(NE)RAVNOPRAVNE I (NE)BEZBEDNE

Žene u političkom životu Srbije - za stolom promena

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(UN)EQUAL AND (UN)SAFE

Women in politics in Serbia - at the table of Change

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(NE)RAVNOPRAVNE I (NE)BEZBEDNE – MAPIRANJE IZAZOVA I POTREBA ŽENA U POLITICI, U AKTUELNOM DRUŠTVENOM KONTEKSTU U SRBIJI

1. Sažetak

Koliko nam broj žena u političkim institucijama zaista govori o ravnopravnosti žena u politici? Veća zastupljenost žena jeste jedan od najvidljivijih pomaka ostvarenih poslednjih decenija. Ali broj mandata i političkih funkcija ne pokazuje gde se politička moć zaista raspoređuje, ko učestvuje u donošenju odluka, čiji se glas čuje i pod kakvim uslovima žene u politici napreduju i ostaju.

Mapiranje koje je pred vama polazi upravo od onoga što brojevi ne mogu da pokažu. Kroz dve fokus grupe i četiri polustrukturirana intervjua želeli smo da političko učešće sagledamo iz perspektive samih političarki. Zanimalo nas je kako dolaze do mesta na kojima se odlučuje, koliko prostora imaju za samostalno političko delovanje, sa kakvim se preprekama, pritiscima i rizicima suočavaju, ali i šta su naučile da rade da bi u takvom okruženju opstale i šta im je potrebno za dalje nesmetano političko delovanje.

Razgovori su pokazali da veće prisustvo žena ne znači nužno i jednak pristup političkoj moći. Učesnice su govorile o neformalnim centrima odlučivanja, dogovorima izvan formalnih struktura, podeli političkih tema i potrebi da se dodatno dokazuju. Opisivale su situacije u kojima žene jesu prisutne, ali nisu za istim stolom za kojim se odlučuje. Govorile su i o tome koliko se političarke i dalje procenjuju kroz izgled, godine, način govora i privatni život, kao i o pretnjama, za-

(UN)EQUAL AND (UN)SAFE – MAPPING THE CHALLENGES AND NEEDS OF WOMEN IN POLITICS IN SERBIA'S CURRENT SOCIAL CONTEXT

1. Executive summary

How much does the number of women in political institutions really tell us about gender equality in politics? Increased representation of women is one of the most visible advances of recent decades. Yet the number of seats and political offices does not reveal how political power is actually distributed, who participates in decision-making, whose voice is heard, or the conditions under which women advance and remain in politics.

This mapping study starts with precisely what the numbers cannot show. Through two focus groups and four semi-structured interviews, we sought to understand political participation from the perspectives of women politicians themselves. We explored how they gain access to decision-making positions, how much scope they have to act independently, the barriers, pressures and risks they face, what they have learned to do to sustain their involvement in such an environment, and what they need to continue their political work without obstruction.

The discussions showed that a greater presence of women does not necessarily mean equal access to political power. Participants spoke about informal centres of decision-making, agreements reached outside formal structures, the allocation of policy areas and the need to prove themselves repeatedly. They described situations in which women are present, but do not sit at the table where decisions are made. They also spoke about how women

strašivanju i različitim oblicima nasilja. Na lokalnom nivou granica između političkog i privatnog postaje još tanja, pa posledice političkog angažmana imaju uticaja na dom, porodicu, profesiju i egzistenciju.

Jedan od važnijih uvida ovog mapiranja nije samo sa čim se žene suočavaju, već koliko su naučile da se tome prilagođavaju. Učesnice su govorile o tome kako su naučile da se izbore za reč, uzvrate, dodatno se dokažu, ne pokažu strah, potraže oslonac u drugim ženama i vremenom, kako same kažu, „oguglaju". U tome ima snage, iskustva i sposobnosti da se politički prostor osvoji i u njemu ostane. Ali sposobnost da se u neravnopravnim uslovima funkcioniše može učiniti manje vidljivim koliko se od žena očekuje da te uslove same savladaju. **To što su žene naučile da izdrže ne znači da su uslovi postali ravnopravni.**

Razgovori su otvorili i pitanje onoga što uobičajeni podaci o političkom učešću žena ne pokazuju. Žena može ostati u politici, a smanjiti svoju vidljivost ili prostor delovanja. Može razmišljati o odlasku, a ipak ostati. Može otići ne onda kada je sama želela, već onda kada uslovi pod kojima ostaje postanu neprihvatljivi. A neke žene možda nikada neće ni ući u politiku, jer unapred vide moguće posledice po posao, porodicu, privatnost i bezbednost. **Imamo dva izazova - povlačenje iz politike i odvraćanje žena od ulaska u politiku.** One koje nikada nisu ušle neće se pojaviti u podatku o broju žena koje su politiku napustile.

Ovo mapiranje zato pomera pažnju sa pitanja koliko je žena u politici na pitanje kakvu političku moć imaju i pod kakvim uslovima je ostvaruju. Paritetna zastupljenost ostaje važna, ali ravnopravnost podrazumeva i pristup odlučivanju, prostor za samostalno političko delovanje, bezbednost i političko okruženje u kojem žena ne mora neprestano da se prilagođava da bi mogla da ostane.

politicians continue to be judged by their appearance, age, manner of speaking and private lives, and about threats, intimidation and various forms of violence. At the local level, the boundary between political and private life becomes even thinner, and the consequences of political engagement affect their homes, families, professions and livelihoods.

One of the study's key insights concerns not only what women face, but also how much they have learned to adapt to it. Participants described learning to make themselves heard, push back, prove themselves again, conceal their fear, seek support from other women and, over time, as they put it, "grow a thick skin". This reflects strength, experience and an ability to claim a place in politics and hold on to it. Yet the ability to function under unequal conditions can obscure how much women are expected to overcome those conditions on their own. **The fact that women have learned to endure does not mean that the conditions have become equal**.

The discussions also raised issues that conventional data on women's political participation do not capture. A woman may remain in politics while reducing her visibility or scope of action. She may consider leaving, yet stay. She may leave not when she wishes to, but when the conditions of staying become unacceptable. Some women may never enter politics at all because they anticipate the possible consequences for their jobs, families, privacy and safety. **We face two challenges: women withdrawing from politics and women being deterred from entering it**. Those who never entered will not appear in the figures on women who have left politics.

This study therefore shifts attention from how many women are in politics to the political power they hold and the conditions under which they exercise it. Gender parity in representation remains important, but equality also requires access to decision-making, scope for independent political action, safety and a

Aktuelni društveni kontekst u kome političarke deluju obeležen je sveprisutnom agresijom, mizoginijom, omalovažavanjem, ponižavanjem i različitim vidovima nasilja prema njima, ali i ženama u drugim sferama društva. Aktuelni obrasci ponašanja i političke prakse, postale su toliko dominantane, da postoji pretnja da se ovakva stvarnost prihvati kao deo prihvatljivog, „normalnog" ponašanja, takoreći „standarda"/"običaja", ne samo u politici, već i u drugim sferama života i rada. Različiti oblici diskriminacije kojima su žene u politici izložene posebno se vide u kontekstu višestruke i intersekcijske diskriminacije, kada se u obzir uzme politička pripadnost ubeđenje. Druga strana iste medalje je zloupotreba teme nasilja nad ženama od strane tabloida i vladajuće partije, kao i fabrikovanje slučajeva nasilja prema ženama, u cilju ubeđivanja javnosti da su u politici svi isti. Ova pojava se naročito odražava na dodatno podsticanje predrasuda i negativnog imidža politike kao profesije, što ženama dodatno otežava ostanak i delovanje u njoj. Još jedno važno obeležje stvarnosti, koje političarke ističu je, da je nasilje u politici sve više izraženo i prema muškarcima koji na bilo koji način politički deluju u cilju promena aktuelnog stanja. Svakako, izazovi sa kojima se žene suočavaju u politici je teško posmatrati odvojeno od opšteg, kompleksnog stanja u društvu, koje nije predmet ove studije, ali otežava izdvajanje nalaza koji su deo primarnog cilja ovog mapiranja.

Žene su se politici prilagodile mnogo više nego što se politika prilagodila ženama.

2. Od zastupljenosti do političke moći: zašto je potrebno novo mapiranje

Koliko žena treba da bude u politici da bismo mogli da kažemo da žene imaju političku moć? Trećina? Četrdeset odsto? Polovina? I da li nam bilo koji procenat zaista može dati odgovor na to pitanje?

political environment in which a woman does not have to keep adapting simply to remain involved.

The current social context in which women politicians operate is marked by pervasive aggression, misogyny, belittlement, humiliation and various forms of violence directed at them, as well as at women in other spheres of society. Prevailing patterns of behaviour and political practices have become so dominant that there is a risk of this reality being accepted as part of acceptable, "normal" behaviour—effectively as a "standard" or "custom"—not only in politics but also in other areas of life and work.

The various forms of discrimination faced by women in politics become particularly evident through the lens of multiple and intersectional discrimination, when political affiliation and beliefs are taken into account. The other side of the same coin is the misapplication of the issue of violence against women by tabloids and the ruling party, as well as the fabrication of cases of violence against women, with the aim of convincing the public that everyone in politics is the same. This phenomenon further reinforces prejudice and the negative image of politics as a profession, making it even more difficult for women to remain and participate in political life.

Another important feature of the current reality highlighted by women politicians is that political violence is increasingly directed at men who engage in any form of political activity aimed at changing the status quo. The challenges women face in politics are therefore difficult to examine separately from the broader, complex situation in society. Although that situation falls outside the scope of this study, it makes it more difficult to distinguish the findings directly relevant to the primary objective of this mapping exercise.

Women have adapted to politics far more than politics has adapted to women.

Zastupljenost žena u političkim institucijama u Srbiji povećana je tokom prethodnih decenija. Prema podacima Interparlamentarne unije i UN Women, na dan 1. januara 2026. godine žene su činile 37,6% narodnih poslanika u Narodnoj skupštini, što je bilo iznad evropskog i svetskog proseka.[1]

Ipak, veći broj žena na političkim funkcijama sam po sebi ne govori koliko one zaista učestvuju u donošenju odluka. **Žene možemo prebrojati. Političku moć ne možemo. Iza broja mandata ostaju pitanja ko postavlja političke prioritete, gde se odluke zaista donose i koliko prostora žene imaju da na njih utiču.**

Ali ni pristup mestima odlučivanja nije jedino pitanje. Za stvarno političko učešće važno je i pod kakvim uslovima žene deluju, koliko prostora imaju za samostalno političko delovanje i šta je potrebno da bi taj prostor zadržale. Rodna diskreditacija, seksistički napadi, uznemiravanje i pretnje, uključujući i one u digitalnom prostoru, mogu da utiču na njihovu vidljivost, teme o kojima govore i spremnost da se politički izlože.

Zato formalno prisustvo žena i javno zalaganje za rodnu ravnopravnost ne moraju uvek da znače i promenu stvarnih odnosa moći. U razgovorima se pojavio upravo taj raskorak, kao i **instrumentalizacija žena i jezika ravnopravnosti radi stvaranja slike o političkoj progresivnosti**, bez odgovarajuće promene položaja žena u praksi.

Postojeća istraživanja već ukazuju na brojne prepreke sa kojima se žene u politici suočavaju. Ipak, između podatka da je žena ušla u politiku i podatka da je iz nje izašla ostaje veliki deo njenog političkog iskustva koji brojevi teško mogu da pokažu. Koliko stvarnog

1 The IPU-UN Women map, WOMEN IN POLITICS: 2026, dostupno na: https://www.ipu.org/resources/publications/infographics/2026-03/women-in-politics-202a6

2. From representation to political power: why a new mapping study is needed

How many women need to be in politics before we can say that women have political power? A third? Forty per cent? Half? Can any percentage really answer that question?

Women's representation in Serbia's political institutions has increased over recent decades. According to the Inter-Parliamentary Union and UN Women, women held 37.6% of seats in the National Assembly as of 1 January 2026, above both the European and global averages.[1]

Yet a greater number of women in political office does not, in itself, tell us how much they actually participate in decision-making. **We can count women. We cannot count political power. Behind the number of seats lie questions about who sets political priorities, where decisions are really made and how much scope women have to influence them**.

Access to decision-making positions is not the only issue. Meaningful political participation also depends on the conditions under which women act, the scope they have for independent political action and what it takes to retain that scope. Attempts to discredit them on the basis of gender, sexist attacks, harassment and threats, including online, can affect their visibility, the issues they discuss and their willingness to expose themselves politically.

Women's formal presence and public advocacy for gender equality therefore do not always signify a change in actual power relations. The discussions revealed precisely this gap, as well as the **use of women and the language of equality to project an image of political progressiveness without a corresponding improvement in women's position in practice**.

Existing research already identifies numerous barriers facing women in politics. Yet between the record of a woman entering politics and the record of her leaving, much of her political

1 The IPU–UN Women map, Women in Politics: 2026, available at: https://www.ipu.org/resources/publications/infographics/2026-03/women-in-politics-2026

uticaja ima? Šta mora da savlada da bi bila saslušana? Čemu se vremenom prilagođava da bi ostala? I šta može da je navede da smanji prostor svog političkog delovanja ili da od političkog angažmana odustane pre nego što u njega uopšte uđe?

Zato ovo mapiranje polazi od iskustava samih političarki i pomera pažnju sa pitanja koliko je žena u politici na pitanje kako izgleda njihovo stvarno političko učešće.

3. Šta već znamo o položaju žena u politici

Dosadašnja istraživanja o položaju žena u politici u Srbiji pokazuju da su, uprkos većoj zastupljenosti žena u političkim institucijama, i dalje prisutne razlike u pristupu rukovodećim pozicijama, oblastima političkog delovanja i mestima na kojima se donose odluke. Istraživanje Žene u parlamentu: samo kvota ili stvarni uticaj? pokazalo je da su poslanice bile veoma aktivne u zakonodavnim i kontrolnim funkcijama Narodne skupštine, ali i slabije zastupljene na pojedinim rukovodećim pozicijama. Uočena je i rodna podela oblasti političkog delovanja: žene su bile prisutnije u socijalnoj politici, ljudskim pravima, porodici i kulturi, dok su muškarci bili zastupljeniji u bezbednosti, finansijama i infrastrukturi.[2]

Na pristup političkoj moći utiče i položaj žena unutar samih političkih stranaka. Istraživanje o nasilju nad političarkama u Srbiji[3] ukazalo je na značaj formalnih i neformalnih stranačkih mehanizama za kandidature i napredovanje. Ispitanice su opisivale centralizovane strukture i značaj lidera i užih krugova odlučivanja, dok su ženama češće pripadali pomoćni i administrativni poslovi i oblasti

2 Otvoreni parlament, Žene u parlamentu – samo kvota ili stvarni uticaj? Rodna ravnopravnost u Narodnoj Skupštini Republike Srbije, Beograd, 2014.

3 Marija Babović i dr, Nasilje nad političarkama u Srbiji: žene u politici na tromeđi roda, moći i političke kulture, OEBS, Beograd, 2021.

experience remains difficult to capture in numbers. How much real influence does she have? What must she overcome to be heard? What does she learn to adapt to over time in order to stay? What might lead her to narrow the scope of her political activity or abandon political engagement before she has even begun?

This study therefore starts with women politicians' own experiences and shifts attention from how many women are in politics to what their political participation actually involves.

3. What we already know about the position of women in politics

Previous research on women in politics in Serbia shows that, despite their increased representation in political institutions, inequalities persist in access to leadership positions, policy areas and decision-making roles. The study *Women in Parliament: Quotas Alone or Real Influence?* found that women MPs were highly active in the National Assembly's legislative and oversight functions, but were less well represented in certain leadership positions. It also identified a gendered division of policy areas: women were more prominent in social policy, human rights, family affairs and culture, while men were more prominent in security, finance and infrastructure.[2]

Access to political power is also shaped by women's position within political parties. Research on violence against women politicians in Serbia highlighted the importance of formal and informal party mechanisms governing candidacies and advancement. Respondents described centralised structures and the influence of leaders and small decision-making circles, while women were more often assigned support

2 Open Parliament (Otvoreni parlament), Women in Parliament: Quotas Alone or Real Influence? Gender Equality in the National Assembly of the Republic of Serbia [Žene u parlamentu – samo kvota ili stvarni uticaj? Rodna ravnopravnost u Narodnoj skupštini Republike Srbije], Belgrade, 2014.

koje se tradicionalno smatraju „ženskim“. Takvi nalazi pokazuju da za položaj žena unutar stranaka nisu važne samo formalne funkcije, već i način na koji se odlučuje o kandidaturama, napredovanju i raspodeli političkih uloga.

Razlike su vidljive i u javnom prostoru. Istraživanje medijskog predstavljanja tokom izborne kampanje 2020. godine[4] pokazalo je znatno manju zastupljenost političarki u analiziranim sadržajima, ali i razlike u temama povodom kojih su žene i muškarci dobijali prostor. Međunarodni nalazi istovremeno ukazuju na dvostruke standarde u proceni političarki u odnosu na njihove muške kolege, od izgleda i odevanja do privatnog života, emocija i načina komunikacije.[5]

Poseban deo dosadašnjih istraživanja odnosi se na nasilje. Zabeležena je izloženost političarki psihičkom, seksualnom i fizičkom nasilju, kao i rodno zasnovanim napadima u digitalnom prostoru. Posledice se ne moraju videti samo kroz formalno napuštanje politike. Istraživanje *Nevidljivo povlačenje* ukazuje na autocenzuru, smanjivanje javne vidljivosti, izbegavanje određenih tema i druge načine ograničavanja političkog delovanja radi samozaštite.[6] Ovi nalazi su posebno važni jer pokazuju da ostanak žene u politici sam po sebi ne govori da li su se njena vidljivost i prostor za političko delovanje u međuvremenu smanjili.

Dosadašnja istraživanja tako već pokazuju da se položaj žena u politici ne može razumeti samo kroz njihovu brojčanu zastupljenost.

4 Tatjana D. Đukić Živadinović, Reprezentacija žena u politici u novim medijima u Srbiji, doktorska disertacija, Univerzitet u Nišu, Filozofski fakultet, Niš, 2022.

5 IPU Global Conference of Women Parliamentarians, Advancing parity: Breaking the barriers of gender stereotypes and negative social norms, 2–4 June 2026, Belgrade, Serbia, Final document

6 Centar za podršku ženama, Nevidljivo povlačenje - Uticaj nasilja prema ženama u politici na političku participaciju žena u Srbiji, Vestminsterska fondacija za demokratiju (WFD), dostupno na: https://www.wfd.org/what-we-do/resources/invisible-retreat-impact-violence-against-women-politics-womens-political

and administrative tasks and areas traditionally regarded as “women’s issues”. These findings show that women’s position within parties depends not only on their formal roles, but also on how decisions are made aboutcandidacies, advancement and the allocation of political responsibilities.[3]

Differences are also evident in the public sphere. Research into media representation during the 2020 election campaign found that women politicians were substantially less visible in the content analysed, and that women and men were given space to discuss different issues.[4] International findings also point to double standards in how women politicians are judged compared with their male colleagues, from appearance and clothing to private life, emotions and communication style.[5]

A distinct strand of previous research concerns violence. Women politicians’ exposure to psychological, sexual and physical violence, as well as gender-based attacks online, has been documented. The consequences need not be visible only through formal withdrawal from politics. The study Invisible Retreat identifies self-censorship, reduced public visibility, avoidance of particular issues and other ways of limiting political activity as a means of self-protection. These findings are especially important because they show that a woman’s continued involvement in politics does not, in itself, reveal whether her visibility and scope for political action have diminished.[6]

3 Marija Babović et al., Violence against Women Politicians in Serbia: Women in Politics at the Intersection of Gender, Power and Political Culture [Nasilje nad političarkama u Srbiji: žene u politici na tromeđi roda, moći i političke kulture], OSCE, Belgrade, 2021.

4 Tatjana D. Đukić Živadinović, Representation of Women in Politics in New Media in Serbia [Reprezentacija žena u politici u novim medijima u Srbiji], doctoral dissertation, University of Niš, Faculty of Philosophy, Niš, 2022.

5 IPU Global Conference of Women Parliamentarians, Advancing parity: Breaking the barriers of gender stereotypes and negative social norms, 2–4 June 2026, Belgrade, Serbia, Final document.

6 Women’s Support Center (Centar za podršku ženama), Invisible Retreat: The Impact of Violence against Women in Politics on Women’s Political Participation in Serbia [Nevidljivo povlačenje – Uticaj nasilja prema ženama u politici na političku participaciju žena u Srbiji], Westminster Foundation for Democracy (WFD), available at: https://www.wfd.org/what-we-do/resources/invisible-retreat-impact-violence-against-women-politics-womens-political

Pristup odlučivanju, položaj unutar političkih stranaka, javna vidljivost, izloženost nasilju i mogućnost samostalnog političkog delovanja već su prepoznati kao važne dimenzije političkog učešća žena. Ovo mapiranje nadovezuje se na te nalaze i ispituje kako ih same političarke prepoznaju i opisuju danas.

4. Kako smo mapirale iskustva političarki

U središtu ovog mapiranja su iskustva političarki različitog političkog spektra: kako su ulazile u politiku, gde su nailazile na prepreke, kako su dolazile do prostora za odlučivanje, sa kakvim su se pritiscima suočavale i šta utiče na njihovu odluku o ostanku u politici.

Zato je mapiranje zasnovano na kvalitativnom pristupu u skladu sa ograničenim mogućnostima definisanim u projektu za podršku novim organizacijama. Organizovane su dve fokus grupe sa ženama aktivnim u političkom životu i obavljena četiri polustrukturirana intervjua sa političarkama. Razgovori su obuhvatili ulazak u politiku i napredovanje, formalne i neformalne centre moći, prostor za samostalno političko delovanje, odnos prema ženama unutar političkih struktura i u javnosti, izloženost pritiscima i nasilju, pitanja bezbednosti, kao i razloge zbog kojih žene ostaju u politici, ograničavaju svoje političko angažovanje ili razmišljaju o povlačenju, ali i njihova zapažanja o tome šta druge žene može odvratiti od ulaska u politiku.

Nismo tražili jedno, zajedničko, iskustvo žena u politici. Želele smo da razumemo šta se u njihovim pričama ponavlja, gde se iskustva razlikuju i koja pitanja žene u politici prepoznaju kao važna za svoj položaj, bezbednost i mogućnost političkog delovanja.

Previous research thus already demonstrates that women's position in politics cannot be understood through numerical representation alone. Access to decision-making, position within political parties, public visibility, exposure to violence and the ability to act independently have all been recognised as important dimensions of women's political participation. This mapping study builds on those findings and examines how women politicians themselves recognise and describe them today.

4. How we mapped women politicians' experiences

This study centres on the experiences of women politicians across the political spectrum: how they entered politics, where they encountered barriers, how they gained access to decision-making, the pressures they faced and what influences their decisions to remain in politics.

The study therefore used a qualitative approach, in line with the scope and limitations defined by the project supporting newly established organisations. Two focus groups were organised with women active in political life, and four semi-structured interviews were conducted with women politicians. The discussions covered entry into politics and advancement; formal and informal centres of power; scope for independent political action; attitudes towards women within political structures and in public life; exposure to pressure and violence; safety concerns; and the reasons women remain in politics, limit their engagement or consider withdrawing. They also explored participants' observations about what might deter other women from entering politics.

We did not seek a single, shared experience of women in politics. We wanted to understand the recurring patterns in their accounts, where experiences diverged and which issues women politicians considered important to their position, safety and ability to act politically.

5. Između „šta ti je to trebalo“ i „ja sam oguglala“: glavni nalazi mapiranja

Na početku razgovora zamolili smo učesnice da u jednoj reči kažu šta im je prva pomisao kada čuju „žene u politici danas u Srbiji“. Odgovori su bili različiti: **„hrabrost“, „nezaštićenost“, „uvrede“, „neophodnost“, „potcenjenost“fizičk iizgled“, „mizoginija“, „istrajnost i upornost“, „nepovlačenje“, „šta joj je to trebalo“, „bolje idi kuvaj“**. Pominjale su i kvote, nedovoljan broj žena, formalno ispunjavanje obaveze, obrazovanje, kultura i informisanost. Ali bilo je i drugačijih prvih slika: **„uzbuđenje zbog prostora koji zauzimamo, posebno kada je to onaj pravi prostor“ i „lakše nam je što nas je više“.**

Već su te prve asocijacije pokazale koliko je iskustvo žena u politici protivrečno. U istoj slici našle su se hrabrost i nezaštićenost, istrajnost i mizoginija, osvojeni prostor i pitanje „šta joj je to trebalo“. Upravo su nas te protivrečnosti tokom razgovora odvele dalje od početnog pitanja o preprekama sa kojima se žene suočavaju. Pokazalo se da je podjednako važno šta se dešava kada prepreke traju dovoljno dugo da prestanu da se doživljavaju kao izuzetak i postanu deo političke svakodnevice.

Prepreke ne vode nužno odustajanju. Mnoge žene sa kojima smo razgovarale ostale su u politici, neke su napredovale, izborile svoj prostor i razvile sopstvene načine da se zaštite. Ali upravo su njihove priče pokazale koliko ostanak u politici ponekad podrazumeva prilagođavanje uslovima koji se ne menjaju.

Tako se između „šta ti je to trebalo“, kojim za neke počinje ulazak u politiku, i „ja sam oguglala“, kojim opisuju život u njoj, otvara pitanje koje se provlači kroz nalaze ovog mapiranja: **šta je sve potrebno da žena u takvom političkom okruženju ostane?**

5. Between “Why did you put yourself through that?” and “I’ve grown a thick skin”: the study’s main findings

At the start of the discussions, we asked participants to give one word describing their first association with “women in politics in Serbia today”. Their answers varied: **“courage”, “lack of protection”, “insults”, “necessity”, “being underestimated”, “physical appearance”, “misogyny”, “perseverance and persistence”, “refusing to withdraw”, “why did she put herself through that?”** and **“go and do the cooking instead”**. They also mentioned quotas, insufficient numbers of women, formal compliance with requirements, education, culture and access to information. Yet there were other initial images too: “**excitement about the space we are claiming, especially when it is the space that really matters”** and **“it is easier for us now that there are more of us”**.

These initial associations already revealed the contradictions in women’s experience of politics. Courage and lack of protection, perseverance and misogyny, the space they had claimed and the question “why did she put herself through that?” all formed part of the same picture. During the discussions, these contradictions led us beyond our initial question about the barriers women face. It became clear that what happens wh that runs through the study’s findings: **what does it take for a woman to remain in such a political environment?**

“Where there is power, women struggle to break through. Where there is work to be done, they are there.”

Participants drew a clear distinction between the places where work is done and those where decisions are made. They spoke about women who administratively “run everything” within parties and do much of the work, while men are more often the public faces of those parties. They also described male social circles and informal

„Tamo gde je moć, ženama nije lako da naprave prodor, gde je rad, tu su.“

Učesnice su pravile jasnu razliku između mesta na kojima se radi i mesta na kojima se odlučuje. Govorile su o ženama koje u strankama administrativno „vode sve“ i obavljaju veliki deo posla, dok su muškarci češće lica stranaka. Govorile su i o muškim druženjima i neformalnim kanalima kojima žene nemaju jednak pristup, ali i o podeli tema. Ravnopravnost, zdravlje, deca i obrazovanje pominju se kao oblasti koje se lakše prepuštaju ženama, dok su bezbednost, odbrana i strateška pitanja u delu razgovora prepoznati kao prostori u koje žene teže ulaze.

Jedna sagovornica je to opisala vrlo konkretno. Po ulasku u Narodnu skupštinu, kako kaže, dobila je odbore za ravnopravnost, zdravlje i decu, „one koje muškarci neće“. Ona je, međutim, želela nešto drugo: „*Želim da budem u 'moćnim odborima'.*“

O značaju neformalnih dogovora druga sagovornica kaže: „*Ne zovem ga u kafanu da se dogovorimo, a to su mesta gde se stvari i politike dogovaraju.*“

U jednom od razgovora, ta podela dobila je gotovo doslovan oblik. Jedna narodna poslanica opisuje posetu lokalnom stranačkom odboru tokom koje je smeštena za sto sa ženama, dok su muške kolege sele sa rukovodstvom odbora. **Svi su formalno bili na istom mestu. Ali nisu bili za istim političkim stolom.**

Kvota može da obezbedi mesto u instituciji, ali ne i pristup svim prostorima u kojima se odlučuje. O kvotama učesnice nisu govorile jednoglasno. Jedna sagovornica je ono što vidi kao svođenje kvote na ispunjavanje propisanog minimuma opisala ovako: „*Ispunjava se samo forma, a ne žele žene na listi... Uprkos tome nema žena preko ovog broja. Sve je jasno.*“

channels to which women do not have equal access, as well as the division of policy areas. Equality, health, children and education were mentioned as areas more readily entrusted to women, while some discussions identified security, defence and strategic issues as areas that women find harder to enter.

One interviewee described this in very concrete terms. On entering the National Assembly, she said, she was assigned to committees on equality, health and children, "the ones men do not want". Yet she wanted something else: "*I want to sit on the 'powerful committees'*."

Another interviewee described the importance of informal agreements: "*I do not invite him to a tavern to work things out, yet those are the places where arrangements are made and policies agreed*."

In one discussion, this division took an almost literal form. A woman MP described a visit to a local party branch during which she was seated at a table with women, while her male colleagues sat with the branch leadership. **Formally, everyone was in the same place. But they were not at the same political table**.

A quota can secure a place in an institution, but not access to every setting in which decisions are made. Participants did not speak with one voice about quotas. One interviewee described what she saw as reducing the quota to compliance with the prescribed minimum: "*They only go through the motions; they do not want women on the list… Even so, there are no women beyond that number. It is all quite clear*."

"I've grown a thick skin."

Securing a place at the political table is one challenge. Staying there, the discussions showed, is another. The women we spoke with described various ways they had adapted to the political environment over time. They learned to "show their teeth",

„Ja sam oguglala.“

Izboriti mesto za političkim stolom jedno je pitanje. Ostati za njim, pokazalo se, nešto je drugo. Žene sa kojima smo razgovarale opisivale su različite načine na koje su se vremenom prilagođavale političkom okruženju. Naučile su da „pokažu zube“, da uzvrate, da se bolje pripreme, budu upornije i ne pokazuju strah. Jedna učesnica kaže da ju je politika „izlupala“, ali i da sebi može da čestita jer je opstala i mnogo toga istrpela. Druga, nakon što opisuje čoveka koji stoji pred njenim prozorom, fizički napad i predmete koji lete za njom dok se vraća kući, jednostavno kaže: „*Ja sam oguglala.*“

U tom „oguglala“ ima mnogo snage, ali i nečeg zabrinjavajućeg. **„Oguglavanje“ nije ravnopravnost. Sposobnost da se izdrže loši uslovi ne znači da su uslovi postali dobri.** Jedna sagovornica je to i sama opisala. Njene koleginice deluju borbeno i sigurno, ali, kaže ona, **„*to su u stvari odbrambeni mehanizmi*“**. Prema njenim rečima, žene u politici navikle su da se same izbore i sve ređe govore o diskriminaciji, ugrožavanju bezbednosti i nasilju. „*Solidarnošću nadomešćujemo ono što bi nam trebalo od institucija.*“

Osećaj neravnopravnosti bio je gotovo jednoglasan, dok su iskustva bezbednosti bila različita. Ipak, kroz razgovore se provlačio snažan osećaj nesigurnosti i izloženosti. Neke sagovornice su otvoreno govorile da se žene u politici ne osećaju bezbedno, dok su druge opisivale kako su vremenom naučile da žive sa rizikom i same se zaštite. **To što strah vremenom postane manji ne znači da je nestala i opasnost.** Sagovornice ovu nesigurnost nisu posmatrale odvojeno od šire atmosfere u kojoj se politički život odvija. Govorile su o agresiji, strahu, pretnjama i gruboj komunikaciji, ali i o osećaju da nesigurnost odavno nije samo iskustvo žena u politici.

push back, prepare more thoroughly, be more persistent and avoid showing fear. One participant said politics had “battered” her, but that she could also congratulate herself for surviving and enduring so much. Another, after describing a man standing outside her window, a physical assault and objects thrown at her as she walked home, simply said: “*I’ve grown a thick skin*.”

That “thick skin” reflects considerable strength, but also something troubling. **Growing a thick skin is not equality. The ability to endure poor conditions does not mean those conditions have improved**. One interviewee described this herself. Her female colleagues seemed assertive and confident, but, she said, “***these are actually defence mechanisms***”. In her account, women in politics have grown accustomed to fighting their own battles and speak less and less about discrimination, threats to their safety and violence. “*Through solidarity, we make up for the support we should be receiving from institutions*.”

The sense of inequality was almost unanimous, while experiences of safety varied. Nevertheless, a strong sense of insecurity and exposure ran through the discussions. Some interviewees openly said that women in politics do not feel safe, while others described learning over time to live with risk and protect themselves. **A reduction in fear over time does not mean the danger has disappeared**. Interviewees did not view this insecurity separately from the wider atmosphere in which political life unfolds. They spoke of aggression, fear, threats and hostile communication, but also of a sense that insecurity had long ceased to be an experience confined to women in politics. One summed it up as follows: “*No one feels safe*.” **Gender does not explain all aggression in the political sphere, but it often determines the form an attack on a woman politician will take**.

The habit of fighting their own battles has another consequence. Support sometimes becomes something a woman

Jedna od njih je to sažela rečima: „*Niko se ne oseća bezbedno.*“ **Rod ne objašnjava svu agresiju u političkom prostoru, ali često određuje oblik koji će napad na političarku poprimiti.**

Navika da se same izbore ima još jednu posledicu. Podrška ponekad postaje nešto što političarka pruža drugima, ali teško traži za sebe. Jedna sagovornica to opisuje ovako: **„*Tebi kad se nešto desi ti ne tražiš podršku jer smatraš da treba da otvaraš prostor za druge, a niko se ne seti da podrži tebe. Dugo mi je trebalo da osvestim da treba da tražim podršku. Da nije sramota.*“**

Adaptacija ima i drugo lice. U razgovorima se rešenje ponekad tražilo u promeni same žene. „*Mi treba da promenimo sebe da ne budemo ponizne jer oni se neće promeniti*“, kaže jedna sagovornica. Pojavljuje se i „sindrom Trnove Ružice“, ono unutrašnje „nisam dovoljno dobra“ zbog kojeg se žena neće ni prijaviti za neku poziciju. **Tako se problem neprimetno seli na ženu. Ako te ne čuju, govori drugačije. Ako te potcenjuju, dokaži se više. Ako te napadnu, očvrsni.**

Podrška, znanje i osnaživanje žena jesu važni. Ali ako se promena tu završi, **politički prostor ostaje isti, a žena postaje sve bolja u tome da ga izdrži.**

„Nikoga ne zanima ženin portfolio.“

Stara ili mlada. Debela ili mršava. Kako se obukla. Da li je našminkana. Kako govori. Da li je udata, razvedena ili neudata. Jedna učesnica uspeh opisuje kao trenutak kada se konačno izboriš da te čuju i „zanemare izgled“. U drugoj fokus grupi nabrajanje onoga što se kod žena procenjuje gotovo da nema kraja, a jedna učesnica to sažima rečenicom: „*Nikoga ne zanima ženin portfolio.*“

Ni godine ne nude izlaz iz te procene. Mlađa žena može biti

politician offers others but finds difficult to seek for herself. One interviewee described it this way: “***When something happens to you, you do not ask for support because you feel you should be opening up space for others, and no one thinks to support you. It took me a long time to realise that I should ask for support. That there is no shame in it***.”

Adaptation has another side too. In the discussions, the solution was sometimes sought in changing the woman herself. “*We need to change ourselves so that we are not submissive, because they will not change*,” one interviewee said. The “Sleeping Beauty syndrome” also emerged: the internal conviction that “I am not good enough”, which prevents a woman from even applying for a position. **The burden of the problem thus shifts almost imperceptibly onto the woman. If they do not hear you, speak differently. If they underestimate you, prove yourself more. If they attack you, toughen up**.

Support, knowledge and women’s empowerment matter. But if change ends there, **the political environment stays the same, while women become increasingly skilled at enduring it.**

“No one is interested in a woman's professional track record.”

Old or young. Fat or thin. What she is wearing. Whether she is wearing make-up. How she speaks. Whether she is married, divorced or single. One participant described success as the moment when you finally get people to hear you and “look past your appearance”. In the other focus group, the list of things women are judged on seemed almost endless, and one participant summed it up in a sentence: “*No one is interested in a woman's professional track record*.”

Age offers no escape from this judgement. A younger woman may be sexualised or questioned about how she obtained her position

seksualizovana ili suočena sa pitanjem kako je uopšte došla do svoje pozicije: „čija si ljubavnica“, „ko te gura“. Dvostruki standard vidljiv je i u načinu na koji se procenjuje samo političko ponašanje: „*Kad žena glasno govori ona je frustrirana i histerična, a on kad glasno govori je dasa.*“

Sa godinama se menja vrsta diskvalifikacije. Žena postaje „neupotrebljiva“, „baba“ koja bi, umesto politikom, trebalo da se bavi unucima. Starost tako postaje dodatni sloj neravnopravnosti: **iskustvo, znanje i rezultati koje je godinama sticala ne moraju povećati njen politički autoritet, jer same godine mogu postati razlog da joj se taj autoritet ospori.** Višestruka i/ili intersekcijska diskriminacija je ono što karakteriše položaj žena u politici i istovremeno koncept za razumevanje i delovanje.

Procenjivanje se, međutim, ne zaustavlja na izgledu, godinama i načinu na koji političarka govori i nastupa. U razgovorima se otvorilo i pitanje njenog privatnog i porodičnog života, ne samo kao predmeta tuđih procena, već i kao dela stvarnih uslova pod kojima može da se bavi politikom. Jedna sagovornica opisuje prvi poslanički mandat sa malim detetom i istovremenim radom na fakultetu kao izuzetno težak, dok druga, govoreći o tome šta je potrebno mladoj ženi koja ulazi u politiku, kaže da je podrška partnera neophodna.

Tako se u politici ne procenjuje samo kakva je političarka. Još uvek se procenjuje i da li je na „pravi način“ žena.

„Na lokalu je sve lično.“

Iskustva o kojima su učesnice govorile ne završavaju se na omalovažavanju, stereotipima i procenjivanju. U delu razgovora otvorilo se i pitanje bezbednosti žena u politici. Učesnice su

at all: “Whose mistress are you?” or “*Who is backing you?*” The double standard is also evident in how political behaviour itself is judged: “*When a woman raises her voice, she is frustrated and hysterical; when a man does the same, he is seen as strong and assertive*.”

The grounds for dismissing a woman change with age. She becomes “of no use”, an “old woman” who should be looking after her grandchildren instead of engaging in politics. Age thus becomes an additional layer of inequality: **the experience, knowledge and achievements she has accumulated over the years do not necessarily enhance her political authority, because her age itself can become a reason to challenge that authority**. Multiple and/or intersectional discrimination characterises women's position in politics and also provides a framework for understanding it and taking action.

Judgement does not stop at appearance, age or the way a woman politician speaks and presents herself. The discussions also raised the issue of private and family life, not only as a subject of others' judgement, but as part of the practical conditions under which she can engage in politics. One interviewee described her first parliamentary term, while caring for a young child and also working at a university, as exceptionally difficult. Another, discussing what a young woman entering politics needs, said that a partner's support is essential.

In politics, then, women are judged not only on what kind of politician they are. They are still judged on whether they are being women in the “right way”.

“At the local level, everything is personal.”

The experiences participants described went beyond belittlement, stereotypes and judgement. Some discussions also raised the issue of women's safety in politics. Participants

govorile o verbalnom, psihološkom, digitalnom i fizičkom nasilju, seksualizovanim uvredama, pretnjama i zastrašivanju. U nekim iskustvima napad ima jasnu funkciju da ženu uplaši, ućutka ili suzi prostor u kojem deluje.

Pojedina iskustva pokazuju i da napad na političarku ne mora biti usmeren samo na njen pol. Jedna sagovornica, govoreći o političarkama pripadnicama nacionalnih manjina, opisuje napade u kojima se rodne uvrede prepliću sa uvredama zasnovanim na nacionalnoj pripadnosti.

Napad se ne zaustavlja uvek ni na samoj političarki. Posle televizijskog gostovanja jednu učesnicu presreću na putu kući i govore joj da „treba da se smiri". Objavljena je i njena kućna adresa, fotografije sa društvenih mreža deljene su na stranačkom sastanku, a, kako navodi, njena majka je potom ostala bez posla u lokalnoj administraciji. U drugim iskustvima strah se širi na najbliže: na sina koji se zadržao posle škole, na brata koji zbog njenog političkog delovanja ima probleme, na porodicu koju treba skloniti iz javnosti. Jedna učesnica opisuje i supruga koji je podržava, ali se oseća nemoćno jer ne može da je zaštiti od svakodnevnih napada. Jedna sagovornica navodi i da je zbog političkog angažmana izgubila deo klijenata, dok se u fokus grupama govorilo o strahu da bi ulazak u politiku mogao da ugrozi posao i egzistenciju.

Na lokalnom nivou granica između političkog i privatnog postaje još tanja. Jedna učesnica opisuje kako za njom lete flašice, kutije cigareta i šibice. Ljude koji to rade poznaje, a neki od njih su sa njenim sinom ulazili u njenu kuću. Napadač tada nije nepoznati profil sa interneta. To je čovek koga poznaješ i srećeš. **„*Na lokalu je sve lično*", kaže ona.**

Tu se pojavljuje i paradoks vidljivosti. Javna prepoznatljivost

spoke about verbal, psychological, online and physical violence, sexualised insults, threats and intimidation. In some accounts, attacks clearly served to frighten a woman, silence her or restrict the space in which she could act.

Some accounts also show that attacks on a woman politician need not target her gender alone. One interviewee, discussing women politicians belonging to national minorities, described attacks in which gender-based insults were intertwined with insults based on ethnicity.

Nor do attacks always stop with the woman politician herself. After a television appearance, one participant was intercepted on her way home and told that she "needed to calm down". Her home address was also published, photographs from her social media accounts were shared at a party meeting and, according to her account, her mother subsequently lost her job in the local administration. In other accounts, fear extended to those closest to the women: a son who stayed late after school, a brother experiencing problems because of his sister's political activity, a family that needed to be kept out of the public eye. One participant also described a supportive husband who felt powerless because he could not protect her from daily attacks. One interviewee reported losing some clients because of her political engagement, while the focus groups discussed fears that entering politics might jeopardise employment and livelihoods.

At the local level, the boundary between political and private life becomes even thinner. One participant described bottles, cigarette packets and matches being thrown at her. She knew the people doing this; some had visited her home with her son. The attacker is then no longer an unknown online profile. It is someone you know and encounter in everyday life. **"*At the local level, everything is personal*," she said**.

A paradox of visibility also emerges. Being publicly recognisable

povećava izloženost napadima, ali, prema iskustvu jedne sagovornice, ponekad pruža i izvesnu zaštitu. Manje poznate žene i one niže u političkoj hijerarhiji nemaju uvek ni tu vrstu zaštite. Prema njenom iskustvu, **manja vidljivost zato ne znači nužno i manju izloženost.**

„One koje nisu, ne ulaze znajući sve ovo o čemu pričamo."

Sve ovo ne utiče samo na način na koji žene deluju dok su u politici. U razgovorima se otvorilo i pitanje šta ih u politici zadržava, šta ih navodi da razmišljaju o odlasku i šta neke žene može da odvrati od toga da u politiku uopšte uđu.

Žene sa kojima smo razgovarale uglavnom su govorile o ostanku, a ne o odlasku. „*Umorna sam, ne mogu, kod mene ne postoji*", kaže jedna sagovornica. Ali ostanak ne znači da se pitanje odlaska ne postavlja.

Jedna sagovornica opisuje kako je, nakon godina političkog angažmana i žrtvovanja profesionalne karijere, razmišljala da li da se ponovo kandiduje i pitala se da li je vredelo ono što je radila u javnom interesu. Ipak se kandidovala, ali kaže da je to pitanje i dalje „tišti". Druga pravi razliku: ***„Ja hoću da se povučem kad ja hoću, a ne da me nateraju da se povučem."***

To otvara još jedno pitanje političke autonomije: ne samo da li žena ostaje ili odlazi iz politike, već i da li je odluka o ostanku ili odlasku zaista njena.

Ostanak može imati i profesionalnu cenu. Jedna sagovornica govori o klijentima koje je izgubila zbog političkog angažmana, a druga o prekidu profesionalne karijere i teškoćama povratka na tr-

increases exposure to attacks but, according to one interviewee's experience, sometimes offers a degree of protection. Less well-known women and those lower in the political hierarchy do not always have even that protection. In her experience, **lower visibility therefore does not necessarily mean less exposure**.

"Women who are not already in politics do not enter it, knowing everything we are talking about."

All this affects more than how women act while they are in politics. The discussions also explored what keeps them there, what leads them to consider leaving and what might deter some women from entering politics at all.

The women we spoke with mostly talked about staying rather than leaving. "'*I'm tired, I can't do this' is not an option for me*," one interviewee said. Yet staying does not mean that leaving is never considered.

One interviewee described how, after years of political engagement and sacrificing her professional career, she had considered whether to stand for election again and asked herself whether the work she had done in the public interest had been worthwhile. She did stand again, but said the question still "weighs on" her. Another made a distinction: "***I want to withdraw when I choose to, not be forced to withdraw***."

This raises another question of political autonomy: not simply whether a woman stays in or leaves politics, but whether the decision is truly her own.

Staying can also carry a professional cost. One interviewee spoke about clients she had lost because of her political engagement; another described interrupting her professional career and the difficulty of returning to the labour market once you have been politically "labelled". Yet participants also spoke

žište rada kada si jednom politički „obeležen“. Ali učesnice govore i o ženama koje bi želele da se politički angažuju, a ne ulaze zbog straha, stresa ili mogućih posledica po posao i egzistenciju.

Zato je važno razlikovati povlačenje iz politike od odvraćanja od ulaska u politiku. Broj žena koje su napustile politiku ne pokazuje koliko ih je od političkog angažmana odvraćeno pre nego što su u njega ušle.

To je jedno od pitanja koje postaje vidljivo tek kada se iza brojeva pogledaju različita iskustva žena u politici. A ta iskustva nisu jednoobrazna. Učesnice se ne slažu uvek oko kvota, ženskih foruma, „ženskih tema“, načina komunikacije, pa ni oko toga koliko same žene treba da se menjaju. Ni solidarnost među ženama se ne podrazumeva. Ipak, upravo kroz te razlike postalo je moguće prepoznati nekoliko obrazaca koji se ponavljaju: ograničen pristup mestima odlučivanja, različita merila po kojima se političarke procenjuju, prilagođavanje uslovima u kojima deluju i pitanje bezbednosti.

„Mi, žene u politici, navikle smo da se moramo izboriti.“

Ova rečenica jedne od sagovornica povezuje različita iskustva opisana u ovom mapiranju: borbu za pristup mestima odlučivanja, za to da budu saslušane i vrednovane po svom radu, ali i za mogućnost da u politici ostanu pod uslovima koje ne moraju neprestano same da savladavaju.

Žene su se politici prilagodile mnogo više nego što se politika prilagodila ženama.

about women who would like to become politically active but do not enter politics because of fear, stress or possible consequences for their jobs and livelihoods.

It is therefore important to distinguish withdrawal from politics from being deterred from entering it. The number of women who have left politics does not reveal how many were discouraged from political engagement before they ever began.

This is one of the issues that becomes visible only when we look beyond the numbers at women's different experiences in politics. Those experiences are not uniform. Participants did not always agree about quotas, women's forums, "women's issues", communication styles or even the extent to which women themselves should change. Solidarity among women cannot be taken for granted either. Yet it was through these differences that several recurring patterns became identifiable: limited access to decision-making positions, different standards by which women politicians are judged, adaptation to the conditions in which they act, and concerns about safety.

"We women in politics have grown used to having to fight our own battles."

This statement by one interviewee connects the different experiences described in this study: the struggle to access decision-making positions, to be heard and valued for their work, and to remain in politics under conditions they do not constantly have to overcome on their own.

Women have adapted to politics far more than politics has adapted to women.

6. Šta treba da se promeni: preporuke za ravnopravnije političko učešće žena

- **Institucije**

Potrebno je izmeniti izborno zakonodavstvo tako da se postojeća kvota od najmanje 40% pripadnika manje zastupljenog pola unapredi ka paritetu, odnosno jednakoj zastupljenosti od 50% žena i 50% muškaraca. Paritet treba da bude praćen i ravnopravnijom zastupljenošću žena i muškaraca u skupštinskim odborima i drugim radnim telima, kako povećanje broja žena ne bi ostalo ograničeno na ukupan sastav predstavničkih tela, već bilo praćeno njihovim učešćem u različitim oblastima odlučivanja.

Obezbediti brzo i koordinisano postupanje nadležnih državnih organa u slučajevima pretnji, uznemiravanja, objavljivanja ličnih podataka i drugih oblika nasilja prema ženama u politici. Postupanje treba da obuhvati blagovremenu procenu rizika, razmenu informacija između nadležnih organa i odgovarajuće mere zaštite, uz posebnu pažnju na slučajeve u kojima se pritisak prenosi na porodicu, dom, posao ili egzistenciju političarke, kao i na specifične rizike na lokalnom nivou.

Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti treba da dalje radi na uravnoteženoj zastupljenosti žena i unapređenju ravnopravnosti, s obzirom na njen značaj i ulogu u nauci, kulturi i društvu uopšte.

Pratiti ne samo broj žena u političkim institucijama već i njihovu zastupljenost na mestima stvarnog odlučivanja. Podaci o rodnoj ravnopravnosti treba da obuhvate rukovodeće pozicije, sastav i rukovođenje odborima i drugim telima i raspodelu oblasti odlučivanja.

Uvesti građansko vaspitanje kao obavezan predmet i jačati obrazovanje o rodnoj ravnopravnosti od najranijeg uzrasta.

6. What needs to change: recommendations for more equal political participation by women

- **Institutions**

Amend electoral legislation to move from the existing quota of at least 40% for the underrepresented sex towards parity, with equal representation of 50% women and 50% men. Parity should also be accompanied by more equal representation of women and men on parliamentary committees and other working bodies, so that the increase in women's numbers is not confined to the overall composition of representative bodies, but is matched by their participation across different areas of decision-making.

Ensure a swift and coordinated response by the competent state authorities to threats, harassment, the publication of personal information and other forms of violence against women in politics. This response should include timely risk assessment, information-sharing between the relevant authorities and appropriate protection measures, with particular attention to cases in which pressure extends to a woman politician's family, home, job or livelihood, as well as to the specific risks at the local level.

The Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts should continue working towards balanced representation of women and greater equality, given its importance and role in science, culture and society as a whole.

Monitor not only the number of women in political institutions, but also their representation in positions where substantive decisions are made. Gender equality data should cover leadership positions, the composition and leadership of committees and other bodies, and the allocation of decision-making responsibilities across policy areas.

Introduce civic education as a compulsory subject and strengthen education on gender equality from an early age.

Potrebno je promeniti sadašnji status građanskog vaspitanja kao izbornog predmeta i u njegov program sistematski uključiti teme rodne ravnopravnosti, rodnih stereotipa, diskriminacije i ravnopravnog učešća žena i muškaraca u javnom i političkom životu. Istovremeno, potrebno je razvijati stručno usavršavanje zaposlenih u obrazovanju za prepoznavanje rodnih stereotipa i načina na koje oni utiču na očekivanja od devojčica i dečaka i njihovo podsticanje na ravnopravno učešće u javnom životu.

- **Političke stranke**

Obezbediti da veća zastupljenost žena bude praćena ravnopravnim pristupom političkoj moći. Političke stranke treba da obezbede ravnopravnu zastupljenost žena u rukovodećim telima i procesima odlučivanja o kandidaturama i napredovanju, kao i njihovo učešće u svim oblastima političkog delovanja. Potrebno je redovno pratiti zastupljenost žena na ovim pozicijama i sprečiti njihovo koncentrisanje u administrativnim ulogama i oblastima koje se tradicionalno smatraju „ženskim".

Uspostaviti programe mentorstva i kontinuirane podrške ženama koje ulaze u politiku i onima koje u njoj dalje napreduju. Programi treba da obuhvate mentorstvo iskusnijih političarki, razmenu iskustava, upoznavanje sa načinima funkcionisanja stranke i političkih institucija, razvoj znanja i veština i podršku prilikom preuzimanja novih političkih uloga. Posebno je važno da ovakvi programi budu dostupni ženama na lokalnom nivou i onima koje nemaju visoku političku ili javnu vidljivost.

Uspostaviti jasne mehanizme reagovanja na diskriminaciju, seksizam, uznemiravanje, pretnje i nasilje prema političarkama. Političke stranke treba da imaju jasnu proceduru za prijavljivanje,

Civic education's current status as an elective subject should be changed, and its curriculum should systematically incorporate gender equality, gender stereotypes, discrimination and the equal participation of women and men in public and political life. At the same time, professional development should be provided for education staff to help them recognise gender stereotypes, understand how these shape expectations of girls and boys, and encourage equal participation in public life.

- **Political parties**

Ensure that increased representation of women is accompanied by equal access to political power. Political parties should ensure equal representation of women in leadership bodies and in decision-making on candidacies and advancement, as well as their participation across all areas of political activity. Women's representation in these positions should be monitored regularly, and their concentration in administrative roles and areas traditionally regarded as "women's issues" should be prevented.

Establish mentoring programmes and sustained support for women entering politics and those advancing within it. Programmes should include mentoring by more experienced women politicians, exchanges of experience, an introduction to how parties and political institutions operate, the development of knowledge and skills, and support when taking on new political roles. It is particularly important that these programmes be accessible to women at the local level and to those without high political or public visibility.

Establish clear mechanisms for responding to discrimination, sexism, harassment, threats and violence against women politicians. Political parties should have a clear reporting procedure, a designated person or body to whom women can turn, and clearly communicated forms of support and response. A woman subjected

određenu osobu ili telo kojem žena može da se obrati i unapred poznate oblike podrške i reagovanja. **Žena koja je izložena napadu ne treba sama da pronalazi način da ga izdrži, niti „oguglavanje" treba da postane očekivani uslov političkog opstanka.**

Uključiti muškarce i stranačko rukovodstvo u preuzimanje odgovornost za unapređenje rodne ravnopravnosti unutar političkih stranaka. Pored programa namenjenih ženama, potrebno je razvijati zajedničke programe za žene i muškarce i programe namenjene rukovodstvu stranaka o rodnim stereotipima, raspodeli političke moći, seksizmu i nasilju prema ženama u politici. **Odgovornost za promenu političke kulture ne može biti samo na ženama. Žene to ne mogu izneti same na svojim leđima.**

- **Mediji**

Političarke predstavljati kroz njihov politički rad, stavove i stručnost, a ne kroz izgled i privatni život. Mediji treba da prestanu sa svođenjem političarki na izgled, godine, porodični i bračni status i druge karakteristike koje nisu relevantne za njihov politički rad, kao i seksualizovano i omalovažavajuće predstavljanje.

Obezbediti veću vidljivost žena kao sagovornica i stručnjakinja u svim oblastima politike. Mediji treba da uključuju žene i u razgovore o bezbednosti, odbrani, ekonomiji, spoljnoj politici i drugim oblastima u kojima su tradicionalno manje vidljive, a ne pretežno u temama koje se smatraju „ženskim".

Osigurati da Regulatorno telo za elektronske medije uspostavi stalni mehanizam za praćenje ravnomerne zastupljenosti žena u medijima, kao i izricanje mera i sankcija za kršenje ljudskih prava u programskim sadržajima koji podrazumevaju i govor mržnje i druge oblike diskriminacije žena.

to an attack should not have to work out on her own how to endure it, nor should "growing a thick skin" become an expected condition of political survival.

Engage men and party leadership in taking responsibility for advancing gender equality within political parties. Alongside programmes for women, develop joint programmes for women and men, as well as programmes for party leaders, addressing gender stereotypes, the distribution of political power, sexism and violence against women in politics. Responsibility for changing political culture cannot rest with women alone. Women cannot carry this burden on their own.

- **Media**

Present women politicians through their political work, positions and expertise, rather than their appearance and private lives. The media should stop reducing women politicians to their appearance, age, family and marital status, and other characteristics irrelevant to their political work, and should cease sexualised and demeaning portrayals.

Increase women's visibility as commentators and experts across all policy areas. The media should include women in discussions of security, defence, the economy, foreign policy and other areas in which they have traditionally been less visible, rather than predominantly in discussions of issues regarded as "women's issues".

Ensure that the Regulatory Authority for Electronic Media establishes a permanent mechanism to monitor balanced representation of women in the media and to impose measures and sanctions for human rights violations in programme content, including hate speech and other forms of discrimination against women.

- **Civilno društvo, akademska zajednica, međunarodne organizacije i donatori**

Razvijati i podržavati kontinuirane programe političkog obrazovanja za žene i muškarce u politici. Organizacije civilnog društva, akademska zajednica, međunarodne organizacije i donatori treba da podrže dugoročne, stalno dostupne, programe koji obuhvataju demokratiju, ljudska prava, rodnu ravnopravnost, ulogu građanskog društva, političku komunikaciju i na**čine menjanja političke kulture**, ali i programe ličnog oporavka i umrežavanja. **Ovi programi ne treba da budu usmereni samo na osnaživanje žena, već i na promenu obrazaca ponašanja i komunikacije koji oblikuju politički prostor.** Posebno je važno da budu kontinuirani i dostupni političarkama i političarima na nacionalnom i lokalnom nivou.

Obezbediti nezavisnu i lako dostupnu podršku ženama u politici. Organizacije civilnog društva i druge organizacije koje pružaju specijalizovanu podršku treba da razvijaju dostupne oblike pravne, psihološke i podrške u oblasti digitalne bezbednosti, posebno za žene na lokalnom nivou, žene koje tek ulaze u politiku i one koje nemaju visoku političku ili javnu vidljivost.

Istraživati i ono što statistika političkog učešća ne beleži. Akademska zajednica i istraživačke organizacije treba da, pored broja žena koje ulaze u politiku, osvajaju mandate ili je napuštaju, istražuju i manje vidljive oblike ograničavanja političkog učešća, uključujući autocenzuru, smanjivanje javne vidljivosti i odvraćanje žena od ulaska u politiku, kao i uslove koji utiču na njihovu odluku da u politici ostanu ili iz nje izađu.

- **Civil society, academia, international organisations and donors**

Develop and support ongoing political education programmes for women and men in politics. Civil society organisations, academia, international organisations and donors should support long-term, continuously available programmes covering democracy, human rights, gender equality, the role of civil society, political communication and ways of changing political culture, as well as programmes for personal recovery and networking**. These programmes should focus not only on empowering women, but also on changing the patterns of behaviour and communication that shape the political sphere**. It is particularly important that they be sustained and accessible to women and men in politics at both national and local levels.

Provide independent and easily accessible support for women in politics. Civil society organisations and other organisations offering specialised support should develop accessible legal, psychological and digital security assistance, particularly for women at the local level, women just entering politics and those without high political or public visibility.

Research what political participation statistics do not record. Alongside studying the number of women entering politics, winning seats or leaving, academia and research organisations should investigate less visible restrictions on political participation, including self-censorship, reduced public visibility and deterrence from entering politics, as well as the conditions influencing women's decisions to remain in or leave politics.

- **Zajednička odgovornost za političku kulturu**

Smanjivati tenzije i agresivnost u političkoj komunikaciji i graditi političku kulturu zasnovanu na dijalogu, poštovanju i legitimnosti različitih političkih stavova. Institucije, političke stranke, mediji, civilno društvo i akademska zajednica treba da doprinose razbijanju predstave o politici kao prostoru u kojem se deluje isključivo iz ličnog interesa, kao i generalizovane predstave o političarima kao ljudima bez integriteta, empatije i odgovornosti prema javnom interesu. Takva **slika politike doprinosi okruženju u kojem se politički angažman ne doživljava kao poželjan oblik delovanja u javnom interesu.** Njeno menjanje važno je i za stvaranje političkog prostora u koji će ljudi sa znanjem, iskustvom i profesionalnim integritetom želeti da uđu i u njemu ostanu.

7. Zaključci

Ovo mapiranje započele smo pitanjem šta broj žena u politici može da nam kaže o njihovoj stvarnoj političkoj moći. Razgovori sa političarkama pokazali su koliko toga ostaje izvan tog broja.

Žene mogu biti prisutne u političkim institucijama, a da i dalje teže dolaze do mesta na kojima se donose odluke. Mogu ostati u politici, a da su tokom godina naučile da trpe ono što ne bi trebalo da bude uobičajeni deo političkog života. Mogu biti veoma vidljive, a da se u javnosti i dalje više procenjuju njihov izgled, godine i privatni život nego znanje i politički rad. Napadi, pretnje i pritisci ne moraju dovesti do odlaska iz politike da bi ostavili posledice. Oni mogu uticati na to koliko će žena govoriti, koliko će biti vidljiva i koliko će prostora imati za političko delovanje.

Razgovori su pokazali i da ostanak u politici ne znači da žena

- **Shared responsibility for political culture**

Reduce tension and aggression in political communication and build a political culture grounded in dialogue, respect and recognition of the legitimacy of different political views. Institutions, political parties, the media, civil society and academia should help challenge the perception of politics as a sphere driven solely by personal interest, as well as the sweeping portrayal of politicians as people lacking integrity, empathy and responsibility towards the public interest. Such **a view of politics contributes to an environment in which political engagement is not seen as a desirable way to serve the public interest**. Changing it is also important for creating a political sphere that people with knowledge, experience and professional integrity will want to enter and remain in.

7. Conclusions

We began this study by asking what the number of women in politics can tell us about their actual political power. Discussions with women politicians revealed how much remains outside that number.

Women can be present in political institutions yet still find it harder to reach the places where decisions are made. They can remain in politics while having learned over the years to tolerate things that should not be an ordinary part of political life. They can be highly visible, yet still be judged publicly more by their appearance, age and private lives than by their knowledge and political work. Attacks, threats and pressure do not have to drive women out of politics to have consequences. They can affect how much a woman speaks, how visible she is and how much space she has for political action.

The discussions also showed that staying in politics does not mean a woman has never considered leaving, just as leaving does

nije razmišljala o odlasku, kao što ni odlazak ne znači uvek da je otišla onda kada je to sama želela. **Važno je da žene imaju mogućnost ne samo da u politiku uđu, već i da same odlučuju da li će u njoj ostati i kada će iz nje izaći.** A neke žene možda nikada neće ni ući u politiku jer unapred vide moguće posledice po profesionalni, porodični i privatni život.

Veća zastupljenost žena zato mora biti praćena i promenom uslova pod kojima se politikom bave. Razgovori su pokazali koliko su same žene naučile da se tim uslovima prilagođavaju: da se izbore za reč, dodatno dokazuju, uzvrate, izdrže i nastave dalje. U tome ima snage i političkog iskustva. **Ali ravnopravnost ne bi trebalo da zavisi od toga koliko je žena sposobna da izdrži.**

Žene su se politici prilagodile mnogo više nego što se politika prilagodila ženama.

not always mean she left when she wished to. **It is important that women have the opportunity not only to enter politics, but also to decide for themselves whether to stay and when to leave**. Some women may never enter politics because they anticipate the potential consequences for their professional, family and private lives.

Greater representation of women must therefore be accompanied by changes in the conditions under which they engage in politics. The discussions showed how much women themselves have learned to adapt to those conditions: to make themselves heard, prove themselves again, push back, endure and carry on. This reflects strength and political experience. **But equality should not depend on how much a woman is able to endure**.

Women have adapted to politics far more than politics has adapted to women.

WHO RUN THE WORLD? GIRLS!
GIRL POWER
EVERY DAY IS MARCH

Njihovim rečima

„Tamo gde je moć, ženama nije lako da naprave prodor, gde je rad, tu su.“

„Politika me izlupala. Mogu sebi da čestitam jer sam opstala. Mnogo sam trpela.“

„Sve što žena kaže i uradi biće procenjeno kroz njene godine, izgled, da li je ružna, debela, mršava, našminkana, niska, visoka, razvedena, udata, neudata, šta je obukla... Nikoga ne zanima ženin portfolio.“

„Često tebe ne čuju, a tvog kolegu i te kako čuju iako je rekao potpuno istu stvar.“

„Mi, žene u politici, navikle smo da se moramo izboriti, pa se više i ne žalimo na diskriminaciju, ugrožavanje bezbednosti i nasilje. Solidarnošću nadomešćujemo ono što bi nam trebalo od institucija.“

„Čini mi se da te poznatost ponekad zaštiti, a na lokalu je sve lično. To su ljudi koje poznaješ i teže je da se isključiš iz nasilja u digitalnoj sferi.“

„Ja sam zaslužila pažnju, ali nisam osetila nikakvu pažnju u stranci.“

„Ja hoću da se povučem kad ja hoću, a ne da me nateraju da se povučem.“

„Želim da budem u ‘moćnim odborima’ i da znam šta su sve moje obaveze i mogućnosti. To nam niko ne kaže pred ulazak u politiku.“

„Žene koje nisu, ne ulaze znajući sve ovo o čemu pričamo. Mnoge bi htele, ali ne ulaze jer im ne treba da se stresiraju i osećaju ugroženo.“

In their own words

“Where there is power, women struggle to break through. Where there is work to be done, they are there.”

“Politics has battered me. I can congratulate myself because I have survived. I have endured a great deal.”

“Everything a woman says and does will be judged through her age and appearance: whether she is ugly, fat, thin, wearing make-up, short, tall, divorced, married or single, what she is wearing… No one is interested in a woman’s professional track record.”

“Often they do not hear you, but they certainly hear your male colleague, even though he has said exactly the same thing.”

“We women in politics have grown used to having to fight our own battles, so we no longer even complain about discrimination, threats to our safety or violence. Through solidarity, we make up for the support we should be receiving from institutions.”

“It seems to me that being well known sometimes protects you, but at the local level everything is personal. These are people you know, and it is harder to disengage from violence in the digital sphere.”

“I deserved attention, but I did not feel that I received any attention within the party.”

“I want to withdraw when I choose to, not be forced to withdraw.”

“I want to sit on the ‘powerful committees’ and know all my responsibilities and opportunities. No one tells us that before we enter politics.”

„Čija si ljubavnica, ko te gura, glavna su pitanja. Teško mi je posle ovoliko godina da govorim o svemu kroz šta sam prošla.“

„I sad mi neke kolege posle dvadeset godina kažu: ti si sada konačno zrela političarka. A oni su se valjda takvi rodili, zreli, pametni, iskusni.“

„Ako ima ko da ti pomogne, oguglaš. Ako nema, onda doživiš nervni slom.“

„Najteže je promeniti mišljenje o ženama. Jedino ako bi mediji promenili odnos. Zašto uvek „Mis parlamenta“,. šta ima da se bira Mis usred najvišeg zakonodavnog tela? Edukacije na prvom mestu, za sve. Mislim da muškarci ne bi došli na edukacije, a baš sa njima treba posebno raditi.

„Košta me jer sam izgubila dosta klijenata, jer ne žele da imaju opozicionog advokata.“

„Digitalni alati su sada jeftini i sa svih strana te napadaju. Ali nasilje postoji i na ulicama i institucijama, udaranje u lakat sa svih strana. Poznatije političarke su izložene nasilju, posebno verbalnom, ali brutalnost prema ženama u politici koje su manje poznate i nižeg ranga u političkoj hijerarhiji je ogromna, one su najizloženije jer tek one nemaju nikakvu zaštitu.“

„Niko se ne oseća bezbedno, posebno sada kada postoji zatrašćenost i postoji velika mogućnost za veliko verbalno i fizičko nasilje.“

„Mi se za razliku od žena u evropskim državama borimo same, bez podrške. Solidarnošću nadomešćujemo ono što bi nam trebalo od institucija. Važno je imati svoj mali krug ljudi kome verujemo – bez toga se ne može.“

“Women who are not already in politics do not enter it, knowing everything we are talking about. Many would like to, but they do not enter because they do not need the stress or the feeling of being under threat.”

“‘Whose mistress are you?’ and ‘Who is backing you?’ are the main questions. Even after all these years, it is hard for me to talk about everything I have been through.”

“Even now, after twenty years, some colleagues tell me: ‘You are finally a mature politician.’ Apparently, they were born that way: mature, intelligent and experienced.”

“If you have someone to help you, you grow a thick skin. If you do not, you have a nervous breakdown.”

“The hardest thing is changing attitudes towards women. Only if the media changed their approach. Why is it always ‘Miss Parliament’? Why should there be a beauty contest in the country’s highest legislative body? Education comes first, for everyone. I do not think men would attend the training, yet they are precisely the ones we need to work with in particular.”

“It costs me, because I have lost many clients who do not want a lawyer associated with the opposition.”

“Digital tools are cheap now, and you are attacked from every direction. But violence also exists on the streets and in institutions, with people elbowing you from all sides. Better-known women politicians are exposed to violence, especially verbal violence, but the brutality directed at less well-known women in politics and those lower in the political hierarchy is enormous. They are the most exposed, because they have no protection at all.”

„Lepo se slažem sa desničarima. Ja njima trebam jer se bavim decom i porodicom, i oni o tome imaju iste stavove, kao i ja, i mi sa levice. Ako im ne diraš čiča Dražu, sve drugo je veoma lako da se dogovoriš. Bukvalno me sve slušaju, a ja ne diram čiča Dražu“

„Mi feministkinje takođe moramo promeniti način na koji komuniciramo, i moramo se više slušati. Ja najviše naučim iz druženja sa ljudima sa desnice. Šta vredi ako se mi samo tapšemo po ramenu, a ne pričamo sa onima koji drugačije misle.“

„Podržala bih mladu ženu koja želi da uđe u politiku, bezrezervno. I to i radim. Smatram da je moja uloga kao starije da joj pomognem.“

„Da bi bio dobar političar treba da budeš slobodan političar. Moramo promeniti percepciju ko su političari, ko se bavi politikom. Ovde se ulazi da bi se sticalo, a ne za opšte dobro. Politika treba da bude mesto gde dokazani i ostvareni ljudi dolaze da čine dobrobit za čovečanstvo. Politika nije poligon za sujetu i lično bogatstvo.“

“No one feels safe, especially now, with passions running high and a serious risk of severe verbal and physical violence.”

“Unlike women in other European countries, we fight on our own, without support. Through solidarity, we make up for the support we should be receiving from institutions. It is important to have our own small circle of people we trust; we cannot manage without it.”

“I get along well with people on the right political side. They need me because I work with children and families, and their views on those issues are the same as mine and those of us on the left. As long as you leave their ‘Uncle Draža’ alone, everything else is very easy to agree on. They literally listen to everything I say, and I “don`t touch their“‘Uncle Draža’ .”

“We feminists also need to change the way we communicate, and we need to listen to one another more. I learn the most from spending time with people on the political right. What good does it do if we just pat each other on the back and never talk to those who think differently?”

“I would support a young woman who wants to enter politics without reservation. And that is what I do. I believe that, as an older woman, my role is to help her.”

“To be a good politician, you need to be a free politician. We must change perceptions of who politicians are and who engages in politics. Here, people enter politics to acquire things for themselves, rather than for the common good. Politics should be a place where people with proven achievements and established careers come to contribute to the well-being of humanity. Politics is not an arena for vanity and personal wealth.”

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