibilities of analysis, revealing the complexity of the phenomenon in a more refined way. As has been mentioned, there are identity fragments

that have not been possible to analyse, such as being of Roma origin, homelessness, or being a mother, which would have provided more valid results. Some of the questions to be answered in future research are which groups of women victims are less publicly represented, whether there are organisational policies and practices that do not encourage their escape from violence and what differentiated opportunities the different groups of women, who are victims of gender violence, have in order to escape inequality. The aim would be to raise visibility of the complexity of inequality and gender violence in a way to further promotes actions that are not simplistic and within the paradigm of social justice.

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„Moja sreća se pretvorila u tugu“: Predlog intersekcionalne analize rođno zasnovanog nasilja u emotivnim vezama mladih³

Primenom intersekcionalnog feminističkog pristupa kao konceptualnog okvira, u ovom radu su prikazani rezultati istraživanja iskustva mladih žena koje su bile izložene partnerskom nasilju od početka emotivne veze, u kojoj su ostajale nekoliko godina. Cilj je da se prikažu različiti identiteti ovih mladih žena koji pogoduju njihovoj viktimizaciji, što pruža mogućnost detaljnije i dublje analize tih iskustava. U tu svrhu, primjenjen je dubinski intervju. Rezultati pokazuju kako su biti žena (rodni identitet), biti mlada (uzrast) i biti partnerka (odnos) identiteti koji na različite načine pogoduju održavanju nasilja. Identifikovanje tih različitih aspekata omogućava da se ne upadne u zamku pojednostavljenog i generalizovanog sagledavanja iskustava viktimizacije za sve žene žrtve. To omogućava jedinstveno i specifičnije razumevanje iskustava viktimizacije mladih žena u prvim emotivnim vezama.

Ključne reči: nasilje u partnerskim vezama mladih, integrativni feminizam, intersekcionalna kriminologija, narativi.

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³ Rad je prezentovan na VIII Međunarodnom univerzitetskom kongresu o istraživanju i rodu, održanom 22. i 23. juna 2023. godine na Univerzitetu u Sevilji, Španija. Više o ovom kongresu videte na: <https://igualdad.us.es/?p=5644>.

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Uticaj pandemije COVID-19 na porodično funkcionisanje i procena potreba za psihosocijalnom podrškom¹

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*U*sled zdravstvene krize uzrokovane pandemijom virusa COVID-19 gotovo svi nivoi funkcionisanja društva su pretrpeli značajne promene. Efekti pandemije su se, neminovno, reflektovali na stanovništvo, pri čemu su vulnerabilni, osetljivi i neotporni pojedinci i porodice, usled svoje ranjivosti, bili dodatno pogođeni. Novonastale okolnosti, koje su podrazumevale karantin, zabranu kretanja, zatvaranje škola, prelezak na model nastave na daljinu, kao i rad od kuće, dodatno su nepovoljno uticale kako na porodicu kao sistem, odnosno porodično funkcionisanje, tako i na samo roditeljstvo. U ovom radu je data analiza podataka do kojih se došlo istraživanjem koje je imalo za cilj procenu uticaja pandemije COVID-19 na porodično funkcionisanje i potrebu za psihosocijalnom podrškom kod ispitanice populacije dece i roditelja. Analizirani su odgovori 121 deteta i 219 roditelja sa teritorije šest opština Beograda i Pančeva. Analizom odgovora utvrđeno je da se kod većine ispitanika prepozna nepovoljan uticaj pandemije na mentalno zdravlje kako dece, tako i roditelja, kao i potreba za psihosocijalnom podrškom u cilju poboljšanja individualnog i porodičnog funkcionisanja. Implikacije ovih nalaza razmatrane su u

¹ Ovaj rad je nastao u okviru projekta *Procena potreba za mentalno zdravlje i psihosocijalnu podršku (MHPSS) za različite ciljne grupe i razvijanje intervencija/treninga za izgradnju kapaciteta*, koji je organizovala Švedska agencija za međunarodnu razvojnu saradnju u okviru šireg projekata *Jačanje lokalne organizacije civilnog društva 2017-2021*, u saradnji sa Save the Children in Kosovo Country Office.

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okviru rada, na osnovu čega su definisane preporuke za kreiranje ključnih aktivnosti i programa za izgradnju kapaciteta članova porodice kako bi se pružila podrška u prevazilaženju izazova u oblasti porodičnog funkcionisanja, a koji su prepoznati da su nastali kao rezultat pandemije i izolacije.

Ključne reči: COVID-19, porodica, potrebe, psihosocijalna podrška.

Uvod

Pandemija virusom COVID-19 registrovana je 2020. godine i tokom njenog trajanja države su primenile vanredne mere zaštite kako bi se zaštitilo stanovništvo i sprečilo širenje virusa. Međutim, mere poput karantina i fizičke distance, koje su bile uvedene u najvećem broju država širom sveta, uticale su na svakodnevni život jer su porodice i pojedinci bili primorani da se povuku iz svakodnevnih aktivnosti koje su, pre svega, podrazumevale odlaske na posao i u školu (Zhang i dr., 2020). Dostupni podaci različitih studija pokazuju da je značajan broj roditelja koji su se suočili sa izazovima rada od kuće, neređovnim prihodima, pa čak i gubitkom posla (Fegert, Vitiello, Clemens, 2020). Mnogi roditelji koji su počeli da rade od kuće, istovremeno su morali da organizuju brigu o deci i podršku u učenju na daljinu. Dakle, roditelji su se suočili sa potrebom da upravljaju tranzicijom posla i prihoda, dok istovremeno podržavaju i prate decu u obavljanju školskih zadataka, bez mogućnosti da se realizuju dodatni sadržaji (kao što su vannastavne aktivnosti, treninzi i slično) (Basilia, Kvavadze, 2020; Radmitadila i dr., 2020).

Dvostruko breme roditelja može uticati na povećanje stepena opterećenosti roditelja usled čega osećaju dodatni stres, što se odražava na obrazac ustaljenog porodičnog funkcionisanja, a takođe se može odraziti i na aspekt funkcionisanja partnerske relacije. U tom kontekstu, novonastale nepovoljne promene mogu se negativno odraziti na unutrašnje relacije i interakciju, posebno u odnosu između roditelja i dece, kao i između siblinga (Duan i dr., 2020).

Uz sve ove okolnosti, ekonomski kriza koja je nastupila i smanjenje porodičnog budžeta svakako su jedan od mogućih faktora koji utiču na pojačavanje nivoa stresa u porodici (Kiernan, 2019; Fegert, Vitiello, Clemens, 2000). U tom kontekstu, u skladu sa teorijom porodičnog stresa, pandemija se može posmatrati kao stresor, odnosno nepredviđeni životni događaj sa potencijalom da proizvede promene u porodičnom sistemu (Patterson, 1988). Takođe,

može se percipirati i kao akcedentalni krizni događaj koji je zadesio pojednice i porodice, i kao takav može imati nepovoljan uticaj na porodično funkcionisanje (Marchi i dr., 2021). Teorija porodičnog stresa ukazuje da, u zavisnosti od toga kako članovi porodice doživljavaju stresore, kao što su višestruki izazovi povezani sa pandemijom, oni u skladu sa tim koriste svoje resurse, snage i imaju određenu percepciju stresora i uticaja na porodicu (Radmitadila i dr., 2020). U slučaju ove pandemije porodice nisu imale nikakvu vrstu pripreme. Dakle, neizvesnost koja je pratila pandemiju uticala je i na kapacitet koji porodice imaju za prilagođavanje, kako koriste svoje snage i kako su se konsolidovale u novonastalim životnim okolnostima.

Različiti autori smatraju da novonastale okolnosti utiču nepovoljno na dobrostanje i mentalno zdravlje članova porodice, kao i da mogu uticati na povećanje stope određenih mentalnih poremećaja (Kiernan, 2019). Imajući u vidu da su se porodice i pojedinci suočili sa novonastalom i iznenadnom situacijom pandemije, da su osećali izražen strah i zabrinutost, kako za zdravlje članova porodice, tako i za materijalni aspekt, može se prepostaviti da su efekti pandemije ostavili dalekosežne i dugoročne posledice i na porodično funkcionisanje (Kiernan, 2019).

Istovremeno, treba naglasiti da je uticaj pandemije na mentalno zdravlje ljudi jedan od značajnih izazova sa kojima se suočava savremeno društvo. Evidentiran je strah od smrti, gubitak posla, gubitak voljenih, socijalna izolacija, nedostatak tačnih informacija, nepredvidivost i neizvesnost u pogledu daljeg razvoja situacije i uticaja na porodice. Navedene vrste stresova uglavnom izazivaju psihološki stres, anksioznost i depresiju kao najčešće vrste poremećaja mentalnog zdravlja (Zandifar, Badrfam, 2020). Sve ove činjenice mogu negativno uticati na kapacitet roditelja za obavljanje zadataka iz roditeljske uloge i nepovoljno uticati na celokupno porodično funkcionisanje (Zandifar, Badrfam, 2020).

Pored toga, psihološki uticaj mentalnih zdravstvenih problema povezanih sa karantinom uključuje depresiju, loše raspoloženje, razdražljivost, nesanicu, bes i emocionalnu iscrpljenost (Brooks i dr., 2020).

Predmet rada je porodično funkcionisanje u periodu COVID-19 pandemije, promene u porodičnoj dinamici i odnosima, koje su nastale kao posledica pandemije i potrebe za podrškom članovima porodice. Cilj ovog rada je analiza rezultata istraživanja o proceni uticaja pandemije COVID-19 na porodično funkcionisanje i potrebu za psihosocijalnom podrškom kod roditelja i

dece, koje je sprovedeno u periodu od oktobra do decembra 2020. godine na teritoriji šest opština Beograda i Pančeva. Rad je strukturiran tako da je u prvom delu dat prikaz relevantne naučne građe o uticaju pandemije COVID-19 na porodice, odnosno porodično funkcionisanje. U sledećem delu su predstavljeni rezultati istraživanja o uticaju pandemije COVID-19 na porodično funkcionisanje i potrebu za psihosocijalnom podrškom kod ispitivane populacije dece i roditelja. Na kraju rada su diskutovani dobijeni rezultati i date su preporuke za praksu.

Efekti pandemije COVID-19 na mentalno zdravlje u opštoj populaciji – pregled aktuelnih istraživanja

Imajući u vidu navedene poteškoće sa kojima su se suočili pojedinci i porodice tokom trajanja pandemije izazvane virusom COVID-19, značajno je detaljnije razmotriti posledice na mentalno zdravlje roditelja, dece i adolescenata², posebno ako se ima u vidu osetljivost njihovog razvoja posmatrano po različitim dimenzijama. Različiti izveštaji i aktuelna istraživanja ukazuju da su pandemija izazvana virusom COVID-19 i preuzimane mere zaštite, poput obaveznog karantina, imale štetan uticaj na mentalno zdravlje celokupnog stanovništva (Alzueta i dr., 2021), kao i na dobrobit roditelja i dece posebno (Cameron i dr., 2020; de Miranda i dr., 2020; Patrick i dr., 2020; Spinelli i dr., 2020; Yeasmin i dr., 2020). Do sada se nekoliko studija bavilo ispitivanjem psihosocijalnih posledica u vreme i posle trajanja pandemije izazvane virusom COVID-19 kod odraslih i dece (Zandifar, Badrfam, 2020).

Značajni podaci dobijeni su u okviru longitudinalne studije koja je sprovedena u Kini, u kojoj su Wang i saradnici (Wang i dr., 2020) istraživali stanje mentalnog zdravlja u opštoj populaciji. Utvrđeno je postojanje umerenog do teškog nivoa psihološkog stresa kod 8,1% ispitanika, anksioznosti kod 28,8% i depresije kod 16,5% ispitanika iz opšte populacije. Slične studije o uticaju pandemije COVID-19 na mentalno zdravlje sprovedene su u drugim zemljama i sve analize došle su do sličnih nalaza (Fiorillo, Gorwood, 2020; Zandifar, Badrfam, 2020). Rezultati istraživanja realizovanog u Srbiji u cilju utvrđivanja uticaja pandemije na mentalno zdravlje odraslih stanovnika ukazuju da je za

² Pod decom se podrazumevaju lica uzrasta do 14 godina, a pod adolescentima lica od 14 do 21 godine starosti.

prvih mesec dana nakon izolacije 42% ispitanika prijavilo simptome depresije, 44,5% simptome anksioznosti i 65% simptome stresa (Vujčić i dr, 2021). Takođe, zdravstveno stanje stanovništa tokom pandemije u Srbiji ispitivano je na nacionalno-reprezentativnom uzorku, a dobijeni podaci ukazuju na to da je stopa verovatne depresije i verovatne anksioznosti bila 6,3% (Marić i dr., 2022).

Kada su u pitanju deca i adolescenti, značajno je osvrnuti se na uticaj karantina i izolacije na njihovo mentalno zdravlje. Ovaj aspekt je posebno značajan imajući u vidu da su potrebe adolescenata za druženjem, pripadnošću, nezavisnošću bile u značajnoj meri ugrožene. Kada su u pitanju deca mlađeg uzrasta, stres i strah koji se ispoljio kod roditelja je, u zavisnosti od kapaciteta roditelja da se nose sa stresom, bio prenet na decu (Sharma, Verma, 2020). Autori Oberle, Schonert-Reichl i Thomson (2010) su u ranijim istraživanjem potvrdili da ograničenje socijalnih interakcija može imati negativan uticaj na decu i adolescente s obzirom na značaj vršnjačkog kontakta za njihovu dobrobit. Iz ranijih istraživanja utvrđeno je da deca u izolaciji i karantinu mogu biti sklonija razvoju akutnog stresnog poremećaja, poremećaja prilagođavanja i tuge (Sharma, Verma, 2020). Studija sprovedena u Indiji je pokazala visoku prevalenciju straha kod dece i adolescenata u karantinu tokom pandemije COVID-19, a taj osećaj je uglavnom bio povezan sa zabrinutošću u vezi sa izloženošću virusu ili zarazom drugih (Saurabh, Ranjan, 2020). Garcia de Avila i saradnici, takođe, navode da kada su u pitanju promene u funkcionisanju povezane sa COVID-19 krizom, kod dece su se pojavili češći simptomi depresije i anksioznosti, poteškoće sa spavanjem i stres u školi (Garcia de Avila i dr., 2020). Takođe, u nalazima grupe autora iz Kine je potvrđeno da su deca uzrasta od 3 do 18 godina tokom pandemije pokazivala simptome nepažnje, brige i razdražljivosti (Jiao i dr., 2020).

Interesantni podaci dobijeni su u studiji koju su sproveli Pisano, Galimi i Cerniglia (2020), a čiji je cilj bio utvrđivanje emocionalno-bihevioralnih odgovora dece uzrasta od 4 do 10 godina izloženih (potencijalno uznemirujućoj) situaciji pandemije COVID-19. Polazna pretpostavka je bila da deca i adolescenti koji su kod kuće sa porodicom, doživljavaju porast stresa i smanjenje sredstava za podršku i snalaženje. Percepције su prikupljene na osnovu procene njihovih roditelja, a rezultati su pokazali da je tokom prvog meseca karantina pandemija imala negativan efekat na dečije emocije i ponašanje (Pisano, Galimi, Cerniglia, 2020). Preliminarni rezultati ukazuju da je svako četvrti dete (26,48%) pokazalo regresivni simptom potrebe za fizičkom

blizinom roditelja tokom noći i gotovo svako peto (18,17%) ispoljavalo strahove kakve ranije nisu imali. Polovina dece (53,53%) pokazala je povećanu razdražljivost, netoleranciju prema pravilima, hirovima i prekomernim zahtevima, a svako peto je pokazalo promene raspoloženja (21,17%) i probleme sa spavanjem, uključujući poteškoće da zaspne, uznenarenost i često buđenje (19,99%). Dalje, svako treće dete (34,26%) ispoljavalo je nervozu u vezi sa temom pandemije, kada je ona pomenuta kod kuće ili na TV-u, dok je skoro svako treće dete (31,38%) izgledalo smirenije, a svako drugo (49,57%) mudrije i promišljenije (Pisano, Galimi, Cerniglia, 2020). Pored toga, posebna pažnja se mora posvetiti adaptivnom ponašanju koje pokazuju pojedina deca, a koja bi mogla sakriti prisustvo (čak i ako je ispod praga) simptoma depresije ili psiholoških nelagoda (Ammaniti, Cerniglia, 2019).

Svakako u prevazilaženju opisanih stanja kod dece i adolescenata značajnu ulogu imaju roditelji, koji bi trebalo da budu izvor podrške i sigurnosti. Međutim, u situaciji neizvesnosti i straha kojom su bili pogodjeni i sami roditelji, postavlja se pitanje njihovog kapaciteta za pružanje podrške deci i organizaciju dnevnih aktivnosti kako bi se na konstruktivan način prevazišla novonastala situacija i obezbedilo očuvanje porodičnog funkcionisanja.

Istraživanje o proceni uticaja pandemije COVID-19 na porodično funkcionisanje i potrebu za psihosocijalnom podrškom kod roditelja i dece

Metodologija istraživanja

a) Predmet i cilj istraživanja

Predmet istraživanja je bilo porodično funkcionisanje u periodu trajanja COVID-19 pandemije. Cilj istraživanja je bio procena uticaja pandemije COVID-19 na porodično funkcionisanje, analiza promena do kojih je došlo na planu porodične dinamike i odnosa, i potrebe za psihosocijalnom podrškom kod ispitivane populacije dece i roditelja.

Istraživanje je sprovedeno u periodu od oktobra do decembra 2020. godine u šest opština sa teritorije Beograda (Novi Beograd, Zemun, Savski venac, Vračar, Stari grad i Čukarica) i na teritoriji Pančeva. Kriterijum za odabir

pomenutih opština bio je po principu heterogenosti opština u Beogradu i jedna teritorija van Beograda.

b) Uzorak

U istraživanju je učestvovalo 121 dete uzrasta od 12 do 15 godina, i 219 roditelja iz istih porodica. Među ispitivanom decom, većina je bila ženskog pola (59,5%). Sva deca su bila uključena u nastavu na daljinu (online).

U grupi roditelja, takođe, većina ispitanika su bile osobe ženskog pola (79,5%). Najveći deo ispitanika spada u uzrasnu kategoriju od 35 do 47 godina. Nešto preko 55% ispitanika živi u četvoročlanim porodicama. Najveći broj roditelja iz uzorka ima dvoje dece (60,7%). Prema nivou obrazovanja, skoro podjednako su zastupljeni oni koji imaju završenu srednju školu (45,7%) i više i visoko obrazovanje (43,8%). Oko 80% roditelja iz uzorka je zaposleno. U bračnoj zajednici živi 79,5% roditelja.

c) Instrument

Za potrebe istraživanja kreiran je upitnik za utvrđivanje stepena slaganja na četvorostepenim skalama sa datim tvrdnjama koje ispituju indikatore zadate teme istraživanja. Ispitanice i ispitanici su popunjavali upitnik anonimno i dobrovoljno.

Pitanja u upitniku za decu (ukupno 37), grupisana su u kategorije koje ispituju sledeće teme: Opšta pitanja o pojavi COVID-19 virusa i pridržavanju mera zaštite (prvih pet uvodnih pitanja); Promene dnevnih rutina tokom pandemije (od 6. do 23. pitanja); Prisutnost lične anksioznosti i znakova stresa (od 24. do 37. pitanja).

Pitanja u upitniku za roditelje (ukupno 45), grupisana su u kategorije koje ispituju sledeće teme: Opšta pitanja o pojavi COVID-19 virusa i pridržavanju mera zaštite (prva tri uvodna pitanja); Prisutnost lične anksioznosti i znakova stresa (od 4. do 12. pitanja); Procena ekonomskih posledica pandemije i osećanja u vezi sa tim (od 13. do 18. pitanja); Promene dnevnih rutina tokom pandemije (od 19. do 23. pitanja); Prepoznavanje promena kod dece (od 24. do 30. pitanja); Procena roditeljskih kapaciteta tokom pandemije (od 31. do 45. pitanja). Budući da je većina pitanja u oba upitnika bila zatvorenog tipa, bilo

je moguće kvantifikovati podatke. Ovako dobijeni podaci su analizirani metodom deskriptivne statistike.

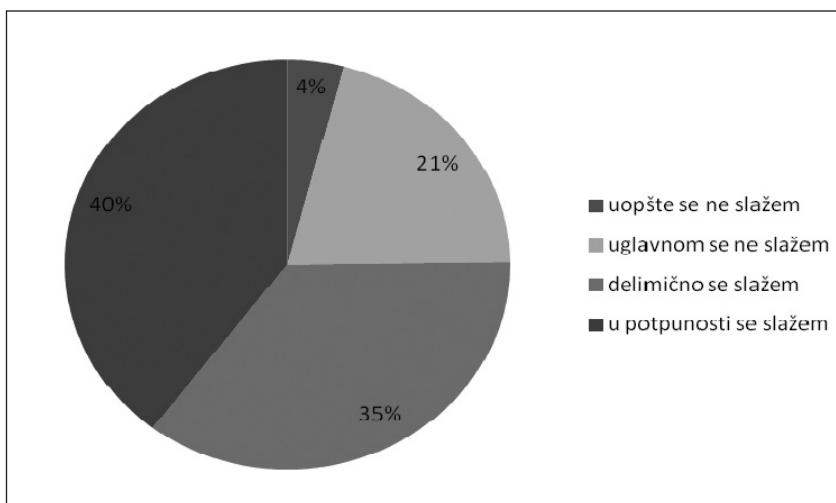
Rezultati istraživanja

Upitnik za decu

a) Opšti nalazi o pojavi korona virusa

Više od 2/3 dece iz uzorka, 75,2% (n=91) iskazuje delimičnu ili potpunu zabrinutost u vezi sa mogućnošću da se razbole od COVID-19 (Grafikon 1), što je nešto manje nego u uzorku roditelja (89%) (detaljnija distribucija odgovora je prikazana u prilogu Rezultati upitnika za roditelje).

Grafikon 1. Zabrinutost dece u vezi mogućnosti obolenja od COVID-19

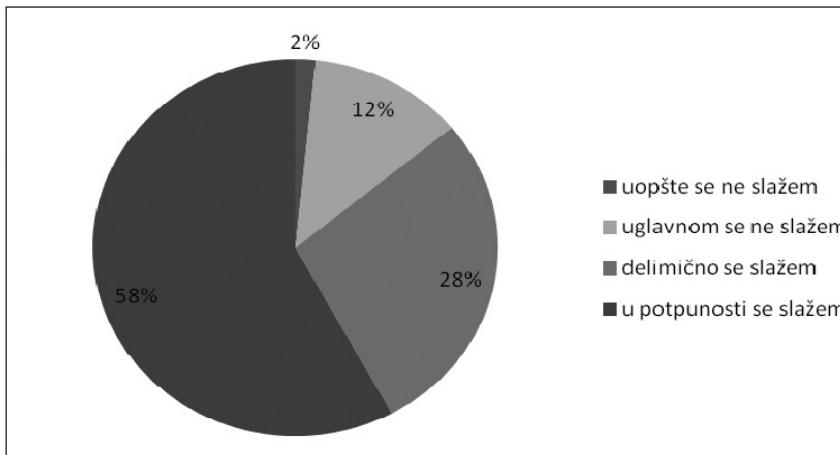


Većina dece iz uzorka se pridržava preporučenih mera zaštite od COVID-19 u potpunosti (61,2%; n=74), a 35,5% (43) delimično. Preciznije, 92,6% dece (112) opere ruke čim se vrati kući, a 63,6% do 87,6% (77 do 118 ispitanika) ima utisak da češće pere ruke nego ranije. Oko 40% dece (49) smatra da su mere fizičkog distanciranja potpuno opravdane, dok ostali smatraju da su delimično opravdane ili da nisu opravdane.

b) Nalazi u vezi sa promenama dnevnih rutina tokom pandemije

Većina dece iz uzorka - 86% (104) se izjasnilo da je situacija u vezi epidemije uveliko uticala na svakodnevni život (Grafikon 2), a kod 72% njih se (87) i raspored dnevnih aktivnosti veoma promenio.

Grafikon 2. Uticaj pandemije na svakodnevni život dece



Dve trećine dece odnosno 70% (85) se izjasnilo da ređe izlaze iz kuće nego ranije. Novina u svakodnevnim aktivnostima je onlajn nastava, koja se odvijala svakodnevno u istim terminima kao i nastava koju su imali u školi, pre pandemije. Tek nešto više od polovine dece iz uzorka (61%; n=74) je saopštilo da im se dopada ovaj izmenjeni način nastave; dok se 42% (45) njih uglavnom ili uopšte ne slažu sa ovom tvrdnjom. Obuhvat dece svakodnevnom nastavom je 91,7% (111), dok se 8,3% (10) nije uključivalo svakodnevno na nastavu. Značajan podatak za promišljanje je da je za čak 72,7% (88) dece bilo teže da na ovaj način prate nastavu, nego kada su išla u školu na nastavu. Socijalne kontakte smanjilo je 74,4% (90) dece i to im je veoma smetalo, dok za 20,7% (23) njih smanjenje socijalnih kontakata ne predstavlja smetnju. Tokom trajanja epidemije svakodnevne kontakte sa vršnjacima ostvarivalo je tek 41 dete iz uzorka.

Podaci pokazuju da je 69,4% (84) dece svakodnevno upražnjavalо fizičke aktivnosti, nekoliko puta sedmično 77% (93) dece, a nešto više od 20% (26) nije upražnjavalо nikakvu fizičku aktivnost. Kada je provođenje vremena na internetu u pitanju 94,2% (113) njih se svakodnevno dopisivalо sa vršnjacima

(svakodnevni kontakti uživo su se očigledno preselili u drugi, u tom trenutku jedino mogući prostor), 86,8% njih (104) je bilo svakodnevno prisutno na društvenim mrežama, nešto manje od 60% (62) je internet koristilo za pretraživanje edukativnih sadržaja mimo zadataka koje su slali nastavnici (što je ohrabrujući podatak i prostor za moguće delovanje u pravcu podsticanja navedenog ponašanja). Međutim, 38% (48) dece iz uzorka je prilikom pretraga na internetu videlo uznemirujuće sadržaje, poput nasilja. Uz to, 67% (81) ispitane dece je svesno da mnogo vremena provodi na digitalnim uređajima, ali da ne može da prestane. Sa druge strane, 63,7% (77) dece saopštavalo da ima nove aktivnosti sa svojim ukućanima, poput zajedničkog kuvanja, igranja društvenih igara i slično.

b) Nalazi o rasprostranjenosti anksioznosti i znakova stresa među decom

U Tabeli broj 1 prikazani su rezultati dobijeni analizom odgovora dece koji se odnose na indikatore anksioznosti i stresa. Utvrđeno je da je kod najvećeg dela ispitivane populacije dece prisutna nervoza, da se osećaju nervoznije nego ranije, kao i da postoje problemi sa spavanjem, umor i iscrpljenost, dok se nešto manje od polovine dece teže koncentriše na učenje, gledanje filmova i sl. Važan podatak jeste i procenat dece koja su se osećala bezbadežno (34%), dok njih 33% nisu mogli da kontrolišu zabrinutost (Tabela 1).

Tabela 1. Indikatori anksioznosti i stresa kod dece

	Uopšte se ne slažem		Uglavnom se ne slažem		Delimično se slažem		U potpunosti se slažem	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Znaci uznemirenosti	82	67,8	19	15,7	12	9,9	8	6,6
Nervoza	36	29,8	24	19,8	30	24,8	31	25,6
Teža koncentracija	45	37,2	21	17,4	31	25,6	24	19,8
Nemogućnost zaustavljanja/kontrole zabrinutosti	60	49,6	21	17,4	26	21,5	14	11,6
Vikanje i lako plane na druge	49	40,5	20	16,5	30	24,8	22	18,2
Umor, iscrpljenost i manjak energije	42	34,7	23	19,0	29	24,0	27	22,3
Beznadežnost i tuga	58	47,9	22	18,2	25	20,7	16	13,2
Problem sa spavanjem	45	37,2	18	14,9	29	24,0	29	24,0

Dodatno, 86,8% dece (105) je više brinulo za svoje ukućane, nego za sebe; parališući strah i paniku za sebe i članove porodice osećalo je 18,2% dece (21); 35,6% dece (43) je bilo zbunjeno u vezi sa informacijama koje dolaze do njih u

vezi sa koronom, a čak 52% (63) ih je imalo teškoće sa učenjem. Uz ove pojedinačne indikatore anksioznosti i stresa treba dodati i podatke da se čak 60,3% (71) dece u ovom periodu češće dosađivalo nego ranije, ako i da se 36,3% njih osećalo usamljenije nego ranije.

d) Identifikovane potrebe kod dece

Na osnovu nalaza iz upitnika za decu, identifikovano je da postoji potreba za psihosocijalnom podrškom mentalnom zdravlju izabrane ciljne grupe kako bi se prevenirali problemi po zdravlje dece, kao i potreba za pružanjem psihosocijalne podrške u domenu znanja i veština suočavanju sa anksioznošću i stresom i upravljanja njima (strategije za smanjenje stresa i anksioznosti). Takođe, u kontekstu pružanja podrške, bilo bi značajno reorganizovati usluge u zajednici koje omogućavaju onlajn savetovanje, kao i druge aktivnosti podrške od strane profesionalaca kako bi bile dostupnije deci u periodu eventualnih kriznih situacija, poput pandemije COVID-19. Potom, prepoznato je da postoji potreba za spovođenjem treninga/radionica o psihološkom ličnom/intimnom prostoru, o psihološkim granicama, identitetu i integritetu. Kao još jedna potreba ističe se ohrabrvanje nastavnika da uvode i upravljaju novim oblicima onlajn nastave (pretraživanje edukativnih sadržaja, istraživački radovi učenika, projektna nastava i slično), a u vezi sa tim i potreba za istraživanjem kvaliteta i privlačnosti onlajn nastave na nacionalnom školskom nivou, kao i istraživanje razloga odsustva učenika u onlajn nastavi. S obzirom da deca više vremena provode koristeći digitalne uređaje, prepoznata je i potreba za povećanjem motivacije za fizičku aktivnost, čemu mogu doprineti kampanje na društvenim mrežama i u školama. Značajan aspekt povezan sa tim što deca provode više vremena na internetu jeste potreba za povećanjem digitalnih kompetencija roditelja radi postavljanja zaštitnih mehanizama i kontrole pristupa sajtovima sa uznemirujućim sadržajima.

Upitnik za roditelje

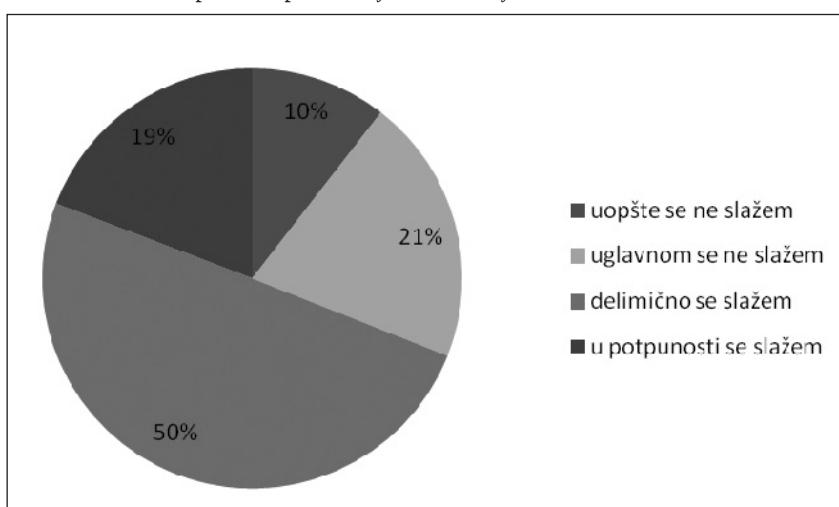
Većina roditelja iz uzorka (89%, n=195) je izrazila delimičnu ili potpunu zabrinutost u vezi sa mogućnošću razbolevanja od COVID-19 infekcije, pri čemu je još više njih (93,6%, n=205) izrazilo zabrinutost u vezi sa razbolevanjem svojih roditelja, kao rizične kategorije. U vezi sa tim, većina roditelja iz

uzorka (86,3%, n=189) se izjasnila da su se u potpunosti pridržavali preporučenih mera zaštite od COVID-19.

a) Nalazi o rasprostranjenosti lične anksioznosti i znakova stresa među roditeljima

Kada je u pitanju lična anksioznost i znakovi stresa, utvrđeno je da je za 69% (151) njih epidemiološka situacija u vezi sa COVID-19 delimično ili veoma stresna (Grafikon 3).

Grafikon 3. Stresnost perioda pandemije za roditelje



U Tabeli broj 2 mogu se videti podaci koji se odnose na indikatore anksioznosti i stresa kod roditelja koji su učestvovali u istraživanju, koji pokazuju da je najveći procenat roditelja osećao umor i iscrpljenost (42,4%), dok je svega 6% osećalo parališući strah i znake panike (Tabela 2).

Tabela 2. Indikatori anksioznosti i stresa kod roditelja

	Uopšte se ne slažem		Uglavnom se ne slažem		Delimično se slažem		U potpunosti se slažem	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Znaci anksioznosti	124	56,6	45	20,5	39	17,8	11	5,1
Nemogućnost zaustavljanja/kontrole zabrinutosti	101	46,1	65	29,7	49	22,4	4	1,8
Lako plane	86	39,3	63	29,2	58	26,5	11	5

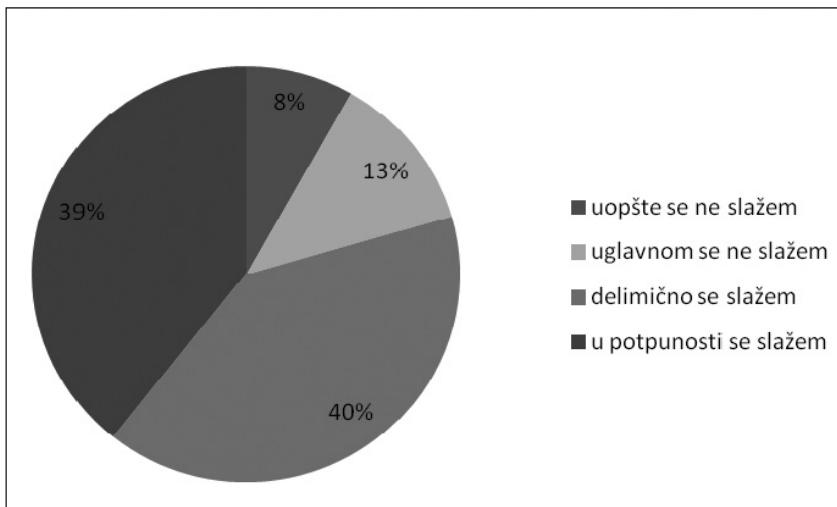
Beznadežnost i depresivnost	109	49,8	60	27,4	47	21,5	3	1,3
Problem sa spavanjem	123	56,2	48	21,9	40	18,3	8	3,6
Parališući strah i znaci panike	155	71,2	50	22,8	9	4	4	2
Umor, iscrpljenost i manjak energije	68	31,1	58	26,5	71	32,4	22	10

Pored dugog trajanja, stres pojačava i delimično ili potpuno nepoverenje u informacije o virusu COVID-19 koje dolaze do ispitanika (51,6 %, n=111).

b) Nalazi u vezi sa procenom ekonomskih posledica pandemije i osećanja u vezi sa time

U našem uzorku 28,3% (64) roditelja iz uzorka se izjasnilo da im je delimično ili u potpunosti bilo teško da odgovore zahtevima posla u doba epidemije. Više vremena nego ranije na poslu je provodilo 30% roditelja, dok 22,4% (48) njih radilo od kuće više od punog radnog vremena. Naime, u uzorku roditelja skoro polovina ih je prepoznala da oseća veći pritisak na poslu nego ranije (43,3%, n=95), kao i zabrinutost u vezi gubitka posla, smanjenja prihoda i slično (47,5%, n=104), dok je većina njih (79%, n=174) izrazila zabrinutost zbog ekonomskih posledica u budućnosti (Grafikon 4).

Grafikon 4. Zabrinutost roditelja za ekonomске posledice u budućnosti



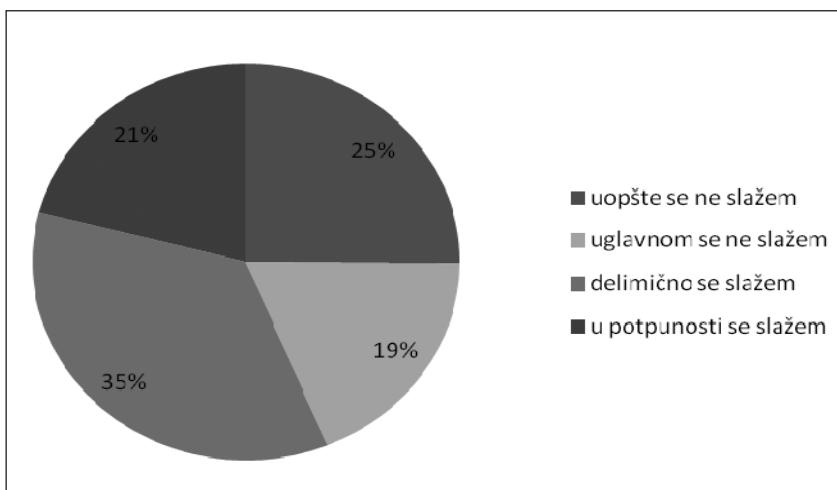
c) Nalazi u vezi sa promenom dnevne rutine tokom pandemije

Podaci ukazuju da je za 81,8% (179) roditelja iz uzorka situacija u vezi sa epidemijom u velikoj meri imala uticaj na njihov svakodnevni život, dok se kod 70,8% (146) njih i raspored dnevnih aktivnosti veoma promenio. Većina ispitanika je smanjila učestalost socijalnih kontakata, što je većini ispitanika (81,3%) veoma smetalo. U dnevnim aktivnostima, roditelji su prepoznali da su više nego ranije uključeni u aktivnosti sa decom, kao i da više vremena posvećuju pomaganju deci oko školskih obaveza (73,1%, n=160) u odnosu na period pre epidemije.

d) Prepoznavanje promena kod dece

Nešto više od trećine roditelja (35,2%, n=77) je procenilo da njihova deca manifestuju tugu, brigu, strah, nerviranje više nego ranije, 19,2 % (42) da imaju strahove koje nisu ranije imala. Približno isti procenat roditelja je saopštavao i o većoj razdražljivosti i svadljivosti sopstvene dece (26,1%, n=57), naglim promenama raspoloženja (24,2 %, n=53) i problemima sa snom, žale se da im deca teško zaspaju, dužinom i/ili kvalitetom spavanja (27,9%, n=61). Viši procenti su dobijeni kod procene prisutnosti pojave dosađivanja dece u toku dana (56,3%, n=123) i usamljenosti (39,4%, n=86) (Grafikon 5).

Grafikon 5. Procenat dece koja se dosađuju više tokom pandemije



e) Procena roditeljskih kapaciteta tokom pandemije

Istraživanjem je dobijen nalaz da čak 51,1% (112) roditelja saopštava da zabrinutost i anksioznost ne utiču, odnosno da uglavnom ne utiču (20,1%, n=44) na njihovu roditeljsku ulogu. Prethodno iznet nalaz treba promatrati u svetlu mogućeg davanja socijalno poželjnih odgovora od strane roditelja kako bi svoje roditeljske prakse predstavili uspešnim. Nadalje, 27% (59) roditelja iz uzorka je saopštilo da su češće nego ranije nestrpljivi u odnosu sa svojom decom, 18,7% (41) da češće viču, 15% (33) da osećaju nemoć i ne znaju kako da reaguju, a 19% (42) da mnogo više kritikuju svoje dete.

Kada se preselimo sa terena refleksije o kapacitetu na predloge akcije u pogledu ojačavanja kapaciteta roditeljstva, rezultati našeg istraživanja pokazuju da bi 43,8% (96) roditelja volela da ponešto promeni u načinima vaspitanja deteta, čak 70% (153) želi i procenjuje da može biti bolji roditelj, dok je 64,4% (141) roditelja iskazalo delimično zadovoljstvo svojim veštinama vaspitanja. Znatna većina roditelja (95,5%, n=209) se uglavnom ili potpuno složila da je u vremenu pandemije i bolesti potrebno posvetiti više pažnje deci, dok je 76,8% (168) saopštilo da je bilo potrebno da posvete više pažnje detetu ili da provedu više vremena sa detetom (84,1%, n=184), dok je 80,8% (177) bilo zadovoljno količinom vremena koje provodi sa svojim detetom.

Zanimljiv je nalaz da je skoro polovina roditelja (45,7%, n=100) smatrala da treba da imaju veći nadzor nad detetom. Znatan broj roditelja (69,8%) je saopštio da želi i može biti bolji roditelj, kao i da bi 43,8% njih volelo da promeni nešto u načinima vaspitanja svog deteta.

Diskusija i zaključak

Uprkos činjenici da je zdravstvena kriza uzrokovana pandemijom virusa COVID-19 uticala nepovoljno na pojedince i porodice, kao i da su efekti pandemije dalekosežni, malo je domaćih istraživanja koja se bave uticajem ove krize na porodično funkcionisanje. U tom kontekstu značajno je razmotriti kako se kriza odrazila na mentalno zdravlje roditelja i dece i kakav je uticaj ostavila na porodično funkcionisanje u izmenjenim životnim okolnostima. Na taj način pružamo empirijski doprinos korpusu domaćih istraživanja o potrebi za pružanjem podrške mentalnom zdravlju. Dobijeni rezultati brze procene

potreba roditelja i dece tokom trajanja prve faze pandemije COVID-19 su u skladu sa sličnim međunarodnim i domaćim istraživanjima koja ukazuju da je ova situacija negativno uticala na mentalno zdravlje i dece i roditelja (Golberstein, Wen, Miller, 2020; Đorđić i dr., 2022).

Pandemija predstavlja veliku pretnju po fizičko i mentalno zdravlje populacije. Stresogeni faktori tokom trajanja pandemije su mnogobrojni. S tim u vezi, nije iznenađujuće da velika većina dece iskazuje delimičnu ili potpunu zabrinutost u vezi mogućnosti da se razboli od COVID-19 infekcije. Ipak, nalazi su pokazali da su deca nešto manje zabrinuta nego roditelji. Kada je u pitanju zaštitu od koronavirusa, očekivalo bi se da zbog prisutne zabrinutosti veći broj dece smatra opravdanom meru fizičkog distanciranja kao neophodnu da bi se sprečilo širenje bolesti. Nalaz koji nije u skladu sa tom pretpostavkom može se razumeti u kontekstu povećanih razvojnih potreba za druženjem i kontaktima sa vršnjacima s obzirom da se sva deca u našem uzorku nalaze u periodu puberteta kada su te potrebe posebno izražene.

Kada se posmatraju svakodnevne navike i rutine, već na prvi pogled na neku porodicu jasno je da je pandemija unela niz promena u svakodnevni život i organizaciju aktivnosti. Deca su posebno pretrpela velike promene od kojih su najveće prelazak na onlajn nastavu i redukcija u broju fizičkih kontakta sa vršnjacima i baba i dedama. Onlajn nastava je bila značajna novina u njihovim dnevnim aktivnostima, a za većinu dece to je značilo da im je teže da na taj način prate nastavu, da im se ne dopada. U literaturi je poznato da postojanje uobičajenih rutina deci daje osećaj sigurnosti, posebno u uslovima neizvesnosti (Segre i dr., 2021). Uloga roditelja u tome kako će deca doživeti i proći kroz krizu je presudna. Kvalitet dobrog roditeljstva, između ostalog, ogleda se i u fleksibilnosti da se prihvate nove rutine i pomogne deci da se nose sa njima tokom stresogenog perioda (Fiese i dr., 2002). Ako uzmemo u obzir kako se razvijala COVID-19 kriza koja je počela iznenada i istovremeno pogodila kako decu, tako i roditelje, postaje očigledno koliki izazov za roditelje je bio da očuvaju svoje emotivne kapacitete, razviju dobre strategije, i deci koja su u krizi zajedno sa njima nastave da obezbeđuju kvalitetno roditeljstvo. Upravo o tome kako su roditelji prolazili kroz krizu govore i naši podaci koji mapiraju nekoliko različitih aspekata života u krizi. U nastavku će biti uporedno diskutovani nalazi koji govore o funkcionisanju dece i roditelja tokom pandemije kako bismo sveobuhvatnije pokušali da razumemo porodičnu dinamiku i povratne relacije među ovim akterima.

Primetno je da postoji permanentna zabrinutost, a pojačana anksioznost i stres se očitava gotovo na svakom pojedinačnom ispitivanom indikatoru. Nisu deca jedina koja uočavaju izražene promene u svom funkcionisanju. Roditelji procenjujući neke od indikatora mentalnog zdravlja dece izveštavaju da su najprisutnije pojave dosađivanja dece u toku dana i usamljenosti u većoj meri nego ranije. Nešto manje njih ukazuje na dečije strahove koje nisu ranije imali, zatim na razdražljivosti i svadljivosti, nagle promene raspoloženja i probleme sa snom. Protivno laičkom uverenju da deca nisu, koliko odrasli, sklona bri-gama, prikazani rezultati pokazuju drugačije. Deca najčešće ne umeju precizno da verbalizuju kako se osećaju i šta ih muči, te stoga i ne komuniciraju o tome. Uprkos činjenici da su neki od navedenih pojava anksioznosti sastavni deo puberteta, kao perioda života, ne bi trebalo da minimiziramo dobijene rezultate. Kada je u pitanju zabrinutost roditelja povodom COVID-19, oni svoje brige prevashodno usmeravaju ka svojim ostarelim roditeljima i mogućno-sti da se oni, s obzirom da često spadaju u rizične kategorije, razbole. Pored zabrinutosti, roditelji, takođe izveštavaju o sopstvenim povećanim nivoima stresa i anksioznosti. Ovi nalazi su u skladu sa rezultatima velike studije spro-vedene kod nas (Marić i dr., 2022) u kojoj se izveštava o stopi porasta anksi-oznosti iako se može pretpostaviti da odrasli imaju više mehanizama putem kojih pospešuju ovladavanje stresom i anksioznošću u poređenju sa decom (Martin, Dahlen, 2005). Ipak, faktor rizika koji pojačava anksioznost i stres je neizvesnost i dužina trajanja pandemije (Marić, 2021) koja hronično uznemiriava i dovodi do trošenja kontrolnih mehanizama upravljanja stresom.

Osim unutrašnjih psiholoških teskoba koje situacija pandemije ostavlja na sve koji kroz nju prolaze, roditelji su izloženi dodatnom stresogenom uticaju koji se odnosi na ostvarivanje egzistencijalnih uslova za svoju porodicu (Marić, 2021), a koji se ogledaju kroz percipiranje ekonomske neizvesnosti i mogućno-sti osiromašenja u budućnosti. U različitim zemljama utvrđena je povezanost nepovoljne ekonomske situacije sa problemima mentalnog zdravlja (Asper i dr., 2022), pa nema razloga da ne prepostavimo postojanje ovih nepovoljnih efekata i u našem društvu, s obzirom da roditelji iz uzorka jasno izveštavaju o prisutnosti ekonomskih pritisaka kojima su izloženi.

Pored svega već navedenog, i deca i roditelji susreću se sa još dva zajed-nička problema, koja su naizgled „problemi dece“ i obrazovnog sistema, ali u situaciji krize odgovornost za njihovo rešavanje implicitno se prebacuje na roditelje. Naime, naši podaci prepoznaju rizik od napuštanja školovanja kod

dece. Osim što je potrebno ohrabriti nastavnike da daju deci za zadatak zanimljive zadatke prilagođene radu od kuće, ostavljen je veliki prostor da roditelji iznađu načine kako bi motivisali decu za učenje i izvršavanje školskih obaveza. Drugi aspekt dečijeg života koji, takođe, traži aktivno sudelovanje roditelja odnosi se na vreme provedeno na internetu. Podaci ove studije pokazuju da je došlo do značajnog povećanja vremena koje provode na internetu i društvenim mrežama i negativnih sadržaja sa kojima se susreću. Izazov koji se u ovoj situaciji pred roditelje stavlja jeste da iznađu zaštitne mehanizme kontrole pristupa sajtovima i mrežama koje imaju uznenimirujuće sadržaje. Iz prikazanih rezultata se može zaključiti da su potrebna dalja i detaljnija istraživanja faktora koji utiču na pristupačnost onlajn nastave i motivisanost dece za njene sadržaje. Promene i teškoće sa kojima se porodice suočavaju, a o kojima su izvestili, u skladu su sa teorijom porodičnog stresa (Radmitadila i dr., 2020) s obzirom na to da se nalaze u situaciji za koju nisu imali nikakvu pripremu i gde svako od članova ima sopstvenu percepciju situacije (na primer, deca i roditelji se razlikuju po zabrinutosti i po tome na šta je ona najviše usmerena), kao što se razlikuju i njihovi percipirani kapaciteti da se sa njom nose.

Prethodni autori koji su ispitivali strahove od koronavirusa kod dece na našem podneblju (Radanović i dr., 2021) sugerisu da roditelji imaju presudnu ulogu u kreiranju dečijeg iskustva u ovoj krizi jer oni mogu na različite načine da oblikuju i jačaju dečije snage, ali i intenziviraju dečije strahove. Imajući to na umu oni sugerisu važnost kontinuiranog praćenja dečijeg ponašanja kako bi se sprečile negativne posledice na njihov razvoj u ovim prolongiranim nepovoljnim uslovima. Pored brige o zdravlju, obavljanja posla i svakodnevnih aktivnosti, roditelji su grupa koja bi trebalo da pruža psihosocijalnu podršku svojoj deci, da vodi računa o psihološkim potrebama dece, njihovom emotivnom razvoju i drugo. Osim toga, njihova roditeljska odgovornost ogleda se i u mehanizmima učenja po modelu jer načine kako se psihološki nose sa novonastalom situacijom, prenose na svoju decu (Askew, Fiels, 2008). Zbog svojih višestrukih uloga i mnogobrojnih zahteva, spadaju u kategoriju kojoj je potrebna podrška. Po pitanju procene roditeljskih kapaciteta tokom pandemije, najveći ideo roditelja nije zadovoljan, te se može zaključiti da postoji potreba za unapređivanjem roditeljskih kompetencija. Istraživanja spovedena na osnovu nekih prethodnih kriza naglašavaju značaj roditeljskih praksi u kontekstu nepovoljnih okolnosti jer roditeljski stres usurpira efikasne roditeljske prakse, a to se posledično odražava na povećan rizik za psihološke teškoće kod dece (Gewitz, Forgatch, Wieling, 2008).

Na osnovu takve raspoložive teorije i empirijskih podataka koje daje ova, ali i druge srodne studije neophodno je da sadržaji programa podrške za roditelje koje prepoznajemo kao ključne aktere u nošenju sa krizom obuhvataju različite načine pružanja podrške, a koje se pre svega odnose na jačanje kapaciteta za nošenje i upravljanje anksioznošću i stresom. Zatim je prepoznata potreba za izradom strategije pružanja socijalne podrške u zajednici i razvoja novih usluga za podršku u sklopu novonastalih okolnosti izazvanih pandemijom. U kontekstu roditeljstva, neophodno je podučavati roditelje mehanizmima emocionalne regulacije, zatim strategije za pružanje podrške deci u prevazilaženju školskih i socijalnih prepreka, ali i proradu dimenzije nadzora nad detetom.

Generalno posmatrano, možemo zaključiti da se prepozna nepovoljan uticaj pandemije na mentalno zdravlje kako dece, tako i roditelja, kao i da usled toga postoji potreba za psihosocijalnom podrškom u cilju poboljšanja individualnog i porodičnog funkcionisanja. Značaj našeg istraživanja ogleda se u tome što smo podatke o aktuelnom funkcionisanju prikupljali od roditelja i od dece. Ovakav pristup omogućuje nam sagledavanje šire slike sa ciljem što boljeg razumevanja porodične dinamike u veoma osetljivom periodu porodičnog funkcionisanja. Predlog za buduća istraživanja jeste uključiti i pripadnike posebno osetljivih društvenih grupa, kao što su deca sa već postojećim mentalnim teškoćama i njihovi roditelji i efekti pandemije na njihovo funkcionisanje u otežanim okolnostima te razvoj drugačijih roditeljskih praksi koje specifično odgovaraju na potrebe deteta sa teškoćama u uslovima krize. Dalje, s obzirom na to da prethodna istraživanja sugerisu da problemi koje roditelji imaju sa anksioznošću (Woodruff-Borden i dr., 2002) mogu doprineti razvoju anksioznosti kod njihove dece, kao i drugim mentalnim problemima, bilo bi dobro raditi dalje na ispitivanju mehanizama koji stoje u osnovi te transmisije, a potencijalno su prisutni i u našem uzorku dece i roditelja. Paralelno sa istraživačkom, neophodno je razvijati i praktičnu liniju sa ciljem prevencije prenošenja negativnih afektivnih stanja sa roditelja na decu.

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VERA DESPOTOVIĆ*
JELENA TANASIJEVIĆ

The Impact of the COVID-19 Pandemic on Family Functioning and Assessment of Psycho-social Support Needs³

Due to the health crisis caused by the COVID-19 virus pandemic, almost all levels of society's functioning have undergone enormous changes. The effects of the pandemic were inevitably reflected in the population, with the fact that vulnerable, sensitive and resistant individuals and families were additionally affected due to their vulnerability. The newly created circumstances in that contact, which included quarantine, lockdown, the closing of schools, transition to a distance learning model, and working from home, adversely affected both the family as a system, i.e., family functioning, and parenting itself.

This paper presents the findings of research carried out to assess the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on family functioning and the need for psychosocial support in the examined population of children and parents. The answers of 121 children and 219 parents from the territory of six municipalities of Belgrade and Pancevo were analyzed. Based on the analysis of the responses, it was determined that the majority of respondents recognize the adverse impact of the pandemic on the mental health of both children and parents, as well as the need for psychosocial support in order to improve individual and family functioning. The implications of these findings were discussed within the work, and recommendations were also defined for the creation of key activities and programs for building the capacity of family members in order to provide support in overcoming challenges in the field of family functioning, which were recognized to have arisen as a result of the pandemic and isolation.

Keywords: COVID-19, family, needs, psychosocial support.

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Sajber uznemiravanje dece sa posebnim osvrtom na digitalne igre

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Deca u savremenom okruženju sve više postaju aktivni korisnici digitalnih tehnologija. U digitalnom okruženju komuniciraju sa svojim vršnjacima, gledaju video sadržaje ili se zabavljaju igranjem digitalnih igara. Međutim, njihovo neiskustvo ih često može suočiti sa zlonamernim aktivnostima drugih internet korisnika, kao što je sajber uznemiravanje. Sajber uznemirivači, koji mogu biti pojedinci ili grupe koje audio i/ili vizuelnim sadržajem izdvajaju dete kao metu nad kojim se uvredljivo i uznemirujuće ophode (iz različitih motiva). Ovakve aktivnosti mogu imati dugoročne posledice po decu (anksioznost, depresija, nisko samopoštovanje, suicidne misli), naročito ukoliko traju duži vremenski period i ukoliko deca ne vide izlaz iz takve situacije. Roditelji su svakako prva linija odbrane od sajber uznemiravanja. Razgovorima o digitalnim aktivnostima dece, zajedničkim igranjem digitalnih igara i konstantnom kontrolom dečijeg delovanja u digitalnom okruženju, moguće je blagovremeno otkriti problem i zaštititi njihovu digitalnu bezbednost. Takođe, kompanije koje proizvode digitalne igre, razvojem adekvatnih softvera, ali i inicijativama kojima se kažnjava uznemirujuće ponašanje sajber uznemirivača, ali i pohvaljuje fer i sportsko ponašanje drugih korisnika, doprinosi suzbijanju ovakvih pojava. Predmet ovog rada odnosi se na analizu, identifikovanje i prevenciju sajber uznemiravanja kome su deca izložena u virtuelnom okruženju, a naročito dok imaju interakciju sa drugim igračima u procesu igranja digitalnih igara. Cilj

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rada je da ukaže na problem sajber uznemiravanja dece i da skrene pažnju javnosti da se ovom problemu mora posvetiti više pažnje.

Ključne reči: sajber uznemiravanje, deca, digitalne igre, digitalna bezbednost.

Uvod

Brzi rast digitalne komunikacije i razmene informacija, tokom poslednje decenije, promenio je društvene interakcije pojedinaca. Internet je stvorio novi komunikacioni alat, posebno za mlade ljude čija je upotreba instant poruka, društvenih mreža, elektronske pošte, soba za časkanje i veb kamera, između ostalog, eksplodirala širom sveta. Iako postoji ogromne koristi koje proističu iz elektronskih komunikacija, internet je istovremeno postao i potencijalno mesto za viktimalizaciju (Mitchell, Ybarra, Finkelhor, 2007). Aktivnosti sajber kriminalaca mogu imati nesagledive posledice po pojedincu, ali i društvo u celini (I. Baltezarević, R. Baltezarević, 2021a). Mladi ljudi mogu postati žrtve seksualnih učinilaca, progonitelja, eksploratora i vršnjaka koji imaju tendenciju da uznemiravaju druge korisnike interneta (Ybarra, Mitchell, 2004a). Sajber uznemiravanje može izazvati značajne mentalne posledice i ranjivosti dece koja su često meta drugih zlonamernih korisnika (Blais, 2008). Rezultati studija pokazuju da postoji povezanost između simptoma depresije i uznemiravanja na internetu među mladima, posebno kod pripadnika muške populacije (Ybarra, Mitchell, 2004b). Ljutnja i plač su identifikovani kao najčešće reakcije na sajber uznemiravanje. Takođe, žrtva može biti tužna, povređena, uznemirena, posramljena, uplašena i neretko, kao uobičajeni emocionalni odgovor, na viktimalizaciju okriviljuje sebe (Beran, Li, 2005).

U evropskim zemljama deca mlađa od 8 godina su u velikoj meri uključena u digitalni svet i sve vreme su okružena brojnim digitalnim uređajima u svojim domovima (Kumpulainen, Gillen, 2017). Polovina dece uzrasta od 6 do 36 meseci svakodnevno koristi mobilne uređaje sa ekranom osjetljivim na dodir (Taylor, Monaghan, Westermann, 2017). Kada je Srbija u pitanju, rezultati međunarodnog istraživanja pokazuju da u proseku deca počinju da koriste internet sa 6 godina (Popadić i dr. 2016).

Prema statističkim podacima iz 2022. godine, 24% igrača digitalnih igara u Sjedinjenim Američkim Državama (SAD) je mlađe od 18 godina (Statista, 2022). Ukoliko deca učestalo igraju agresivne digitalne igre, istraživači

su otkrili da vremenom počinju da razmišljaju agresivnije, a kada su isprovocirana kod kuće, u školi ili u drugim situacijama, reagovaće slično kao kada igraju nasilnu digitalnu igru (Gentile i dr., 2014). U interakciji sa drugim igračima, za vreme igranja digitalne igre, postoji šansa da će deca naići na sajber uznemiravanje i agresiju od stranaca preko glasovnog ili pisanog sadržaja. Uočeno je kako platforme za društvene igre, a time i metaverzum, povećavaju bezbednosne rizike za decu u digitalnom okruženju.

Jednu od najsveobuhvatnijih tipologija onlajn rizika (3C okvir), koja je postala klasična referentna tačka tokom protekle decenije, predložila je EU Kids Online (ogranak – Ujedinjeno Kraljevstvo), još 2009. godine (Livingstone, Stoilova, Hopwood, 2020). Razlikuje tri tipa rizika: sadržaj, kontakt i ponašanje. U Velikoj Britaniji 3C okvir primenjuju: Vladino regulatorno telo za radiodifuziju, telekomunikaciju i poštanske usluge (Office of Communication - Ofcom), Savet Ujedinjenog Kraljevstva za bezbednost dece na internetu (UK Council for Internet Safety - UKCIS), Centar za bezbedniji internet Ujedinjenog Kraljevstva (UK Safer Internet Centre - UKSIC), Fondacija za zaštitu prava dece i mladih u digitalnom okruženju (5Rights Foundation). U praksi, 3C okvir rizika se primenjuje sa raznim modifikacijama, posebno u vezi sa pokušajima da se riziku da istaknutije mesto u vezi sa komercijalizacijom, fikcijom podataka i profilisanjem (Livingstone, Stoilova, Hopwood, 2020). 3C okvir klasificuje rizike za decu u digitalnom okruženju na: rizik sadržaja, rizik kontakta i rizik ponašanja i dalje razlaže rizike na tri dimenzije: agresivni, seksualni i vrednosni rizici. Rizici sadržaja su rizici u kojima je dete izloženo neprikladnom ili nelegalnom sadržaju. Ovo može uključivati seksualno eksplisitne, pornografske, nasilne slike ili slike neprikladne za dečiji uzrast. Takođe, može uključivati određeni rasistički ili diskriminatorski materijal, dezinformacije ili govor mržnje, kao i veb sajtove koji zagovaraju štetna ili opasna ponašanja, kao što su samopovređivanje, samoubistvo i anoreksija. Rizici kontakta su slučajevi kada dete stupa u interakciju sa odraslima koji traže neprikladan kontakt. Drugi rizici od kontakta se javljaju kada dete stupa u interakciju sa pojedincima koji izražavaju ekstremističke stavove i koji nastoje da ubede dete da učestvuje u nezdravom ili opasnom ponašanju (Yumpu, 2015). Rizici ponašanja su slučajevi kada se dete ponaša tako da to ponašanje doprinosi rizičnom sadržaju ili kontaktu. Ovo može uključivati decu koja sama stvaraju ili dele seksualizovane slike drugih bez pristanka, ili kreiraju sadržaj mržnje o drugoj deci,

podsticanje rasističkog, nasilnog ili diskriminatorskog materijala (Yumpu, 2015). Stiče se utisak da je potrebno mnogo više odlučnosti i posvećenosti, kao i adekvatna edukacija korisnika digitalne tehnologije da prepoznuju i spreče ove pretnje iz onlajn okruženja (R. Baltezarević, I. Baltezarević, 2021b). Stručnjaci su naveli da postoji potreba da se obezbede obrazovni programi za decu, roditelje i zajednicu kako bi se sprečilo sajber uznemiravanje, a da izbor odgovarajućih informaciono tehnoloških (IT) rešenja za ovu namenu zavisi od uzrasta korisnika (Kim, Castelli, 2021).

U poslednje vreme, nagli razvoj alata veštačke inteligencije učinio je sajber viktimizaciju još većim problemom. Veštačka inteligencija je privukla veću pažnju javnosti od objavljivanja OpenAI ChatGPT chat bota,¹ koji je opčinio internet svojim izuzetnim mogućnostima. Mnogi programi veštačke inteligencije funkcionišu tako što unose podatke ili sadržaj koji uči program da prepozna obrasce i sekvene i da ih ponovo kreira na nove načine. Kada se uznemirivači dočepaju veštačke inteligencije u mogućnosti su da uznemiravaju žrtve generisanjem slika veštačkom inteligencijom, koje iako tako deluju, zapravo nisu „stvarne“. Ovaj oblik veštačke inteligencije koji je nedavno stekao ozloglašenost poznat je kao dipfejk (*deepfake*) (Stockbauer, 2023). Savremeni tehnološki razvoj učinio je jednostavnim stvaranje dipfejkova ili video snimaka koji koriste zamenu lica da daju iluziju hiperrealizma i ostave minimalne dokaze o manipulaciji (Chawla, 2019). Dipfejk predstavlja kombinaciju dubokog učenja i lažnog sadržaja, i podrazumeva proces koji uključuje promenu lica osobe na video snimku ili fotografiji, čineći da se lice ciljne osobe (žrtve) izražava na sličan način i ponaša kao da ta osoba govori reči koje je zapravo rekao neko drugi (Korshunov, Marcel, 2018). Dipfejkovi su prvi put privukli pažnju javnosti kada su korišćeni za manipulisanje pornografskim materijalom - 96% od 15.000 dipfejk video snimaka u 2019. bilo je nepristojno (Nextbridge, 2021). Ovo je dovelo do povećane zabrinutosti da će dipfejk tehnologija postati široko rasprostranjena i podstaći zloupotrebu, kao što je pornografija iz osvete (Kerly, 2020).

¹ ChatGPT, besplatni četbot (*chatbot*) je u novembru 2022. objavila istraživačka kompanija OpenAI, posvećena obezbeđivanju koristi od veštačke inteligencije celom čovečanstvu. ChatGPT je alat za obradu prirodnog jezika koju pokreće tehnologija veštačke inteligencije i omogućava vođenje razgovora sa softverom koji je veoma sličan dijalogu među ljudima. Jezički model može odgovoriti na pitanja i pomoći u zadacima, kao što su sastavljanje elektronskih poruka, eseja i kodova.

Predmet ovog rada odnosi se na prepoznavanje okolnosti (i prevenciju) u kojima su deca izložena sajber uznenemiravanju u digitalnom okruženju, a naročito u svetu digitalnih igara. Cilj rada je da pregledom dostupne literature ukaže na najčešće aktivnosti sajber uznenemirivača i da uputi na konkretne mere zaštite dece od ovakvih štetnih uticaja.

Sajber (onlajn) uznenemiravanje

Sajber (onlajn) uznenemiravanje je širok koncept koji može uključivati prozivke, fizičke pretnje, širenje štetnih glasina, invazije na privatnost i tehnološke napade (Lenhart i dr., 2016). I pored velikog interesovanja akademске javnosti za istraživanje nasilja na internetu, ova pojava i dalje predstavlja nedovoljno razmotreno društveno pitanje (V. Baltezarević, R. Baltezarević, B. Baltezarević, 2016). Prema Suler-u (2016), kada su ljudi aktivni u digitalnom okruženju, osećaju se manje inhibirano i ponašaju se drugačije nego u realnom svetu. Ova pojavu naziva se efektom dezinhibicije na mreži. Dezinhibicija može biti benigna ili toksična. Benigna dezinhibicija se javlja kada ljudi dele lične podatke koje bi inače čuvali u privatnom životu ili kada pokazuju povećan altruizam (na primer, ostavljaju pozitivne komentare strancima). Toksična dezinhibicija znači da su ljudi preterano kritični, nepristojni, ili da pokazuju preteće ponašanje. Efekat dezinhibicije se pojavljuje zbog nekoliko faktora, pre svega zbog mogućnosti sakrivanja identiteta u digitalnom okruženju, koje ohrabruje ljude da se izraze na način koji inače nije uobičajen (disocijativna anonimnost). Drugi faktor koji izaziva pojačanu dezinhibiciju je mogućnost uvida u reakcije drugih korisnika na objavljeni sadržaj (na ono što je rečeno). Treći faktor koji utiče na dezinhibiciju je društvena facilitacija, odnosno ljude pokreću dobre ili zle namere drugih i žele da ih nadmaše objavljivanjem sadržaja koji je još ekstremniji (Suler, 2016).

Sajber uznenemiravanje se dešava u ambivalentnom prostoru koji je istovremeno privatan i javan, jer platforme društvenih mrež nude mogućnosti za performativnu komunikaciju pred velikim masama (Lewis, Rowe, Wiper, 2017). Sajber uznenemiravanje je vrsta ponašanja koja se sprovodi putem informaciono komunikacionih tehnologija (IKT), kao što su mobilni telefoni, e-pošta, društvene mreže, blogovi, veb stranice i slično (Campbell, Bauman, 2018). Uznemiravanja u onlajn svetu mogu uključivati upotrebu zapaljivog jezika

(kao što je prozivanje ili uvreda), objavljivanje ličnih podataka (kao što su nečija kućna adresa ili broj telefona), i/ili lažno predstavljanje u kojem učinilac koristi fotografiju žrtve bez njenog pristanka i javnim sramoćenjem narušava njenu reputaciju (Blackwell i dr., 2017). Različite vrste uznemiravanja se često koriste istovremeno i mogu uključivati jednu osobu ili grupu ljudi koja cilja drugu osobu (Smith i dr., 2008). U onlajn prostoru prestupnici se osećaju ohрабreno da zajedno sa drugima komuniciraju na uvredljiv način jer se komunikaciona norma smatra agresivnom (Citron, 2014). Uvredljivom komunikacijom se smatra svako uvredljivo, preteće ili agresivno verbalno izražavanje i ponašanje, gde se napadnuta osoba oseća neprijatno, napeto ili da je pod stresom (Fortuna, Soler-Company, Wanner, 2020). Još jedan termin koji se pojavljuje u vezi sa sajber uznemiravanjem je „trolovanje“, koje predstavlja čin pojedinca koji namerno izgovara/piše „zapaljive“ izjave u internet zajednicama, sa namerom da se izazove izuzetno visceralni emocionalni odgovor kod mete (Urban Dictionary, 2018).

U mnogim slučajevima agresivna komunikacija koja se odvija u digitalnom okruženju (O’Sullivan, Flanagan, 2003) je rodno orijentisana i uglavnom predstavlja eksplicitno seksističko, preteće i nasilno ponašanje (Lewis, Rowe, Wiper, 2017). Sajber uznemiravanje može uticati na svakodnevni život pojedinaca i na njihovo buduće ponašanje u sajber prostoru. Jedna studija je pokazala da 27% američkih korisnika interneta cenzuriše sopstvene postove na mreži iz straha da će biti uznemiravani (Lenhart i dr., 2016). Stručnjaci iz ove oblasti ukazuju da će pojave poput uznemiravanja i drugih antisocijalnih ponašanja u digitalnom okruženju nastaviti da rastu (Rainie, Anderson, Albright, 2017). U studiji koja je sprovedena pre nekoliko godina, od strane Pew Research Center, ispitanici su bili podeljeni u pogledu ravnoteže između slobode govora i uvredljivog ponašanja na internetu. Njihova studija je pokazala da 45% ispitanika u Sjedinjenim Američkim Državama smatra da sloboda govora treba da ima prioritet, dok 53% smatra da je bezbednost u digitalnom okruženju važnija, 56% ispitanika veruje da se uvredljivi onlajn sadržaj shvata previše ozbiljno, dok 43% veruje da se uvredljivo onlajn izražavanje ne shvata dovoljno ozbiljno. Oni koji veruju da se shvata preozbiljno, uglavnom su pripadnici mlađe muške populacije (73%) (Pew Research Center, 2017). Centar za istraživanje sajber uznemiravanja ukazuje da je 25% tinejdžera doživelo sajber uznemiravanje, a da je više od 16% bilo u ulozi učinioca (Abramson, 2022). Lični izgled je najčešći razlog za uznemiravanje mladih putem interneta (61%), potom inteligencija (25%),

rasizam (17%), seksualna diskriminacija (15%), kao i ismevanje nekoga zbog finansijskih poteškoća (15%) i religije (11%) (Djuraskovic, 2023).

Mladi ljudi koji doživljavaju više uznenemiravanja u realnom okruženju (kao što su verbalni ili fizički napadi zbog neke fizičke, mentalne ili društvene osobine) su u povećanom riziku da zbog toga imaju slabije mentalne, fizičke i akademske rezultate (Kowalski, Limber, McCord, 2014). Sajber uznenemiravanje se često javlaja u kombinaciji sa uznenemiravanjem u realnom životu (Bonanno, Hymel, 2013). Skoro 40% mladih ljudi izjavilo je da su doživeli stres, kao rezultat sajber uznenemiravanja (Ybarra i dr., 2006), sa druge strane, mladi koji su bili onlajn agresori prijavili su da se bore sa brojnim psihosocijalnim poteškoćama, uključujući problematične odnose sa roditeljima, delinkventno ponašanje i upotrebu psihoaktivnih supstanci (Ybarra, Mitchell, 2004b). Efekti uznenemiravanja putem interneta mogu biti razorniji od tradicionalnog uznenemiravanja, posebno ukoliko su žrtve mlađe osobe (Baier i dr., 2019). Lenhart i saradnici (2016), tvrde da je skoro polovina američkih korisnika interneta lično iskusila sajber uznenemiravanje, uključujući prozivanje, sramotu, fizičke pretnje, uhođenje, seksualno uznenemiravanje i kontinuirano uznenemiravanje. Uznenemiravanje na mreži može biti posebno pogubno za marginalizovanu populaciju, uključujući obojene žene i lezbejke, LGBT populaciju, ograničavajući njihovu sposobnost da bezbedno i ravноправno učestvuju u sajber prostorima (Lenhart i dr., 2016). Neki istraživači, koji proučavaju uznenemiravanje dece i tinejdžera u digitalnom okruženju, tvrde da je onlajn interakcije teško izbeći ili eliminisati, i da one automatski uključuju neravnotežu moći, bez obzira na identitet učinioца i žrtve (Dooley, Pyżalski, Cross, 2009). Prema istraživanju sprovedenom u Sjedinjenim Američkim Državama, 35,4% transrodnih tinejdžera izjavilo je da su bili žrtve sajber uznenemiravanja. Približno isti procenat dečaka i devojčica se izjasnilo da su bili izloženi sajber uznenemiravanju (23,7% devojčica i 21,9% dečaka). Pored toga, 5,6% dečaka je reklo da je maltretiralo nekog drugog internet korisnika u poslednjih 30 dana koji su prethodili istraživanju, u poređenju sa 4,5% devojčica (Statista, 2021a). Važno je napomenuti da je većina mladih ljudi koji doživljavaju uznenemiravanje u digitalnom i u realnom okruženju istovremeno, u većem riziku od kasnijeg stresa (anksioznost, depresija) od vršnjaka koji doživljavaju uznenemiravanje samo u realnom okruženju. Metaanalitičke studije su pokazale da su obe vrste uznenemiravanja približno jednako štetne (Gini, Card, Pozzoli, 2018). Sajber uznenemiravanje ometa svakodnevni život, međutim, mete se mogu zaštитiti prijavljivanjem

uznemiravanja, kako bi platforme društvenih mreža potencijalno intervenisale (Pittaro, 2007).

Viktimizacija u digitalnom okruženju ima negativne uticaje na zdravlje i na dobrobit ljudi koji su redovno izloženi nekom obliku onlajn uznemiranja, takođe su u većem riziku da izgrade nisko samopoštovanje (Nick i dr., 2018) i da budu u dužem vremenskom periodu pod stresom, anksioznošću, poteškoćama sa spavanjem, depresijom, pa čak mogu imati i samoubilačke ideje (Schenk, Fremouw, 2012). Uznemiravanje putem slikovnih/video poruka je percipirano kao uznemiravanje koje ima veći uticaj od tradicionalnog uznemiranja i drugih oblika uznemiranja putem interneta. Bez obzira na oblik tehnologije koja se koristi za sajber uznemiravanje, uticaj na žrtve je značajan. Neki faktori koji mogu da eskaliraju ozbiljnost uticaja su povećana poteškoća da se izbegne sajber uznemiravanje, kao i nebrojeni posmatrači koji mogu da vide ove privatne informacije zbog lakoće elektronskog prenosa (Slonje, Smith, 2008). Tokom istraživanja iz januara 2021. godine, otkriveno je da je 75% žrtava sajber uznemiranja u Sjedinjenim Državama bilo maltretirano preko Fejsbuka. Tวiter i Instagram zauzeli su drugo mesto sa 24% žrtava koje su odgovorile da su bile uznemiravane na svakoj platformi (Statista, 2021b). Otkriveno je da će korisnici interneta koji su bili izloženi ponašanju neslaganja (tј. situaciji u kojoj se neko suprotstavio nasilniku i podržao žrtvu) verovatnije ostavljati komentare podrške samim žrtvama.

Prema istraživanju koje su sproveli I. R. Berson i M. J. Berson (2005), do sajber uznemiranja dece uglavnom dolazi nedostatkom interakcije odraslih, što uključuje i odsustvo roditeljskog praćenja i loše odnose između roditelja i dece. Loš roditeljski nadzor podrazumeva da roditelji nemaju smernice, pravila za nadgledanje dece i njihove upotrebe tehnologije. Neizgrađeni odnosi između roditelja i dece su pogoršani podelom u tehnološkom znanju i poverenju. Ova nepovezanost može uticati na komunikaciju roditelja i dece, emocionalne veze i poverenje, što doprinosi verovatnoći da dete bude uključeno u sajber uznemiravanje (Mason, 2008). Uznemiravači u digitalnom okruženju imaju visoke rezultate u pogledu negativnih ličnih osobina (narcizam, makijavelizam i psihopatija), odnosno sajber uznemiravanje se može smatrati proizvodom kolekcije narcisoidnih, makijavelističkih psihopata (Abell, Brewer, 2014). Zajednička pretpostavka da je emocionalno oštećen ili nerazvijen, maloletni psihopata, koji predstavlja tipičnog sajber uznemiravača, dovela je do odsustva bilo kakvog dubljeg istraživanja psihologije koja je motivisala

ova dela. Ova percepcija je osporena novijim studijama koje su sugerisale da se obični ljudi u pravim okolnostima mogu ponašati kao uznemiravači (Cheng i dr., 2017). Verovatnije je da će oni koji uznemiravaju druge putem interneta imati negativan odnos sa roditeljima (ili obrnuto sa decom), nego oni koji nisu sajber uznemirivači. U sveobuhvatnom istraživanju 1501 redovnog korisnika interneta u Sjedinjenim Američkim Državama (uzrasta od 10 do 17 godina), loši odnosi između roditelja i dece bili su jedine karakteristike koje su sajber uznemirivači delili jedni sa drugima (Ybarra, Mitchell, 2004b).

Metode prevencije sajber uznemiravanja

Pojava različitih incidenata u digitalnom okruženju ukazala je na potrebu preduzimanja mera u cilju zaštite korisnika i vladavine prava, jer je sloboda u sajber prostoru moguća samo uz postojanje adekvatnog sistema bezbednosti (V. Baltezarević, R. Baltezarević, 2017). Stručnjaci su predložili različite intervencije u cilju smanjenja sajber uznemiravanja. Neki sugerisu da prikazivanje pravila internet zajednice može uticati na ono što se smatra društveno normativnim i spričiti ljudi da se upuštaju u uznemirujuće razgovore (Matias, 2019). Drugi smatraju da ljudi oklevaju da se suprotstave nasilnicima u digitalnom okruženju, jer takvo ponašanje odstupa od društvenih normi (Anderson, Bresnahan, Musatics, 2014). Drugi istraživači se zalažu za više tehnoloških rešenja, kao što su takozvani kolektivni blok botovi gde korisnici društvenih mreža mogu da se pretplate na liste ljudi koje ne žele da sa njima komuniciraju (Geiger, 2016).

Takođe, trenutno se intenzivno radi na razvoju tehnologije veštačke inteligencije, koja može da nauči da identificuje uznemirujući sadržaj i da pošalje korisnicima poruke, pozivajući ih da preispitaju svoje formulacije ili ih direktno filtriraju (Golbeck, 2018). Međutim, pokazalo se da je korišćenje algoritama za otkrivanje govora mržnje veliki izazov, jer se takvi pristupi često oslanjaju na specifične reči za identifikaciju uznemiravajućeg sadržaja. Sistemi ne smatraju da reči imaju različita značenja u zavisnosti od toga u kom kontekstu se koriste (MacAvaney i dr., 2019). Obrada prirodnog jezika (*natural language processing* - NLP) je grana veštačke inteligencije posvećena proučavanju jezika kako bi se pomoglo mašinama da oponašaju način na koji ljudi razumeju i obrađuju ovu vrstu informacija. S obzirom da većina podataka koji će biti obrađeni odgovara opisima teksta ili transkripciji, za analizu ovih tekstova i

predviđanje rizika od zloupotrebe koriste se najsavremenije metode NLP-a (End-violence, 2022). Može se reći da je obrada prirodnog jezika (NLP) podoblast veštačke inteligencije koja se fokusira na omogućavanje računarima da razumeju, tumače i generišu ljudski jezik. Premašćavanjem jaza između ljudskog jezika i razumevanja računara, NLP je postao suštinska komponenta u različitim aplikacijama, kao što su analiza osećanja, mašinsko prevođenje i konverzacijski sistemi veštačke inteligencije, poput četbotova (*chatbots*) (Vagh, 2023). Takođe, NLP se može koristiti u video igramu, gde komunikacija uključuje lingvističke informacije koje se prenose bilo kroz govorni ili pisani sadržaj (Topionetworks, 2020). U okruženju koje povezuje mnogo korisnika na jednom mestu, borba protiv uvredljivog sadržaja trebalo bi da bude glavni prioritet. NLP pomaže veštačkoj inteligenciji u razumevanju „prirodnog jezika“ gejmera kako bi identifikovao štetnu komunikaciju. Kombinacija NLP-a i mašinskog učenja koristi se za rešavanje ovog problema. Model obuke algoritma je zasnovan na skupu podataka koji razlikuje negativne komentare i lične napade. Na primer, komentar da je „muzika loša“ može biti legitiman komentar čak i ako je negativan. S druge strane, ako osoba prokomentariše da je neko užasna osoba, može se smatrati ličnim napadom i označava se u sistemu. Sistemi, takođe imaju mogućnost da prepoznaju i označavaju ključne reči koje su identifikovane kao govor mržnje. Većina NLP sistema može da prati uvredljiv sadržaj usmeren na bilo koju rasu, etničku pripadnost, religiju, nacionalno poreklo, seksualne preferencije ili pol (Avasthi, 2021). Jedno od glavnih ograničenja NLP-a je kontekstualno stručno znanje. Na primer, NLP još uvek nije u stanju da otkrije sarkazam u kratkom postu poput „Sjajna igra!“ (odgovor na poraz). Dakle, ovde nije reč o lingvistici, već se radi o posedovanju znanja relevantnog za razgovor (Nandakumar, 2018).

Slično kao i termin bezbednost, sajber bezbednost različitim ljudima znači različite stvari. Različite koncepcije bezbednosti su se pojavile kao nastojanje da se označe specifične bezbednosne pretnje i referentni objekti. Na primer, prave se razlike između ideja kao što su ljudska bezbednost, nacionalna bezbednost i međunarodna bezbednost. Jasno je da je sajber bezbednost nešto više od nacionalne bezbednosti. U slučaju sajber bezbednosti, postoji ogroman potencijal referentnih objekata, u rasponu od pojedinaca, organizacija i korporacija svih veličina, preko nacionalnih država, pa čak i međunarodnih mreža državnih i nedržavnih aktera (Zedner, 2009). Sajber bezbednost teži da se fokusira na implementaciju pravila i normi u sisteme kako bi se osigurao

integritet komunikacije i stabilno funkcionisanje infrastrukture. Umesto da se neke opasnosti neutrališu, mnogo posla u oblasti sajber bezbednosti je usmereno na njihovo otklanjanje. Međutim, široko je prihvaćeno od strane tehničara i regulatora da absolutna sigurnosti zapravo ne postoji (Zedner, 2003).

Sajber bezbednost predstavlja zaštitu međusobno povezanih uređaja, odnosno hardvera, softvera i podataka od sajber pretnji i to se može postići metodama koje su fokusirane na tehnologiju, procedure ili ljudi. Bezbednost, koja ima za cilj da zaštiti poverljivost, integritet i dostupnost podataka, je podskup sajber bezbednosti (Sundaresan, 2018). Ljudske mere uključuju obrazovanje i obuku o sajber bezbednosti, i podizanje svesti o ovoj pojavi. Svest o sajber bezbednosti ima za cilj da omogući ljudima da identifikuju problem i da reaguju u skladu sa IT bezbednosnim problemima (Wilson, Hash, Division, 2003). To se može postići razvijanjem svesti i materijala za obuku i sprovođenjem programa. Metode i strategije u podizanju svesti o sajber bezbednosti mogu se postići širokim spektrom javnih opcija (veb-sajtovi, brošure, informativne grafike, blogovi, posteri, video klipovi), kao korisnim resursima za podizanje nivoa svesti o sajber bezbednosti (Kovačević, Radenković, 2020). Razvoj tehnologije i masivne strukture zahtevaju digitalnu pismenost (Allen, 2016), koja obuhvata sve kognitivne izazove sa kojima se suočavaju korisnici današnjih digitalnih tehnologija i podrazumeva sledeće veštine: foto-vizuelnu pismenost, reprodukcionu pismenost, granajuću pismenost, informatičku pismenost, socio-emocionalnu pismenost i razmišljanje u realnom vremenu (Eshet-Alkalai, Chajut, 2010). Digitalno pismeni roditelji će svakako bolje edukovati, usmeriti svoju decu, ali i bolje razumeti izazove i opasnosti sa kojima se ona mogu suočiti u virtuelnom svetu.

Sajber uzneniranje dece u digitalnim igrama

Digitalna igra je termin koji predstavlja izuzetno širok spektar događaja. Može se shvatiti kao interaktivna digitalna zabava koja se izvodi pomoću računara, konzole za igru ili mobilnog uređaja. Na tržištu postoji veliki broj različitih vrsta digitalnih igara, kao što su „pucačke“ iz prvog lica, akcione, sportske, igre uloga ili interaktivni filmovi (Owen, 2016). Digitalne igre sve više zamenjuju tradicionalne igre i imaju direkstan uticaj na to kako korisnici interneta ispunjavaju svoje slobodno vreme (R. Baltezarević, B. Baltezarević,

V. Baltezarević, 2018). Igranje digitalnih igara je popularna aktivnost među mladima - 70% mlađih od 18 godina igra digitalne igre. (Williams, 2023). One mogu biti kreirane za jednog ili za više igrača. Igre za više igrača, bilo da se igraju na računaru, konzoli za igre, pametnom telefonu ili tabletu, omogućavaju korisnicima da se igraju sa ljudima koje poznaju lično i drugima koje upoznaju u digitalnom okruženju (Stopbullying, 2021).

Nasilne digitalne igre pružaju modele agresije koji povećavaju verovatnoću agresivnog ponašanja kako unutar, tako i van konteksta igre tako što: obezbeđuju agresivne modele i jačanje nasilja u igri, povećavaju negativni afekt i fiziološko uzbuđenje nakon igre, inspirišu pripremanje agresivnih scenarija i smanjuju osjetljivosti igrača na nasilje (Anderson, Bushman, 2002). Takođe, utvrđeno je da je izloženost nasilnim digitalnim igramama povezana sa višim nivoima neprijateljstva i agresije (Barlett, Harris, Baldassaro, 2007). Idealizovana muškost u digitalnim igramama ogleda se u vršenju moći nad ženama i drugim muškarcima, koji ne ispunjavaju idealne standarde (Tharinger, 2008). Većina mladića koji preuzimaju hipermaskuline uloge u virtuelnom svetu digitalnih igara ne dozvoljava da se ovo prelije u stvarnost (Jansz, 2005). Igrači koji su se identifikovali sa svojim nasilnim karakterom u digitalnoj igri mogu biti skloniji agresivnom ponašanju (Konijn, Bijvank, Bushman, 2007). Iako agresivna igra može stvoriti normativni efekat za neke igrače, većina gleda na digitalne igre kao na izmišljeni kontekst u kome se može učestvovati u borbi ili ubijati, što se ne možete raditi u stvarnom životu (Olson, Kutner, Warner, 2008).

Istraživanje na uzorku dece uzrasta 8-15 godina pokazalo je da je 2% dece uzrasta 8-11 i 12-15 godina izjavilo da su uznemiravani putem digitalnih igara i društvenih mreža (Ofcom, 2016). Dalje, deca su rekla da su u digitalnom okruženju pronašla sadržaj, kontakt ili ponašanje koje im smeta na sajtovima za deljenje video sadržaja (32%), zatim na veb-sajtovima (29%), društvenim mrežama (13%) i digitalnim igramama (10%). Digitalne igre, takođe, mogu biti rizičnije za ranjivu decu, kao što su ona sa posebnim obrazovnim potrebama, jer im je teško da procene šta je stvarno ili da procene namere iza pristupa drugih igrača (Livingstone i dr., 2014).

Rezultati istraživanja koje je sproveo Peurala (2020) su pokazali da se verbalno zlostavljanje percipira kao uobičajena pojava u onlajn igranju igara za više igrača. Većina ispitanika (90,3%) bila je kako svedok, tako i izložen verbalnom zlostavljanju direktno tokom igranja igara. Značajan deo ispitanika (44,6%) bio je ravnodušan prema ovom pitanju, videći ga kao inherentni deo

igre i kulture igara, dok su se drugi osećali veoma uznemireno zbog toga. Većina ispitanika (78,5%) je izjavila da su iskusili ili bili svedoci verbalnog zlostavljanja i da su preduzeli neki oblik kontra akcije, kao što je aktivno reagovanje na uznemirivača ili nasilnog igrača, ili su se jednostavno povukli iz takve komunikacije ili igranja konkretnе igre. Mnogi ispitanici (55,9%) su smatrali da je verbalno zlostavljanje na koje su naišli oduzelo određeno uživanje u igramu i učinilo komunikaciju sa drugim igračima stresnim iskustvom (Peurala, 2020). Treba imati na umu da komunikacija nije uvek izgovorena, već ponekad i tekstualna (Culpeper, 2011), pa tako, pored verbalnog nepristojnog ponašanja, često praćenog povišenim tonom i intonacijom, u tekstualnom smislu, upotreba velikih slova, emotikona ili znakova interpunkcije, ili upotreba multimodalnih alata kao što su slike ili promena tipa slova (na primer, boldirano) može pojačati efekat sajber uznemiravanja (Viljakainen, 2016). Tumačenje namere poruke/članka/posta u digitalnom okruženju može biti otežano bez jasnog i prisutnog pokazatelja tona, sarkazma ili drugog humora (na primer, upotreba smajlja) (Poe, 2005) - ono što je možda bilo zamišljeno kao bezopasna primedba, može se ponekad smatrati uznemiravanjem (Martin, Law, 2006).

Nakon duge borbe sa toksičnim ponašanjem pojedinih igrača, Blizzard Entertainment, američki proizvođač video igara, nedavno je omogućio dve nove opcije igračima, da pohvale jedni druge za timski rad, sportsko ponašanje i liderstvo, dok druga znači da mogu da izbegnu nasumične dodele i formiraju uravnotežene timove. Ova novina je smanjila uvredljivu komunikaciju za 15% do 30%. Ovo je neosporan dokaz da podsticanje dobrog ponašanja funkcioniše i, šire gledano, da postoje mere koje kompanije mogu da preduzmu kako bi svoje zajednice učinile manje uznemirujućim i prijatnjim. Nedugo zatim, Ubisoft, američki proizvođač video igara, implementirao je trenutne polučasovne suspenzije naloga igrača, ako bi bili otkriveni kako u razgovoru vredaju i uznemiravaju druge igrače. Drugi prekršaj dovodi do dvočasovne suspenzije, a treći vodi do službene istrage koja može rezultirati trajnom zabranom (Castello, 2018).

Uloga roditelja u prevenciji sajber uznemiravanja dece u digitalnim igramu

Igranje digitalnih igara može biti zabavno, bezbedno i pozitivno okruženje ukoliko roditelji pomognu u sprečavanju sajber uznemiravanja svoje dece. Da bi igranje igara bilo bezbedno za dete, roditelji ih moraju povremeno

proveravati, igrati se sa njima, posmatrati igre da bi bolje razumeli kako funkcionišu i čemu je dete u njima izloženo. Takođe, mnoge igre za komunikaciju korisnika koriste dodatne aplikacije i društvene mreže u koje bi roditelj trebalo da bude upućen i da se informiše o njihovim bezbednosnim rizicima. Pored unapređenja digitalne pismenosti roditelja i razumevanja digitalne bezbednosti, preporučuje se da roditelji podučavaju decu o bezbednom digitalnom ponašanju i šta da rade ako primete ili dožive sajber uznemiravanje. Uspostavljanje pravila o tome koliko vremena dete može da proveđe igrajući digitalne igre, održavanje otvorene komunikacije o digitalnom životu deteta su, takođe, nezaobilazni faktori koji mogu sprečiti da dete bude izloženo sajber uznemiravanju (Stopbullying, 2021). Na osnovu rezultata istraživanja u oblasti elektronskih medija, komunikacija i porodičnih studija, koja su pokušala da opišu interakciju i roditeljsko posredovanje oko upotrebe medija, Clark (2011) predlaže da se pored aktivnog, restriktivnog i zajedničkog korišćenja kao stilova roditeljskog posredovanja, razmotri i participativno učenje. Participativno učenje uključuje roditelje i decu u interakciju zajedno sa i putem digitalnih medija (Willis, Exley, 2018). Nedavno je, pored koncepta participativnog učenja ukazano na još jednu strategiju roditeljstva koja se zove uđaljena medijacija, koja objedinjuje dve definisane prakse praćenja (poštovanje i superviziju), budući da neki roditelji namerno prate ponašanje dece dajući im poverenje i autonomiju (Zaman i dr., 2016). U tom smislu, stručnjaci sugerisu postojanje manje hijerarhijske uloge roditelja, od kojih se više ne očekuje da uvek preuzmu vođstvo. Sa druge strane, postoji opšta saglasnost među istraživačima da se roditeljske strategije za posredovanje u igranju digitalnih igara dece uglavnom sastoje od restriktivnih mera. Drugim rečima, roditelji imaju tendenciju da ograniče pristup, radije nego da predlažu pravila, dele iskustvo (zajednička igra) ili govore o igrama (Bourgonjon i dr., 2011).

Analizirajući strategije koje koriste roditelji dece i adolescenata uzrasta između 8 i 18 godina da regulišu njihovo igranje digitalnih igara, na uzorku od 536 parova roditelja i dece, otkriveno je da su stilovi učešća ili posredovanja obično bili povezani sa znanjem roditelja o različitim medijima. Što su roditelji više zabrinuti zbog negativnih efekata digitalnih igara na ponašanje i stavove njihove dece, to je njihov stil medijacije restriktivniji i evaluatorski-instruktivniji, i obrnuto, roditelji koji su uvereni u pozitivne socijalno-emocionalne efekte digitalnih igara teže da se češće upuštaju u zajedničko igranje (Nikken, Jansz, 2006). Sa druge strane, deca veruju da svade sa roditeljima o digitalnim

igrama obično nastaju zbog količine vremena koje provode igrajući se, doba dana u kome igraju i vrste digitalnih igara koje igraju (Cánovas, 2005). Igranje bilo koje onlajn igre ili popularnog strima postoji velika šansa da će se naići na neprijateljsko ponašanje i agresiju od stranaca preko glasovnog ili tekstualnog sadržaja.

Zaključak

Deca, kao najranjivija društvena grupa, sve više aktivno koriste digitalne tehnologije. Međutim, pored mnogih prednosti koje ove tehnologije mogu pružiti, često dolazi do situacija u kojima je bezbednost dece ugrožena. Interakcija deteta sa drugim korisnicima interneta može dovesti do sajber uznevimiravanja, koje se manifestuje tako što pojedinac ili grupa sajber uznevimirivača, sa različitim motivima, targetira žrtvu kao metu. Iz literature se može videti da sajber uznevimiravači mogu patiti od poremećaja kao što su narcizam, makijavelizam i psihopatija, međutim, i ljudi koji nemaju ovakve poremećaje ličnosti, u specifičnim okolnostima, mogu postati sajber uznevimirivači. Karakteristika koja je zajednička ovakvoj grupaciji su loši odnosi sa roditeljima u detinjstvu.

Posledice koje dete može imati, a naročito ako trpi sajber uznevimiravanje u dužem vremenskom periodu, su anksioznost, depresija, nisko samopoštovanje, a u ekstremnim slučajevima može imati i suicidne misli. Iz tog razloga je preporuka da roditelji, koji su identifikovani kao najvažnija karika u obezbeđivanju digitalne bezbednosti dece, treba, pre svega, da se digitalno edukuju, a zatim i da se aktivno uključe u digitalne aktivnosti dece (zajedničko igranje digitalnih igara), razgovaraju sa decom o njihovim digitalnim aktivnostima i redovno ih kontrolišu. Sa druge strane, same kompanije iz industrije digitalnih igara bi trebalo da se ozbiljnije pozabave ovim problemom. Danas je na sajtovima društvenih mreža moguće prijaviti nedolično ponašanje ili sajber uznevimiravanje korisnika, koje nakon provere administratora platforme često bude i sankcionisano. Takođe, sličnu funkciju imaju i blok botovi (softveri), koji automatski prepoznaju ključne reči koje su unapred definisane kao uznevimirujuće ili uvredljive, nakon čega direktno upozoravaju korisnike, ili informaciju prosleđuju administratoru, koji naknadno donosi odluku o daljim restriktivnim merama nad sajber uznevimirivačem. Slična rešenja su ponudile i kompanije koje kreiraju digitalne igre, koja se ogledaju u polučasovnim suspenzijama igrača, ukoliko se

utvrdi da je komunikacija bila uznemirujuća ili uvredljiva. Sa druge strane, strategija podsticanja lepog ponašanja među igračima za sada daje odlične rezultate. Danas, pored prijavljivanja uznemirujućeg sadržaja, igrači mogu i pohvaliti jedni druge za timski rad, liderstvo i sportsko ponašanje.

Iako ima pozitivnih inicijativa da se aktivnosti sajber uznemiravanja suzbiju, utisak je da i akademska zajednica, ali i stručnjaci iz ove oblasti nedovoljno ozbiljno pristupaju problemu zaštite dece od sajber uznemiravanja. Razvijanje efikasnijih softverskih rešenja za identifikovanje i upozoravanje na sajber uznemiravanja, organizovanje edukativnih radionica za roditelje, ali i veći broj akademskih studija, mogu doprineti da se zaštita dece od sajber uznemiravanja shvati kao prioritet, koji treba odlučnije rešavati.

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Cyber Harassment of Children with Special Reference to Digital Games

Children in the modern environment are increasingly becoming active users of digital technologies. In a digital environment, they communicate with their peers, watch video content or have fun playing digital games. However, their inexperience can often expose them to malicious activities from other Internet users, such as cyber-harassment. Cyberbullies can be individuals or groups that use audio and/or visual content to single out a child as a target for abusive and harassing behaviour (for various reasons). Such activities can have long-term consequences for children (anxiety, depression, low self-esteem, suicidal thoughts), especially if they last for a long period of time, and if the children do not see a way out of such a situation. Parents have certainly been identified as the first line of defence against cyberbullying. By talking about children's digital activities, playing digital games together, and constantly monitoring children's behaviour in the digital environment, it is possible to detect the problem in time and protect children's digital safety. Also, companies that produce digital games, with the development of adequate software, and initiatives that punish the disturbing behaviour of cyber bullies, but also praise the fair and sporting behaviour of other users, contribute to suppressing such phenomena. The subject of this article refers to the analysis, identification and prevention of cyber harassment to which children are exposed in the virtual environment, especially while interacting with other players in the process of playing digital games. The aim of the paper is to point out the problem of cyber harassment of children and to let the general public know that more attention must be paid to this problem.

Keywords: cyber-harassment, children, digital games, digital safety.

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Socijalno – relacioni model ometenosti Carol Thomas i njegov značaj za studije ometenosti

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SANJA DIMOSKI

Modeli ometenosti su konceptualni okviri uz pomoć kojih se fenomen ometenosti istražuje i razume. Kao ključni u studijama ometenosti ističu se socijalni i medicinski model. Britanska sociološkinja Carol Thomas je u svojim radovima ponudila kritički osvrt na socijalni model ometenosti, kao i njegovu dopunu kojom je oblikovana nova konceptualizacija ometenosti nazvana socijalno-relacioni model. Nastojeći da prevaziđe isključivost dotadašnjih pristupa, suštinu ometenosti Thomas prepoznaje u zoni odnosa osoba sa i bez oštećenja, tragajući u tom domenu za ključnim činiocima ometenosti. Socijalno-relacioni model Thomas ponudio je perspektivu koja istovremeno uvažava telesne i socijalne aspekte oštećenja i omogućava analizu psiholoških implikacija iskustva oštećenja i ometenosti koja prevazilazi tradicionalne dihotomije medicinskog i socijalnog, zdravog i bolesnog. U ovom preglednom radu će u osnovnim crtama biti prikazani medicinski i socijalni model ometenosti, zatim ključni elementi i pojmovi socijalno-relacionog modela ometenosti iz originalnih publikacija Carol Thomas i drugih autora koji su se na njega oslanjali, kao i diskusija značaja socijalno – relacionog modela za studije ometenosti i sroдne discipline.

Ključne reči: ometenost, socijalno-relacioni model, psiho-emocionalni disabilizam, efekti oštećenja.

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Uvod

Oblast izučavanja ometenosti, iako aktivna, aktuelna i veoma sadržajna, do sada nije ponudila sveobuhvatnu teoriju ometenosti, jer nijedno postojeće objašnjenje ometenosti nije u stanju da zadovolji kriterijume zasnovanja teorije. Širok spektar dostupnih promišljanja ove teme omogućava nam, ipak, da govorimo o modelima ometenosti kao o konceptualnim okvirima koji pomažu u istraživanju i razumevanju fenomena ometenosti (Ljubenović, 2007a; Stanimirović, 2016). Ovi modeli grupišu se najčešće na dve ključne struje, u literaturi uobičajeno imenovane kao socijalni (društveni, model socijalne opresije) i medicinski (biološki, klinički, individualni, model lične tragedije) model ometenosti (Ljubenović, 2007b; Goodley, 2016; Stanimirović, 2016). Unutar socijalnog modela ometenosti razvija se multidisciplinarna oblast studija ometenosti, koja ga preispituje, transformiše i izgrađuje u novim prvcima, utičući tako i na pravce razvoja ostalih, tangentnih naučnih disciplina i praksi. U ovom radu biće prikazan socijalno-relacioni model ometenosti Carol Thomas, sa nešto širim osvrtom na mesto psiko-emocionalnih dimenzija u studijama ometenosti.

Medicinski model ometenosti

Dramatične posledice Prvog svetskog rata i potreba za rehabilitacijom velikog broja ranjenika, podstakle su interesovanje medicinske nauke da u svojim znanjima potraže rešenje za žrtve oštećenja, poremećaja i abnormalnosti. Pod ovim okriljem razvijana su znanja i prakse koje će kasnije biti proglašene „medicinskim modelom“. Medicinski model obuhvata, u najširem smislu, sva shvatanja ometenosti kao nužne posledice objektivnog telesnog ili funkcionalnog oštećenja individue, bilo da je ono vezano za bolest, genetske poremećaje, traume, povrede, nesrećne okolnosti i slično. Medicina osobu sa oštećenjem teži da suštinski razlikuje od onih koje to oštećenje nemaju, procenjujući svojim metodama stepen te razlike i gradeći svoje delovanje na dihotomijama zdravobolesno, normalno-abnormalno, funkcionalno-disfunkcionalno, u kojima jedan pol uvek predstavlja manjkavost i nedostatak, a drugi poželjnju alternativu. U okvirima medicinskog modela, ometenost počiva na redukcionističkom shvatanju čoveka, gde su oštećenje i deficit isključivi predmet izučavanja, a sačuvani

kapaciteti ličnosti, koji su neprocenjivi u tretmanu i rehabilitaciji, zanemareni. Obama sa oštećenjem medicinski orijentisana praksa nudi niz rešenja koja su skrojena da zaštite ove dihotomije, aktuelni društveni sistem, poredak i neprikosnoveni autoritet stručnjaka. Za razliku od mnogih drugih manjinskih, marginalizovanih grupa, život osoba sa ometenošću prožet je neprekidnom usmerenošću na odnose sa različitim grupacijama stručnjaka. Savremenih život osobe sa ometenošću u većini sistema podrazumeva neprekidni, celoživotni kontakt sa ljudima školovanim i zaduženim za tretmane, rehabilitaciju, savezovanje, lečenje i brigu. Između njih i osoba sa ometenošću figuriše asimetrija moći, usled koje se profesionalci nalaze u dominantnijoj ulozi iz koje otežano prepoznaju subjektivitet svog korisnika (French, Swain, 2001; Reeve, 2004a). U polje odgovornosti i moći stručnjaka stavljene su sve sfere života korisnika – njihovo lečenje, obrazovanje, rehabilitacija, pristup različitim institucijama, pravo na vrstu i količinu podrške. Ekspertska pozicija stručnjaka doprinosila je pasivizaciji i razvijanju naučene bespomoćnosti korisnika, koji su tako dehumanizovani, demotivisani za učešće u tretmanu, ali i u odlučivanju o sopstvenom životu. Rutina rehabilitacije ustanovljena je uglavnom tako da su korisnici pasivni primaoci usluga koje profesionalci samostalno osmišljavaju, planiraju i isporučuju (Dimoski, 2011). Profesionalci određuju i istraživačke tokove u oblasti ometenosti, pa će tako istraživanje snalaženja neke populacije u određenom sistemu, istraživanje kvaliteta života ili zadovoljstva životom osoba sa ometenošću zapravo biti studija o onome što profesionalci proglašavaju dobrim snalaženjem, kvalitetnim i vrednim življenjem. Moć profesionalaca u profesijama vezanim za ometenost održava se i diskriminacijom prilikom pokušaja osoba sa ometenošću da toj profesiji pristupe, školujući se za relevantna zanimanja (Thomas, 2008; Goodley, 2016).

Iako neki autori iz okvira medicinskog modela ostavljaju manje ili više prostora da, osim oštećenja, socijalne i političke dimenzije imaju uticaja na oblikovanje iskustva pojedinaca, pripisuju im daleko umereniju ulogu. Za njih, socijalni kontekst može više ili manje doprineti nepovoljnem položaju pojedinca, ali nikada činiti suštinu ometenosti (Thomas, 2004a; Ljubenović, 2007b; Dimoski, 2011; Stanimirović, 2016).

Socijalni model ometenosti

Nakon nekoliko decenija dominacije pristupa i praksi utemeljenih u tradicionalnom medicinskom modelu, u drugoj polovini 20. veka pojavile su se kritike i preispitivanja i ispoljila se snažna težnja ka izgradnji novog, drugači-jeg okvira. Od strane različitih udruženja osoba sa ometenošću, nezavisnih autora, autora koji su i sami osobe sa ometenošću, aktuelni model i imenovan je prvi put kao medicinski, odnosno potpuno omeđen medicinskom, klinič-kom praksom (Reeve, 2002; Thomas, 2004a). Osim što ovim sputava druge važne poglede i perspektive na ljudе čiji životi su u pitanju, modelu je zame-reno da obećava ono što ne može da ispuni, ne uspeva da doprinese dugoročnim rešenjima, kreira doživotnu zavisnost osoba sa ometenošću, održava asimetriju moći između osoba sa ometenošću i neometenih, negira kapacitete pojedinca da se oslige na sopstvene strategije brige o sebi i profesionalcima dodeljuje dominantne uloge. Dovedeno je u pitanje redukovanje oštećenja skoro pa isključivo na tragediju pojedinca, individualnu lošu sreću i problem, teškoću koja se može, i treba, tretirati različitim intervencijama pro-fesionalnih i humanitarnih službi. Dominantno korишћen jezik deficit-a i na ošte-ćenje orijentisana terminologija, prepoznata je kao važan činilac oblikovanja vrednosti svih onih koji taj jezik koriste. Otvoreno je pitanje zbog čega je ošte-ćenje okolnost koja neminovno dovodi do isključivanja iz društvenih tokova, koji ostaju dostupni onima bez ometenosti. Uzakano je da ograničenja zadaju arhitektonske, administrativne, psihološke i društvene prepreke koje postavlja zajednica, a ne oštećenje samo po sebi. Ova promišljanja, razvijana primarno u društvenom aktivizmu osoba sa ometenošću i njihovih porodica, iznedrila su skup pristupa danas prepoznatljiv pod krovnim nazivom - socijalni model ometenosti (Ward, 1996; Ljubenović, 2007a; Goodley, 2016; Stanimirović, 2016; Nenadović, Stanimirović, Dimovski, 2017).

Definicija pojma ometenosti koja dolazi iz paradigmе socijalnog modela, razvijena iz originalnog predloga Unije fizički oštećenih protiv segregacije (UPIAS), opisuje kao „potpuni ili delimičan gubitak mogućnosti za aktivnu i ravnopravnu društvenu participaciju sa ostalima usled fizičkih ili soci-jalnih barijera“ (Reeve, 2006; Goodley, 2016; Stanimirović, 2016: 80). U ovom modelu, ono što ometa osobe nije njihovo oštećenje, već njihovo socijalno okruženje. Fizička ograničenja i socijalna stvarnost osoba sa ometenošću u soci-jalnom modelu zbog toga zahtevaju terminološko razgraničenje, usled čega su

predloženi pojmovi oštećenje (*impairment*), koje bi se odnosilo konkretno na telesnu različitost, i ometenost (*disability*), koja označava socijalne implikacije oštećenja. Sama ometenost je tako prepoznata kao složen fenomen u kom se ukrštaju socio-ekonomski, kulturološki i politički elementi sredine. Pristupi socijalnog modela usmereni su na rasvetljavanje procesa socijalnog konstruisanja ometenosti. Razumevanju situacije pojedinca sa ometenošću socijalni model priključuje socijalne, kulturološke, istorijske, ekonomske i političke faktore, stavljajući samo oštećenje u drugi plan. Socijalni model prepoznaće i opisuje oprešiju i restriktivne mere usmerene ka osobama sa ometenošću kao disablizam, a favorizovanje osoba bez ometenosti kao ableizam. Disablizam i ableizam u socijalnom modelu opisani su kao javni problemi nejednakosti i nekorektnosti koji imaju implikacije na pojedinca, ali i na čitavu zajednicu (Thomas, 2004a; Reeve, 2004b; Goodley, 2016). U ambijentu socijalnog modela, razvijala se nova istraživačka praksa, danas poznata kao studije ometenosti (*disability studies*), čiji počeci su utemeljeni od strane samih naučnica i naučnika sa ometenošću, takozvanih „insajdera“ (Ljubenović, 2007a; 2007b).

Vitalni aspekt socijalnog modela, njegova snaga i ključna razlika koju je ponudio u odnosu na dotadašnje konceptualizacije ometenosti, je u tome što je perspektiva pomerena sa individualnog na socijalni nivo, sa oštećenja i odstupanja koja se vezuju za osobu na spolja nametnute restrikcije i nedostatke neprilagođene sredine, sa individualnih tretmana na pitanje ideologije, politike i ljudskih prava. Izmeštanje odgovornosti za ometenost iz same osobe u njenu sredinu bilo je od neprocenjivog značaja za emancipaciju populacije sa ometenošću i legislativu kojom se reguliše njen položaj (Reeve, 2004b; Thomas, 2008). Sa namerom integracije prethodnih, suprotstavljenih konцепција, Svetska zdravstvena organizacija objavila je klasifikaciju funkcionsanja, ometenosti i zdravlja zasnovanu na takozvanom biopsihosocijalnom modelu (WHO, 2001). Definicija ometenosti ponuđena ovom klasifikacijom glasi: „Negativni aspekt interakcije osobe, njenog zdravstvenog stanja i kontekstualnih faktora“ (Stanimirović, 2016: 106). U ovom modelu, ometenost pokriva pitanje oštećenja, aktivnosti, participacije, zbog socijalnih i telesnih prepreka.

Studije ometenosti značajne oslonce pronašle su u postmodernizmu, poststrukturalizmu, marksizmu i feminizmu, omogućivši multiperspektivno sagledavanje ometenosti, kroz prizme sociokulturnih odnosa, pitanja moći, kontrole, ideologije i interesa različitih društvenih grupa. Različiti pristupi osvrću se specifičnije na pitanje tela, roda, kulture, gradeći nove nivoe

razumevanja ometenosti. Grupa feminističkih autorki posebnu pažnju posvetila je implikacijama ometenosti na lični život, manjkavostima prvobitnog socijalnog modela u pogledu marginalizacije tela, ali i psiholoških aspekata ometenosti. Jedna od njih, Carol Thomas, u svojim radovima ponudila je model ometenosti koji nastoji da prevaziđe navedene slabe strane socijalnog modela (Olkin, Pledger, 2003; Thomas, 1999; 2002; 2004a; 2006; 2019).

Socijalno – relacioni model ometenosti Carol Thomas

Inspirisana feminismom i poststrukturalizmom, kao i sopstvenim iskustvom života sa ometenošću, Carol Thomas postojeće pristupe ometenosti kritikuje kao nedovoljne i rigidne, jer su, u nameri da ponude jedinstveno, univerzalno razumevanje, doprineli totalitarnim, isključivim narativima koji previđaju važne segmente života, iskustva i znanja osoba sa ometenošću (Thomas, 2002; 2004a; Reeve, 2002; Hernandez-Saca, Cannon, 2016). U svom osvrtu na socijalni model, Thomas ističe da su osobe ometene podjednako socijalnim barijerama koliko i sopstvenim telima, te da stroga dihotomija oštećenja i ometenosti nije ni korisna, ni neophodna. Oštećenje i ometenost zajedno počivaju na kontinuumu, u kompleksnom složaju bioloških, psiholoških, ekonomskih, kulturoloških, socijalnih i političkih faktora. Dalje, Thomas konstatiše da je izvorni socijalni model, kako su ga njegovi pioniri skicirali 1970-tih godina 20. veka, sadržao važnu relacionu komponentu – ometenost nije bila pozicionirana ni u oštećenje ni u okruženje, već u odnose neometenih i ometenih, onih koji su konstruisani kao odgovarajući i onih koji su problematično različiti (Thomas, 2004a). Promišljajući šta je u temelju ovako uspostavljenih relacija, na mikro i makro socijalnom nivou, ona prepoznaje i opisuje ključne teme od značaja za dalju proradu, bogaćenje i utemeljivanje pristupa koji bi u budućnosti mogao da postane celovita socijalno-relaciona teorija ometenosti (Thomas, 2004c; Goodley, 2016). Neke od ovih tema su obrađene u nastavku teksta, a tiču se političko-ekonomskih, medicinskih, psiholoških i socijalnih aspekata ometenosti.

Politička ekonomija ometenosti

Thomas ukazuje na to da će sistemi nejednakosti izgrađeni oko telesnih oštećenja u značajnom stepenu biti prepoznatljivi i kroz ekonomske odnose, slično kao oni koji se grade oko etničke pripadnosti, rase, roda. Ona zbog toga zahteva da jedan od načina na koji razumemo i opisujemo ometenost bude i kroz kapitalistički sistem proizvodnje i razmene (Thomas, 2004b; Thomas, 2004c). Studije zbilja i ukazuju na to da pripadnici nižih socio-ekonomskih klasa imaju veće šanse da žive u opasnim i nehigijenskim sredinama, manju dostupnost kvalitetne zdravstvene nege i veću zdravstvenu ranjivost i stepen smrtnosti. Veza socijalnih klasa i zdravstvenog statusa zvanično je i sistematski procenjivana u Francuskoj i Engleskoj od 19. veka. Bogato polje socioloških analiza ukazalo je i na nedvosmisленu povezanost lošeg socio-ekonomskog statusa i društvenog isključivanja osoba sa ometenošću. Jednostavno rečeno, „Gde je siromaštvo, tu je i ometenost“ (Goodley, 2016: 42). Osobe sa ometenošću su u trostruko nepovoljnem ekonomskom položaju: imaju niske prihode jer su isključeni iz tržišta radne snage, imaju dodatne troškove da bi pokrili usluge i tehnologije koje im povećavaju šanse za učešćem u društvu neometenih i imaju ograničenja u prilikama da postanu ekonomski vidljivi. Incidencu fizičkih oštećenja raste sa smanjenjem materijalnih mogućnosti i obrazovanja. Siromašna deca sa ometenošću retko imaju benefite od kompetitivnih obrazovnih sistema, kreiranih za decu tipičnog razvoja. Pripadnost populaciji siromašnih povećava šansu da ishodi procena dovedu do konstatovanja oštećenja i ometenosti (Goodley, 2016). Ujedno, osobe sa ometenošću danas najčešće nisu u mogućnosti da dobiju blagovremenu, redovnu i kvalitetnu negu (Thomas, 2019).

Tragajući za pozadinom i uzrocima ekonomske dimenzije ometenosti, različiti autori polemisali su o tome kako je kapitalistička ekonomija uticala na kreiranje klase onih koji su nesposobni da se samostalno uključe u tržište rada. Sa usponom industrijskog kapitalizma, deca i odrasli čije fizičke i kognitivne veštine nisu odgovarale potrebama i zahtevima rada bili su izdvajani od ostatka populacije, lišavani prilika za obrazovanje i rad i trajno smeštani u različite stacionarne ustanove i azile. Istoriska analiza položaja osoba sa ometenošću u predindustrijskim i ranoindustrijskim društvima dodatno opisuje položaj žena i muškaraca sa ometenošću u drugaćijim ekonomskim uslovima, i ukazuje na to da je došlo do porasta u broju institucionalizovanih osoba kada je industrijski kapitalizam prevladao (Thomas, 2004c). U odnosu

profesionalac-korisnik, profesionalac je taj koji zastupa državu, to jest političke i ekonomske elite. Profesionalci u svojim rukama imaju sisteme procene, koje predstavljaju kao objektivne, i kojima će utvrditi i imenovati ometenost korisnika, definisati mere koje je moguće preduzeti. Sa druge strane, sve inicijative i izražene potrebe korisnika lako će proglašiti za subjektivne, dodatno zbumujući korisnike i njihove porodice nerazumljivim naučnim i pseudonaučnim jezikom i zarobljavajući ih u svoje odrednice problema o kojima retko ima pregovaranja (Thomas, 2008). Sami negovatelji osoba sa ometenošću zauzimaju nepovoljan položaj na socijalnoj lestvici, i sami su marginalizovani i uglavnom sa niskom nadoknadom za posao koji obavljaju, što ostavlja malo prostora za profesionalizaciju i unapređenje odnosa sa korisnicima (Reeve, 2004b).

Procena da ne postoje ekonomski potencijali osoba sa ometenošću, to jest da one ne mogu da rade i zarađuju za sebe i druge, oduvek je značajan faktor u izgradnji društvene slike o njima. Pomake ka sve manjoj diskriminaciji osobe sa ometenošću postigle su sopstvenim angažmanom i aktiviranjem na prevazilaženju ovog problema. Tek njihovom delimičnom emancipacijom kroz ekonomsku nezavisnost jačala je i mogućnost da se bore za svoja prava (Dimoski, 2010).

Ispred savremene političke ekonomije ometenosti je rasvetljavanje ekonomski vođenih nepravdi i isključivanja osoba sa ometenošću, kroz obrasce koji počivaju u imperativima sistema proizvodnje i razmene kakve danas poznajemo. Ekonomске implikacije ometenosti, poput nezaposlenosti ili loših uslova rada, osim što dolaze iz diskriminatornih praksi poslodavaca i nedoslednog poštovanja zakona, proizvod su i internalizovanih ubeđenja samih ljudi sa ometenošću da nisu dovoljno dobri ni dostajni za obavljanje poslova (Reeve, 2004a). Pozicija osoba sa ometenošću na tržištu rada se takođe pomera i transformiše u skladu sa rapidnim napretkom digitalnih i informacionih tehnologija, čije implikacije nikako nisu jednoznačne i zavređuju zasebne istraživačke napore (Thomas, 2004b; 2004c).

Medicina, sociologija i ometenost: Efekti oštećenja

U svom modelu, Thomas kritikuje i preispituje strogu dihotomiju ometenosti i oštećenja, navodeći da su oštećenje i telo zanemareni i nedovoljno vrednovani u studijama ometenosti. Zagovarajući stav da se samom oštećenju mora pokloniti teorijska pažnja da bi se izoštrenije razvila i teorija same ometenosti,

Thomas nas podseća da je oštećenje od supstancialnog značaja za ometenost. Biološkog porekla, ali i snažno socijalno markirano, oštećenje neupitno posreduje u socijalnim relacijama ometenih i neometenih. Karakter samog oštećenja imaće kritičnu ulogu u oblikovanju pravca i stepena disabilzma sa kojim će se osobe susresti, kao i velike implikacije na lični doživljaj ometenosti, zbog čega oštećenje treba da zauzme svoje mesto u izgradnji socijalno – relacione teorije ometenosti da bi ona bila celovita (Thomas, 2002; 2006; 2013).

Postrukturalistički orijentisani autori bavili su se dekonstrukcijom dihotomije oštećenje-ometenost, dok materijalistički opredeljeni autori oštećenje opisuju kao posledicu industrijskih procesa, ratova, gladi i neadekvatnih uslova života ljudi, približavajući se polju socijalne medicine i socijalne epidemiologije. Napredak genetike imao je nesumnjive terapijske, ali i eugeničke, implikacije po medicinsku nauku i praksu, i studije ometenosti, pri čemu je oštećenje kao nešto što je moguće predvideti i ukloniti postalo i bioetički relevantno polje analize (Thomas, 2002; 2004b). Postmodernistička perspektiva proglašila je sve kategorije razlikovanja društvenih grupa socijalnim konstruktima, koji ne potiču iz fiksnih, esencijalnih, bioloških datosti. Time je i kategorija normalnog i abnormalnog tela dovedena u pitanje. Osim što postoje stepeni ometenosti koji među sobom mogu drastično da se razlikuju, poput korisnika naočara sa malom dioptrijom i osobe koja je potpuno slepa, kao i varijacije u ometenosti sa protokom vremena, poput potpuno funkcionalne mlade osobe koja sa starošću postaje osoba sa ometenošću, postmoderni autori sugerisu da su telesne razlike samo različite reprezentacije tela, kojima je naknadnim diskurzivnim praksama pripisano značenje zdravlja ili bolesti. Thomas se jasno ograđuje od ovakvog stanovišta, insistirajući na tome da materijalnost tela ne sme nestati iz polja analize, kao i da u teoretišanju ometenosti mora biti mesta za biološko (Thomas, 1999; 2002).

Thomas se poziva na kritike upućene socijalnom modelu iz pera feminističkih autorki koje su i same osobe sa ometenošću, poput Jenny Morris, koja ukazuje na to da neminovno postoje restrikcije u aktivnostima koje su deo iskustva osoba sa oštećenjem, potiču iz telesnih ograničenja i ne bi nestale čak i kada bi se sve socijalne barijere razrešile. Ovim je pokrenuta i velika debata, jer je deo autora orijentisan ka tradicionalnom socijalnom modelu, poput Mike Oliver-a, u ovome video politički rizik za model i njegovo ponovno naginjanje medicinski orijentisanim perspektivama. Oliver je smatrao da studije ometenosti treba da se orijentišu suprotno i daleko od pojma

oštećenja, da bi se zadržala željena perspektiva u borbi za uklanjanje sredinskih izvora disablizma. Ove konceptualne razlike značajne su za mogućnost formiranja ujedinjenih pokreta osoba sa ometenošću, to jest oblikovanja politike njihovog kolektivnog identiteta (Thomas, 2002).

Thomas u svom modelu do kraja zadržava stanovište da se studijama ometenosti mora vratiti realnost biološkog tela, bez posrtanja u biološki redukcionizam. Vođena time, ona predlaže koncept nazvan „efekti oštećenja”, koji je nužan i koristan za obuhvatiti sve direktnе posledice i restrikcije u funkcionisanju pojedinca koje oštećenje donosi, a koje ne mogu biti svrstane u ono što je rezultat ometenosti, to jest faktor okruženja. Iako konstatuje da je veoma teško razdvojiti efekte oštećenja i efekte ometenosti u realnim životima, i da je ključno da se ne mešaju, naglašava da je od velikog analitičkog značaja da teorija prepozna i jedne i druge. Efekti oštećenja neminovno nastavljaju da postoje i utiču na život ljudi čak i u okolnostima u kojima bi socijalne barijere bile potpuno uklonjene, a negiranje realnosti oštećenja dovodi do maskiranja značajnog dela iskustva osoba sa ometenošću. Koncept efekata oštećenja značajnu primenu može naći i u studijama ometenosti koje prate hronične bolesti i starenje, kao oblasti koja se tek razvija (Thomas, 2002; 2004c; 2006; 2013).

Lična iskustva ometenosti: Psiho-emocionalni disablizam

Ometenost je u modelu Thomas nesumnjivo i dalje rezultat opresije, ali opresije koja funkcioniše ne samo na javnom već i na duboko ličnom planu. U svojim radovima ona naglašava stanovište po kom se ometenost konstituiše procesima utemeljenim u psihološkom i emocionalnom domenu, i po kom je opresija u iskustvu osoba sa ometenošću snažna iznutra koliko i spolja. Na unutrašnjem planu osobe sa ometenošću, ona se tiče postepenog stvaranja osećaja niže vrednosti, neprivlačnosti, odvratnosti i prezira prema samom sebi. Thomas ove aspekte imenuje kao psihoh-emocionalne dimenzije ometenosti (*psycho-emotional dimensions of disability*), kasnije ih kraće nazi-vajući psihoh-emocionalni disablizam i predlaže proširenu definiciju ometenosti: „Ometenost je oblik socijalne opresije koja uključuje socijalno nametanje restrikcija na aktivnosti ljudi sa oštećenjima, kao i socijalno izazvano podrivanje njihove psihoh-emocionalne dobrobiti.” (Thomas, 1999: 60; 2004a; 2004b).

Isticanje psiho-emocionalnih dimenzija u rekonceptualizaciji socijalnog modela Thomas vidi kao značajno da bi se lično iskustvo učinilo legitimnom temom, kao i da bi privatno i intimno dobilo svoje mesto u studijama ometenosti, u kojima su ova pitanja često marginalizovana. Tendencija da se ona odbacuju, po mišljenju Thomas, dolazi iz stava da se pisanjem o ovim temama ponovo približava perspektivi ometenosti kao lične tragedije, koja preti da pomera odgovornost za ometenost u samu osobu i maskira društvene barijere. Ona zagovara stav da su time ignorisane ključne dimenzije psihološkog i emocionalnog, koje su greškom percipirane kao osporavanje vrednosti socijalnog modela, a zapravo su ravnopravne manifestacije ometenosti bez kojih je model nepotpun (Thomas, 2004a; 2004b; 2006; 2008; 2013).

U analizi psiho-emocionalnog domena ometenosti očigledna je relaciona priroda modela Thomas. Poseban fokus je stavljen na uticaje i efekte socijalnih ponašanja između osoba sa oštećenjem i onih bez oštećenja, u porodičnim okolnostima, interakcijama u zajednici i susretima sa stručnjacima u zdravstvu, obrazovanju i socijalnoj zaštiti. Thomas se pita o asimetriji moći u ovim mrežama odnosa, o odlukama koje se donose, izboru reči i njima prenetim značenjima, i konačno kako sve to utiče na doživljaj selfa, samopoštovanja i egzistencijalne sigurnosti kod osoba sa ometenošću. Thomas ne negira strukturne, spoljašnje izvore disabilizma koji obeshrabruju učešće osoba sa ometenošću u društvenom životu, ali ih tumači iznova kroz prizmu njihovih efekata na psihološku dobrobit (Thomas, 2002; 2004b; 2013).

Na nesvesnim nivoima, u svima nama više ili manje je aktivan mehanizam pounutrenja predrasuda o grupi kojoj pripadamo, kao da su one istine o nama samima. U slučaju negativno obojenih predrasuda o manjinskim grupama, koje su uglavnom udružene sa diskriminacijom, ovaj proces naziva se internalizovana opresija. Posledice internalizovane opresije prepoznatljive su u poteškoćama da se izgradi i održi samopoštovanje i nivo aspiracije koji odgovara ličnim snagama i potencijalima (Reeve, 2002). Mason navodi: „U sebi čuvamo bol i uspomene, strahove i zbumjenost, negativnu sliku o sebi i niska očekivanja, pretvarajući ih u oružje kojim se iznova samopovređujemo, svaki dan našeg života.“ (Mason, prema Reeve, 2002:495). Mitovi o tome kakve su osobe sa ometenošću, koji se perpetuiraju kroz izostanak pozitivnih modela u filmovima, medijima, kulturnoj i sportskoj sferi, kao i kroz nasilan jezik, podsmešljive poštupalice, poslovice, izreke i viceve, dodatno potvrđuju da je mnogo razloga da se osoba sa ometenošću oseti, i kontinuirano oseća,

bespomoćno i obespravljenio i da će vremenom poverovati u poruke koje dobija od okruženja (Reeve, 2004b). Psihoanaliza, u domenu teorije objektnih odnosa, internalizovanu opresiju opisuje kroz mehanizam projekcije sa neometenih na one sa ometenošću, koji su konstituisani kao Drugi, sugerajući na taj način da je ona neizbežno iskustvo za sve osobe sa ometenošću. Projekcija može biti provocirana nekim epitetom samog objekta, poput njegovog fizičkog izgleda, i/ili unutrašnjim iracionalnim podsticajima, poput gađenja ili fantazija vezanih za higijenu (Dimoski, 2012).

Thomas donekle preispituje ovo stanovište, ističući da osobe sa ometenošću nisu homogena grupa, te da sklonost internalizaciji opresije može varirati u odnosu na to da li je ometenost stečena ili prisutna od rođenja, odlike ličnosti, kontekst, vidljivost oštećenja i slično. Antropološka literatura sugerise i značajne razlike u odnosu na kulturu, jer postoje zajednice koje ne isključuju osobe sa ometenošću (Reeve, 2002). Uprkos tome što je veoma široko rasprostranjen i ugrožavajući, fenomen internalizovane opresije ostao je relativno zanemaren u studijama ometenosti.

Vođena modelom Thomas, težeći da ukaže na povezanost strukturnih i emocionalnih nivoa disabilizma, autorka Reeve istraživala je iskustva osoba sa ometenošću sa stručnjacima. U prikupljenim narativima, ona pronalazi bolni doživljaj nevidljivosti do kog dolazi kada dva ili više stručnjaka koji su u prostoriji sa korisnikom vode razgovor kao da on nije tu. Kod korisnika koji su slabo pokretni i čiji negovatelji često ulaze u njihove domove, kao veoma ugrožen ističe se koncept intime, privatnosti i kontrole (Reeve, 2004a, 2004b). Iz okvira modela Thomas, Reeve na novi način analizira i arhitektonsku nepriступačnost sredine. Osim što kao takva na operativnom nivou onemogućava participaciju, na ličnom planu neprilagođenost objekata konstantno podseća osobe sa ometenošću da su različite i da nisu dobrodošle u javne i privatne prostore. Reeve navodi primer korisnika invalidskih kolica, koji je prilikom svake posete svom savetniku doživljavao da ga unose jer nije postojala rampa, a zatim da se pred njim razmešta nameštaj da bi on mogao ući na psihološko savetovanje, zbog čega posete nisu imale nikakvu podržavajuću funkciju i sa njih je odlazio osećajući da smeta (Reeve, 2002). U nameri da naglasi opresivnu prirodu strukturnih barijera, autor Kitchin neprilagođene sredine kojima su osobe sa ometenošću prinuđene da se kreću naziva pejzažima isključenosti (Kitchin, 1998). Iako je u 21. veku nezamislivo da se od manjinskih grupa traži da ulaze u objekte na zasebne ulaze, to je upravo ono

što proživljavaju osobe sa ometenošću, dobijajući na taj način poruku da su građani drugog reda, koji će se tolerisati, ali ništa više od toga (Olkin, 2003).

U savremenim sistemima pružanja usluga, čest je slučaj da korisnici usluga samostalno popunjavaju aplikacije u kojima iznova periodično opisuju svoje oštećenje i oblasti u kojima ne ispunjavaju normu. Od osoba se traži da samostalno konstruišu svoju ometenost, da usvoje negativne elemente identiteta i izjasne se o tome jezikom koji je poželjan u te svrhe, odnosno da ubede pružaoca usluga da su dovoljno ometeni da nešto zasluzuju. Za mnoge je ovaj emocionalni zahtev preteran i radije biraju život bez čitavog spektra usluga, da bi izbegli ove situacije (Reeve, 2002). Osobe sa ometenošću izložene su i čestim dobronomernim preporukama da budu borbene i glasne i da pišu žalbe vezane za neprilagođenost prostora kojima žele da se kreću. Osim toga, izložene su i molbama i pritiscima da ne prave scene u javnosti pred svojim prijateljima i porodicom kada ih sredina frustrira, što ih stavlja u situaciju nemogućeg izbora između borbe za svoju poziciju i uvažavanja apela okruženja da se prilagode (Reeve, 2004a). Osobe sa ometenošću suočene su sa visokim stepenom radoznalosti, intruzivnosti i poriva drugih da im postavljaju pitanja o njihovom svakodnevnom funkcionisanju. Slično kao sa malom decom i veoma starim osobama, osobe sa ometenošću u javnosti ili grupi ljudi često automatski zauzimaju podređen položaj. U odnosu na njih se uspostavljaju drugačije granice i obraća im se sa manje rezerve nego osobama bez ometenosti (Reeve 2004b; 2006; Thomas 2004b).

Kada je ometenost vidljiva, radoznalost može preći u neprekidno zurenje drugih i uticati na produženi doživljaj stida i posramljenosti. Čin zurenja posmatranog čoveka svodi na objekat, obespomoćuje ga, ostavlja ranjivim, izloženim, poniženim. Većina ustanova za procenu, rehabilitaciju i tretman u centar svog delovanja postavlja telo, koje izlaže neprekidnim pogledima. U tom smislu, zurenje je za osobe sa ometenošću neodvojivi deo sociokulturnih relacija, što podrazumeva i opresiju, diskriminaciju i isključivanje (Ljubenović, 2009).

Za lični doživljaj, od značaja je i nevidljiva ometenost, jer postoje društvena očekivanja vezana za to kako osoba sa ometenošću treba i može da izgleda. One koje to ne ispunjavaju jer, na primer, nisu korisnici invalidskih kolica, ne izgledaju i ne zvuče drugačije, suočavaju se sa čestim objašnjavanjem svojih potreba prilikom korišćenja nekih usluga, ili apliciranja za subvencije namenjene osobama sa ometenošću, poput parkinga, toaleta, finansijske pomoći. Neka istraživanja ukazuju i na to da postoji varijacija u

psiho-emocionalnom doživljaju profesionalaca od strane korisnika kada su korisnici u mogućnosti da samostalno plate i izaberu usluge koje bi koristili (*direct payment*), u odnosu na to kada im sistem osiguranja nameće uniformne opcije kojima se moraju prilagoditi (French, Swain, 2001; Olkin, Pledger, 2003).

Iskustvo konstantne izloženosti pogledima dovodi i do toga da osobe sa ometenošću koriguju sopstveno ponašanje, putem samokontrole, da bi sebe učinile prihvatljivijim. Reeve opisuje primere medicinskih postupaka koje je prinuđena da izvodi da se pobrine za sebe kao korisnica invalidskih kolica, i kritika koje dobija od neometenih osoba iz okruženja kada neku od tih rutina preskoči, uz apsolutni izostanak razumevanja emocionalne zahtevnosti situacije (Reeve, 2002).

Strukturne barijere i psiho-emocionalni disablizam deluju u konstantnoj sinergiji, neprekidno se međusobno potkrepljujući i otežavajući izlazak iz kruga isključenosti. U nameri da poentira koliko je za model ometenosti značajno da u sebe uključi i psiho-emocionalni disablizam, Reeve opisuje lično iskustvo korisnice invalidskih kolica: „Nekim danima ne idem u nabavku jer ne mogu da se borim sa stepenicama, a nekim drugim ne idem jer ne mogu da se borim sa pogledima. I jedna i druga borba potpuno jednako me udaljava od javnog prostora.” (Reeve, 2004a: 89).

Rod u socijalno-relacionom modelu ometenosti

Pitanje ometenosti tradicionalno je pratilo medicinske i psihološke diskurse kojima se označavaju ženska tela, žensko zdravlje, ženske bolesti. U svojoj knjizi *Ženski oblici (Female forms)*, Thomas iznosi stanovište da se različiti oblici i uticaji disablizma nužno prelamaju kroz prizmu roda i rodnih relacija koje su aktivne u određenoj kulturi, te da svako shvatanje ometenosti koje pretenduje da bude celovito mora da bude osetljivo na rodna pitanja (Thomas, 1999). Oslanjajući se na britanske i skandinavske feminističke autorke i aktivistkinje, poput Morris i Kristiansen (Thomas, 2013), ona ukazuje na isprepletenost socijalnih procesa kojima se u određenom društvu konstruišu i rod i ometenost, ali i kritikuje izostavljanje žena sa ometenošću iz dominantnih feminističkih krugova, pripisujući ga potrebi da slika feministkinje u javnosti ostane snažna, privlačna i zdrava. Glas žena sa ometenošću dobio je svoje mesto tek u poslednjoj četvrtini dvadesetog veka, kada je njihovo akademsko pisanje, ali i lične priče, poezija i umetnički izraz,

postao vidljiv, čime je otvoren značajan prostor da lično postane političko (Thomas, 1999). Istraživačka i akademska pažnja autorki na čiji rad se Thomas u svom daljem radu poziva usmeren je na problematizovanje roda u svakodnevnom životu osoba sa ometenošću, njihovom obrazovanju, zapošljavanju, prijateljstvima, etnicitetu, porodici, roditeljstvu, seksualnosti, mentalnom zdravlju, nasilju i zlostavljanju, bioetici i genetici (Thomas, 2013).

U studiji Thomas učestvovalo je 68 žena sa ometenošću iz Velike Britanije, koje su sa njom podelile svoje životne priče, pišući ili snimajući ih. U njihove narative utkane su teme koje bi se konvencionalno očekivale od ženske rodne uloge: partnerstvo, majčinstvo, porodice, odgovornost za domaćinstvo, briga, pozitivna i negativna iskustva sa profesionalcima na koje se oslanjaju, seksualno uznemiravanje i zlostavljanje, životne krize. Thomas izveštava i o tome da su, iako je tih studija mnogo manje, drugi istraživači došli do sličnih rezultata kada su u pitanju muškarci sa ometenošću i rodne norme maskulinosti, to jest da se u narativima muškaraca sa ometenošću značajno češće sreću teme koje bismo pripisali muškom rodu: sticanje materijalnih dobara, fizička snaga, socijalni status (Thomas, 1999; 2006; 2013).

Žene sa ometenošću pod većim su rizikom od siromaštva od muškaraca, imaju manje šanse da im bude dostupno radno mesto ili rehabilitacija, a veće šanse da dožive seksualno i partnersko nasilje, depresiju, gubitak starateljstva nad decom. Smatra se da žena sa ometenošću ima iskustvo dvostrukog nepoželjnog identiteta, što je dovodi u situaciju dvostrukе stigmatizacije, i time povećane ugroženosti (Thomas, 1999). Ipak, Thomas komentarišući ove nalaze insistira na tome da se iskustva opresije ne mogu posmatrati samo kao zbir nepoželjnih identiteta, već je slika neminovno uvek kompleksnija od toga. Kao argument u prilog tome, ona navodi da je sve vreme u narativima prisutna i agensnost žena i muškaraca sa ometenošću, i da su vidljive teme prevladavanja, odupiranja, preživljavanja, borbe i napretka. Ujedno, ona ukazuje na značajne istovetnosti, sličnosti, kod žena sa i bez ometenosti. Poredеći svedočenja o iskustvima žena sa ometenošću u partnerskim odnosima, Thomas ukazuje na to da se žene sa ometenošću suočavaju sa jednakim obezvredđivanjem i u heteroseksualnim i u homoseksualnim relacijama, te da složena interakcija faktora roda i ometenosti zavređuje modele koji će je takvom prepoznati (Thomas, 1999; 2014).

Teoretičarke postmodernog feminizma poput Judith Butler i Elizabeth Grosz, pružaju drugačiju perspektivu na razumevanje roda.

Kritikujući polarizaciju pozicija muško-žensko, ove autorke telo ne opisuju kao neutralnu, biološki datu kategoriju, već kao diskurzivni objekat uslovljen jezikom, društвom, istorijom, kulturom. Po njihovom mišljenju, na telo deluju moći i različiti režimi, a postojeće je i konstituisano samo u okviru istorije. Dekonstruisanje roda, to jest ukidanje polnih i rodnih dihotomija, ukida mogućnost da se spajanjem roda i ometenosti dođe do jedinstvenog ishoda koji se može posmatrati jednoznačno. Jedan od razloga za ovo je i mnoštvo izvora razlike koje se osim roda i ometenosti ukrštaju. Na primer, starosne razlike su povezane sa rodnim raslojavanjem, gde se od osoba sa ometenošću tek u zreлом životnom dobu očekuje odigravanje uobičajenih rodnih uloga, dok se deca doživljavaju kao bespolna (Barron, prema Mijatović, Filipović, 2018). Takođe, relaciono shvaćena ometenost je fluidan pojam, koji se transformiše u zavisnosti od širih kontekstualnih faktora, doživljaja i unutrašnjeg stanja same osobe, oštećenja, te rodna razlika nije na isti način značajna kod različitih ometenosti (Mijatović, Filipović, 2018).

No, Thomas zaključuje da dosadašnji rad materijalistički opredeljenih feminističkih autorki nije manje smislen i bogat, niti je njegov doprinos polju ometenosti manje značajan, jer njihov fokus na svakodnevno iskustvo, osjetljivost na razlike i višestruke dimenzije identiteta nastavlja da proizvodi značajne uvide o realnosti osoba sa ometenošću. Ostajući zagovornica socijalno-relacionog shvatanja, i neophodnog prostora za diskusiju tela iz materijalističke pozicije, ona poziva na suživot različitih teorijskih pozicija u analizi ometenosti i izbegavanje dogme (Thomas, 1999).

Zaključak

Gore navedena polja opisana su kao značajni segmenti za analizu socio-relacionog pristupa Carol Thomas, pre svega jer ih je kao ključne aspekte svog modela i sama isticala, ali i zbog toga što su dobri reprezentanti multidisciplinarnosti savremenih studija ometenosti. Fokus socijalnog modela u njegovim početnim fazama pozicionirao se u javna mesta opresije, socijalne i fizičke barijere, neprilagođenost sredine, širi društveni ambijent i društvene obrasce koji generišu ometenost i protiv kojih se valja boriti samozastupanjem, zagovaranjem i borbom za adekvatniju legislativu i resurse. Lična iskustva osoba sa ometenošću ostala su njihovo privatno pitanje za koje u

originalnoj definiciji ometenosti nije bilo mesta, a na momente su proglašavana i bespotrebnim skretanjem pažnje sa socijalnih borbi na lični plan. Neko vreme ostali su zamagljeni procesi koji podrivaju emocionalnu i psihološku dobrobit i operišu na unutrašnjem nivou (Thomas, 2002; Reeve, 2004b; Goodley, 2016). Razlog ovome sigurno delimično leži u nastojanju da se izbegne svaka vrsta individualizacije, ponovne suvišne patologizacije i centriranja na poteškoće pojedinca kojim se skreće pažnja sa društvene dinamike. Ipak, socijalni model, zbog nemogućnosti do obuhvati socijalne relacije i identitete koji iz njih proističu, zapravo ne može da obuhvati ni kompleksnost iskustva svake ometenosti, kao ni socijalnih relacija i identiteta koji proističu iz njih. Takođe, teorijska implikacija socijalnog modela je mogućnost sveta utopije u kom ne postoji ometenost, jer je društvo prevazišlo nametanje barijera osobama sa oštećenjem (Shakespeare, 2004). Telesna realnost, ali i emocionalna realnost, s obzirom na rane procese internalizacije i otežane identifikacije, čak i u tom slučaju bi postojali za svakog pojedinca suočenog sa oštećenjem.

Vrednost socijalno-relacione perspektive je kvalitetnija teoretizacija ometenosti, koja nagoveštava i prostor rasta za obrazovnu, terapijsku i savetodavnu praksu. U odnos psihološkog savetovanja i psihoterapije prema ometenosti, vođeno okvirima ovog modela, moguće je pridružiti i oblasti nege i podrške, umesto lečenja i tretiranja, kao i grupa samopomoći sačinjenih i vođenih i od strane korisnika i njihovih porodica, a ne isključivo profesionalaca. Od velikog značaja su i otvaranja tema partnerskog, ljubavnog, intimnog i porodičnog života osoba sa ometenošću, zatim pitanja mogućnosti implementacije nove paradigme u kliničku praksu psihologa, i na kraju, ali ne najmanje važno, pitanja prilagođavanja metoda psihološke podrške, vođene vrednostima nove paradigmе (Olkin, Pledger, 2003; Goodley, 2016).

Socijalno-relacioni model redefiniše i ustaljeno atribuiranje disablizma apstraktним, distanciranim, opresivnim entitetima, poput javnosti, zajednice ili društva u celini, odakle je upitno kako bi mogao biti dekonstruisan, preusmeren, zaustavljen ili sprečen. Sa osvajanjem prostora za diskusiju ličnog iskustva i personalne dimenzije života, a u okviru paradigmе socijalnog modela, jasnije je da bolni disablizam nužno ne dolazi isključivo od dalekih, složenih socijalnih struktura, već i od svih onih dobro poznatih mikrorelacija – bliskih članova porodice, partnera, prijatelja, profesionalaca, poznanika, komšija i ostalog neposrednog okruženja. Diskusija personalnog iskustva ometenosti omogućava izoštreniji dijalog i analizu disablizma koji isporučuju ne

oni Drugi, nego oni bliski. U dosadašnjoj praksi, retko se i oskudno investira u informativnu, edukativnu i psihološku podršku potrebnu porodici i prijateljima osobe sa ometenošću u procesu prihvatanja, jer se bezuslovno pozitivne emocije u tom domenu implicitno podrazumevaju. Ipak, baš ništa ne garantuje da će svako uspeti sa jednakom kreativnošću i uspehom da prevlada stigmatna koja prati bliskost i život sa osobom sa ometenošću. Slično je i sa profesionalcima u oblasti ometenosti, čija dobrobit, ličnost i odnos prema korisnicima nisu čest predmet analize, usled podrazumevanja da su birali posao koji žele i vole i da će to samo po sebi pomoći u izgradnji prihvatajućih, uvažavajućih odnosa prema korisnicima. Implikacije socijalno-relacionog modela Thomas sugerisu drugačije. Vođeni njime, u obrazovanju budućih profesionalaca u oblastima koje podrazumevaju rad sa ljudima sa ometenošću, ali i ljudima uopšte, treba da prepoznajemo mogućnost da u toku školovanja studenti uz podršku i vođstvo osveste, a zatim adresiraju sopstvene negativne stavove i izgrade nove, kao i da na ličnom, a ne samo teorijskom planu istraže fenomen stigme, otuđenosti, nemoći i usamljenosti. Kao jedan od načina za to predlagane su i pokušavane različite simulacije, kao i vežbe sa igrama uloga gde studenti dobijaju priliku da provedu neko vreme u ulozi osobe sa ometenošću. U ove svrhe važne su i takozvane žive biblioteke, to jest prilike za upoznavanje i dijalog uživo o nečijem ličnom iskustvu ometenosti. Iako empirijska građa ne nudi jednoznačne i dosledne podatke o stepenu efikasnosti ovakvih vežbi, postoje i studije koje ukazuju na njihov značaj za učenje i razvoj budućih profesionalaca i koje upućuju na smislenost korišćenja ovakvih obrazovnih intervencija (Barney, 2012). Šira primena ovako osmišljenih aktivnosti u toku školovanja ima potencijala da pokrene ove teme u mlađem uzrastu i doprinese osetljivijem odgovoru na prihvatanje i razumevanje osobe sa ometenošću u neposrednom okruženju kasnije u životu.

Odstajajući od dihotomija zarad prihvatanja logike kontinuma na kome skupa obitavaju telo, oštećenje, ometenost i njene psihološke implikacije, ometenost postaje legitimno pitanje za svakog pojedinca u zajednici, a ne samo za osobe koje je proživljavaju. Na taj način, prepoznati su i imenovani obrasci koji se kontinuirano održavaju kroz relacije i kulturne reprezentacije i ugrožavaju psihološku dobrobit koja je preduslov potpune, zadovoljavajuće participacije osobe sa ometenošću u zajednici, ali i više od toga, prepoznati su obrasci koji ugrožavaju psihološku dobrobit svakog njenog člana.

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NEVENA STRIŽAK*

LUKA MIJATOVIĆ

SANJA DIMOSKI

Socio-relational Model of Disability by Carol Thomas and its Significance for Disability Studies

Disability models are conceptual frameworks used to understand and investigate the phenomenon of disability. Social and medical models stand out as key in disability studies. In her works, British sociologist Carol Thomas offered a critical review of the social model of disability and its supplement, which formed a new conceptualization of disability called the social-relational model. Aiming to overcome the exclusivity of previous approaches, Thomas recognizes the essence of disability in the relational area, between persons with and without impairment, where according to her are the key elements of disability. This model offers a perspective that makes room for both the physical and social aspects of impairment and enables the analysis of the psychological implications of the experience of impairment and disability that transcends the traditional dichotomies of medical and social, healthy and diseased. In this overview paper, the medical and social model of disability will be presented in basic terms, followed by the key elements and concepts of the social-relational model of disability from the original publications of Carol Thomas and other authors who relied on it, as well as a discussion of the importance of the social-relational model for disability studies and related disciplines.

Keywords: disability, social-relational model, psycho-emotional disablism, impairment effects.

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Protecting Fundamental Freedoms, A Victim's Perspective

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U Berlinu je u periodu između 7. i 9. juna 2023. godine održana godišnja konferencija Evropske podrške žrtvama pod nazivom *Zaštita osnovnih sloboda, perspektiva žrtve*. Konferencija¹ je organizovana od strane Evropske podrške žrtvama (Victim Support Europe, u nastavku VSE²) i Weisser ring e. V.³ Ovogodišnja konferencija organizovana je hibridno. Više od 300 učesnika i učesnica iz Evrope i sveta prisustvovalo je uživo konferenciji, dok je veliki broj njih konferenciju pratilo putem video linka. Konferenciji su prisustvovali predstavnici službi za žrtve, predstavnici akademske zajednice, pravosudnog sistema i državnih institucija. Prema rečima organizatora, sa predstojećom revizijom Direktive Evropske unije o uspostavljanju minimalnih standarda o pravima, podršci i zaštiti žrtava kriminaliteta iz 2012. godine i drugim zakonodavnim izmenama Evropske unije, 2023. godina je ključna godina za prava žrtava. U svetlu ovoga, ovogodišnja tema konferencije vođena porastom nasilja nad javnim ličnostima, političarima i novinarima, ekstremizmom, terorizmom i zločinima iz mržnje, kao i pokušajima da se uguši sloboda govora, fokusirala se na međusobnu povezanost osnovnih sloboda i perspektive žrtava.

Zvanično otvaranje konferencije upriličeno je govorom dobrodošlice predsednice Evropske podrške žrtvama i predsednice Upravnog odbora Slachtofferhulp Nederland, Rose Jansen. Ona je učesnicima i učesnicama

¹ Predstavnice Viktimološkog društva Srbije -VDS na konferenciji bile su Jasmina Nikolić, direktorka VDS i Milica Luković Radaković, rukovoditeljka Službe VDS info i podrška žrtvama.

² Victim Support Europe - VSE okuplja 72 nacionalne organizacije članice, pružajući podršku za više od 2 miliona ljudi u 35 zemalja. Više o VSE videte na: <https://victim-support.eu/>.

³ WEISSER RING sa oko 4000 volontera i više od 100000 pristalica, predstavlja najveću nemačku organizaciju za podršku žrtvama, koja je osnovana 1976. godine. Više o Weisser ring na: <https://weisser-ring.de/>.

poželeta uspešan rad i istakla da će diskusije na konferenciji činiti osnovu strateške vizije Evropske podrške žrtvama za naredni period i dati ideje koje će omogućiti da se zadrži vitalna uloga u zaštiti prava i osnovnih sloboda žrtava. Prisutnima se obratila i Katarzyna Janicka-Pawlowska, koordinatorka zadužena za poboljšanje prava žrtava u okviru Evropske unije. Ona je ukazala na spremnost Evropske unije da se i dalje zalaže za poboljšanje prava žrtava na šta ukazuje i set amandmana koje su pripremili, a koji treba da doprinesu unapređenju informisanosti žrtava, proširenju usluga za žrtve, redovnom isplaćivanju naknada za žrtve, čime će se prevenirati dodatna viktimizacija. Veruje da će ovi amandami pozitivno uticati na demokratiju, na to da procedure vezane za ostvarivanje prava žrtava budu efikasnije, jer ćemo, prema njenim rečima, jedino na taj način imati bezbednije društvo. Ona je podsetila da se izgradnja demokratskog društva i poboljšanje položaja žrtava ne može dogoditi preko noći, da su to procesi koji traju, ali u kojima moramo svi učestvovati. Nakon pozdravnih reči, usledilo je izlaganje Astrid Passin, portparolke preživelih i žrtava terorističkog napada na Brajtšajdplacu (Breitscheidplatz) u Berlinu, tokom božićnog vašara, 19. decembra 2016. godine. U svom izlaganju, ona je iznела lično iskustvo, govoreći o gubitku oca u pomenutom terorističkom napadu, izostanku reakcije vlasti i državnih organa, složenoj birokratiji koju su preživeli, a i porodice žrtava morale da prođu kako bi ostvarili svoja prava, kao i o pitanjima i osećanjima sa kojima se ona još uvek suočava. Govorila je, između ostalog, i o borbi porodica žrtava da se žrtve ne zaborave, da se proglaši dan sećanja na žrtve terorizma i da se podigne spomen-obeležje za 13 žrtava terorističkog napada u Berlinu. Zahvaljujući upornosti porodica žrtava i preživelih, stepenice sa zlatnom pukotinom postale su spomen obeležje i imena žrtava sada krase mesto stradanja koje je donelo toliko patnje, a ipak danas može da bude simbol koji podstiče na razmišljanje o onome što se dogodilo. Naglasila je da pitanje podrške žrtvama terorizma ne bi trebalo da bude pitanje budžeta, već pitanje politike i stava. Izlaganje je završila stihovima pesme Hermana Hesea: „Strpljenje je najteže i jedino što vredi naučiti. Sva priroda, sav rast, sav mir, sav procvat i lepota u svetu zasnivaju se na strpljenju, zahtevaju vreme, zahtevaju mir, zahtevaju poverenje.“

Rad konferencije organizovan je kroz plenarne sesije, panel diskusije i radionice. Plenarna sesija prvog dana konferencije nosila je naziv *Viktimizacija zločinom i javna podrška demokratiji*. U okviru ove sesije izlaganja su imali: osnivač akademije za bihevioralni dizajn, Tom De Bruyne, na temu *Učinite empatiju*

ponovo velikom - Apel da se populizam pobedi sopstvenim oružjem; Lauren Walker, novinarka u Brisel tajmsu (The Brussel Times), čije izlaganje je nosilo naziv Četvrti stub demokratije: Kako novinarstvo može žrtvama dati glas i kako dezinformacije rizikuju da ih učutkaju, i Elie Kagan, šef kriznog menadžmenta, bezbednosti i kriznog centra Evropskog jevrejskog kongresa (European Jewish Congress - EJC), koji je izlagao na temu *Očuvanje slobode veroispovesti u Evropi.*

Izlaganje Tom De Bruyne-a bilo je, zapravo, poziv na akciju da damo prioritet empatiji u našim interakcijama i odnosima sa drugima, a sve u cilju prevencije neželjenih ponašanja. Ovo gledište zapravo počiva na postulatima pozitivne psihologije koja naglašava pozitivne individualne osobine pojedinca. Govoreći o žrtvama i nasilnicima, on je istakao da je neophodno promeniti narativ, jer nijedna žrtva ne želi da bude prepoznata kao takva, niti jedan nasilnik želi da bude tako nazivan. Ono što je neophodno, prema njegovom mišljenju, jeste da se stvori takva atmosfera u kojoj će se obe strane osećati dobro, dakle, raditi na rešavanju problema bez stvaranja dodatnog jaza između suprostravljenih strana, istovremeno koristeći njihove kapacitete i pozitivne osobine. Drugo izlaganje u okviru plenarne sesije imala je Lauren Walker. Ona se osvrnula na ulogu medija kao stuba demokratije i o tome kako su mediji zaduženi da daju glas onima koji „nemaju glas”, i kako dezinformacije utiču na položaj žrtava. Istakla je da izveštavanje o nasilju i žrtvama zahteva poseban pristup i odnos novinara/ke prema temi, jer neprofesionalno urađen posao može uvećati štetu načinjenu žrtvi. Naglasila je da je u svom radu imala priliku da razgovara sa brojnim žrtvama i da je primetila da je strah nešto što je svima njima zajedničko, strah od prijavljivanja nasilja policiji, od ponovnog svedočenja, strah da im se neće verovati i da će ih ignorisati, strah da će misliti da su svojim ponašanjem sebe doveli u poziciju žrtve i slično. Prema njenim rečima, uloga medija je ključna, pre svega, u razbijanju stereotipa. Podsetila je da medijsko izveštavanje u dobroj meri može uticati da se stereotipi produžavaju ili, pak, da se ruše. Zato je važno izbeći stereotipizaciju nasilja tokom izveštavanja i ukazati da je nasilje nešto čega se ne treba stideti, već tortura koju društvo ne sme da trpi. Sledeće izlaganje u okviru ove sesije imao je Elie Kagan. On je u svom izlaganju predstavio projekat pod nazivom „Sigurnije i bezbednije zajednice u Evropi“. Reč je o projektu koji ima za cilj povećanje bezbednosti u i oko hramova i crkava, kao i unutar i između hrišćanskih, budističkih, muslimanskih i jevrejskih zajednica. Projekat, takođe, ima za cilj jačanje poverenja i saradnje između civilnog društva i nacionalnih vlasti, olakšavajući

formalizovane kanale komunikacije između rukovodstva zajednice i njenih članova/ca. Prema njegovim rečima, sloboda veroispovesti je važan aspekt individualnih prava i zaštićena je zakonima i ustavima mnogih zemalja, a sama religija može poslužiti kao ujedinjujuća snaga za ljudе koji dele ista uverenja i vrednosti. Ukazao je na značaj sprovođenja ovakvih projekata kojima se, pre svega, postiže otpornija zajednica, veća povezanost njenih članova, razvoj novih alata i veština za jačanje svesti o bezbednosti i upravljanju krizama.

Tokom panel diskusije koja je nosila naziv *Osnovne slobode i budućnost podrške žrtvama u Evropi* govorili su Ahmad Mansour, psiholog i pisac iz Berlina, osnivač „Mind Prevention”, inicijative za promociju demokratije i prevenciju ekstremizma; Fatima Ali Haider, osnivačica i predsednica inicijative „The Grief Directory”, čiji je rad usmeren na pružanje podrške porodicama pogodenim terorizmom, i Katharina Vall, menadžerka programa Körber fondacije, nemačke fondacije koja promoviše nauku, kulturu i društvene projekte. Panelisti su diskutovali o tome na koji način religija može biti iskorišćena u političke svrhe i da u savremenom dobu svedočimo porastu broja religiozno motivisanih terorističkih grupa i napada. U diskusiji je istaknuto kako nema dovoljno sistema podrške za žrtve terorizma i da je neophodno razvijanje empatije za žrtve terorističkih napada i uključivanje mladih osoba u rad sa žrtvama. Posebno je potresno bilo svedočenje gospođe Ali Haider, koja je u svom izlagaju govorila o ličnoj tragediji i gubitku supruga i mlađeg deteta, koji su bili žrtve terorističkog napada. Ona je navela da je to motivisalo da osnuje organizaciju u Pakistanu, koja bi bila prostor za tugovanje porodica žrtava, pre svega žena i majki. Panelisti su se složili da jasan danak terorizma i uticaj traume preseca različite kulture i da je neophodna svetska potreba za razumevanjem traume i stvaranjem pristupa uslugama mentalnog zdravlja.

Poruka izlagača/ica nakon prvog dana konferencije bila je da demokratija i osnovne slobode predstavljaju osnovu za osiguranje pravde za žrtve, da podržavanjem demokratije čuvamo prava i dostojanstvo svake žrtve i da zajedno možemo stvoriti budućnost u kojoj pravda prevladava. Na kraju radnog dela prvog dana konferencije predsednica VSE Rose Jansen uručila je zahvalnicu Helgard Van Hullen, jednoj od osnivačica Weisser Ring i dugo-godišnjoj članici Upravnog odbora VSE, istakavši da je njena neumorna posvećenost postavila standard za generacije koje dolaze. Takođe, ona je zahvalnicu uručila i Joāo Lazaro-u, bivšem predsedniku VSE ukazavši da ih je njegova nepokolebljiva strast vodila ka napretku.

Drugi dan konferencije otpočeo je plenarnom sesijom pod nazivom *Koliko je policija orijentisana na žrtve?* Prvo izlaganje u okviru ove sesije imao je Ben Bradford, profesor na Univerzitetskom koledžu u Londonu. U izlaganju koje je nosilo naziv *Policija, etika i osnovna prava*, profesor Bradford je podsetio na Evropsku konvenciju o ljudskim pravima (European Convention on Human Rights - ECHR) i prava koja su njom garantovana, a to su, pre svega, pravo na život, pravo na slobodu (misli, uverenja i veroispovesti; slobodu izražavanja, slobodu okupljanja i udruživanja; slobodu od ropstva i prinudnog rada; torture i nečovečnog i ponižavajućeg ponašanja) i bezbednost, pravo na pravično suđenje, pravo na sklapanje braka i zasnivanje porodice i slično. On je istakao da apsolutna prava nikada ne mogu biti ograničena, dok ograničena prava mogu biti ograničena, ali samo u eksplicitnim i konačnim okolnostima (na primer kada neko počini krivično delo). Kvalifikovana prava, prema njegovim rečima, zahtevaju ravnotežu između prava jednog pojedinca i potreba drugog, ili šire zajednice. Naveo je da je jasno da policija može ugroziti, ali i zaštитiti mnoga od ovih prava. Istakao je da policija ima važnu ulogu u zajednici, koja se ogleda u prepoznavanju žrtve, što, prema rečima profesora Bradforde podrazumeva: poštovanje i jednak uvažavanje prava pojedinaca, poštovanje potreba žrtava, kao i održavanje odnosa zasnovanih na poverenju. Policija koja prepoznaže žrtve može pomoći da se povrati izgubljeno poverenje i zajedništvo (ili barem da ih ne potkopava dalje), jer rad policije utiče na način na koji ljudi misle i osećaju o sebi i društvu u kojem žive.

Izlaganje pod nazivom *Izgradnja poverenja zajednice*, John Letteney-a, predsednika izvršnog odbora Međunarodnog udruženja šefova policija (International Association of Chiefs of Police - IACP) se dobro nadovezalo na izlaganje profesora Bradforde. Najpre je predstavljen rad Međunarodnog udruženja šefova policija koje broji preko 33000 članova/ca u 170 zemalja širom sveta i čija je misija unapređivanje policijske profesije kroz zastupanje, istraživanje, informisanje i obrazovanje. Gospodin Letteney je ukazao na prioritete u radu udruženja, koji se odnose na: izgradnju kapaciteta odgovornih za sprovođenje zakona da odgovore na zločine rodno zasnovanog nasilja; podizanje svesti o važnosti fundamentalnih promena koje podrazumevaju uključivanje pristupa usmerenog na žrtvu i informisanja o traumi, dok se prestupnici pozivaju na odgovornost, kao i poverenje zajednice i pristupi u radu policije koji su usmereni na žrtve, a koji su međusobno povezani. Prema njegovim rečima, uspostavljanje poverenja u zajednici je ključno za primenu efikasnih strategija

usmerenih na žrtve, dok pristupi usmereni na žrtve pomažu u izgradnji i održavanju poverenja zajednice dajući prioritet potrebama, pravima i dobrobiti žrtava. Ovaj simbiotski odnos je od suštinskog značaja za stvaranje sigurnijih zajednica sa više podrške. On je predstavio i Kampanju za izgradnju poverenja⁴ koju sprovodi Međunarodno udruženje šefova policije. Ovom kampanjom se nastoji da se unapredi poverenje između policijskih agencija i zajednica kojima služe tako što će se obezbediti pozitivna partnerstva između zajednice i policije, koja promovišu bezbedne, efikasne interakcije, kreiraju strategije za sprečavanje i smanjenje kriminaliteta i doprinose blagostanju i kvalitetnjem životu za sve. Predavanje u okviru ove sesije imala je i Staci Beers, koordinatorka za podršku žrtvama pri američkom Federalnom istražnom birou (Federal Bureau of Investigation, u daljem tekstu: FBI). U izlaganju na temu *Inovativni pristupi planiranju i pripremi za podršku žrtvama zločina*, ona je ukazala koliko je važno biti inovativan kada se planira i priprema podrška žrtvama nasilja. Ovo može uključivati istraživanje novih pristupa uslugama za žrtve, korišćenje tehnologije i saradnju sa partnerima u zajednici radi pružanja sveobuhvatne podrške. Ukazala je i na značaj toga da se žrtve motivišu da budu deo procesa, da preuzmu aktivnu ulogu kako bi izašle iz situacije u kojoj se nalaze. Ono što je, prema njenim rečima, važno kada je u pitanju pomoći i podrška žrtvama i prevencija, jeste da moramo poznavati zajednicu kojoj služimo, da u okviru te zajednice moramo „govoriti istim jezikom“ i da mora postojati poverenje građanja prema institucijama čija je primarna uloga da ih zaštite. Predstavila je trening pod nazivom *Sa žaljenjem vas obaveštavamo... (We Regret to Inform You...)*⁵, koji je implementirao FBI, a koji treba da posluži kao značajan alat za podizanje kapaciteta policijskih službenika koji gotovo svakodnevno dolaze u situaciju da članovima porodice saopštavaju tragične vesti.

U okviru panel diskusije pod nazivom *Stavljanje žrtava u srce policije* govorili su Elena Sanchez, kopredsedavajuća izvršnog odbora LGTBIPol, Jochen Kopelke, viši policijski službenik i savezni predsednik Sindikata policije Nemačke, John Lettenei, predsednik Izvršnog odbora Međunarodnog udruženja šefova policija (IACP) i Francesca Romana Capaldo, potpukovnica i direktorka Opservatorije za bezbednost protiv akata diskriminacije. Oni su ukazali na posebno nepovoljan položaj žrtava iz pojedinih društvenih grupa, kao što su pripadnici/e LGBTQ+ populacije, mladi, osobe nižeg socio-ekonomskog

⁴ Više o kampanji na: <https://www.theiacp.org/iACP-trust-building-campaign>

⁵ Više o treningu na: <https://www.deathnotification.psu.edu/>.

statusa i slično. Složili su se da je nepoverenje prema institucijama glavni razlog neprijavljivanja nasilja. S tim u vezi, prema njihovim rečima, neophodno je raditi na izgradnji poverenja, koje se „lako gubi, a teško vraća”. Diskutovalo se i o modalitetima prijavljivanja nasilja, u vezi sa čim je gospodin Kopelke rekao da su u Nemačkoj pokrenuli raspravu o tome da li je po žrtvu bolje da nasilje prijavi u policiji ili online, gde je prednost data online načinu prijavljivanja. Gospodin Lettenei je istakao važnost saradnje policije i nevladinih organizacija, koje jesu i treba da budu jedan od mehanizama za prijavu nasilja. Panelisti su zaključili da treba da težimo inkluzivnom, empatičnom radu policije kako bismo imali bezbednije društvo.

Tokom završnog, trećeg dana konferencije održane su dve panel diskusije pod nazivom *Podrška žrtvama iz područja pogođenih sukobom: Iz perspektive žrtve* i *Podrška žrtvama iz područja pogođenih sukobom: Iz perspektive politike*. Tokom ove dve panel diskusije fokus je bio na pružanju podrške ugroženom stanovništvu usred sukoba i na to kako bi povećanje pomoći i njene dostupnosti moglo da reši sukobe i nasilje. Panelisti/kinje su govorili/e o različitim perspektivama u rešavanju izazova, promovisanju isceljenja nakon sukoba i ponovnoj izgradnji zajednica. Izneti su različiti uvidi o okvirima politike, međunarodnoj saradnji i negovanju otpornosti.

Tokom konferencije učesnici/e su imali/e priliku da učestvuju na različitim radionicama. Radionice su bile prilika da se međusobno razgovara o ulozi zajednica koje pružaju podršku žrtvama, predstavnika/ca pravosuđa, zdravstvenih radnika, predstavnika/ca akademske zajednice, novinara i privatnog sektora u garantovanju promocije i poštovanja prava žrtava i demokratije i u očuvanju vladavine prava. Posebno zanimljiva bila je radionica pod nazivom *Imati hrabrosti da se založiš za svoja uverenja na mreži - Ujedinjeni protiv govora mržnje i pretećeg ponašanja*, koja je imala za cilj da polaznicima/ama pruži znanje koje im je potrebno da aktivno zauzmu stav protiv govora mržnje. Ovo je, takođe, bila prilika da učesnici/e razmene iskustva i znanja o tome šta predstavlja govor mržnje, da govore o ličnim iskustvima vezano za govor mržnje na društvenim mrežama, mehanizmima podrške i zaštite u različitim društvima i slično. Glavne poruke učesnika/ca radionice bile su da je govor mržnje izraz društvenih uslova i da mržnja može da cveta kada predrasude i negativne emocije prema određenim grupama postanu društveno prihvatljive.

Konferenciju je zatvorila predsednica Evropske podrške žrtvama, Rose Jansen, koja je najavila da će se sledeća godišnja konferencija održati

u Hrvatskoj i tom prilikom pozvala učesnike i učesnice da i naredne godine posete konferenciju kako bi nastavili zajedničku misiju osnaživanja žrtava i izgradnje pravednijeg društva.

Kao što se vidi iz prikaza, sadržaj konferencije je bio veoma raznolik. Teme koje su obrađivane tokom skupa su bile interesantne, a način rada tokom radionica omogućio je da se razmene ideje i mišljenja i da se dođe do novih saznanja koja mogu biti korisna u daljem radu. Ovaj skup je bio prilika za upoznavanje sa radom različitih organizacija i sistema koji se razlikuju, ali i imaju sličnosti sa organizacijama i sistemima u Srbiji, ali i da se uoče primeri dobre prakse kada je reč o zaštiti osnovnih sloboda i prava žrtava. Takođe, učešće na konferenciji bila je prilika za ostvarivanje kontakata i potencijalne saradnje, kako u pogledu konkurisanja za zajedničke projekte, tako i u pogledu drugih oblika saradnje, razmene ideja i resursa. Uspešnosti i pozitivnom iskustvu doprinela je zasigurno i dobra tehnička organizacija skupa u konferencijskom centru H4 smeštenom na Alexanderplatz-u, u samom centru Berlina.

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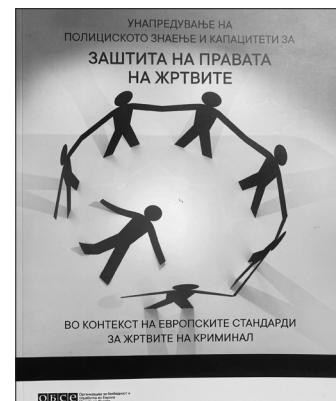
BAČANOVIĆ OLIVER

Унапредување на полициското знаење и капацитети за заштита на правата на жртвите во контекст на европските стандарди за жртвите на криминал

Unapređivanje policijskih znanja i kapaciteta za zaštitu prava žrtava u kontekstu evropskih standarda za žrtve kriminala, Skopje, OEBS - Organizacija za evropsku bezbednost i saradnju, Misija u Republici Severnoj Makedoniji, 2021, str. 68

Publikacija *Unapređivanje policijskih znanja i kapaciteta za zaštitu prava žrtava u kontekstu evropskih standarda za žrtve kriminala*, čiji je autor prof. dr Oliver Bačanović, rezultat je autorovog istraživanja, koje je bilo fokusirano na unapređenje policijskog znanja i kapaciteta za zaštitu prava žrtava, a preko aktivnosti usmerenih ka podizanju svesti o evropskim standardima koji se tiču policije i njenog odnosa prema žrtvama krivičnih dela.

Polazna tačka ovog istraživanja je jedan od ključnih dokumenata Evropske unije (EU) - Direktiva za uspostavljanje minimalnih standarda o pravima, podršci i zaštiti žrtava kriminaliteta (Direktiva EU o pravima žrtava), usvojena 2012. godine, a koja predstavlja fundamentalan dokument za unapređenje prava i položaja žrtava kriminaliteta. Autor s pravom primećuje da ovaj dokument nije dovoljno afirmisan u Republici Severnoj Makedoniji, a još manje su odredbe ovog dokumenta unete u makedonsko zakonodavstvo. Iako ovaj dokument još uvek nije obavezujući za institucije u zemlji, saglasno procesu usaglašavanja sa zakonodavstvom EU i kao rezultat aspiracije Republike Severne Makedonije za članstvo u EU, veoma brzo će se nametnuti obaveza njenog prihvatanja i



implementacije. U vezi sa tim, autor naglašava važnost Direktive EU o pravima žrtava i potrebu unošenja prava i standarda predviđenih u ovom međunarodnom dokumentu u makedonsko nacionalno zakondavstvo. S tim u vezi, predstavljaju se modeli inkorporiranja odredaba u nacionalna zakonodavstva koja stoje na raspolaganju državama koje su članice EU, a koji postaju aktuelni i kada je u pitanju Republika Severna Makedonija.

Autor primećuje da Direktiva EU o pravima žrtava nameće i značajne obaveze, između ostalog, i za policiju koja je organ koji najčešće ostvaruje prvi kontakt sa žrtvama krivičnih dela, ukazujući na njenu veoma značajnu i odgovornu ulogu u ostvarivanju prava žrtava. Polazeći od toga, u radu se posebno ističe nužnost unapređenja odnosa policije prema žrtvama kriminaliteta u normativnom i praktičnom smislu, na način predviđen u ovoj Direktivi.

Potreba za promenom odnosa policije prema žrtvama kriminaliteta uopšte, a ne samo prema ranjivim kategorijama žrtava, naglašava se kao značajan strateški cilj koji policija treba da ima pred sobom u cilju smanjivanja rizika od nastajanja sekundarne viktimizacije, povećanja efikasnosti policije, a ujedno i povećanja poverenja u policiju, na čemu autor posebno insistira (poslednje upravo kao rezultat unapređenja odnosa policije prema žrtvama). U vezi sa tim, ova publikacija je značajna upravo zbog toga što sadrži zaključke, preloge i preporuke koji mogu da posluže ostvarivanju tih ciljeva.

Autor svoje istraživačke rezultate predstavlja i sistematizuje u četiri posebna dela. U uvodnom delu su navedeni i obrazloženi ciljevi i zadaci istraživanja, uz naglašavanje pozitivnih promena koje se očekuju ukoliko se prihvate preporuke koje su rezultat sprovedenog istraživanja. Nadalje, koristeći normativno-pravni metod, profesor Bačanović u prvom delu ove studije opisuje položaj žrtve i oštećenog prema važećem makedonskom Zakonu o krivičnom postupku iz 2010. godine (zajedno sa kasnijim izmenama i dopunama). U vezi sa tim, konstatuje da postoji pozitivna tendencija u promenama krivičnog materijalnog i procesnog zakondavstva u vezi sa položajem žrtava krivičnih dela, naglašavajući da pozitivne promene u zakonodavstvu ne znače nužno i njihovu adekvatnu operacionalizaciju i praktičnu primenu.

S obzirom da je osnovna jedinica istraživanja Direktiva EU o pravima žrtava, logično je što je u drugom delu rada data konkretna analiza određenih odredaba ovog međunarodnog dokumenta i (ne)usaglašenosti nacionalnog zakondavstva (pre svega krivičnoprocesnog) sa njim. Analiza je fokusirana na tri grupe prava žrtava: davanje informacija i podrške žrtvama, njihovo učešće

u krivičnom postupku i zaštita žrtava, kao i priznavanje prava žrtava sa posebnim potrebama zaštite. Na samom početku ovog dela autor ukazuje na razliku u definisanju pojma žrtve u domaćem zakonodavstvu u odnosu na Direktivu EU o pravima žrtava. U suštini se primećuje restriktivniji pristup koji ima makedonsko krivično zakonodavstvo u određivanju pojma žrtve, navodeći da tzv. posredne žrtve nisu obuhvaćene, čime su neopravdano zapostavljene.

U odnosu na usaglašenost nacionalnog zakonodavstva sa ove tri grupe prava sadržanih u Direktivi EU o pravima žrtava, autor ukazuje na potrebu preciziranja, unapređenja i promena u zakonodavstvu u odnosu na postupanje i ostvarivanje prava žrtava u kontaktu sa policijom, javnim tužilaštvom i sudovima. Ono što se navodi kao ključno odnosi se na posebnu procenu potreba žrtava bez obzira o kom krivičnom delu se radi, opredeljivanjem subjekata koji su na nacionalnom nivou odgovorni za vršenje takve procene.

Značajno je spomenuti aktivnosti i mere koje autor predlaže, kao minimalne standarde pri postupanju policije sa žrtvama (uključujući i druge organe socijalne kontrole), kao što su: dobijanje informacija (brzo i blagovremeno), obezbeđivanje sigurnosti žrtava kao i njihovih bliskih, sprečavanje stigmatizacije i sekundarne viktimizacije, otklanjanje opasnosti od reviktimizacije i drugo. U tom pravcu, autor predlaže da se afirmiše i uvede specijalizacija policijskih službenika koji rade sa žrtvama kriminaliteta, jer je značajna za razvijanje svesti o potrebama žrtava i nužnosti postupanja sa njima na profesionalan način, te na način kojim se uvažava njihovo dostojanstvo.

Kada se reformiše određena oblast, potrebno je da se sagledaju i prikažu primeri dobrih praksi ili iskustva zemalja koje imaju dužu tradiciju uspostavljanja i unapređivanja prava i položaja žrtava kriminaliteta. Uvažavajući ovo pravilo, primenom komparativnog metoda, Bačanović u trećem delu studije daje prikaz praktičnih primera kako se prenose (pa čak i inoviraju) određene značajne odredbe Direktive EU o pravima žrtava u nacionalna zakonodavstva i politike, oslanjajući se, pre svega, na iskustva Velike Britanije i Poljske. Tako je, na primer, Poljska napravila izmenu u Zakonu o krivičnom postupku, kao i u nekim drugim aktima, vezano za bolje informisanje, upoznavanje žrtve sa njеним pravima, obavezama i položajem u krivičnom postupku (davanjem pisanog uputstva) i slično. Kada je u pitanju Velika Britanija, posebno se skreće pažnja na Kodeks za postupanje sa žrtvama krivičnih dela, dobijanje brošura sa informacijama o njenim pravima i praktičnim uputstvima za njihovo ostvarivanje, uzimanje u obzir očekivanja žrtve u odnosu na krivičnu pravdu, nadoknada

štete, informacije u vezi sa organizacijama koje žrtva može da kontaktira i od kojih dobija besplatne savete, praktične informacije i emocionalnu podršku.

Ono što daje posebnu vrednost svakom istraživanju su predlozi i preporuke, a koji su u funkciji ostvarivanja naučnih i praktičnih ciljeva koje je autor postavio. U tom smislu, u četvrtom delu studije su sublimirani zaključci autorovog istraživanja, kao i predlozi za uspostavljanje i unapređivanje standarda o pravima, podršci i zaštiti žrtava u nacionalnoj makedonskoj legislativi, zasnovani na odredbama Direktive EU o pravima žrtve, koristeći, pri tome, i odgovarajuće Uputstvo o njenom implementiranju u nacionalne pravne okvire i primeni. U tom smislu autor se fokusira na davanje ključnih preporuka grupišući ih u odnosu na pomenute tri grupe prava žrtava.

U poslednjem delu rada, autor, koristeći iskustva zemalja koje su bile predmet analize, daje priloge koji se odnose na dokumenta i obrasce koji mogu da budu iskorišćeni od strane makedonske policije za unapređenje rada sa žrtvama (što je, očigledno, bila i njegova namera), a odnose se na način ostvarivanja prava informisanja o njenim pravima, policijskoj istrazi, toku istrage, načinu oglašavanja prava žrtava u policijskim stanicama i drugo. Ovakvi obrasci mogu da posluže makedonskoj policiji kao model kako da se unapredi komunikacija, odnos, postupanje i ostvarivanje prava žrtava u policijskom postupku.

Ono što ovoj publikaciji daje posebnu vrednost je relevantnost predloga koje autor nudi u odnosu na izmene na normativnom i praktičnom planu. Pri tome, sa pravom se naglašava da promene u normativnom smislu treba da stvaraju uslove za suštinsko menjanje pristupa policije u odnosu na žrtvu, zato što samo „golo“ propisivanje normi bez njihove operacionalizacije i suštinske promene odnosa ne donosi pozitivne rezultate na planu unapređivanja policijskih kapaciteta i postupanja sa žrtvama kriminaliteta.

Na samom kraju, možemo da zaključimo da ova studija prof. dr Olivera Bačanovića ima posebnu naučnu, ali i praktičnu vrednost. Praktična vrednost i značaj proizilaze iz sprovedenog istraživanja, čiji rezultati mogu biti iskorišćeni na planu unapređivanja prava i položaja žrtava u različitim oblastima, a posebno, saglasno osnovnom predmetu istraživanja, policijskom radu sa žrtvama. Istovremeno, može da predstavlja putokaz i korisni instrument za policijske službenike, u funkciji unapređenja odnosa sa žrtvama, kao i načina kako da im se pomogne pri upoznavanju i ostvarivanju njihovih prava. Ujedno, to je jedan od načina na koji policija može da se približi građanima i u suštinskome smislu transformiše u „servis“ građana.

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