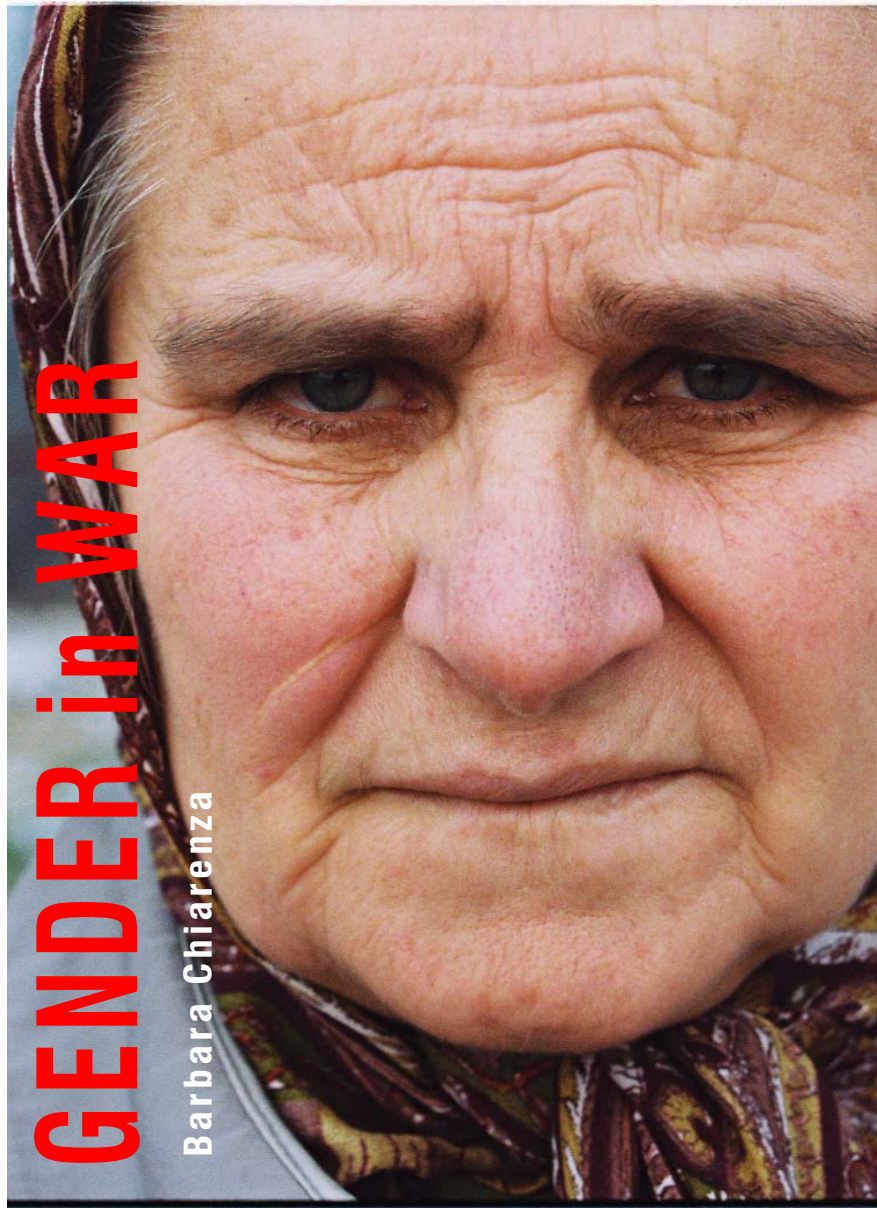


GENDER in WAR

Barbara Chiarenza



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Barbara Chiarenza
Gender in War

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Gender in War

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INTRODUCTION

This paper is about the impact of war on women population, focusing on post-conflict Srebrenica Region with the aim of analyzing how gender roles change in post war contexts.

For the purpose of this study the case of female heads of households living in Srebrenica will be observed focusing on their changed socio economic conditions and their coping mechanism in an environment burdened with the legacy of terrific war events, fragmented social tissue and worsened material conditions.

A parallel study of their modified role within the household and within the community will be carried out in a comparative framework of gender analysis; this will offer the theoretical structure to contextualize and understand gender perspectives as they developed in feminist and gender thoughts. It will be examined the social construction of gender roles and their fluidity, as well the impact of the conflicts and of other variables, such as, ethnicity and nationalism, on deconstructing and reshaping gender roles. It will be seen how the region object of the analysis, before the war, was a traditional male-headed society and female responsibility was related mainly to childcare and housework.

The war caused huge demographic changes, primarily sex-ratio imbalance, that caused permanent implications on the structure and relationships within families, as well as the female position in the society. Namely, women have undertaken the head of the house responsibilities, which are totally different from those they husbands had in the sense they have had to keep their old duties as well, and that socio-economic state of things has drastically worsened.

The first part of the paper consists in a theoretical effort of analyzing the concept of gender, its historical development and gender roles as socially constructed in patriarchal societies and as they have been influenced by the Communist and Socialist ideologies, their fluidity through the conflict and their reshaping in the aftermath war context. Theories on social construction of gender will constitute an introduction to the background that will be further examined, while the variable gender will be contextualized with other variables such as identity and nationalism in the context of former Yugoslavia; furthermore it will be considered how the war determined a reconfiguration of gender roles focusing on how gender roles are shaped in patriarchal society, fluidity in gender roles during the war, returning to the pre-war construction of gender roles in post conflict context.

The second part will be based on a survey made by the author of this paper while working in Srebrenica from July 2003 to December 2004; the survey is based on a qualitative analysis which has built upon 21 in depth interviews to female headed households (FFH) and local women NGOs and a quantitative analysis built upon 500 questionnaires carried

in Srebrenica and Bratunac, Municipalities of Srebrenica Region; all aspects under attention are war-related, and related to what followed it: sudden and rough changes of women position in the society, psychological trauma, legacy of genocide, devastated economy and infrastructure and defunct public institutions. In particular in relation to the main argument the following aspects of changed situation will be under attention: Health care, Education, Employment and Income, Issue on returnee population and displaced persons.

The last part of the paper will analyze how the general worsening in material conditions in the current context of the divided community Srebrenica has brought to a re-traditionalization of gender roles; in this context, females heads of households see their lives burdened by double load of household work while they also became breadwinners for their family members.

Chapter I

GENDER CONSTRUCTIONS AND THE IMPACT OF WAR ON GENDER RELATIONS

Introduction

Aim of this chapter is to study reconfiguration of gender roles during and after the conflict; in order to achieve the

intent it is important to connote gender as concept, how it developed both in the theoretical discourse and - for the purposes of the analysis that will be further carried out - in the practice of Socialist countries;

Gender is a crucial element in determining people's experiences during and after a conflict. Women and men are affected differently by armed conflict and adopt different coping mechanisms¹, although it is important to stress out that men and women cannot be defined as homogeneous and monolithic categories whose conflict experiences can be clearly divided along their gender prescribed roles.

It has been analyzed in several post-conflict and war torn contexts that conflicts give women new responsibilities and opportunities both in domestic and public spheres and accentuate resourcefulness in adoption of coping and survival strategies; this should create new spaces for redefinition of social relations between women and men and for enhancement of women in every sphere of society. However, generally, changes in gender roles tends not to continue after conflicts, instead pre-existing patriarchal roles re-emerge in post-con-

flict societies reaffirming the status quo ante bellum, including gender stereotypes and gender division of labour.

Contemporary armed conflicts nowadays occur in great proportion within a State's border²; these internal conflicts have overwhelming impact upon civilian population. War affects every segment of society and the entire population - women, men and children - indiscriminately.

The traditional perception of women in conflict and post conflict situation is as victim of war, nevertheless recent gender studies have underlined how women play a pivotal role in conflict and post conflict situations.

To understand how gender roles modify as consequence of a conflict, it will be necessary first to examine the concept gender.

Gender as social construction

Gender in theory and evolution of the concept

Gender is a category socially constructed that argues against the essentialist and universalistic idea according to which biology is destiny.³ The theory on gender refuses every

kind of biological essentialism and analyses the way in which the natural fact of sexual differences of biological nature is bound to social constructions of gender.

Gayle Rubin in her essay "Traffic in Women" written in 1975 introduced officially the term "gender" in the scientific discourse using the expression "sex-gender system"⁴; with this term the author defines the system of processes, modality of behaviors and relations through which every society transforms the biological sexuality in human activity's products and organizes the division of tasks between men and women through their differentiation, in this way creating "gender".⁵

Gender as category has been lately brought in academic studies of American feminism, in anthropology, history, psychoanalysis and sociology replacing the precedent idiom "the two sexes" or "sexual roles". In the mid 70s the word has been exported to Europe with different outcomes.

In defining gender is important to stress out that term refers to a method of classification which indicates the existence of types: in the society live two sexes and the term gender points out this double presence.⁶ In this sense the term is binary: men and women compose gender. Underlining

this non univocal aspect is important in order to avoid the misleading interpretation that sees gender leveled up with the concept of "female condition"; where the latter expresses a subordination or oppression experience of women to and from men, the former radicalize the issue of social construction of sexual belonging and implies a constant reciprocity and dialectic between its fundamental components: the two sexes whose reciprocal influences, connections and contrasts create the female and the male condition⁷.

This constant interaction is important also to understand that sexual roles are not fixed: sometimes they can be rigorously determined because they are asymmetric, sometimes they are fluid because they are more egalitarian, or they can become fluid because of induced circumstance as I will analyze later.

Gender as interactive relation between sexes has to be combined with other parameters in social science: to understand phenomenon as poverty, uneven effects of development and social inequality means, as underlined by Amartya Sen, to include gender as fundamental parameter in economical and social analysis, complementary and not in competi-

tion with other variables such as: class, property, employment, income, family status.⁸

The concept of gender, as the concept of sexual roles derives its origin from the consideration of the presence of unbalance within the interaction between sexes. As Joan As Scott highlights, gender is the basic ground where power manifest itself and talking about gender means talking about power.⁹ The terms of this dialectic are differences between sexes as they are in nature: female body endowed with peculiar characteristics and capacities, different from those of male body, has been fit to the construction of an historical inequality - such as division of labor, daily tasks, access to the intellectual and symbolic sphere - which has developed through time and alongside with a deep asymmetry discriminating female gender.

Feminism and neo-feminism of the late 60s is the political subject that has pointed out this unbalance, disputing the legitimacy of supremacy that men accorded to themselves in the uneven disposition of things. Inequality between sexes and distribution of power was the original image, political target of feminism.

Gender as concept has been elaborated afterwards, when the impact of feminism has raised awareness on inequality bringing to a change in the political scene as at civil society level, changes that have pushed forward the feminist thought endowing it with categories, analysis and hypothesis for historical and theoretical analysis.

Thus, gender responds to a need to emphasize to a maximum extend what is socially constructed in sexual inequality and what is not biologically determined in the unbalanced relation between men and women.

Another feature of the concept "gender" is its mobility: the reality to which it refers is not immobile, but it varies constantly and continuously and the division between masculine and feminine is not frozen in time and fixed in eternity. The polarity between male and female doesn't perpetuating rigidly¹⁰, but it varies, depending on the social political and historical context.

The thought on differences between sexes has been elaborated differently by feminist theoreticians. The following section will offer a brief overview on the main gender streams.

Radical feminism

Radical feminists support the idea that sex and gender is a system spread all over the world through which men dominate women controlling their sexuality and their reproductive functions¹¹. According to radical feminists the system of repression of women, represented by sex and gender is not unintentional but intended and it spreads also into other institutions in particular in the family (but also in mass-media and in religion) that provides numerous justifications to support women subordination.

Marxist Feminism

Like radical feminists also Marxist feminists¹² recognize that origin of women oppression relays in the social structure and direct their attention on gender based division of labor; Marxist feminists analyze the modality through which two parallel institutions, economy (capitalism) and family (patriarchate) de facto structure women life. They claim that household work and work within the system of capitalistic market shape an indissoluble structure where women are exploited¹³. Recent theories affirm that patriarchate - the

ideological dominion perpetrated by men on women - is present both in the family and in the job place.

Ethno - racial approach in feminism

Feminists that privilege this approach claim that is incorrect to fund feminist theory on the dual contraposition between men and women and claim that social class and racial differentiation produce different categories of women and men that form, in many societies, systems of hierarchical stratification. In such stratified system, race, class and gender intersect producing white domination, men and women who belong to the upper class, and that determine subordination of black women and men coming from lower classes¹⁴.

Feminism and psychoanalysis

Psychoanalysis oriented feminis¹⁵ asserts that gender is based on the idea of difference that emerge from family relations, in particular from maternal care labor. From the psychoanalytical feminist perspective gender is imprinted in the unconscious and it manifests itself in sexuality, fantasies, language and in incest taboo. Attention is given to sexuality as powerful cultural and ideological force that oppresses women.

Liberal feminism

The concept of gender as product of a construction, as we saw, has been examined by American feminists in the 70s¹⁶. Core of their conception is there is not an essential dichotomy neither in the sexual sphere neither in the gender one. This perception has been assimilated by liberal feminism which has mainly moved its focus on social construction of femininity and masculinity and on how they translate in family and job roles.¹⁷

Essentialism or Culturalism

The feminist thought expressing this vision has among its main representatives Nancy Chodorow and considers feminine culture as rooted in feminine nature.

In her analysis, based more on clinical studies rather than sociological ones, Chodorow asserts that the common origin of male and female in the mother's womb and the common experience of dependence from maternal cares during childhood determine radically different paths for the two sexes. For males the process of formation of the self implies a double separation from maternal body, as individuals and as gender, until the total removal of that original connection that

overturns in superiority of man over woman. For women the process is opposite and that same origin induces an uncertain progression of individuation and difficulties in elaborating an autonomous path.¹⁸

While males in the process of necessary separation from the mother have the expectation of receiving cares from a woman, and that are women responsible for taking care of them, females prove a stronger ambivalence: the process from the relation with the mother to the acquisition of an adult identity implies the deconstruction of their identity from object of care to care-givers.¹⁹

This perspective is not based on biological consideration, but it locates the origin of gender differences in the primary infantile relationships that mobilize psychic mechanisms. This type of discourse is defined as essentialist or culturalist because pointing out innate qualities, valorizes the specific feminine culture. The final assertion is that genders are socially constructed but the starting point is the biological map that diversifies deeply qualities and characters.

Deconstructionism

This theory is structured around Foucault and Derrida's thoughts and takes the distance from the essentialist or cultural approach. All the attention is given to the deconstruction of the process responsible for the existence of the two genders: the social and historic construction. In particular Derrida identifies the language²⁰ (the western logo-centric thought) as the cause of stratification of symbols and meanings of which also men and women are part (objects and not subjects) as they are represented in the current cultural practices. The final assumption is that being gender a pure and absolute construction, it can be deconstructed and reshaped: women can undo the social discourse that has been created around them, showing the artificial character of it. Deconstructing the practice that generated it, gender will disappear becoming useless as analytical category that points out a reality that can exist only for those that nominate it.²¹

Deconstructing implies a continuous erosion of symbols and the only woman that knows salvation is the one that take distance from every identity²².

The thought on sexual difference

Starting point of the theory is located in western philosophy where male thought has been imposing as universal and neutral subject that gives definition of the world starting from itself.

From this historical event depends all the consequences that involve all women; male thought has deprived the female being of the possibility of self-signifying thus women lack a foundation, a thought of their own on their world and on themselves. The theory of sexual differences postulates the necessity for women to fill this vacuum.

The thought on sexual difference doesn't enclose female qualities in one sole model, on the contrary differences among women are pivot of its politics; the theory recognizes reciprocity of two subjects man and woman, both promoters of a peculiar world vision which is unequal, opposite and irreconcilable because suppose that women affirm themselves disputing the male knowledge monopoly.

Patriarchate

For radical, Marxist and psychoanalytical feminists, patriarchate is a landmark, but every stream conceptualizes it dif-

ferently: for radical feminists patriarchy is the main concept seen as the structure and the process of male domination over women through the violent control of pregnancy and sexuality. For Marxism feminism the patriarchal dominion on women perpetrated by their husband in the domestic sphere proceeds parallel to female workers exploitation in the capitalistic market sphere. For psychoanalytical feminists, patriarchy is based upon the symbolic role of the father exercised through unconscious and sexuality differentiated in relation to gender. For all feminists the concept of patriarchy represents "what oppresses women"; but more than individual actions of men, patriarchy points out the process, the structure and the ideology that subordinate women²³.

Patriarchy as been discussed so far as "what men do, subordinating or exploiting women"²⁴, as main characteristic of gender understood as social institution present in many societies, included post-industrial societies. Supporting what Judith Lorber claims "in every status determined by gender there are social, class and race transversal differentiations that hide the universal model of male domination and of

subordination of women pointed out in the concept of patriarchy".²⁵

As Carole Pateman highlights the patriarchal affirmation doesn't rely on the biological fact that men generate life being the prime movers in the genesis of new physical life but they also generate social and political life. "Political theory is full of stories of men giving political birth, of men creating new forms of political life or political life itself".²⁶

Gender in practice: Communist and Socialist ideologies and formal gender equality

After having briefly overviewed major approaches in defining gender, the focus of attention will be on the impact of Communist and Socialist ideologies on women and their influence in shaping gender roles in societies where those ideologies were predominant.

Judith Lorber stresses that Socialist and Communist ideologies recognized in the economic situation the reason of women oppression, pointing out that key factor of women lib-

eration are transformation from private to State economy and full employment for all women.²⁷

This solution to the problem of gender inequality has been told to have been an illusion during recent economical crisis of Soviet Union and Central European Countries. In the job place there was a de facto segregation of sexes: women where generally less paid than men and had less chance to reach prestigious positions. In countries ruled by Socialism women did not considered paid job as a factor of emancipation, because their main-unpaid-responsibility consisted in looking after children and the household: this burden was not mitigated by paid maternal leaves, family allowances, nursery schools and kindergartens offered by the State.²⁸

Marx's ideas on the "woman question"²⁹ are contradictory: he considered female and male workers belonging to the same proletarian class, without any gender distinction, he regarded women emancipation as part of the fight against capitalist exploitation but implicitly women's position was seen as subordinated, being women wives of male workers.³⁰

Vladimir Lenin was a supporter of women rights and he added a clause concerning the full equality of rights between

men and women to the draft of the Program of the Communist Party adopted in 1903. As Lorber underlines that both socialist and communist men and women wished that proletarian women supported the workers cause and not the feminist one, whose claim for the right to vote was criticized as "bourgeois".³¹

The practical application of the communist ideology met its limits in establishing equality between men and women. As J. Lorber highlights in Tsarist Russia husbands had the total control over their wives' estate, over their freedom of movement and over children care after divorce and they had the right to beat their wives; despite of the establishment of new family codes which institutionalized civil wedding, recognized equality of rights between men and women and the possibility of obtaining divorce rapidly; despite abortion was legalized already in 1920, de facto especially in rural areas where the patriarchal family model was predominant, parents and husbands used to beat until death their wives and daughters which tried to emancipate.³²

During the 20s men of the Communist Party impeded the facto the realization of equality between men and women: as

a consequence of the adopted policy only few nursery schools, kindergarten and refectories were built. Hundreds of children were compelled to beg and to live meandering; many of them were forced to prostitution. Seldom job places were offered to women and mainly as non specialized labor force. Abortion became the main instrument of birth control.³³ In front of the requests raised by women to increase salaries and to create nursery schools run by the State that could ensure them a larger independence, the Communist Party answered reestablishing traditional female roles: those liberal rules foreseen by the family code were withdrawn because reason of high rate of divorces and illegitimate children. Homosexuality was penalized as crime in 1934, abortion was abolished in 1936 (and reintroduced in 1955), and unmarried women were deprived of the right to receive alimony from their children's father.³⁴

Lands collectivization and the growth of industrialization which characterized the 30s brought to a radical transformation of women role in the workplace and within the family: paradoxically the attempt to re-establish the traditional family unity went together with a great expansion of education

opportunities for women, the creation of school support for children and the application of a legislation aimed at job protection and at ensuring compatibility between house work and industrial work. These changes had consequences on every social institution, especially on the family.³⁵

During the Second World War the contribution given by women was crucial and at the end of the war women were more specialized workers with an improved education and with a higher degree of specialization, even if many of them were simple workers in factories or involved in agricultural job, the great majority of doctors were women who were as well involved in other qualified professions.³⁶

According to the communist ideology giving women the possibility of working, would initiate an emancipation process liberating them from economic dependency thus, improving their status. In reality it has been noticed that soviet women experienced same difficulties of other female workers in industrialized countries such as professional segregation between sexes, salaries lower than men, scarce possibilities of reaching decision-making levels. Even if soviet women could relay on paid maternity leaves and on nursery schools

run by the State, abortion was still the main method of birth control in urban areas. Domestic labor load it was heavier for soviet women rather than women of capitalist countries, in fact it was highly improbable that soviet husbands could help their wives at home.³⁷

The "woman question" was solved in Soviet Union along the same lines of the majority of capitalistic countries: reinforcing the division of labor based on gender, initially criticized by communist ideology. Policies - such as shorter working day, longer maternity leaves and part-time job possibility for women-oriented to decrease the natality fall down and at the same time to keep women in the labor force, were justified by the idea of a natural predisposition of women to look after children and the household, instilled in the population through a social education inspired to the psychological difference between men and women.³⁸ This State ideology legitimized the inclusion of women in the labor market and at the same time the policy oriented toward increasing birth rate and male reluctance to share domestic labors and political power.

As a consequence of lack of interest from the State side for the double burden that women were forced to stand, after marrying and having a child many women divorced and went to live with their mothers who were as well divorced or widows and that used to look after the children and household work.³⁹

The Yugoslav experience and the naturalized hierarchy of Patriarchate

For the analytical attempt of studying how gender roles restructured in post war Bosnia and Herzegovina through the war-effect phenomenon of female heads of households, it is important to consider how gender roles were structured in Former Yugoslavia, where the influence of Socialist ideology in shaping gender roles had a similar impact to the influence of Communism in ex Soviet Union.

Vesna Kesic analyzing gender and ethnicity in transition explains how the "women question" was interpreted in Yugoslavia. She points out that in 1946, after the Second

World War⁴⁰ with the beginning of socialism "women gained suffrage but only as integral part of the socialist *ideology of equity and equality* which by itself was not gendered".⁴¹ As underlined by Kesic the principle of equality, giving priority to economic and social justice even if not excluding legal and political equity⁴², was more concerned about different nationalities and numerous minority groups aiming at dual citizenship: federal and republic this implying that less attention was paid to gender power relations rather than to ethnic relations and a consequence women were equal to men⁴³ only at the abstract level.⁴⁴ It has been observed that in the period 1945-1980 emancipation of women was largely ideological⁴⁵ and equal opportunities between men and women were real and declarative at the same time: if men and women belonging to the same working class⁴⁶ were equal in their fight against exploitation and subjugation to the capitalistic system, in practice their incomes and their life chances were different at advantage of men; equality could be seen in universities and in some other social sector⁴⁷ but for example the division of labor in the productive sphere was highly gendered: in the economical system of self management, the

socialist alternative to planned and state controlled economy, "women were widely excluded from power mechanisms and from significant professional promotion".⁴⁸

Formal equality was expressed through "virtually equal wages" and through banned discrimination regarding employment but, in substance women were employed in "low wage industries"⁴⁹ at the lower professional levels and hardly ever held public offices, except at the lower level of judiciary system and in education.⁵⁰

However the socialist system surely brought important achievements in terms of opportunities offered which consisted in a range of benefits given by the state in the name of universal equality, these benefits were: health insurance for working families, women reproductive rights and right to abortion, women education and women's economic independency and self sufficiency.⁵¹

It was mainly in the private sphere that women status and rights within the family were never adequately protected by law or socially considered⁵²; for example marital rape, phenomenon always present in the family unity of the socialist system; although criminalized in some of the Republics by

provisions of the penal code⁵³, it was not adequately considered in judicial practices⁵⁴; other forms of sexism and acts of public discrimination or stereotyping were not punished by law nor were part of the public debate.⁵⁵

The model of patriarchal division of power in the private sphere was reflected in profoundly gendered household division of labor and other family responsibilities, such as rearing and caring for children and looking after the household; as asserted by Kesic this model was transferred to the public sphere, reinforcing the hierarchical political system.

According to Kesic and Ivekovic, in shaping the patriarchal and hierarchical structure of society great influence was given by the ideological slogan of "*brotherhood and unity*", introduced in World War II by the Communist Party that led the antifascist movement expressing the ideology of equality among all Yugoslavs".⁵⁶

Brotherhood, the French *fraternité*, fundamental element of 1789 Revolution is according to Carole Pateman discarded in the discussion on the construction of the social contract that focus more on *égalité* and *liberté*, while being the powerful symbol of fraternity, the origin of the modern patriar-

chate, as Pateman claims: "the social contract has its origins in the pact among brothers".⁵⁷

In ex Yugoslavia brotherhood and unity, equity and equality were ideological powerful slogans aiming at containing and levelling up ethnic differences - "in this way ethnic conflicts were hindered but remained potentially there" - while the gender variable was obscured by the ethnic one and "completely lost in the proclaimed ideology of egalitarianism".⁵⁸ Traditional division of roles within the household was not mitigated in the late 70s when the opening to the Western market and to political liberalization brought to an interesting merge of a local popular culture: during the 70s and the 80s urban women knew a westernization process in the sense that influenced by western liberal cultural they knew consumerism, sexual liberation, emancipation but also individualization.

It has to be underlined in this perspective the important difference between urban and rural contexts: as Kesic and Paolo Rumiz notice, the gap between urban and rural area deepened during the 80s as result of the rapid modernization and industrialization processes; rural area kept traditional

values and was less involved in the consumerism modus vivendi, substantially because of its lower purchasing power; conservatism is reflected in the fact that rural areas were main supporters of nationalist parties.⁵⁹ Later on, the *myth of the rural community* will be used as powerful mobilizing symbol for the nationalistic rhetoric which through a peculiar system of symbols supported a backward vision of women and obliterated all the developments women achieved through the formal egalitarianism of the socialist system.

Nationalism and Socialism have both hegemonic purposes and as highlighted by authors considered so far in this paper and how emphasized by Katherine Verdery in examining socialism as a paternalist system in another country in transition, Romania; as Verdery claims "gender and nation are essential to the hegemonic projects of modern state building and a prime vehicle for symbolizing and organizing their interface is the family"⁶⁰. According to the author of *What was socialism and what comes next?*, socialist paternalism constructed its nation on an "implicit view of society as a family headed by a wise Party that in a paternal guise, made all the family's allocative decisions as to who should produce

what and who should receive what reward-thus a parent state".⁶¹

The family as pivotal unit of the polity is not peculiar element only of the socialist system but in it, according to Verdery, the society was not seen simply like a family but as "itself a family with the Party as parent": socialist society resembled the classic *zadruga*⁶² (that) as an extended family, was composed of individual nuclear families, but these were bound into a larger familial organization of patriarchal authority with the "father" Party at its head.⁶³

Reconstruction of gender roles, nationalism and war

Collapse of Yugoslavia has been a collapse of the whole system which broke all the existent relations, provoking the fall of economy and all institutions. In front of ruins of political, civic and civil institutions, people lost security and any sense of belonging. The vacuum was filled by nationalistic answers and all the citizenry potential has been oriented in this direction.⁶⁴

Staša Zajovic⁶⁵ argues that it is typically of acute crisis, economic depression or marked repression, that women are demanded to turn back to "home and family"; they are referred to as "angels of the home hearth", as idea mothers, as faithful wives. In periods of economical crisis women are also the first to be fired; it is demanded that they hand their jobs over to men.⁶⁶

Nationalism and war in Yugoslavia had a meaningful impact on ideas and practices concerning gender: on how women and men were viewed and on how they were treated. It has been said that the growth of nationalism involved a much greater emphasis on gender differences - different characteristics, roles, power and status of women.

In analyzing gender in relation to nationalism and war, Ivekovic claims that "war in ex Yugoslavia was greatly an affair of brotherhood and not sisterhood" recalling Klaus Theweleit, the author of "From gender to Nation" and "La balcanizzazione della ragione" argues that "fighters or warriors are brothers" belonging to the same generation of sons, they are equal among themselves; brotherhood as a group identity is constructed by excluding the "Other". The "Other" is the

enemy (outside other) and women (inside other).⁶⁷ Stronger it is the cruelty in dominating and excluding the "other", stronger it is the tie strengthening the sense of belonging and group identity. In this contest brotherhood is formed by a group identity and these "brotherhoods operate in nationalistic conflicts".⁶⁸

Being national identity defined referring to an outside other, outside the nation, this shifts the attention from distinctions within the boundaries of the nation while encouraging a sense of community but, reaffirmation of homogeneity take place also by harrying the "inside others", others within the national collectivity.⁶⁹

Civil wars are "guerre fratricide, bruderkrieg, brataoubilatki rat", wars that evoke in some languages "gender division": according to the stereotype wars are supposed to be waged by brothers, while sisters "are supposed to knit socks for the beloved soldier or nurse the wounded".⁷⁰

In order to understand the construction of the symbolic "inside other" in nationalistic campaigns it has to be stressed out the vertical, hierarchical and patriarchal creation of the nationalistic construction.

As Ivekovic highlights nation is a communitarian construction; underlining differences between the community and the society; Ivekovic stresses that the latter is a horizontal organization where potentially everybody can communicate with everybody directly; community and nation on the contrary are based on a vertical rigid and hierarchical structure where "the communication between individuals is always indirect and goes through a higher office or principle (hegemonic idea or colonizing universal) with which some (the hegemonic group) can identify directly, but to which the other can only be subjected".⁷¹ The patriarchal order of the socialism system, in the case of disintegration of Yugoslavia, is according to Ivekovic and Mostov the only order that from the previous regime was transferred to nationalism "facilitating a basic unproblematic consensus between the old and the new elites"⁷²; an opposite process has been argued by Bracewell that links the patriarchal values of nationalism with a reaction against a gender equality within Communism.⁷³

In both cases the patriarchal social order was a mechanism used for social/political reconstruction, built upon constructed identities, rejecting as typical of nationalistic policy, the

closeness with "other"; as Ivekovic and Mostov claim: nation reproduces identities and identicalness, and it's suicidal choice; in psychiatric term is an autistic process which implies reproduction from the same for the same, eliminating all the others.⁷⁴

Being nation a vertical and patriarchal construction men and women are differently and clearly included in it; women are included as subordinate, they have to be controlled because they give birth to the nation⁷⁵ thus, nation is equate with the female biological procreative functions and the mythical earthly symbol.⁷⁶

Particularly, studying the role of women in nationalism in Yugoslavia Nira Yuval-Davis and Floya Anthias⁷⁷ outline five main ways in which women are engaged in the development of ethnic and national identities in general:

- as biological producers of members of ethnic collectivities
- as reproducers of the boundaries of ethnic national groups
- as participating centrally in the ideological reproduction of the collectivity and as transmitters of this culture

- as signifiers of ethnic/national differences-as focus and symbol in ideological discourses used in the construction, reproduction and transformation of ethnic/national categories

- as participant in national economic political and military struggles⁷⁸

In the construction of nationalistic discourse in Yugoslavia it has been noticed that these categories overlapped with and translated into one another.⁷⁹

The categorization of gender roles and gender relations as indicated in Annex 1 and elaborated by Kesic are helpful in reframing the conceptualization of Yuval-Davis Anthias contextualizing it within the Balkan nationalism.

Gender roles and gender relations in Balkan nationalism

As July Mostov and Vesna Kesic argue, the national community is often symbolized by a female figure - "Mother India,

Mother Russia" - and the role that the mother land is expected to do is nurturing its sons, to fill her role as "biological reproducer, mothers of the nation of its members"⁸⁰, supporting what Patricia Albanese argues: in societies charged with ethnic nationalism, women are often seen as biological reproducers of the nation and carriers of culture". Thus, control over women in the domestic sphere becomes one of the prime ways of "preserving cultural traditions that are perceived to be threatened in times of ethnic conflict".⁸¹

At the same time women, "biological reproducers of the nation can be later incited to give or to sacrifice their sons to the national cause".⁸²

This aspect of nationalist ideology and practice involves state interference in biological reproduction.⁸³ The needs of the nation (as defined by nationalist and religious⁸⁴ leaders) become more important than the needs or desires of women as individuals.

Attempts to increase the size of certain national groups generally took the form of rewarding women⁸⁵ who have large numbers of children and trying to restrict the rights of women to control their own fertility but if women rejected their

"natural role" refusing to support the nation through child rearing they were considered "at best failures at worst traitors".⁸⁶ This was found to be true throughout Serbia, Croatia, and Bosnia. In Serbia, there were political campaigns to introduce into Serbian family law committees to scrutinize and restrict pregnant women's right to abortion.⁸⁷

If nations are often symbolized as a woman and on the other hand women often serve as symbolic sign of a group's cultural identity view as, repositories of its traditions, reproducers of its authenticity as well as of its workforce and its soldiers⁸⁸, but women in their kinship roles - the home, the family - are also that which needs to be protected. In evoking revival of patriarchal themes nationalism stresses out - "the obligation to protect family and community from the external threat and the reassertion of manhood, heroism and power".⁸⁹ As Licth and Drakulic assert, despite of the fact that war remains a male quest, it is not "exclusively and certainly not biologically a masculine affairs".⁹⁰ "Hyper masculinity" is spread out by nationalistic and militaristic propaganda projecting war as an attractive male adventure; thus the patriot and the hero, simply fill their socially prescribed roles (by

nationalistic indoctrination) as defender of "blood and soil". As protector of his woman, the nationalistic hero protects his blood, cleansing the enemy, he defends and purifies his soil⁹¹. Woman who needs to be protected is symbolized through nationalistic rhetoric than can recur to "deeply emotional issues: the survival of the nation, the security associated with traditional values, the sanctity of motherhood, perhaps even a fear of emancipated woman".⁹²

In the symbolic gendered construction which characterize nationalism and war in ex-Yugoslavia women were seen as keepers of the home and educators of children, while men as workers and actors in the public sphere; as it has been said above moves were taken to return women to home and family while supporting re-traditionalization of roles. Men were retained the role of workers and actors in the public sphere but, in the build up to war, men were also under pressure to be violent and to hate in order to be "real men". As Maja Korac highlights nationalism has typically spring up from "masculinized memory, masculinized humiliation and masculinized hope"; as it has been pointed out above also men are victims of the ethnic national project and of the war

machine, they have to be violent and under the pressure of patriarchal values they have to hate in order to prove to be themselves good representatives of their people and nation, patriots and above all real men, men with guts. (...) Covered by the ethical shield of an eternal masculine ethic-national collective, men lose inhibition against killing and against raping women, even sometimes even raping men of the other ethnic nation"⁹³. Again Maja Korac recalls how rape in ethnic national war are a powerful weapons against the enemy; women are seen as property of the enemy, their bodies become territories to be conquered, moreover rape becomes a powerful instrument of territorial cleansing since men whose woman has been raped will never come back to the place of humiliation.⁹⁴

Return to patriarchal gender division of role and patriarchal culture is inherent to the character of war that, in the case of ex Yugoslavia like in many wars, reinforced patriarchal themes outlined above: the obligation to protect the family and the community from external threat and the reassertion of manhood, heroism and power.

Gender and conflict

While remarking that conflict surely affects the whole population, men, women, boys and girls experience conflict in different ways. Women take over non-traditional roles brought on by the changes and transformation during the conflict that render them both victims and actors.⁹⁵

War afflicts women and girls whose body becomes a territory to conquer and a ground where the enemy is humiliated. War is certainly a burden for women, increasing their physical and moral vulnerability; militarization of society exposes women to sexual assault which causes irreparable psychophysical consequences, women are used also as sexual slaves by soldiers both involved in nationalistic-ethnic conflicts or/and peace-keeping forces. Conversely women also get involved in the conflict as combatants, by taking care of extended families in absence of male members involved in the conflict, and by developing coping mechanisms to take over non traditional roles and occupations that can enable them to take exposure outside the private sphere.⁹⁶

Gender roles of all men, women, elders and youths are affected by conflict. Changes are particularly evident in the economic and productive roles within the households where women assume more of the typically male economic and productive roles.

During war gender relation can be subjected to stress and change; survival strategies often necessitate a change in the gender division of labor. Women may become responsible for an increased number of dependents.

Flexibility of gender roles

Because men are mobilized for combat, women often take over traditional male occupations and responsibilities, during the war it has been noticed that gender roles become flexible. Women's role as provider of the everyday needs of the family may mean increased stress and work as basic needs are difficult to locate but as well may be an engine to increase initiative and creativity in developing new skills.

In this sense it will be seen in the next chapter if the war, in the particular context of Srebrenica brought flexibility in reshaping gender roles and, concerning the peculiar category

of female heads of households, if overtaking male responsibilities, has lead these women to initiated a process of improvement related to the "gains" made during the war.

Violence against women

Physical and emotional violence that women undergo during the conflict because their image is constructed as territorial symbols has already been mentioned, it is necessary now an overview of dramatic consequences of violence on women during and after the conflict.

Talking about violence during the war in ex Yugoslavia and especially in Serbia which was involved in war for ten years, Maja Korac reports a 100% increase in reported violence and rape of women⁹⁷.

Violence against women influence and limits choices of women in every area of life in public and private "it limits their choices directly by destroying their health, disrupting their life, narrowing the scope of their activity and indirectly eroding confidence and self-esteem".⁹⁸

Universally, violence against women is epitomized by several characteristics which includes at least some measurable

consequences such as a) the taboo of nature of violence, creating what has been described as the "private realm" synonymous with domestic violence, b) existing customs, traditional practices, rooted gender stereotypes that further reinforce and perpetrate inherent discrimination and inequalities, c) forced marriage, forced prostitution, trafficking, commercialization of women bodies, lack of adequate social policies and when present, lack of effective measures of implementation.⁹⁹

This important and dramatic aspect of violence against women accentuated in post conflict societies has certainly to be taken into important consideration when addressing post conflict reconstruction. The presence of post traumatic stress disorder syndromes and consequences of lasting violence in post conflict households constitute an obstacle for social and consequently for economical reconstruction. Trauma defined as a "painful emotional experience with lasting physic effects"¹⁰⁰, involves not only a psycho physiological process but also a social suffering. The two aspects are deeply interdependent and this important correlation has to be taken into important consideration in treating psychopathologies in post war contexts; as psychiatrists, psychologists and social

workers of Center for Victims Torture of Sarajevo remark: "denying the social origins and outcomes of pain and suffering in a post-war society by including only psychological outcomes (i.e. post trauma stress disorders), grasp only half of the reality".¹⁰¹

Women who join the conflict

A certain number of women during conflict time do not have real alternative, sometimes they have to choose between "the madness of nationalism", like heroic mothers, as mentioned before, sometimes they join the conflict. During the war in ex Yugoslavia, in 1993 Maja Korac and Staša Zajovic wrote: "Women are all in the militia and national armies now active in former Yugoslavia", although this was not their obligation neither a widespread practice. Supporting what Korac and Zajovic underlines, joining the army for women is not an indicator of gender equality, "because there has been no corresponding democratization and emancipation within the society".¹⁰² Nevertheless, despite some women went to the front, the frontline is still predominantly a men's place, moreover women took place to

war in backstage positions, covering administrative jobs, communication services, health, replacing men that went to combat; women that went to the front, according to Women in Black, have been converted into mythical figures confirming that "women enter history only when they over masculine roles".¹⁰³

Displacement and refuge

Gender relations are also affected by displacement and refuge; one of the immediate outcome of war is the intentional production of refugees and displaced people, which like in the case of ex Yugoslavia, follow the flow of ethnic cleansing and creation of purified and mono ethnic areas. Among refugees and displaced, specific problems concern households run by alone women. Usually these categories of women find particularly difficult the adaptation process to changed conditions and environment, moreover being classified as refugees automatically they are treated as "citizens of second class". In relation to the context Bosnia, that will be further examined, refugees coming from rural areas find particularly difficult to become accustomed to urban contexts

where they often run to find protection. Frequently they had to face discrimination because their custom and habits rooted in tradition, general lower education, lacking of social experience which they need to solve problems they faced patriarchal mentality as a result of which they lack experience of decision making and developing responsibility for themselves and their families. In the place of displacement these women found double difficulties: from one side they were left without home, means of living, social milieu in which they were used to live, male members that are traditionally viewed as family "breadwinners", as well by institutional support by the state. Furthermore being heads of households, they are their children's sole guardians¹⁰⁴.

However displacement and refuge create in some cases opportunities to develop new skills and provide greater exposure to and interaction with new social context.

Those women that are alone because of war losses, who decide to return to their place of origin, find extremely problematic to re-adapt to a situation that in most of the cases is totally altered, not only in population composition and structure - where social milieu is torn apart and previous commu-

nity relation are disrupted or not any more existent, but as well materially worsened which renders difficult to find source of income, while some of these women who were traditionally in the household have, among the others, to reinvent themselves and to prove their creativity and ability in finding alternative sources of living, as it will be seen in the next chapter throughout the examined case study.

Notes

- 1 *Gender approaches in conflict and post-conflict situation* UNDP, 2001.
- 2 Kaldor, Mary *New and Old wars. Organized violence in a global era*, Polity Press, Cambridge-Blackwell Publisher Ltd. , 1999.
- 3 Stolcke, V *Es el sexo para el genero como la raza para la etnicidad?* in G. Campani, *Genere, etnia e classe. Migrazioni al femminile tra esclusione e identita'*. Edizioni ETS 2000.
- 4 Rubin, G *The traffic in women: Notes on the Political Economy of Sex* in Piccone Stella, S., and C. Saraceno *Genere. La costruzione sociale del femminile e del maschile*. Società Editrice il Mulino, 1996.
- 5 Piccone Stella, S., and C. Saraceno *Genere. La costruzione sociale del femminile e del maschile*. Società Editrice il Mulino, 1996.
- 6 As highlighted by Piccone Stella, S., and C. Saraceno *Genere. La costruzione sociale del femminile e del maschile*. Società Editrice il Mulino, 1996.
- 7 Piccone Stella, S., and C. Saraceno *Genere. La costruzione sociale del femminile e del maschile*. Società Editrice il Mulino, 1996.
- 8 Sen, A *Le donne sparite e la diseguaglianza di genere* in S. Piccone Stella, Chiara Saraceno *Genere. La costruzione sociale del femminile e del maschile*. Società Editrice il Mulino, 1996; pg 78.
- 9 J. Scott *Gender and the politics of history* as cited in J. Lorber *Paradoxes of Gender*, Il Saggiatore Milano, 1995; pg 18.
- 10 The concept is expressed by Denise Riley: "*Am I that name? feminism and category of women in history*" in S. Piccone Stella, Chiara Saraceno "*Genere. La costruzione sociale del femminile e del maschile*", Società editrice il Mulino, 1996.
- 11 Theoreticians of radical feminism is Catherine MacKinnon as cited in Lorber, J *Paradoxes of gender*. Il Saggiatore Milano, 1994; pg 25.
- 12 Theoreticians of Marxist feminism are Heidi Hartmann and Michele Barrett as cited in Lorber, J *Paradoxes of gender*. Il Saggiatore Milano, 1994; pg 25.
- 13 "Marxist feminists argue that capital is the primary oppressor of women as workers because women in capitalist system don't have suf-

ficient access to the workplace in order to survive they must connect themselves financially to men". R. Tong, *Feminist Thought: A more Comprehensive Introduction* in Lorber, *J Paradoxes of gender*, Il Saggiatore Milano, 1994, pg 34.

14 One of the most prominent figure of the feminist radical thought (above classified as ethno-racial approach) in the States is bell hooks, whose intellectual works is a critical welding between gender and racial discourses, a theoretical and political mixture that in the States definitively brought to the crisis of the traditional scheme of belonging to sexual and racial identities, in bell hooks *Elogio del margine. Razza, sesso e mercato culturale*. Feltrinelli Milano, 1998, Introduzione.

15 Feminists who belong to psychoanalytical stream are: Nancy Chodorow, Luce Irigaray, Juliet Mitchell and Gayle Rabin; their theoretical approaches are pivoted on Freud, Lacan and Levi Strauss theories.

16 Main exponents are Susan Kessler and Wendy Mc Kennan as cited in Lorber, *J Paradoxes of gender*. Il Saggiatore Milano, 1994; pg 39.

17 This stream of feminist thought, as Lorber points out, didn't deepened modalities with which dichotomies of sex, sexuality and gender are actually incorporated in the organization and politics of all social institutions, in every day interactions and in defining identity.

18 Lorber, *J Paradoxes of gender*, Il Saggiatore Milano, 1994;

19 Lorber, *J Paradoxes of gender*, Il Saggiatore Milano, 1994.

20 According to deconstructionist theory language is a system constructed on the foundation of arbitrary symbols. That is, texts are collections of words and pictures ("signifiers") that have no inherent meaning or connection to the objective world of things or objects ("signified"). Since language is the medium for communication, and since language constructions are unstable, interpretation is also uncertain. Therefore, the emphasis is always on the one receiving the message i.e., the reader, or the interpreter. And further, since the meaning of words ("signifiers") is derived from one's social context, ultimate meaning likewise arises from one's social context. Language can only convey cultural biases; in <http://www.wikipedia.org/>

21 Lorber, *J Paradoxes of gender*, Il Saggiatore Milano, 1994.

22 The main criticism moved to deconstructionism in relation to gender is that, according to this view, women do not have any firm point for political action and for collective transformation. Scepticism of

deconstructionist thought towards any possibility of action is at disadvantage to the construction of a female subject able to intervene in a given social construction.

23 According to Carole Pateman, within feminist's discourses the term patriarchy has still to be freed by patriarchal interpretations of its meaning, debates tend to stay within borders of patriarchal debates on patriarchy in Pateman, *C Il contratto sessuale*. Editori Riuniti, Roma 2002; pg 27.

24 Lorber, *J Paradoxes of gender*, Il Saggiatore Milano, 1994.

25 Lorber, *J Paradoxes of gender*, Il Saggiatore Milano, 1994.

26 Pateman, *C Il contratto sessuale*. Editori Riuniti, Roma 2002; pg 48.

27 Lorber J "*The invisible hand. Gender and State*" in *Paradoxes of gender*. Il Saggiatore Milano, 1994; pg 343

28 Lorber, *J Paradoxes of gender*. Il Saggiatore Milano, 1994; pg 357.

29 J.B Landes, "*Marxism and the woman question*" in Lorber, *J Paradoxes of gender*. Il Saggiatore Milano, 1994; pg 356;

30 In *Die Frau and der Socialismus*, Bebel represented women both as workers that has to be freed from the capitalistic yoke together with men, and as wives whose subjection to their husbands would have ended with private property abolition. According to Bebel women, being wives and mothers would have renewed the proletarian family overwhelmed and dejected by capitalism. Bebel's work together with Engels's "*The origin of family, private property and State*" published in 1884 and Kollantai's "*Social basis of the Woman Question*" shaped the theoretical support of the communist and socialist debate on "woman question".

31 As Lorber points out men within the socialist and communist movement ignored ideas of female thinkers and organizers such as: Inessa Armand, Vera Figner, Emma Goldman. Aleksandra Kollontai, Rosa Luxemburg, Vera Zasulich and Clara Zetkin, in Lorber, *J Paradoxes of gender*, Il Saggiatore Milano, 1994; pg 356

32 Lorber, *J Paradoxes of gender*. Il Saggiatore Milano, 1994; pg 358

33 Lorber, *J Paradoxes of gender*. Il Saggiatore Milano, 1994; pg 358

34 Lorber, *J Paradoxes of gender*. Il Saggiatore Milano, 1994; pg 360

35 Lorber, *J Paradoxes of gender*. Il Saggiatore Milano, 1994; pg 359

36 Lorber, *J Paradoxes of gender*. Il Saggiatore Milano, 1994; pg 361

37 Lorber, *J Paradoxes of gender*. Il Saggiatore Milano, 1994; pg 360

38 Lorber, J *Paradoxes of gender*. Il Saggiatore Milano, 1994; pg 361

39 This phenomenon that grew before Soviet Union disintegrated has been significantly depicted by Francin Du Plessix Gray (in Lorber, J *Paradoxes of gender*, Il Saggiatore Milano, 1994; pg 360) through the image of "matrioshkas": colorful dolls, typical product of Russian popular art, embedded one into another, generation after generation.

40 As Cynthia Cockburn highlights "the Second World War was the start of a new age in gender relations in Yugoslavia". In 1942 women groups across the territory coalesced into an "Anti-Fascist Front of Women, which has two millions members. One hundred thousand women fought in regular Partisan military units. Twenty-five thousand were killed in actions and forty thousand wounded". Many women experienced the country's liberation as their own spontaneous, unexpected, direct emancipation from the closed world of their traditional patriarchal families; in Cockburn C *The space between us. Negotiating Gender and National Identities in Conflict*. Zed Books, London & New York, 1998;

41 Kestic, V *Gender and ethnic identities in transition. The former Yugoslavia-Croatia* in Ivekovic R., and J. Mostov, *From Gender to Nation* Longo Editore Ravenna, 2002; pg 63;

42 The principle of *egalite'* mile stone of the French Revolution was enclosed in *La Déclaration des droits de l'homme et du citoyen* (1789) which suppressed aristocracy and clergy's privileges while excluding women from its principles. Concerning women political rights and equality, France proclaimed to have adopted "universal suffrage" in 1848 when all men get the right to vote, while the same right was accorded to women only in 1945. In 1791 when the new Constitution was published, excluding once again women, Olympe the Gouges published the *Declaration of the Rights of Woman and the Female Citizen* claiming the neglected equality between men and women, asking for freedom of thought, the right for women to private property and "equal share all the duties [corvees] and all the painful tasks, the same share in the distribution of positions, employments, offices, honors and jobs [industrie]" (art. 13). French Revolution as the Socialist one transferred the power from one social class to another; the handover was always among men. It can surely be said that no modern revolution allowed women to obtain as much political power as much as men belonging to the same social class.

43 In her analysis of Socialism in Romania, Katherine Verderey draws a parallel between the paternalistic attitude of Socialism that she calls and the patriarchal family guided by the pater familias. As outlined by

the author, "instead of political rights or ethnocultural similarities, socialism paternalism posited a moral tied linking subjects with the state through their rights to a share in the redistributed social product. In socialism subjects were presumed to be neither politically active, nor ethnically similar to each other: they were presumed to be grateful recipients- like small children in a family"- in Verderey K *What was socialism and what comes next?* Princeton University Press, New Jersey, 1998; pg 63.

44 Kestic, V., *Gender and ethnic identities in transition. The former Yugoslavia-Croatia* in Ivekovic R., and J. Mostov, *From Gender to Nation* Longo Editore Ravenna, 2002; pg 66-68.

45 Licht S., and S. Drakulic *When the Word for Peacemaker was a Woman: War and Gender in the Former Yugoslavia* in, <http://www.zenskestudie.edu.yu>

46 As Vesna Kestic remarks: "In Socialist countries rights were not pursued as individual entitlements but as the collective entitlement of a group (e.g.; the working class)" in Kestic V. *Gender and ethnic identities in transition. The former Yugoslavia-Croatia* in Ivekovic R., and J. Mostov, *From Gender to Nation*, pg 69.

47 Precondition of equality was the existence, since the late 70s, of self-conscious feminism that distinguished Yugoslavia from all other Eastern European countries, in S. Licht and S. Drakulic *When the Word for Peacemaker was a Woman: War and Gender in the Former Yugoslavia*, <http://www.zenskestudie.edu.yu>

48 Kestic, V *Gender and ethnic identities in transition. The former Yugoslavia-Croatia* in Ivekovic R., and J. Mostov, *From Gender to Nation* Longo Editore Ravenna, 2002; pg 65-75.

49 As Kestic points out, women were employed mostly in so called "heavy industries" textile or chemical sectors, sectors were contact with chemical substances was particularly harmful and the work required physically exhausting. Protection from night shifts within factories was accorded to women because of their children rearing role, but this benefit translated in less possibility in career advancement and in lower salaries.

50 Kestic, V *Gender and ethnic identities in transition. The former Yugoslavia-Croatia* in Ivekovic R., and J. Mostov, *From Gender to Nation* Longo Editore Ravenna, 2002.

51 Kestic, V *Gender and ethnic identities in transition. The former Yugoslavia-Croatia* in Ivekovic R., and J. Mostov, *From Gender to Nation* Longo Editore Ravenna, 2002; pg 66.

52 Kestic, V *Gender and ethnic identities in transition. The former Yugoslavia-Croatia* in Ivekovic R., and J. Mostov, *From Gender to Nation* Longo Editore Ravenna, 2002; pg 69.

53 Slovenia and Croatia criminalised marital rape in 1980 and in the same year in both Republics also male homosexuality was decriminalised (while female homosexuality was never criminalized); *ibid*

54 Generally imprisonment for the crime of rape was less than three years while the penal code foresaw a punishment ten years; in Kestic, V *Gender and ethnic identities in transition. The former Yugoslavia-Croatia* in Ivekovic R., and J. Mostov, *From Gender to Nation* Longo Editore Ravenna, 2002.

55 Kestic, V *Gender and ethnic identities in transition. The former Yugoslavia-Croatia* in Ivekovic R., and J. Mostov, *From Gender to Nation* Longo Editore Ravenna, 2002; pg 70.

56 Kestic, V *Gender and ethnic identities in transition. The former Yugoslavia-Croatia* in Ivekovic R., and J. Mostov, *From Gender to Nation* Longo Editore Ravenna, 2002.

57 Pateman, C *Il contratto sessuale*. Editori Riuniti, Roma, 1997; pg 101. According to Pateman the social contract is not patriarchal because signed by the fathers (paters) but because it signed by the men that defeating their fathers affirm their liberty and act as brothers signing the original contract.

58 Kestic, V *Gender and ethnic identities in transition. The former Yugoslavia-Croatia* in Ivekovic R., and J. Mostov, *From Gender to Nation* Longo Editore Ravenna, 2002 pg 74

59 As Vesna Kestic notes the gap between urban and rural Yugoslavia has yet to be fully investigated, but it seems that the neglected rural population, which composed about the 40% of the total population, became "easy prey for nationalistic rhetoric" in Kestic, *Gender and ethnic identities in transition. The former Yugoslavia-Croatia* in Ivekovic R., and J. Mostov *From Gender to Nation* Longo Editore Ravenna, 2002, pg78.

60 Verderey K *What was socialism and what comes next?* Princeton University Press, New Jersey, 1998; pg 64.

61 Verderey K *What was socialism and what comes next?* Princeton University Press, New Jersey, 1998; pg 64

62 The term refers to a large patrilineally extended family form in the Balkans, containing at least three generations and besides several brothers with their families, organized on a patrilineal basis who lived together in one dwelling and held all land, livestock, and money in common. The oldest able member of the community was usually its ruler, responsible for assigning tasks to the members. This system existed in Serbia into the 20th century; in Verderey K *What was socialism and what comes next?* Princeton University Press, New Jersey, 1998; pg 245 and <http://www.encyclopedia.com/html/z1/zadruga.asp>

63 Verderey K *What was socialism and what comes next?* Princeton University Press, New Jersey, 1998; pg 64

64 Ivekovic, R *La balcanizzazione della ragione*. Introduction; Il manifestolibri, Roma, 1995;

65 Activist of "Women in Black";

66 At the end of the eighties and the beginning of the nineties, when over half the businesses in Serbia were suffering severe economic losses, preparations began for mass lay-offs, mostly of women in Zajovic S *"Birth Nationalism and War"*, Women in Black 15 January 1995 <http://www.hartford-hwp.com/archives/62/039.html>

67 According to Rada Ivekovic, in civil wars is the "incorporation of the other and the constant interaction with the other that is attacked": women are naturally and by socialisation more accustomed to receive the other. Biologically this is expressed through childbearing, socially: while women's prime object of love is the mother person of the same sex, they are more expected and accustomed to accept the other. The Psychoanalytical approach studies social consequences of the natural fact that "a man is born from the other sex while a woman is born from the same sex, like evidence of both biological and social symmetries.

68 Ivekovic, R *From Gender to Nation* Longo Editore Ravenna, 2002.

69 As Bracewell reminds Serbian nationalists denounced both homosexuals and opponents of the regime as "bad Serbs", while being the political class dominated almost exclusively by male politicians, women were acting as a "convenient internal other" over which nationalist politicians can assert their power within impunity; in Bracewell W *Women, Motherhood, and Contemporary Serbian Nationalism*; <http://sciencedirect.com/science>

70 Ivekovic, R / *Balcani non sono altrove*. Interview to Rada Ivekovic, Novembre 11, Urbino 2000;

<http://www.imageuro.net/archivio/iveko.htm>

71 Ivekovic R., and J. Mostov, *From Gender to Nation* Longo Editore Ravenna, 2002; pg13.

72 R. Ivekovic *"Women Nationalism and War. Make love not war"*, Women's/Gender studies Association of Countries in Transition. Electronic library; <http://www.zenskestudie.edu.yu>

73 This reaction against Communism is seen by Bracewell as leading to a complete reversal to the traditional values of patriarchal society, in which women roles lies primarily in the private sphere of domesticity and motherhood. Nationalist ideology has reinforced this tendency by using mother as symbol of the nation and by emphasising women's responsibility for the biological and cultural reproduction of the nation.

74 Ivekovic R., and J. Mostov, *From Gender to Nation* Longo Editore Ravenna, 2002

75 In psychoanalytical interpretation of nationalist wars, as Ivekovic describes, there is also identification with the father figure (the Father of the Nation) which in psychological term is a regression - identification with the parent, the origin-. This regressive identification means for men taking refuge in the same sex, for women, taking refuge in the other. In both cases as women and men can become nationalists, it is through this identification that a community not a society is formed. Community is created by contrast with the other community, that of the neighbor, but for women is a double-bind and contradictory relation: the paradox is that women give birth to the same and to the different sex generating both women and men; they are thus required to be loyal to a principle of identity that is not their one, because they do not correspond to the vertical and patriarchal ideal proposed to everybody. From here the need of controlling women because they do not adhere spontaneously to this ideal state.

76 Ivekovic R., and J. Mostov, *From Gender to Nation* Longo Editore Ravenna, 2002; pg 79.

77 N. Yuval-Davis, F. Anthias (eds): *Woman Nation State* in V. Kesic op.cit; pg 65 and

78 Nira Yuval-Davis *Women and the biological reproduction of "the Nation"* School of Social Sciences, University of Greenwich, London; <http://www.sciencedirect.com/science>

79 Kesic, V op.cit; pg 65

80 Kesic, V op.cit; pg 65

81 Albanese, P *Nationalism, War, and Archaization of Gender relations in the Balkans*, <http://sciencedirect.com/science>

82 Ibid; Among heroic mothers created by the nationalist rhetoric in Serbia, the cult of Mother Jugovic symbolic medieval figure who offered all her nine sons to die fighting against Turks. The nationalists call on Serbian women to emulate her and to give more children. Serbian press has also has also used this comparison to glorify hero-mothers from the current conflict such as "the mother of Djordje Bo ovic Giška, a former commander of the paramilitary Serbian Guard, who was killed while fighting in Croatia : A courageous mother, like mother Jugovic conscious of her son's sacrifice for ideals of liberty, justice and truth" in Bracewell W *Women, Motherhood, and Contemporary Serbian Nationalism*; <http://sciencedirect.com/science>

83 As Wendy Bracewell highlights analysing the interference of the State into women's reproductive rights: "The 1974 Yugoslav Constitution stated that it is a human right to decide freely on child-birth and abortion could be restricted only on a medical basis. However since 1989 the right to abortion has been challenged on basis o explicitly national interests" recalling the white plague (bela kuga), namely the low birth rate that was affecting the Country; in Bracewell W, *ibid*;

84 In Croatia, in the spring of 1992, the Ministry for Renewal established a Department for Demographic Renewal under the control of a Catholic priest. Strategies were developed to raise an ethnically clean birth rate, and social support incentives were proposed for women who gave birth to more than four children. Muslims too, came back to old values. For example, one Muslim spiritual leader proclaimed a *fat-wa*. He said, "I have told my Muslim women: a minum of five children! Two for themselves, three for Bosnia (in Albanese, P; op.cit)

85 In Serbia since June 1993, the Church has given the "Mother Jugovic medal" to mothers with four or more children. In 1993 they awarded 16 gold and 14 silver medals. Unsatisfied with the performance, they admonished, "In earlier times, mothers were able to send as many as nine sons to the emperor's army, so that they could fight for the freedom of the country and of their Orthodox faith. We have such mother today, too, but very few" (in Zajovic, S *Birth Nationalism and War Women in Black* 15 January 1995 <http://www.hartford-hwp.com/archives/62/039.html>)60 Bracewell, W op. cit;

86 Bracewell, W op. cit;

87 Albanese P; op cit; In February 1990, Ivan Knatjer, a physician and self-proclaimed demographic expert, proposed "legal innovations designed to help the reaffirmation of the family". He suggested the imposition of taxes on unmarried or divorced men and women over the age of thirty. According to him, the tax should consist of 10 per cent of the salaries of these unfit persons. The goal of the project was to "prevent the disastrous decline in birth-rate in Serbia" in Zajovic S *Birth Nationalism and War*, Women in Black 15 January 1995 <http://www.hartford-hwp.com/archives/62/039.html>

88 Einhorn, B *Link across difference. Gender, Ethnicity and Nationalism*; <http://sciencedirect.com/science>

89 Albanese, P *Nationalism, War, and Archaization of Gender relations in the Balkans*, <http://sciencedirect.com/science>

90 Licht, S., and S. Drakulic, *When the word for peacemaker was woman. War and gender in the Former Yugoslavia*

91 Albanese, P *Nationalism, War, and Archaization of Gender relations in the Balkans*, <http://sciencedirect.com/science>

92 Bracewell, W *Women, Motherhood, and Contemporary Serbian Nationalism*; <http://sciencedirect.com/science>

93 "The best thing about being a soldier are shooting and fucking (interview of a Serbian paramilitary with a Belgrade journalist); "I only remember that I was the twentieth, that her hair was a mess, that she was disgusting and full of sperm, and that I killed her at the end" (testimony of Yugoslav National Army soldier who took part to the war in Croatia) in M. Korac, *Understanding ethnic-national identity and its meaning. Question's from Women's experience*; <http://sciencedirect.com/science>

94 Ibid;

95 *Gender Approaches in post conflict situations*, UNDP 2001.

96 *Gender approaches in conflict and post-conflict situations*, UNDP 2001

97 The data is reported by Staša Zajovic (Women in Black) and related to information provided by SOS Belgrade in 1993: "men who attack women now more often use pistols, bombs, and machine-guns. They also threaten the women with death twice as often as before. Men who have returned from the frontlines continue to be violent in their homes. They abuse women, beat their children, sleep with a machine-

gun under their pillow, rape their wives while they are asleep, destroy the furniture, scream, swear, spit, and accuse. These reports also reveal the "post-TV News violence syndrome". In other words, there is a correlation between the aggressive pro-war propaganda of the media, especially television, and male violence towards women; in Korac M, *Understanding ethnic-national identity and its meaning. Question from Women's Experience*, op. cit;

98 Korac M, *Understanding ethnic-national identity and its meaning. Question from Women's Experience*, op. cit;

99 *Gender approaches in conflict and post-conflict situations*, UNDP 2001

100 *Treatment of Torture and trauma survivors in a post-war societ.*, Centre for Torture Victims (CTV), Sarajevo 2003;

101 Ibid.

102 Korac, M *Understanding ethnic-national identity and its meaning. Question from Women's Experience*, op. cit;

103 Ibid;

104 Baksic-Muftic, J in *Gender Approach and Social Policy in the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina*, IBHI publication. Sarajevo, May 2001;

Changed Gender Roles in Post Conflict Society?

CASE STUDY: FEMALE HEAD OF HOUSE- HOLD IN POST- CONFLICT SREBRENICA REGION

Introduction

After having observed how gender roles shaped in ex Yugoslavia and the impact that Socialism, nationalism and war had in the determining a factual subordination of women in the societal structure, in this chapter it will be analyzed the position of women in post conflict Srebrenica Region. As it will be illustrated throughout the chapter, the context presents specific peculiarities, among which an higher presence of women who - having lost their male partner during the genocide occurred in 1995 - are referred as female heads of household; the specific category object of analysis will be considered to analyze two main aspects: first how these women who, in absence of male members, undertook men's responsibility in the house are currently coping with the war affected environment, secondly asserting that conflict has an effect on gender roles, it will be highlighted that those changes concern more the economic/productive role within the household: women heads of households became "bread-winners" of their family replacing the role whose traditionally belonged to their spouse. It will be noticed that a parallel gain in other spheres of social life has been irrelevant, while

final considerations will bring to state that the war-affected environment provokes a social suffering that sees women heads of households jammed with the double burden of working within the house, while trying to find a source of living. On the other hand, men who survived the war (even if not object of the present analysis) having lost their job and their status and being traumatized by war, are losing their traditional role in the household and in many cases increasing violence within the domestic sphere.

General context and the impact of war on Srebrenica women

War is an extreme case of formation of a new political subject but often unfortunately political subjects are built on violence or through extreme resistance to violence.¹ The war in Bosnia, which erupted in April 1992, is depicted as complex political emergency encompassing elements of an eroding nation State, a faltering economy, external aggression, internal fracture, international engagement, massive population displacement and the prominence of ethno-nationalism.²

Yugoslav conflicts have been often defined as ethnic³, justified by cultural elaborations and by social complex rites. Economic tensions and the affirmation of strong social inequalities, which from Yugoslavia spread out to all other Eastern European countries, even if remaining above a so high level of conflict, remained aside. The new organization of societies that wars impose has the first aim to control population movement, ejecting those who have a different identity.⁴ The second aim, in medium term, is to impose new working hierarchies and generally narrower social relations.

For four years the war in Bosnia was fuelled by a political artificial resurgence of ethno-nationalism which had two principal outcomes: 1) Distrust and fear spread among the population leading to a breakdown in community and personal relations 2) Ethnic cleansing used a military strategy to prevent reprisals from defeated areas, and also a means from the Bosnian Serbs of erasing elements which were perceived to threaten the existence of the Serbs and the Serb Nation.⁵

In the process of ethnic cleansing an important role was played as seen above by the systematic raping of women belonging to other ethnicities, while men were sent to con-

centration camps and or executed. It is estimated that 20.000 to 50.000⁶ women were raped during the war, some in rape camps⁷. Over 10.000 men remain missing. More than 2 million people were forced to displacement as a consequence of ethnic cleansing.⁸

The chaotic and violent dissolution of multinational State brought to the creation of purified areas. The regression of social relations imposed by wars spread out, in a further moment - in a non homogeneous way - along the flows of refugee and displaced persons who crossed borders to escape from persecution.

The current situation sees acute difficulties with integration into new communities for both internally displaced people (IDPs) and refugees returning from abroad. Moreover the de facto division in two almost homogeneous "entities" brought to the partial redrawing of communities' national geography.

Srebrenica is one evident example of this state of affairs.

The pre-war population of Srebrenica Region (comprising municipalities of Bratunac, Srebrenica and Milici) was 86,000. In 2003 population had halved to about 40,000. The Bosnian

Muslim population is now less than 10% of the total population. Before the war Bosnian Muslim accounted for 66% of the population.⁹

According to UNHCR's latest information dated October 2003, a total of 1,794 Bosnian Muslim have returned to Srebrenica, 2,295 to Bratunac and 1,143 to Milici municipalities.¹⁰

What it can be surely said is that these are in great proportion women, because a huge number of men¹¹ were killed in the war; in this context there is presence of certain community structure problems that have significant gender consequences.

Overview on Srebrenica recent history¹²

At the beginning of the conflict in April 1992, the Serb paramilitaries from the area around Srebrenica controlled the town of Srebrenica for about two weeks. By May 1992, the Army of BiH (ABiH) forces took over control of the town. During 1992, the ABiH expanded the enclave to 900 square kilometres, including Cerska, and established links with the Zepa enclave south of Srebrenica. In January 1993, the RS Army (VRS) reduced the Srebrenica enclave to 150 square kilome-

tres. The residents of the surrounding areas fled to Srebrenica and the population reached some 50,000 to 60,000. During this first year of conflict, there were reports of atrocities against civilians on both sides. Following the VRS capture of the Srebrenica town in July 1995, approximately 20,000 to 25,000 civilians fled to the Potocari UN compound. The majority of these were women, children, disabled, and the elderly, while approximately 900 to 1,200 were military aged men. The VRS soldiers mingled in the crowd and terrorized the civilians by raping women and slaying an unknown number of refugees. By the late afternoon of July 13, the civilians were bussed out of the UN base in Potocari. The VRS soldiers systematically separated all of the military-age men (not only of the military age, but also elderly and boys below 18 years) and took them to different locations in the surroundings. In an attempt to break through the woods to the area controlled by the ABiH around Tuzla, the command of the ABiH 28th Division and the municipal authorities of Srebrenica decided to form a column of soldiers and military aged civilian men. There were between 10,000 and 15,000 men that tried to break through to Tuzla area. The men captured in Potocari and those captured in the woods were "slaughtered in carefully orchestrated mass executions, commencing on July 13, in the region just north of Srebrenica"¹³. The ICTY Krstic case also established that the "Bosnian Serb forces devised and implemented a plan to execute as many as possible

of the military aged Bosnian Muslim men present in the enclave"¹⁴. Overall, the number of Bosnian Muslim slaughtered in July 1995 is "likely to be within range of 7,000 to 8,000 men"¹⁵. At the time that General Krstic was convicted of genocide in Srebrenica in 2001, there were 2,028 bodies exhumed from the mass-graves. The ICTY case against General Krstic established that there was a concentrated effort to conceal the bodies of men in the primary gravesites, and that there are secondary graves in the region around.

The wartime events have determined the present of Srebrenica like in no other municipality in BiH. The July 1995 massacre in Srebrenica has been characterized as a crime of genocide by the ICTY. The consequences of the July 1995 events, along with the massive migrations resulting there from, and the complex political relations are the main determinants of the present situation in Srebrenica¹⁶. The current visible and total devastation of the Region especially of Srebrenica town and surrounding villages¹⁷, due to the prolonged embargo that followed the war¹⁸, lack of income possibilities, high rate of unemployment, devastated infrastructures and poor house conditions, renders difficult the

perspective of mid term improvement and makes of this area one of the most depressed of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Characteristic of this Region is devastated social tissue in a community that is clearly divided along ethnic lines: Serbs compose nowadays the majority of the population, while Bosnian Muslim returnees face visible obstacles in integrating.

Srebrenica is the only Municipality in the Republika Srpska where a predominantly Bosnian Muslim party (SDA) has the majority in the Assembly¹⁹ and is also personified in the position of the Mayor. This becomes even more a decisive fact in the context of the post-war BiH where the ethnic origin is the guiding principle for the political decision-making.²⁰ There is lack of coordination between the entity authorities and the municipal administration in Srebrenica.²¹

Due to bad living conditions and slow improvement of situation, rate of people moving out from Srebrenica tends to rise above the return and integration rate. Even domicile Serb residents decide to move out from the municipality. Current population estimate in Srebrenica municipality is around 9,679 out of which approximately 4,000 are Bosnian Muslim

returnees.²² Characteristics of Srebrenica population are the followings:

- A high average age of the heads of households
- A high percentage of female-headed households (around 40% in returnee families and about 20% among domicile residents)
- Limited formal employment, in particular among returnees (less than 5% of returnees of working age have a job, with somewhat higher figures among Serb families)
- A large number of families with pension as the major source of cash income (at least 50% among returnee families and about 30% among Serb families)
- Many households having suffered major war damage to their house or apartment²³

Apart from a complex community administrative structures, social relationships have been worsened, within which a moral and financial support was traditionally provided, the lack of male labor, extremely difficult economical conditions (high unemployment rate, in the first place) and the legacy of genocide which left psychosocial consequences, are some of

the main characteristics of female-headed households in Srebrenica.

Methodology of Female Heads of Households survey

The study that follows is the result of the integration of two types of analysis - qualitative and quantitative - conducted in Srebrenica Region by the author of this paper in the period February-October 2004.

The *qualitative* analysis has been based on of twenty-one in-depth and semi-structured interviews (6 interviews to local NGOs and 15 interviews to local female headed households).

The analysis includes open interviews with people from the region. In choosing interlocutors within NGOs, main used criterion has been their private or professional experience with the population target of the study.²⁴

All the interviews were conducted in an unofficial atmosphere with an aim of gathering information about women in the region in order to obtain a clear picture on problems they face in everyday life. Fifteen in-depth interviewees, five per each municipality of the region, were conducted among

women that run their households. In this first phase of the survey each interview lasted an hour and a half on average.

For the second *quantitative* analysis of the survey, has been prepared a standardized questionnaire which has been submitted to 500 women living in municipalities of Bratunac and Srebrenica in a face-to-face confrontation²⁵.

Bratunac's sample includes 198, and Srebrenica sample 302 FHHs. Number of interviewees according to the type of settlements (urban or rural), age and residential status (returnees, displaced persons and resident population) has been deliberately determined, being one of the objective to include sufficient number of interviewees in each of the categories in order to have an overall picture. (See Table A, annex 3 for the structure of our samples in relation to demographic characteristics and Appendix 5 for the list of surveyed villages).

Framed stories that are presented in the following subchapters are stories of some of female heads of households living in Srebrenica Region gathered on the field during the survey.

Post-war relations-case study:

Female head of households: categories and ideal-types:

In considering Female Head of Households (FHH) it has to be specified as introduction that focusing only on the household which is a "traditional unit of poverty studies"²⁶ and on the female headed household which is the "main gender transparent factor within it", it might obscure a deep understanding of the true causes of poverty and quality of life for women in general, which is not measurable only considering the FHH²⁷.

For example the study of FHH would obscure the issue of domestic violence, prevalent in male-headed households or the control of household resources by wage-earning men.

If domestic violence is not present in FHH, the findings of the following research point out different kind of violence that FHH have undergone:

- Social violence, because they have lived in a narrow-minded and male-dominated surroundings, which has given them minimal possibility of choices,
- War violence, which has devastated their family, economic, and above all, their 'internal' or 'psychological' life.

Grouping women that lost their male family members does not implying categorizations but construction of "ideal types" or groups of women presenting one or more common traits. It is difficult to establish categories of war-affected women because most, if not all, women and men were affected by the war; the conflict did not discriminate among its victims in term of age, location, or occupation; however typologies are necessary to understand the particular geography of the phenomenon object of the focus.

War widows and older widows who outlived their husbands

The majority of FHH in the analyzed region are either war widows either women who outlived their husbands. In Srebrenica, war and the specific wickedness of genocide definitively brought its influence in determining a so high percentage of FHH which are widows, anyhow other factors have to be considered, such as a very high economic immigration rate that has been characterizing Bosnia since the Second World War (artisans and gastarbeiters/ young, single men who fled to Germany to work). Economic migration con-

tributed to gender imbalance before the decimation of the male population clearly attributable to the war, while another phenomenon, ageing society characterizes Bosnia: like in other European countries, also in BiH the expectancy of life is higher for women rather than for men, women often outlive their husband²⁸, and this occurrence is more evident in countryside where the tendency for men to marry younger women has been always rooted.

Despite of this consideration that makes us understand that phenomenon of female leading household in BiH and in Srebrenica is not related only to the war, in Srebrenica region among the surveyed women, almost the 60% of the surveyed women became widow as a consequence of the war.²⁹

Figure 1 (Annex 3) shows the survey results in Bratunac and Srebrenica in relation to cause of becoming a FHH. It is visible that most of those who became head of household are amongst Bosnian Muslim because their husbands are killed in the war, although domicile population has the highest percentage of these cases, as well.

Out of total number of surveyed women whose husband was killed in the war, 43% is between 41 and 50 years old, 24%

is between 51 and 60 years old, 22% is between 31 and 40 years old, 3% is between 21 and 30 years old and 8% is over sixty years old.

Further more the traditional family unit of returnees in many cases broke down as a result of the war due to the huge movement population which led to an increased disconnection of older people from younger family members who still live in the Federation.

Formally or informally divorced women

Even if these two categories of women represent a minority of women headed household (12,8 %), they face very specific problems. It is interesting to notice exceptionally high percentage of IDs women who divorced their husbands in age between 21 and 30 and become head of household due the fact they got divorced.

Despite of being younger than the average of female-headed households they lack of employment opportunities and family support. The great majority met during the survey live without a real income, as it will be discussed later and finds its source of living in the forest and the surrounding nature col-

lecting forest products like berries, mushrooms or snails that are sold retail to private business people or, if there is the possibility, to the local market.

An issue concerning divorced women is their denied right to receive alimony from the husband that in most of cases left the household for various reasons (relational problems, fled to another country because of fear to take part to the war).

The Family Law in Bosnia guarantees and protects underage children of the divorced couple who has got the right to receive alimony. The same right is guarantee to the spouse under some general conditions prescribed in article 239 of the Law³⁰ (lack of financial means or incapability to work or impossibility to find a job). The law doesn't set a minimum alimony amount; instead the Law establishes that the alimony will be in proportion to the 'capabilities' of the spouse that is obliged to pay alimony. De facto, the general economical situation, lack of employment opportunities and the existence of large segment of not regulated work (grey and black economy) make difficult to persecute the violators and the weakest part of the couple - always women - stays without support.

Middle aged Head of household with sick disable or unemployed male members

Stating in advance that none of the surveyed women if had the possibility, would have chosen to be head of the household, almost the 10% of the surveyed population became head of household because the husband is sick or unemployed. For these women the situation is worsened by the double burden of family work care and the necessity of providing a household income, often to supply the husband's need of medicines. This can be specifically related to the displaced persons (See Figure 1, Annex 3).

It is noticeable that the majority of the families in this situation is middle aged, thus meaning that not only the elderly women have to be considered vulnerable. Middle-aged persons of both sexes face today difficulties in finding a job, many of them lost the job as a consequence of combination of the conflict and the total economic collapse. In the Region all the factories that gave employment to about 10.000 are now abandoned and ruined without realistic possibility to be recovered in the short-medium term and without huge funds investment; people employed in those factories mostly mid-

dle age, are now broken, few have enough for a decent pension and for many is too late to start.

During the survey women have been asked about their opinion on the position they presently have in compare to the one when they were not head of household. The perception is that biggest number of them (60%) senses the difference in lack of male physical labor, meaning they work more and harder to provide functional household. All other explanations are mentioned in less than 5% cases. Few women (2%) marked present position positively³¹.

The above categorization will help the analysis that follows of female heads of household in relation with Health, Education and Employment in post war Srebrenica region.

Analysis of socio-economical condition of female head of households:

Health Care

Prior to the war, in the Region, like in all BiH, health care was provided at a number of different levels. At the local level, primary health care services were provided by *ambulantas*

which offered some basic services, but generally referred clients to specialists at the *Dom Zdravlja* level and hence above to general and regional hospital³².

The war affected the ability of the health sector to respond to the dramatically increased emergency and non-emergency caseload. One third of medical facilities are thought to have been destroyed with a loss of about 35% of hospital beds³³.

In Srebrenica Region, NGO ZORA in Milici reported that almost all the medical equipment of the former Hospital has been damaged, stolen or went lost during the war and the lack of replacement with adequate instrumentation renders the medical service currently provided poor and insufficient.

If in Bosnia and Herzegovina the number of health professionals decreased by 40 per cent due to immigration, death, disablement or conscription³⁴, in Srebrenica Region, where at any level is noticeable the absence of professionals, the phenomenon is even more evident. An example is the Srebrenica Health Centre that despite of being well equipped, it lacks highly qualified staff: very few qualified candidates answer to job announcements, most of them who are not from the

region work just limited period of time in order to get some work experience or until they find better work opportunity³⁵.

Memišević Ševala, 41 years old Ševala is a returnee to the D anici settlement in Bratunac. She lives with her family (daughter, son and husband) at her brother-in-law's house, which does not have electricity or water and is very rundown.

Ševala's husband began to have psychological problems and finally became schizophrenic after the birth of their daughter who was born with cerebral palsy.

The daughter is now 20 years old. The son is 9 years old and is enrolled in primary school in Bratunac.

They all live from the husband's pension, a total of 176 KM, of which 100 KM is spent on medicine. However, Ševala and her daughter both have health insurance from the bureau of unemployment.

To supply food for her households, she cultivates the land surrounding the house.

Ševala literally carries her daughter on her back on a daily basis, as she is semi-paralysed. Hence, Ševala has many problems with which have ensued from this physical labour, including spine, leg and thyroid problems.

She said that she cannot use a wheel chair for the daughter because it is not useful - all of the surrounding areas only have macadam roads.

Lack of professionals does not respond to the needs of the particularly problematic background of the Region: the presence of cases with physical disabilities, psychological trauma,

post-traumatic stress disorder is very high, but few initiatives have been organized by international and local organizations to address the problem.

In the whole region, there are not psychologists or psychiatrists; initiatives to address post trauma stress disorders have been so far in the hands of local NGOs which despite of having good purposes, lack of expertise, experience and skills.³⁶

Dom Zravlja of Srebrenica and Bratunac provide basic services that are considered satisfactory by the majority of its patients, but on the other side almost in all MZ, the ambulancas are ruined and not in use, thus impeding the access to health care services to that part of the population who lives in remote villages - mainly the elderly who are starting to return. Difficult access and poverty are the main reasons that most of the population in the region does not have proper medical care, and it is the case with DPs as well as returnees. Nevertheless there are some positive experiences that are signs of the improvement of the relationship, despite noticeable distrust to the local public health services personnel.

As a result of the last thing, most returnees in the region still rely on the public health services of the Federation.

Figure 2 (Annex IV) shows relation between those surveyed women who have health insurance and the ones who do not. We could not find any difference between surveyed women in regard to residential status and type of settlement, except certain difference in age where the percentage of ensured women aged between 21 and 30 is 10% less than other age categories.

Concerning the general health condition of the population living in Srebrenica Region, from interviews carried out with local NGOs and local personnel of Dom Zdravlja in Srebrenica and Bratunac, emerges an increased number of people abuse drugs and alcohol especially among the youth³⁷. The Centre for Social Work is not endowed with the capacities to address the phenomenon, limiting its action in reporting to the local Police those cases.

Drug as a spreading phenomenon in the Region has to be read as phenomenon deriving from a combination of two main factors: increased control of the drug market by local mafia groups and increased level of depression, loss of motivations and lack of improvement perspectives due mainly to lack of employment opportunities.

Another worrying aspect characterizing the aftermath war context of Srebrenica Region is the increased number of cases of cancer and tuberculosis. In Bratunac Municipality 18 new cases of tuberculosis have been diagnosed in the year 2003-2004.³⁸ The illness, due to bad living conditions concerns especially displaced persons who often live in precarious accommodations that lack basic hygiene rules.

Number of cases of malign diseases has been increased as well.³⁹ Breast cancer, despite of being the first the cause of women death even during the socialists system⁴⁰, has been spreading out, also because of the presence of depleted uranium in BiH.⁴¹ In Bratunac there are 19 cases of cancer registered in the Health Centre; out of 19, 11 cases of breast cancer (the average age is 47), 11 cases of uterus cancer and 1 case ovaries cancer. In all three municipalities, there is not the possibility to conduct cervical smears or Papa test⁴².

Another health care issue is related to the lack of harmonization of Entities law on health insurance which causes mainly problems to returnees and IDPs that returning risk to lose health insurance and face difficulties in accessing health institutions. Moreover, those households that have missing

members, although supposed to be protected and included in the social security system are not recognized by the legislation, therefore they are not under social protection in the RS at the moment. The majority of these families in Srebrenica are Bosnian Muslim women headed households.

More than one third of the returnee surveyed women in Srebrenica and Bratunac still rely on doctors in the Federation (Figure 3, Annex IV), or in absence of alternatives they refer to private doctors. Given the high cost of private health care, this constitutes an element for increased vulnerability.

Health insurance does not provide cover, even for those who have insurance, against having to make additional payments in the case of serious illness, while obviously uninsured persons are particularly at risk.

There are several factors mining health condition of younger and older women living in Srebrenica Region. The first determinative aspect is a general lack of health awareness: "often women go to visit the doctor in advanced state of their illness, and in many cases it is too late to take measures".⁴³

General distrust and lack of confidence have been characterizing this area since ever, while visiting a gynecologist is still a "taboo", if one third of the surveyed women refuse to answer to the question "Do you visit the gynecologist?"

Lack of awareness and insufficient health care protection are the main factor determining the low affluence to health care facilities, while, and as already mentioned, the number of malign disease is increasing.

Focusing on Muslim population relation with the gynecologist it has been told that returnee women refuse to be examined by doctors of other "nationality". Apparently this is an untrue fact in the sense that no episodes of discrimination within the local health care system had have ever being reported. The doctor running Srebrenica Dom Zdravlja is a Serb who claims a deontological approach to his patients, non matter age, nationality or gender, but stresses courageously the will of the political class to support projects "ethnically" divided. An example is that Srebrenica returnees (Muslim) rely mostly on the regular medical visits organized by the SNAGA ZENE mobile team of doctors coming from Tuzla twice a month. "Women can have check-ups, do blood tests and

ultrasound scans within these visits".⁴⁴ They could relay on the same services visiting the local health house but the perception is that even *health* has been used as an instrument of political purposes, where returnee women have been discouraged by political party's members to visit local institutions.

There are several other initiatives ad hoc for the Muslim population implemented by organization active in Federation; it is clear that they represent an overlapping with activities of the local Srebrenica services, additionally slowing down the process of building mutual trust between Serbs and Muslim resident in the Region.

A great segment of the surveyed women stated, "they don't need to be visited" (Figure 4 Annex IV), while it emerges that the need for gynaecological check-out is related mainly to pregnancy.

There are naturally age differences. However, one fourth of women aged between 31 and 40 said they did not need to see a gynaecologist. Nevertheless, there are cases of women in this area who delivered their baby at home without visiting doctors at all during pregnancy. Results have shown that a large proportion of women (21%) aged between 21 and 30

that run their households has never visited a gynaecologist. These are mainly women that do not have children which confirm that visiting gynaecologist is mainly related to routine visits during pregnancy. Figure 5 (Annex V) shows the number of times all interviewed women visit a gynaecologist.

There are other factors characterizing a backward cultural context which inhibits to go for gynaecological visits, mainly related to ignorance of the risks, lack of awareness and scepticism, perhaps also fear to be negatively judged by the community; however it is difficult to investigate the psychological reasons while the general perception is that war worsened the situation and the nowadays general impoverished circumstances of the Region do not allow to set health among priorities of the household agenda. For women who are heads of households looking after themselves, their own bodies their psychophysical well being is in many cases a luxury or at least an issue that is postponed in the priority agenda. As result of inadequate health care, poor nutrition and the burden of carrying all the household's demands, women living in remote areas show evident signs of premature aging.

Mental Health

Women, men and children are reported to be experiencing post-traumatic stress syndrome, although the prevalence of mental disorders is not verifiable.

Out of 500 women head of household surveyed in the regions of Bratunac and Srebrenica we met only one woman

Mujic Razija, 46 years old Razija is a returnee to the village of Redjici, returning after a number of years spent living in Zivinice, a refugee camp in Tuzla canton.

As Razija said, the story of her life can be subject of a very tragic movie:

At the beginning of the war, Serbian Army came dividing her and her children from his husband: she was forced to move, together with her two underage sons, in the primary school Branko Radicevic in Bratunac - during the war time used as detention camp- where she was kept as a prisoner for one month, while her husband was brought away from the VRS; from that moment she didn't receive any news about him.

During the detention time she was sent as a messenger by the Serbian Army from Bratunac to Srebrenica.

In that time she experienced rape, torture and any kind of inhuman acts.

When she recently returned to Redjici, she met by chance on the street the man that raped her during the war, she recognized him, but, according to her words, there was nothing she could do. The memory is still too alive and the fear of reprisal still strong.

who openly talked about how she survived the rape experience in Bratunac detention camp, during the war. She returned to the village of Redjici where the community very well known her story, labeling her "insane".

Labeling as insane or guilty women who survived rape experiences is sign of stigmatization in the reality of rural areas

Nataša, 22 years old Natasa has been married for 3 years and has a child of three years old. Last September she was expelled from the house of her husband's parents.

She is originally from Novi Sad and she used to live with her father (her mother died when she was a child). Once she was married, she came to Bratunac to join her husband and his family. This is where her life began to change. Beaten on a regular basis by both her husband and his family, she undergoes severe both verbal and physical torture, she decided not to report it to the police.

Natasa did not approach the police because she was afraid of rumors; nevertheless she tried to approach the center for social work, that as she states, never came to verify her living conditions.

When we met her husband was working in Montenegro unloading bananas: "he spends one month in Montenegro, 15 days at home. But each time he comes home it is the same story".

Natasa has no friends and nowhere to go, except the house of her old father in Novi Sad. Their main problem she is facing is lack of employment that prevent her to be independent. She has only a primary education, which impede her to access to almost very employment.

where people tend to isolate and marginalize women who survived this type of trauma; as a consequence of this neglecting attitude, they have to cope alone in their fight for re-establishing control over their lives and the return of their feeling of safety. Only the approach to this woman was the evidence of difficulties and the hostile environment that she has to face without being supported by neither any institution/program or by the community.

However the impression, while talking to all women is that Razja is only one evident case among thousand of unknown who don't wish, don't want or cannot externalize the trauma undergone.

Pašalic Zada, 56 years old A returnee to the village Donji Potocari, Zada returned with her son to the house that they used to live in before the war. The house is in a very bad condition and is still partially destroyed. Her son, 30 years old, is epileptic and he needs 200 KM per month for medicine. She lives out only of her husband pension (120 KM) who died in a car accident before the war.

She manages to earn additional money by selling homemade handicrafts to neighbours often for a small price. Despite the situation and psychological problems of her son and daughter (see Pasalic Sabera) this woman claimed to be extremely happy.

In addition, as mentioned before, those women who lost the income-earner member due to disability or illness carry the burden of caring for him; this has a significant impact on the household economy and intra-household relations. In the Region the responsibility for caring of the infirm is preserve to women, hence demanding more of their resources and often all their efforts to provide medicaments.

Education

Women Education

Alarming finding of the survey is that half of the total surveyed female population did not complete primary school. One third of the considered population is illiterate including those women that can poorly⁴⁵ read and write. Out of one third, the great majority is older than 40 years, but there is a relevant number of young women who completed just primary school or who dropped the school at age 11 (end of the fourth grade of primary education).

In particular considering young women from 21 to 30 a worrying 13% didn't complete primary school and only 20% has

high school diploma. The results show that the level of illiteracy is very high in rural area.⁴⁶

It must be said that different level of education for women living in urban areas and women living in rural areas has been characterizing even pre-war Yugoslavia.⁴⁷ In rural areas girls were less likely than girls in city and towns to continue on to secondary school. The main reason to blame for this situation was but still is the conservative belief that strictly defines women's role in her family and society⁴⁸; a belief that finds its ideal place in East-Bosnian rural community

During the survey some women have reported that their father used to beat them up, if they insisted to go to school or women whose father paid a fine not to send them to classes. In most of the cases priority was given to male children education while girls had to stay at home and help with domestic chores.

According to the survey's findings, IDPs and domiciled are in average more educated than returnees (Figure 6, Annex VI), this being due to the fact that in average the Bosnian Muslim women are older women who have always been living in countryside and for the mentioned reasons lack of education.

In figure 7 (Annex VI) it is possible to find one more reason for low level of education amongst them. According to the conversations we led we can conclude that returnee women are in most of the cases women who found themselves disadvantaged in urban area - in need of higher education - where they lived as displaced during and after the war, thus deciding to come back to their place of origin. As a confirmation of it, according to the survey's findings, among the returnee Bosnian Muslim female population, three quarter of the total is completely illiterate.

Children education

Only one third of the surveyed female head of households has children in schooling age that in most of the cases are attending school. Children involvement in higher education depends to financial means of their mothers. To provide their children with secondary or university education almost necessarily requires their mothers' total commitment and sacrifice.

This alarming data has to be ascribed primarily to lack of financial means: households without an income are obviously faced with a heavier burden to pay text books and bus trans-

portation; in addition most of the settlements in Srebrenica Region are isolated and badly connected to towns. Remoteness, bad road connection and poor transportation make access of children from rural areas to schools rather difficult.⁴⁹

Another issue concerns children with special needs who do not receive adequate attention and whose needs are not met in schools where teachers are not trained or their curriculum not adequately updated to guarantee a suitable integration process. Indeed segregation and lack of support is what has been met when coming across female headed household who have children with special needs.

Dissolution of material condition increased poverty within the household in post-conflict context. Employment and Income of Female Head of Household

Women that have not had the chance to go to school are not in a position to find a job and they remain tied to the household chores. More than half of female heads of households have had such a destiny. Being asked if they had ever had a paid job, 70% of interviewees said they had not. The

results have also supported out expectation that there is a huge gap between those women living in villages and those living in towns: while one third of interviewees from towns have never had a paid job, one every five women has ever had a paid job.

- *"My husband wouldn't allow me to work. He was jealous and kept telling me that he wouldn't let me find a job, and I didn't ask him so."*

- *"I've never been employed. I had my pension, looked after children; you know how it is like to have female children."*

- *"I've been a housewife all my life. I didn't need to work, because I wouldn't be able to."*

- *"I've never had a job. I've always been a housewife, and that's what I'm now and what I'll always be."*

- *"I can't work in a firm, because I'm can't read and write."*

- *"My husband was employed for 18 years, but I've never been so."*

This fact is no surprising if we take into account the regional situation of the nature of economy in towns and villages. Paying attention to the frequency of particular answers in relation to age, the conclusion is that much younger women said they had had paid jobs than the older ones. The majority of women who wanted and needed to work faced obstacles in finding a job.

Apart from the influence it has on the quality of life in terms of material existence, this problem, which seems insoluble for the majority of women, is also a huge mental burden.

The case of Safeta Beganovic, a single mother and returnee to the village of Nova Kasaba near Milici is definitively a rare one.

Milešević Dušanka, 44 years old Dusanka is a single mother with two daughters, 12 and 15 years old, living in Bratunac. She lives in a rented house and is the sole contributor to all of her children's expenditures.

Before the war, she lived in Zenica with her husband who is a Bosnian Croat. As in many cases, the war divided this couple and circumstances brought her to follow her family of origin who moved to Bratunac. Her husband stayed in Zenica and after ten years of living apart, they decided to divorce.

"He would never call to ask how children are doing and we could not expect any material help from him. Only recently did he call us to offer some help. Yet, for the past ten years he did not know if we were alive or not. Where was he when I was trying to secure money for the sending his children to school and providing them with food and clothes?"

She says it was very hard to survive during that time. She was working in restaurants for a miserable salary, trying to make ends meet. Managing to secure herself a position as an accountant in a cardboard factory in Bratunac, she worked diligently for six years. However, during the last two years of her job she has received her salary intermittently, as the company was experiencing a number of

problems. Eventually, the company was forced to file for bankruptcy and she lost the only source of income she had for her family.

In addition to her two daughters, she must also take care of her mother, sister and father who just recently died of lung cancer.

Only 14% of the total number households' members in the region is employed in a way, the same number is retired, and 72% is unemployed. Age difference is logical.

Only 20% of interviewed female heads of households aged between 21 and 60 are employed. Differences in age are shown in figure 9 (Annex 7).

Among women that work, returnees and displaced persons have part-time jobs, while local residents work full time. Far fewer interviewees aged between 21 and 30 have full time jobs than those from other age groups. While in average three quarter of older women work full time, approximately one every second women from the former age group has the same employment status.

Apart from the unemployment problem they face, those interviewees that were employed and those who work talked about discrimination they had to face in the job place. The cases vary from sexual harassment on their working places to the employers' tendency to dismiss women if there are no

enough working places (as it was reported by a woman working in Milici bricks factory Boksit).

It has to be underlined that strategies of international donors directed towards dependence reduction, employment increase and income generating projects aiming at strengthening women's capacities, have been successful for some women, but the biggest disadvantage is that being individual cases, they do not solve the problems of the whole community on the long term basis.

Members of PRIRODA NGO in Bratunac have reported, through their cooperation with women head of households, that "they make great efforts to find a job, and that they use what they get as various forms of help in a very efficient way".⁵⁰ These women are strong and competent to use received money in the best possible way. From interviews and informal conversations with members of local NGOs which through funding of international donors implement social relief projects, emerges that women in the post-war period are more energetic, more innovative than men, regardless of the area they live in - rural or urban. "A woman who never thought of carrying ten bags to the market carries them

today. Necessity knows no law. Women are aware that no work is a disgrace today"⁵¹.

Agriculture activities

Prior to the war, agriculture was a very important source of additional income⁵² for the rural population and 97% of agricultural production was in the hands of small/family owned farms⁵³. Nowadays small household agriculture is the main source of income for most female heads of households: 86% rural and 31% urban FHHs are involved in agriculture. In all these households, female head of households take the full responsibility for the organization of agricultural work.

Since these women are mostly the only family members capable of this activity, the production is in most cases on the level of that household needs, without the opportunity of producing a surplus which could possibly provide some financial means.

Number of household members is a decisive factor for the nature of agricultural work. However, results have shown that 63% of single-member FHHs do agriculture; in most of the cases this work is usually done for necessity and does not rep-

resent a significant source of income. Findings shown that less than 10% of one-member households have participated to joint enterprise. Results have also shown that almost all rural FHHs that own land do cultivate it, while some urban households do not have this opportunity.

Lack of male labor is the decisive factor that increases the economic difficulties of female heads, so that it has its consequences on households functioning, especially when it comes to agriculture.

Out of the total number of households that do not own the land, who are mostly DPs, one fourth do not manage to find a way to do agriculture, while the rest of the population do not rely on this source of income. 58% of FHH families that live in the urban part of Srebrenica also do not have such an option because they do not have any land. Some women from Srebrenica own some land in the rural areas, but they have problems in physical access to it. That is the case with Ibrima Begic, a young mother with five children:

"When it comes to farming, I'm willing to go into it. I don't have a cow, and I don't have the conditions for keeping it here. I could keep it in the village, if my mother's house were repaired, I could come to town

only from time to time. I've got good land in the village; I could grow everything. But I don't have anything here, just a small plot; it's enough for some onion and peas... It's enough for the first time."

Female-headed households that are engaged into micro agriculture, cattle and poultry keeping, and that are capable of producing some extra products, face obstacles in finding a market for their products, like the majority of BiH enterprisers. This is confirmed by members of women's association MAJA: "The problem of the women in the village of Kravice is how to sell products. Whatever they produce, they cannot find the market for it. International donors distributed some cattle to them, but it is important to think about milk purchase now. When a cow calves, who are they going to sell 20 liters of milk to? Securing market is the most important issue for any production⁵⁴".

In Bratunac and Srebrenica only few FHHs manage to sell some products. This number does not exceed 10% of the whole FHH population.

Differences between rural and urban population are evident regarding this issue, as well as the difference in Bratunac and Srebrenica. Namely, the number of urban

households that manage to make some profit by selling some of their agricultural products is three times lower than rural households. This gap is the same between those living in Srebrenica and those living in Bratunac.

Two most common ways to sell products are selling on green markets and having them purchased, as well as selling to neighbors or acquaintances. Products are rarely sold to private shops or cooperatives.

Most those that sell (78%) give out their products to their families and friends, which means that a wider circle of people rely on their production, not only the members of their households. Sometimes it is about products or favors exchanged, but sometimes it is about helping others which induce to think about pre war form of community relations based on barter agreements and exchange characterizing rural community; the general level of poverty and unemployment of the Region induce to think as well that many people relay on charity as main source of income.

The discouraging element is that while conducting the research, no case of the successful and organized work of

women was found. There were some attempts that remained such due to lack of support.

A great number of women heads of household living now in the Region were involved in some collective activities during the time of displacement through the help of support of International and local NGOs whose activities were mainly related to clothes making, decorative needlework and carpets weaving. However in no case those activities could represent a possible source of income for those women who came back that in fact returning to their previous houses stopped or reduced the time they spent for those activities.

Single mothers with young children face the problem of childcare as a big obstacle in their search for job. The price they have to pay is very often equal or even higher than the salary they could possibly earn.

One of the most common ways of finding a job for men in this region is to spend a large part of the year working in some other parts of BiH, thus providing money for their families.

Women that are the heads of their households and have no male family members do not have this source of income.

Collecting Forest Plants

Collecting forest plants is the last of the resources as it noticeable especially for IDPs whose general income conditions are worse than the average female head of households⁵⁵. Relying on the forest's products as sole source of income is a reality for a minority of female heads of households that nevertheless compose one fourth of the population. Returning to this type of activity can be interpreted as a sign of return to a pre-industrial form of society when the source of living could be found before than in agricultural activities in hunting and collecting natural products. This is another element of post-conflict Srebrenica where the crumple of the productive system brought to a return to traditional activities.

Definition of poverty: A human condition characterized by the sustained or chronic deprivation of the resources, capabilities, choices, security and power necessary for the enjoyments of an adequate standard of living and of other civil, cultural, economic, political and social rights.⁵⁶

As the great majority of FHH are pensioners (among the surveyed women the 83%), pension entitlements are potentially a valuable source of income to female heads.

According to the Federal Law on pension invalid insurance, a widow has the right to a family pension if she fulfils one of the following criteria:

- Is 45 years old at the time of her husband's death;
- If disabled;
- If she becomes disabled (for work) less than one year her husband's death;
- If she has got children attending school;
- If she gives birth less than 300 days after her husband's death.

The average pension in FBiH is about 190 KM per month and 120 KM in the RS. The average pension incomes in both entities of BiH would in theory be sufficient to keep the recipients above the poverty line of 1,843 KM per person per year⁵⁷. But, obviously and according to the definition above mentioned, poverty is not measurable only considering the economical aspect.

Furthermore, the percentage of pension a widow receives depends on the number of family members. Only a family of four or more members would be entitled to 100% of the pension amount.

The basic calculation schemes for determining rights to pension and disability insurance are different in each entity, leading to even lower pension incomes in RS.

Pensions and fund revenues in BiH depend on contributions from formally registered employees and a number of sources confirm that these contributions are insufficient to provide normal pensions moreover they are far from a reliable source of income. Delay in receiving pensions is a major cause of insecurity for pensioners.

In BiH a large part of the population is living just above or underneath the poverty line. This means that if adjusting the poverty line by a few KM, a large group will fall below or above the line. The same problem arises if we keep the poverty line static: a small variation in the macro economic situation will lead to a large moving of people over the poverty line.

Findings of the survey state that 17% of FHHs do not have a member with regular monthly income. In other households

there is one income (79%), rarely more than one member (4%). Number of rural households with no income is much higher than urban households; 2) the number of households managed by women aged between 21 and 30 with no regular income is far higher than the number of those with older persons; 3) the number of IDPs households with no members with regular income is much higher than the other two segments of the population.

Average monthly income for the 79% of households with an income is 286KM, this amount of is according to the majority of female head of households insufficient to cover basic monthly expenses.

Pašalic Sabera, 33 years old Sabera is a returnee woman who came back to Potocari.

She has never been married but she had a boyfriend that has recently left her. During the time they stayed together she had three abortions, deciding to keep her fourth pregnancy.

She now lives with her eleven year old son who is enrolled in primary school in Potocari.

Sabera suffers of nerves and she has behavioural disorders, thus she needs constantly medicines for the amount of 250 KM per month. She cannot supply to this need because the only income her household receives per month is 50 KM. With the help of the old mother living with the epileptic son in the same house but in

another floor, she manages to cultivate the land surrounding the house, but the production is even not sufficient to supply their needs.

Sabera exclaimed that she was extremely unhappy, for her current situation forces her to ask the neighbours for money.

She lives in private house in very poor conditions.

FHHs use different strategies to cover those expenses that they cannot cover with their income: a) carrying out additional work in order to gain other products. If common characteristic of the households is to consume what is produced, as well exchanging goods or selling those retails is a source of income; b) borrowing money; c) friends and family help.

Despite of efforts, adaptation and survival strategies put in place by single women heads of households, monthly income is always variable and this, besides producing uncertainty, renders to difficult planning and covering all the expenses and household requires. The main source of income as it has been seen consists in pensions and disablement pays, basic expenses covered by pensions are: electricity and water supplies, wood and bus tickets.

Figure 14 (annex IX) shows the highest single income of FHH in the last six months. We can see these are mostly pensions

and disability pensions. There are also some significant differences among population of different residential status. In comparison with the returnee population, local population rely less on pensions and disability pay, while pensions are equally and disability pays less significant for DPs.

Results have also shown that pensions and disability pays are not important only for those households managed by older women, but also for those managed by younger ones. For half of those households managed by women above 31, pensions and disability pensions are the highest income source and also for 32% households managed by younger women, pensions are the highest source of income, while for 23% of them it is disability pay.⁵⁸

"My mother's got her pension, but if she dies, I won't have anything. I don't have the right for child's benefit; my application for it was turned down. What am I entitled to? To nothing! If I were, we'd have a stove at least, we'd have something. My mother's got something, but what's the use of it?! She's got pension of 80 marks, which is nothing; I spend it all on my child's bus ticket and some flour for us."

According to RMAP, 90% of Srebrenica population is under the poverty line; it is worthy to mention on this regard that

defining and measuring through figures or calculating percentage of poor people in a country or a region or a municipality is not only matter of numbers and averages.

Supporting what Amartya Sen affirmed, poverty is a complex, multifaceted world that requires a clear analysis in its entire many dimensions: "You cannot draw a poverty line and then apply it across the board to everyone the same way, without taking into account personal characteristics and circumstances".⁵⁹ There are geographical, biological and social factors that amplify or reduce the impact of income on each individual. The poor generally lack a number of elements, such as education, access to land, health and longevity, justice, family support, credit and other productive resources, a voice in institutions and access to opportunity and gender disparities are present in many areas, especially when talking about women heads of households.

Returnees and IDPs Issues

Through talks with returnees female heads of households about their personal perception of how it is to be at home

again, which are chances to be reintegrated in their communities and about the property issues.

Displaced women talked about how it is (not) possible to go back to their pre-war homes.

Driving reasons for most of them to return is that they have no other place to go and wish to go back to their own homes to spend the rest of their lives. The first reason seems to be decisive for younger women and women with children, while older women are motivated by the second one.

The most often found reasons for the absence of wish to come back are of the psychological nature: poor security, fear of reprisals and psychological trauma.

The interviewees also talked about their experience when they were displaced. The majority of them had a difficult way, moving from one place to another. Difficult lives were the strongest incentive for their wish to come back.

- "We were treated as any other DPs - citizens of the second order."

- "I had serious problems with a family over there. They caused me so much trouble that I could write a book about it."

- "You know, we were treated as DPs, but it didn't bother me. You know... nobody likes DPs."

- "I was treated worse than after the fall of Srebrenica."

- "I was struggling with my children in the damp basements of other people's houses."

The biggest fear concerns future and what it brings, in financial terms. No interviewee with the status of DP wants or has the wish to return to their previous homes.

Violence mentioned by female heads of households relates exclusively to their war experience, and the consequences they suffer nowadays are psychological or emotional above all. These are war-related memories and their sufferings for those they lost in the war.

Coping strategies of female head of households, their role within post conflict context. Surviving the war.

As it has been seen throughout the chapter, the overall situation of female heads of households in post conflict Srebrenica has been generally worsening especially in terms

of material conditions, this having consequences on their psychophysical well being.

Traditional division of gender roles has been characterizing this area even in the pre-war period, as we saw this being specificity of rural areas of ex Yugoslavia and the information that a startling 70% of interviewed women had never had a paid job in their life confirms this fact. Women of Srebrenica, especially those living in rural remote areas were totally committed to household's labor, lacked of education and were mainly involved in child bearing and rearing as well providing basic supplies for the households.⁶⁰

A relevant factor which definitively contributed in perpetrating traditional division of roles within the household and the community is the low level of education of the considered category of women and the very high level of illiteracy in rural area. This fact has obviously been a boundary for the whole community, and it is now devastating for the poverty of these women; on the other hand, it is a contribution to the development of the traditional notion of female and male roles.

Those women who are illiterate are women who have been raised up to commit to their marriages, housework and child-

care and it has been known that girls dropped school in order to work on farms or to get married.⁶¹ Moreover, above mentioned critical roads conditions, especially those connecting villages with towns which are practically inaccessible in winter time has been the reason why girls in nowadays Srebrenica Region do not attend regularly classes.

Another element has to be taken into consideration and it is the possible (but non measurable) fear of reprisal of their mothers. As it has been stated above, many women of the Region have undergone several types of violence during the war and their trauma surely affect their behavior towards their children resulting in many cases over protective, especially if they are girls; thus, those girls who live in countryside and have to attend afternoon shifts classes are often discouraged by their mothers, transport is insufficient and the roads often interrupted and not lit up, especially in wintertime.

Women who are still carrying psychological consequences of the war are indeed the majority of the surveyed headed household. The strong perception in carrying out interviews is

that the experience of posttraumatic stress disorder is widespread across the population of this Region.

As finding of the survey, it can be said that almost all the women have experienced important changes in life conditions: forced separation from close persons, loss of important material goods, threat to their lives and changes in social status. A very big percentage of returnee women have lost a close person in participating in war or had close person that was wounded or maltreated. It is important to underline in this context that trauma⁶² that women and men survived, as already mentioned, is a social suffering. As it has been stressed by Center for Torture Victims in Sarajevo, socio economic critical situation aggravates the consequences of the experienced trauma and survivor's incapability to respond aggravates the socioeconomic difficulties.

The social aspect of psychopathologies in the aftermath of the war in Srebrenica calls also for a collective re-elaboration of what happened where denial, distancing, projection of anger on others, social isolation and passivity can be adopted only as temporary adaptation measures.

On the other hand social cohesion, integration of traumatized individuals in society, elasticity and development of social support networks reduces traumatization also on individual level.

Post-conflict societies have an aftermath of social insecurity, where citizens are faced with an uncertain future with respect to economical and political stability, social reconstruction, access to an adequate health service. Death, family losses or separation in the family, lack of work and poor housing contribute to the continuous social and psychological victimization on the individual who suffered traumatic events.⁶³

Concerning access to health two main conclusions can be drawn; the first is the general noticed lack of awareness regarding reproductive rights and use of abortion as first method of birth control. This has been said to be the main feature of the socialist system where health care that was geared more towards a curative rather than a preventive approach; while abortion was used as a policy of controlling the birth rate in ex Yugoslavia parallel regular contraception methods were neither widely promoted nor available and hence abortion was and still is the primary means of birth

control. In Bratunac Dom Zdravlje there are cases of girls who have aborted several consequent times; but health care institutions have promoted no initiatives to encourage contraceptive methods. It has been told that hesitancy to initiate family planning programs is common in the post-conflict phase, particularly among countries emerging from ethnic conflicts, as seen in Rwanda, Croatia and Serbia⁶⁴. As saw above, interference from the State and overall Institutions in reproductive rights of women has been a main feature of Socialist policy and nationalistic policies following the fall of Socialism in ex-Yugoslavia. In the former regime abortion was used as family planning method, in the latter measures of restriction to the right to abortion were taken emphasizing the role of women as mother of the nation, in post conflict rural areas of Bosnia, afflicted with the legacy of the death of thousands men, no alternative family planning method is foreseen but abortion; this probably depends on two interviewed factors: the practice of using abortion as family planning method has never been replaced by alternative policies of contraception and, as mentioned before, usually no family planning policies are put in place in post conflict contexts

where ratio-imbalance due to the large number of death men and aging population constitute a potential "threat to the survive of the nation".

Persisting of elements of nationalist policy are unfortunately present in post war Srebrenica whereas the religious belonging is still a tool of politics; as mentioned above Bosnian Muslim women and Serbs women de facto access to parallel health care facilities driven by political party's directions; namely Muslim women are advised by SDA to use the medical mobile team coming periodically from the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Tuzla), when they could comfortably use the local health house.

Division of parties along ethnic lines represented in the Assembly and the schizophrenic reality that sees SDA ruling a town where the majority of the population is Serbs, allows space for religious/ethnic issues' manipulation.

It has been underlined in the analysis the general worsened material conditions for the whole population: high employment rate, existence of black, grey market and informal economy that prove the ability of women who have to handle alone. Collecting forest fruits is for many of them a possible

source of income while uncertain material conditions, do not allow planning the future. However the critical situation might be, almost all interviewed women had shown unbelievable strength in coping with an environment which shows signs of total collapse and which is burdened with the legacy of a tremendous event: genocide; but if women who took over the head of household's responsibility keeping as well their old duties, certainly gain a further strength in fighting for everyday survival, their needs at the public/political level are totally neglected, while their sufferance is used as an additional tools for political games.

Although women compose great part of Srebrenica population and although there are several women NGOs active in the municipality, gender sensitiveness in addressing local needs has been neglectful. As confirmed by the overall picture of the survey, needs of Srebrenica women particularly, but of all women of the Region, are numerous in all segments of society, ranging from assistance and economic empowerment, to access to reproductive health and psychological support, to social protection, among the others. As emphasized also by the Rights-based Municipal Assessment and

Planning Project, the fact that almost 60% households are female heads of households, mostly from rural areas, underlines the importance of immediate, meaningful, and systematic approach at both municipal and entity level, in tackling gender vulnerability and inequality.⁶⁵

Gender inequality is expressed as well at political level where women compose the 50% of the Srebrenica administration. Apparently the figure gives the impression that sharp gender balance has been reached in Srebrenica municipality but once again, disaggregating the data it emerges the real picture: only 8% of women are senior personnel⁶⁶, while the majority of the rest of female employees carries out typically women jobs, such as administrative assistants and below on the hierarchy of the posts in the Municipality. Within the Municipal Assembly, the legislative body, gender ratio is 28% to 72% in favor of males.⁶⁷ Moreover women involved in politics are mostly driven by male decision-making power and do not have enough voice in the Assembly while more generally social inclusion policy and tailored programs for vulnerable categories are not foreseen in the political agenda. Women

involved in politics now, like during the socialist time, are not sufficiently empowered.

Although, as mentioned above, analysis of the specific category as female heads of households obscures the male component within the family unit and within post war society, in order to have a picture of gender relations in the examined context, it has to be remarked that men like women are heavily affected by war, especially in Srebrenica. Several factors have to be enumerated to the rise of domestic violence, as reported by members of local NGOs: unemployment, war-trauma, depression, lack of motivations and perspective for the future and poverty which bring to violence against their wives, increase use of alcohol and drugs. Domestic violence has not been measured in the region but frequently cases of violence in the households and cases of marital rape are reported by the local women NGO Forum Zena.⁶⁸

Notes

1 Ivekovic, R *La balcanizzazione della ragione*. Manifestolibri 1999; Introduction.

2 Pestic, V *The cruel face of nationalism*, in L. Diamonds and M.F. Plattner (Eds), *Nationalism, ethnic conflict, and democracy*. The John Hopkins University Press, London 1194;

3 According to A. Rivera, ethnic dichotomies, although being cultural artefacts, have a specific social efficacy and have to be located in a context, historically determined, of social relations among members of a group or of a collectivity and between them and other groups or collectivities in Sacchetto, D *Il Nordest e il suo Oriente Migranti, capitoli e azioni umanitarie*. Ombre corte, Verona, 2004;

4 Kaldor, M *New and Old wars. Organized violence in a global era*. Polity Press, Cambridge 1999; pg 17

5 Kaldor, M *New and Old wars. Organized violence in a global era*. Polity Press, Cambridge 1999.

6 Some authors as Patricia Albanese estimated that raped women were between 30.000 and 50.000.

7 *Returnee Monitoring Study* UNHCR 2000.

8 "Ethnic cleansing" is used in this paper in the following meaning: rendering an area ethnically homogenous by using force or intimidation to remove from a given area persons from another ethnic or religious group. While ethnic cleaning was implemented by the Bosnian Serbs, Bosnian Croat and Muslims also adopted this strategy in *Final report of the United Nations Commission of Experts established pursuant to security council resolution 780 (1992)* Annex IV The policy of ethnic cleansing by: M. Cherif Bassiouni Chairman and Rapporteur on the Gathering and Analysis of the Facts, Commission of Experts Established Pursuant to Security Council Resolution 780 (1992) and Peter M. Manikas, IHRLI Staff Attorney <http://www.ess.uwe.ac.uk/comexpert/IV.htm>

9 UNDP/Srebrenica Regional Recovery Programme, Revised Strategy October 2003 to September 2005

10 UNHCR *Survey on Displaced Persons in Tuzla Canton from the Podrinje Area, Eastern Republika Srpska*; June 2003. These figures are

based on the number of reconstructed houses in the Region which doesn't correspond necessarily to the number of people who in fact returned. Unfortunately data of population characteristic are nowadays not accurate neither disaggregated.

11 The estimated number of men killed during the war in Srebrenica is 8.500 up to 10.000.

12 RMAP Rights based Municipal Assessment and Planning Project-Srebrenica Municipality.

13 ICTY Judgment in the case against General Krstic. Krstic IT -98-33 "Srebrenica" <http://www.un.org/icty/krstic/TrialC1/judgement/index.htm>

14 ICTY Judgment in the case against General Krstic. Krstic IT -98-33 "Srebrenica" <http://www.un.org/icty/krstic/TrialC1/judgement/index.htm>

15 ICTY Judgment in the case against General Krstic. Krstic IT -98-33 "Srebrenica" <http://www.un.org/icty/krstic/TrialC1/judgement/index.htm>

16 RMAP Rights based Municipal Assessment and Planning Project-Srebrenica Municipality <http://rmap.undp.ba/>

17 The poverty of Srebrenica population is obvious at first glance. Very small percentage of population is formally employed and even lesser percentage has any regular income. The pre-war economy of Srebrenica was made up of well-developed mining, wood processing and tourism. Today mines do not work and it is difficult to expect their functioning because heavy investments are necessary to start-up the production. Natural resources of the Region served as pre-war economical development of Srebrenica municipality, hence: wood processing, tourism based on the medicinal mineral waters, agriculture, hunting and fishing and hydro potential. Pre-war companies in Srebrenica were subsidiaries of large multinational corporations (Energoinvest and Unis). Most of them were medium size companies. Today it is estimated that the present economic situation resembles that of 1960s, and it worse than in 1996. Main cause for such deteriorating conditions is bad management of the publicly owned enterprises and lack of investment in the municipality. In RMAP Rights based Municipal Assessment and Planning Project-Srebrenica Municipality <http://rmap.undp.ba/>

18 Embargo of international support due to lack of collaboration of local authorities in the period 1995-1999 especially concerning the support to the process of return;

19 RMAP Rights based Municipal Assessment and Planning Project-Srebrenica Municipality <http://rmap.undp.ba/>

20 RMAP Rights based Municipal Assessment and Planning Project-Srebrenica Municipality <http://rmap.undp.ba/>

21 RMAP Rights based Municipal Assessment and Planning Project-Srebrenica Municipality <http://rmap.undp.ba/>

22 Figures reported by RMAP refer to data gathered in Srebrenica municipality. As it is possible to notice, between this number and the esteem made by UNHCR in 2003, one year before RMAP assessment, there is a noticeable discrepancy. Official data on population breakdown actually are not known.

23 RMAP Rights based Municipal Assessment and Planning Project-Srebrenica Municipality <http://rmap.undp.ba/> & UNDP/Srebrenica Regional Recovery Programme, Revised Strategy October 2003 to September 2005.

24 NGOs whose activists have been interviewed are: ZORA (Milici); PRIRODA (Bratunac); MAJA (Kravice); MAJKE SREBRENICE, AMICA PRIJATELJICE, SARA (Srebrenica).

25 We chose the local women association ZORA to help us collect information in the municipality of Milici. Namely, ZORA started its own research on social and economical status of women in the municipality of Milici, a very similar to our survey. Most of the means we used in our questionnaires were added to their questionnaires. ZORA conducted their survey among 600 women from Milici. Interviewees and household were randomly selected. 126 in 600 interviewees (21%) were women that manage their households, so we joined these interviews with 500 interviews we conducted in Bratunac and Srebrenica. Therefore, we got 626 cases in total that are included in our research

26 K. Ren, *Female-Headed Households*; UNDP Bosnia and Herzegovina, May 2003

27 Ren, K *Female-Headed Households*. UNDP Bosnia and Herzegovina, May 2003;

28 Ren, K *Female-Headed Households*. UNDP Bosnia and Herzegovina, May 2003

29 Of 25% of the total FHH in BiH, 78% of all FHH in BiH is composed by widows.

This is because of the massive population upheavals and the killing of up to 250.000 Bosnian people. Although statistic about the war victims in BiH have not been accurately disaggregated by age and gender, it is generally thought that the 250.000 of people who were killed were mainly men.

Consequently we can assume that a great part of the 78% of widows FHH are in BiH war widows; in Ren, K, op.cit.

30 Report on Family Law in Bosnia and Herzegovina 2002 - SEELINE South Eastern European Women's Legal Initiatives.

31 Comparing Bosnia with other European Countries we see for example that in Germany only 38% of female heads are widows, as compared with 78% in BiH. 83% of all German heads of households who have suffered the death of their spouse are women as is the case of BiH. Over three quarters of all Germans widows are aged 65 and above. Accordingly the most probable reason a married woman in either country becomes the head of households because she outlives her spouse. It is also important to notice that only the 50% of German household are headed by married persons, as compared with 68% in BiH. The main reason is because in Germany there is a much more higher number of men and women who leave home to set up households before they married (singles). The ratios of single men and women heading households are roughly equal, suggesting that the phenomenon is not restricted to men alone. A substantial 30% of single German women head households with only 8% in BiH; in Ren, K *Female-Headed Households*; UNDP Bosnia and Herzegovina, May 2003;

32 Millennium Development Goals in Bosnia and Herzegovina

33 Walsh, M *Post-conflict Bosnia and Herzegovina: Integrating women's special situation and gender perspectives in skills training and employment promotion programmes*. ILO, Geneva, 1997.

34 Walsh, M *Post-conflict Bosnia and Herzegovina: Integrating women's special situation and gender perspectives in skills training and employment promotion programmes*. ILO, Geneva, 1997.

35 Right-based Municipal assessment and planning project (RMAP). UNDP 2004. RMAP Report for Srebrenica

36 Among all the initiatives organized at level of local NGOs that had a limited impact on the community and not relevant results, just one

NGO, Zelja in Skelani, can be mentioned as example of good practices. With the support and the experience

37 SARA NGO, one women NGO located in Srebrenica, whose activities are focused on youth, that the number of children using drugs has tremendously increased, while the price of heavy drugs such as heroin and ecstasy is relatively low (2 KM for one ecstasy), thus being accessible to the most.

38 Information provided by Dr. Vujic, gynaecologist and director of Bratunac Dom Zravlja

39 22% of women population in BiH up to 40 suffers of breast cancer, the 11% of women from 50 to 70. 22% of all women suffer of cervical cancer.

40 ILO-Post conflict Bosnia and Herzegovina- Martha Walsh- Employment sector

41 Dr. Vujic (Dom Zdravlja-Bratunac) stated that the number of cancer cases increased among returnees who spent the war time in Hadzici In this area during the war was used depleted uranium. Based on the increased number of malign disease, the conclusion could be that radiations is a particular concern for the health care sector; however it cannot be stated with certainty that the increased number has a causal link with ionizing radiations; the increase might be due to the worsened life conditions, stress, malnutrition and other war related maladies.

42 Dom Zdravlja of Bratunac is studying the possibility of freezing cervical smears to be sent and analyzed in Zvornik Hospital. The closest centre where women can refer for this exam is the Health Centre of Zvornik. Lack of prevention campaigns spread out the importance of the test that, if done regularly, could prevent the risk of cervical cancer, is one of the relevant feature of the local health care system

43 Information provided by Dr. Vujic, gynaecologist and director of Bratunac Dom Zravlja

44 Interview with the local NGO "Majke Srebrenice" and with D. Marinkovic, Dom Zdravlja Srebrenica.

45 This meaning they can sign in capital letters and read very slowly.

46 Women NGOs of Srebrenica Region stated almost unanimously that every second application form (to access to benefits or donations) is finger signed.

47 Walsh, M *Post-conflict Bosnia and Herzegovina: Integrating women's special situation and gender perspectives in skills training and employment promotion programmes*; ILO Geneva, 1997.

48 Walsh, M *Post-conflict Bosnia and Herzegovina: Integrating women's special situation and gender perspectives in skills training and employment promotion programmes*; ILO Geneva, 1997.

49 During the survey have met several cases of children crossing the river Drina to go to school. This particular situation concerns 12 villages east of Bratunac where there are currently 56 local children who do not have adequate and affordable transportation to schools in Bratunac. Because of the very high bus fare (KM 72,00 per month per child, which exceeds the total of some families' incomes), 7 of the current 56 pupils cross the river Drina every day in an adventurous and often dangerous small open row-boat ride in order to go to school in Bacevci in the neighbouring state Serbia-Montenegro. At least 5 children do not enjoy education at all after the age of 10 because their parents cannot afford the bus ticket and are too afraid for their children to allow them the trip across the Drina every day. Apart of all the implications that can be seen in such a situation, the particularly worrying aspect is the risk that these children run everyday, especially in winter time when the river floods.

50 Meetings and interviews with members of Priroda, NGO in Bratunac.

51 Meetings and interviews with members of Priroda NGO in Bratunac.

52 Main source of income as mentioned above was mines.

53 Agriculture could be a potential source of income even today if properly administered, but in 2003 only 1% of the available cultivable land was cultivated, among the causes: lack of modernization in productions methods. As reported by RMAP among the population there is not unanimous consensus on agriculture as a driving force of development, people rather see agriculture as temporary solution until more traditional industries, such as wood processing start functioning; in *RMAP Rights based Municipal Assessment and Planning Project-Srebrenica Municipality* <http://rmap.undp.ba/>

54 Interview with MAJA NGO in Bratunac.

55 Almost one fourth of interviewed FHHs (24%) are involved in the activity to some extent. There is a big gap between the returnee population and other parts of population, i.e. local and displaced population. (Figure 12, annex IX) While 45% of the latter population said they

collected some plants from the forests, the same rate for the former population is 15%. Figure 13 (annex IX) shows the collected plants.

56 The definition is the one given by the Economic and Social Council of United Nations in the "Poverty and International Covenant on Economic and Social and Cultural Rights (10/05/2001/10 ECOSOC) in MDG (Millennium Development Goals) UNDP Bosnia & Herzegovina.

57 Ren; K, op.cit.

58 Returnees get their pensions and disability pensions in the Federation, usually from the Sarajevo and Mostar Pension Funds and they are significantly higher than similar incomes in the Republic of Srpska. These are often pensions they get as compensation for having their family members killed.

59 Quesado, C *Amartya Sen and the Thousand Faces of Poverty* in <http://www.globalpolicy.org>

60 The discrepancy between rural and urban in the context of ex Yugoslavia can be measured by the fact, for example that, among the others, even prior to the war, the water supply system covered only urban areas, while rural areas were supplied by local springs; women were and still are, in areas like Sase, Sucevka, Jadar and Osat, in charge to go on a daily basis to the spring and collect the necessary amount of water for the household's needs. Rural areas were even prior to the war, while now the situation worsened, disconnected by towns: in many cases villages are badly connected, roads are almost non-existent, non asphalted and practically inaccessible in winter times; while these same areas are not even covered by telephone's networks. This fact definitively highlights isolation and disconnection with urban type of life while stressing traditional division of labour as feature of rural contexts.

61 As it is the case of three girls 15 years old in Fakovici (Municipality of Bratunac) This information has been provided by the president of Golub NGO, Dragina Randjelovic, who is as well teacher of the primary school of Fakovici.

62 In the context of post war society the concept of trauma is defined as "a painful emotional experience with lasting psychic effects" (in "Treatment of Torture and trauma survivors in a post-war society").

63 People who present mental disorders caused by having experienced traumatic events during the war are obviously more vulnerable and at risk to potential secondary stressors thus, the first step toward a process of recovery has to consist in offering traumatized persons a

feeling of recovery. As denounced by local and international NGOs and Institutions, post war society in BiH is not able to offer security to traumatized persons, quite the contrary "the post war society in BiH exposes a traumatized person to secondary traumatization. In this way the society negatively influences the process of recovery in *Treatment of Torture and trauma survivors in a post-war society*, Center for Torture Victims (CTV), Sarajevo 2003;

64 MDG Bosnia & Herzegovina

65 RMAP Rights based Municipal Assessment and Planning Project-Srebrenica Municipality <http://rmap.undp.ba/>

66 Those posts are: Deputy Mayor, Municipal Assembly Secretary and heads of two out of four municipal department; in RMAP Rights based Municipal Assessment and Planning Project-Srebrenica Municipality <http://rmap.undp.ba/>

67 Data refers to the current legislation; in RMAP Rights based Municipal Assessment and Planning Project-Srebrenica Municipality <http://rmap.undp.ba/>

68 The author of this paper has conducted in August 2003, informal interviews with twelve women between 19 and 50 who have been victims of physical and psychological violence within the domestic sphere; these women who in average have a medium education i.e. high school completed, find few or no chances of employment in the Region, live in poor accommodations, often in remote villages and seven out of twelve together with husband's parents, that in many cases, direct violence towards them. Lack of economical independence is the main factor of stress of these women who are impede to freely chose their life.

RETURN TO TRADITION?

Conclusions

Like in all Bosnia, community break-up through dislocation is the visible result of the conflict in the Region. In pre-war context, the community was integrated through the social bonds and reciprocal obligations created by women. This involved form of social exchange, which included barter agreements.¹ Community bonds were also established by men through voluntary and community work activities. The break-up of these networks has left people without the support system from which they had drawn both material and moral

support and lacking a means for mitigating the consequences of crises.²

It has been highlighted³ that before the war rural areas were characterized by a traditional male-headed society and female responsibility related mainly to childcare and housework. "The war caused huge demographic changes, primarily sex-ratio imbalance, having permanent implications on the structure and relationships within families, as well as the female position in the society: i.e., women have undertaken the head of the house responsibilities, which are totally different from those they husbands had in the sense they have had to keep their old duties as well, and that socio-economic state of things is drastically worse"⁴. The phenomenon, as the female heads of households survey has highlighted, has been even more relevant in Srebrenica Region where a particularly significant number of women (almost 60% of the total population of Srebrenica Municipality) lost their male members due to the massacre of about 8.000-10.000 people, mostly men, perpetrated by Serb forces in the UN declared safe area of Srebrenica.

In its analysis of this type of change in Srebrenica population, the American Refugee Committee has noticed that "these women were not prepared to take on this new role; it not only went against their belief-system but they also lacked the education and skills necessary to compete in today's aggressive job market. Furthermore, these women did not possess the strength nor will to actively take charge of their lives. Their passive and subservient attitude allowed the few surviving men to dominate the decision-making for the overall displaced Srebrenica population and their decisions often went against the best interests of the women they were supposed to represent."⁵

In this sense, back in 1997 Martha Walsh noticed a recurring thing that relates to the whole post-war of Bosnia and Herzegovina: "Whereas fluidity in gender roles and responsibilities was accepted during the war, in the post-war era there has been an emphasis on returning to the pre-war construction of gender roles, stressing women's obligations in the home". According to Walsh these attitudes will further inhibit women's ability to take advantage of strategic gains made during the war⁶, for example increased access to and partici-

pation in community activities, such as NGOs activism which has developed along with the refugee flow.

As conclusion of the analysis changed roles in post conflict society through the lenses of female heads of households Srebrenica Region, it can be confirmed that conflict has an effect on gender roles, but these changes pertain more the economic/productive role within the household in the sense that women heads of households became "breadwinners" of their family replacing the role whose traditionally belonged to their spouse. A parallel gain in other spheres of social life has been absent, while war-affected environment provokes a social suffering that sees women heads of households jammed with the double burden of being responsible for households jobs, while trying to find a source of living.

Traditionalization of gender roles in the society is emphasized at any level of public life: women are underrepresented in the political sphere and in employment while concerning education it has been highlighted the high level of illiteracy and the risk of dropping the school for young girls living in rural areas; besides, enduring ethnic division among political parties and emphasis on nationalistic values which character-

ize this region of Republika Srpska, certainly contributes to re-traditionalization and archaization of gender relations as it has been examined in the theoretical framework. On the other hand, men who survived the war having lost their job and their status and being traumatized by war are losing their traditional role in the household while as an effect of poverty and depression in many cases perpetrating violence within the domestic sphere.

Concluding, main features when considering impact of conflict on gender relations are⁷:

- Conflict has affected the gender roles of all (women, men, children, youth and elders);
- The change has been reflected more in the economic / productive role within the household;
- Women are assuming more roles including what used to be typical male roles, while men are losing their roles;
- Increased economic/production roles for women have not influenced the gender power relations beyond the household level.
- Displacement and refuge have contributed to changes in gender roles: availing opportunities to new skills,

contacts, interaction, opening possibilities for assimilation practices; however those women who return are usually either elderly either women who couldn't find place in the market because they lack skills, qualification or education;

- Traditional perpetration or re-traditionalization of gender roles in post conflict contexts is related also to the division between rural and urban areas which sees a general lower level of education in rural areas; as a consequence of this fact the high majority of women living in rural areas never had a paid job in the pre-war period being their responsibilities mainly related to household's labour and children bearing and rearing.

- In post conflict contexts and especially in rural areas can be verifiable that young girls drop mandatory school because of poor or lack of infrastructures and in some of cases because of fear of reprisal of their mothers who undergone violence during or after the war;

- The impact of conflict on gender roles has economic, social, political, health, psychological impacts, but how this affects gender relations is not yet evident.

- Conflict has reduced people's capacities to meet their expectations, which led to frustration and hence domestic violence, thus further reinforcing old gender ideologies.

- Further reinforcement of gender ideologies could as well depend on lasting nationalistic and ethnic divisions among the ruling political class in post conflict contexts.

Notes

1 Walsh, M; op. cit.

2 Walsh, M; op. cit.

3 Walsh, M; op. cit.

4 Walsh, M; op. cit.

5 <http://www.archq.org/bosnia.shtml>

6 Walsh, M; op. cit.

7 Outlines that follows are re adapted by the author of this paper and taken by Florence Kiff *Gender-sensitive Programme Design and Planning in Conflict-affected situations*, Annex 8: Workshop Report: Gender and Conflict: Understanding the Dynamics of Violence, London, 15 October 2001; ACORD

annex 1

Typology of gender roles and gender relations in the context of Balkan nationalism. Yuval-Davis Anthias & Kesic

Women	Men
Symbols of which needs to be protected	Protectors
Reproducers of children to strengthen the nation and especially of sons who will fight for the nation	Warriors who defend the nation
Keepers of the home and educators of children	Workers and actors in the public sphere
Limited autonomy and power	Greater power and prestige

Impact of war on women and men

Women	Men
Small minority of armed groups-strongly discouraged from front line service-allocated to administrative and medical back up roles	Conscripted into armies of forced into armed groups
Large proportion of civilians 84% of adult refugees	Male refugees lost traditional basis of authority - some became passive, other ultra-authoritarian
Women's body became like territory, that which was fought over	Some men were raped and victim of torture
Militarization of society contributed in rise of domestic violence	Men brutalized and traumatized

annex 2

The table below highlights ways in which gender differences and inequalities may be relevant in conflict situations¹

Elements of conflict situation and possible gender dimensions

Pre-conflict situation

Elements of conflict situation	...Possible gender dimension
Increased mobilization of soldiers	Increased commercial sex trade (including child prostitution) around military bases and army camp
Nationalist propaganda used to increase support for military action	Gender stereotypes and specific definitions of masculinity and femininity are often promoted. Increased pressure on men to defend the nation
Mobilization of pro-peace activism and organizations	Women are active in peace movements, both generally and in women specific organizations. Women have been able of stepping outside traditional roles during conflict situations, taking up public roles in relief and political organizations
Increasing human rights violations	Women rights violated Gender - based increased surged by nationalistic propaganda

1 B. Woroniuk, *Gender Equality & peace building operations: An operational framework*, Cida, Canada, 2000;

During conflict situation

Elements of conflict situation	...Possible gender dimension
Psychological trauma, physical violence/casualties and death	Men tend to be primary soldiers/combatants. Women and girls are often victims of sexual violence (including rape, sexual humiliation, forced prostitution and forced pregnancy) during armed conflicts
Social networks disrupted and destroyed-changes in family structure and composition	Gender relation can be subjected to stress and change. Survival strategies often necessitate a change in the gender division of labour. Women may become responsible for an increased number of dependents.
Mobilization of people for conflict. Everyday life and work disrupted	Gender division of labour in workplace changed. Men are mobilized for combat; women often take over traditional male occupations and responsibilities. Flexibility in gender role: women taking on other non-traditional roles
Material shortage (food, health care, water, fuel etc, worsened infrastructures)	Women's role as provider of the everyday needs of the family may mean increased stress and work as basic needs are difficult to locate. Girls may also face workload. Non combatants may also experience stress related to their domestic gender roles if they are expected, but unable to provide for their families.
Creation of refugee and displaced people	Different prioritization of needs for women or men refugees

annex 3

Table A - Demographic characteristics of samples of Bratunac Srebrenica and Milici Municipalities

	Bratunac	Srebrenica	Milici
Respondent age			
21 to 30	9,1%	8,6%	7,1%
31 to 40	23,7%	23,8%	15,9%
41 to 50	34,8%	33,4%	25,4%
51 to 60	22,7%	22,8%	30,2%
61+	9,6%	11,3%	21,4%
Type of settlement			
Urban	19,7%	16,6%	42,9%
Rural	80,3%	83,4%	57,1%
Number of household members			
One	12,6%	18,9%	41,3%
Two	32,8%	23,2%	27,8%
Three	27,3%	25,8%	17,5%
Four and more	27,3%	32,1%	13,5%
Population categories			
Returnee	66,7%	75,8%	29,4%
Domicile	23,2%	17,9%	68,3%
Internally displaced	10,1%	6,3%	2,4%
SAMPLE SIZE	198	302	126

Figure 1 - How did you become the head of family? By population categories

	Entire sample	Returnee	Domiciled	Internally displaced
Sample size	500	361	100	39
Husband killed in the war	58,6%	65,9%	47,0%	20,5%
Husband died	13,6%	10,2%	17,0%	35,9%
Divorced	12,8%	8,0%	23,0%	30,8%
Husband disabled/sick	4,2%	4,2%	2,0%	10,3%
Husband unemployed	4,2%	5,5%	1,0%	
Never married	2,6%	1,6%	6,0%	2,6%
Death of my parents/brothers	2,4%	2,8%	2,0%	
Father / mother ill	1,2%	1,7%		
No answer	0,4%		2,0%	
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

annex 4

Figure 2 - Do you have a health insurance?

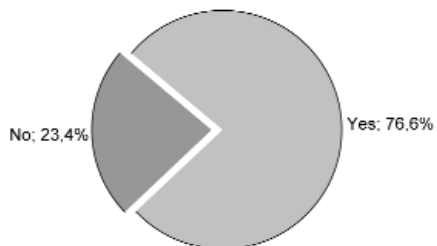
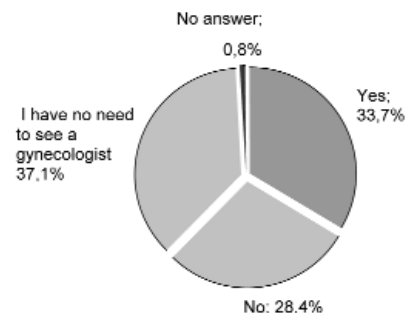


Figure 3 - The rate of use of health services in relation to the population category.

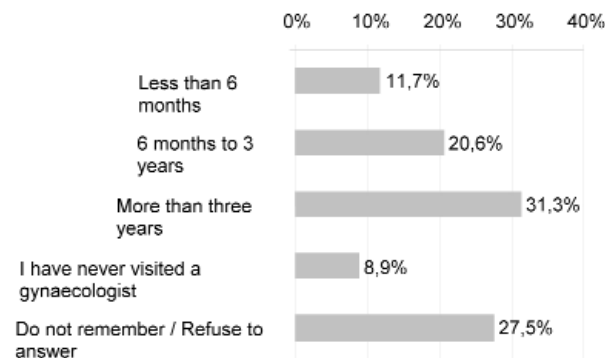
	Entire sample	Returnee	Domicile	Internally displaced
Sample size	500	361	100	39
In Federation	26,4%	36,3%	1,0%	
In the region	53,0%	44,6%	76,0%	71,8%
In Serbia	0,8%		4,0%	
I do not have access/ I do not visit doctors	19,8%	19,1%	19,0%	28,2%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

Figure 4 - Can you go to see a doctor when you need it?



annex 5

Figure 5 - When did you see a gynaecologist the last time?



annex 6

Figure 6 - What is the highest level of educational degree you have? by population categories

	Entire sample	Returnee	Domicile	Internally displaced
Sample size	625	398	185	42
No formal education	26,2%	32,9%	14,6%	14,3%
Some years of incomplete primary education, without degree	27,8%	35,4%	14,6%	14,3%
Completed elementary school	23,2%	22,4%	26,5%	16,7%
Vocational school degree	11,4%	5,5%	20,0%	28,6%
Secondary school degree, 4 years	10,2%	3,5%	21,6%	23,8%
University education	1,1%	0,3%	2,7%	2,4%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

Figure 7 - What were the views of your parents on the education of male and female children? Did they make a difference between them and prefer one over another or did they treat them equally? by Population category

	Entire sample	Returnee	Domicile	Internally displaced
Sample size	626	398	186	42
Equal	51,6%	47,7%	58,6%	57,1%
They gave advantage to the education of male children	39,9%	46,2%	29,0%	28,6%
They gave advantage to the education of female children	0,2%	0%	0,5%	0%
There were no male children in our family	7,3%	5,3%	10,8%	11,9%
Do not remember	1,0%	0,8%	1,1%	2,4%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

annex 7

Figure 8 - Employment status by age

	Entire sample	21 to 30	31 to 40	41 to 50	51 to 60	61+
Sample size	621	53	138	199	151	80
Employed - private or public sector	9,5%	18,9%	15,9%	9,0%	6,0%	
Part-time employed	3,5%	17,0%	5,1%	1,0%	2,0%	1,3%
Self-employed	0,3%		0,7%		0,7%	
Self-employed - owner of a company	0,5%		2,2%			
Pupil/Student	0,2%	1,9%				
Retired	14,2%	1,9%	4,3%	11,6%	19,9%	35,0%
Unemployed	71,9%	60,4%	71,8%	78,4%	71,5%	63,8%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Figure 9 - Employment status by population categories

	Entire sample	Returnee	Domicile	Internally displaced
Sample size	621	395	184	42
Employed - private or public sector	9,5%	1,5%	26,1%	11,9%
Part-time employed - free lancer	3,5%	1,8%	3,3%	21,4%
Self-employed	0,3%	0,3%	0,5%	
Self-employed -owner of a company	0,5%		1,6%	
Pupil/Student	0,2%	0,3%		
Retired	14,2%	10,4%	22,3%	14,3%
Unemployed	71,9%	85,9%	46,2%	52,4%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

annex 8

Figure 10 - Are you full-time or part-time employed? by population categories

	Entire sample	Returnee	Domicile	Internally displaced
Sample size	83	13	57	13
Full-time employed	67,5%	15,4%	84,2%	46,2%
Part-time employed	32,5%	84,6%	15,8%	53,8%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

Sample: Only employed respondents from Bratunac, Srebrenica and Milici;

n = 86;

Number of 'Don't know/No answer' cases = 3.

Figure 11 - How do you manage to find a purchaser for your products?

Sample size	40
Buy off	32,5%
Market	30,0%
Through acquaintance	15,0%
To my neighbors	10,0%
To private stores	5,0%
Through a cooperative	5,0%
Through a women association	2,5%
Total	100%

Sample: Only those that succeed to sell some of the goods; Bratunac and Srebrenica);

n = 40;

annex 9

Figure 12- Do you collect any forest plants?

	Entire sample	Returnee	Domicile	Internally displaced
Sample size	495	356	100	39
Yes, very often	6,1%	3,9%	12,0%	10,3%
Yes, but not so often	17,8%	11,8%	31,0%	38,5%
No	76,2%	84,3%	57,0%	51,3%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

Sample: Only respondents from Bratunac and Srebrenica.

Figure 13 - What plants do you collect?

Sample size	116
Mushrooms	67,2%
Strawberries	37,1%
Bilberries	24,1%
Snails	11,2%
Blackberries	10,3%
Medicinal herbs	10,3%
Chestnut	5,2%
Raspberries	4,3%
Other	6,9%

Sample: Only those who collect forest plants;
n = 118;
Number of 'No answer' cases = 2.

Figure 14 - Highest single income of FHH in the last six months

	Entire sample	Returnee	Domicile	Internally displaced
Sample size	500	361	100	39
Pension	52,0%	55,1%	40,0%	53,8%
Disability pension	51,8%	59,0%	42,0%	10,3%
Income from registered job	4,6%	1,1%	15,0%	7,7%
Income from non-registered job	3,6%	2,2%	7,0%	7,7%
Social aid	1,2%	1,2%	2,0%	0%
No income at all	18,8%	15,5%	25,0%	30,8%

Appendix 1: Field stories

Anonymous

"The war happened and passed. Somebody lost somebody, and I lost almost everything", in my ears were ringing words of one young woman.

Yes, she lost too much, but she stopped on the word "almost". That means she didn't lose everything, ah yes she thought about her son, her small schoolboy, which was grappling to his mother.

"I came back to Srebrenica few months ago, even not to my own house but to my aunt's house. Freely I can say my second mother and now even the only one. Concerning that I didn't find out where my mother missed, for these twelve years, for these nine years I didn't find out where my father is missing and my husband and brother, slowly I am losing the faith that I will ever find them".

I was looking to this young woman while she was answering on my questions; I was looking in her eyes, wet because of tears, which were telling me more than words. I was looking to her and listening. She looked like she didn't have anybody for a long time to talk about her destiny.

She left the knitting on the table in front of us and took the deep breath. I didn't want to make her sad; I wanted to look in her eyes, so I asked her what is it so beautiful that she is knitting. Well yes, I could assume this; it was a small jumper for her small boy.

Just when we finished the questionnaire, her small son came in the room. He kissed his mother but also he twitched: "you are crying

again and you promise to me that you will not cry again", slowly the small boy said.

"No son, I am not crying, mother was just talking about your first mark in school, and these are the tears of happiness", she fondled him over the head and kissed him in the hair.

After a longer period she raised her head and when we were alone she said: "I must lie to my son, he is so small to worry him with my sadness. He doesn't know anything; I was carrying him in the stomach when I saw my closest for the last time. There is no lot of children here to play with and these which are here most of them don't have father", the young woman said.

When we were in the Federation, and he had more contacts with children he used to ask me often: "Mother, why don't I have father as all my friends?" I tried to explain to him, to find the real words, because I never wanted him to think about something horrible, something what I also didn't define still.

My aim is to help him to grow up because I am to him mother and the father.

Anonymous

Gerovic Fahreta

Even if already was late afternoon rain was just about to start, in front of there was the macadam road stretching, from both side there were trees and green decks. It was the road to the village Milacevici. Listening my own steps in this silence I started to remember some memories from before the war.

Just then, maybe in this same place, I was with my friends from the school, aliened on the edge of this road; we were waiting for Tito's relay race. Ah, if I knew then which would be the reason to walk this way today, now when I am not a child anymore and I am not with my friends from school. My eyes started to wet and I took the deep breath, how everything was so long ago, but not so long because of the past years but because of all happenings in the war, after war and even now.

The rain already started and I was squeezing my questionnaires in hands, protecting them from the rain or from the feeling that is

thrilling my breasts, I didn't know. One more deep breath, and I am saying to myself it is enough with it, your task today is to listen other peoples' destinies. Soon behind the curl I saw red house. I stop for the moment in order to turn from the main road and start to climb to that house. Climbing up to the house I heard the children's murmur and crying. Suddenly everything stop, probably when the saw me how I am coming close to them, and who knows maybe nobody visit them.

I came closer and greeted the small woman, explained to her reason why I came. She even didn't wait for me to finish, she showed to me by right hand to come in the house and smiled to me. I found myself in one small room, which seemed to me was and only room where this family was staying. Later on I was sure in this because the house belonged to her sister's family. I asked her if these are her children. She said they are and that she has two more children but they left to look after the cow. She was hugging her two children who were with her.

All of us were sitting on the floor, because in the house there was nothing but the stow where was the fire burning, and sponges under the window.

"The situation is as you see difficult. It is very hard. I feel sorry because of my children who suffer together with me. Their father is alive, but he left us while we were living in Banovici. I came back with my four children on my father's property. This was my last and only solution. If nothing I will plant something and my children will survive, she stopped and her eyes started to wet".

"I couldn't stand anymore, he used to take alcohol and in this condition he was mistreating me and children. Sometimes I think, it is enough that I survived the war and my beloved, now this agony is going on".

Last words addressed to me were the words of thanking, only because I visited her and because somebody remembered her and her children. She said that before I came children were crying because they don't want to eat macaroni for the fourth day, and they are small and not aware that I was working for five days to afford them this macaroni. She was hugging again and grappling her kids to her self.

After I came out of the house I gave to the children something of money that I had. If all people could see this shine from the eyes of

these children, this world would be different for sure. I saw shine in eyes of this woman and I believe that this money will not be spent for chocolate, as I intended but maybe for one more packing of macaronis.

Hafizovic Hajrija

It is morning. I am ringing the bell on the door but it looks like from other side there is no anybody. And already when I wanted to go back I heard the children's voice from behind the house.

I started to walk over the footpath, which was surrounded by flowers, to see where this voice is coming from.

Ah, that scene. those flowers and in the middle there was white table and chairs.

By this table there were sitting young girl, boy and a woman with white kerchief on the head. I came close to the table and just then I saw the face of the woman, which was smiling to me and a little bit surprised by my sudden visit, she greeted me.

I explained why I am there and where I am from, I felt sorry to interrupt the conversation, but it was nice to see this youth talking with mother in the yard full of flowers.

We started the conversation and, of course, first about the flowers. "My love is flowers and taking care of it. But it all would not look as it is if I didn't have the help of my children", she said with smile. Children's faces shined up, they felt good because mother was praising them.

We started the conversation and inevitably subject came, the return. "I came back in my house for a longer time, we don't have still the best condition, but it will be better, it must be better", the woman said.

"I would like something more to do beside about these flowers and house works, I feel like I have strength for that", she was saying to me. "I would also like in this way to help my children in their education. It is truth that I lost the husband, and that previous war didn't bring anything good to anybody, my children miss father, I miss husband, but I must go further through life, I have to be more careful than before".

"Sometimes it is difficult, sometimes it is easier, sometimes I suffer and sometimes I don't have time for that. It happens also that there are tears, but these tears moisten my pillow in the night, but I try to keep their pillow to be always dry. It hurts sometimes"; she took the breath and looked far away.

Children left us already long ago, so we could talk about everything. "I am here and here I feel the best, I got the cow so I don't need to be by the milk for my children. I cultivate land only for my needs. I like to have more time for my children, for conversation with them; I don't want them to survive what I survived; I help them in every moment to bring them in a right way, to become a good people".

"My life and its meaning are my children. Sometimes I ask myself am I objective to myself, and should I do something for me, but I don't find the answer. I don't know what the time brings, maybe I will not get anything back, but it is not important. Before I had everything, great husband, great marriage and somebody dared to spoil it and it has been spoiled, only I would like it more that this happened only to me and not to thousands of other women. I am only afraid to become seriously sick that I cannot help to my children. Also I need the help, but from whom? There is nobody. I am religious, this keeps me in life, there is somebody above all of us, there is a God".

by Maksida Had ic

appendix 2: TRANSCRIPTIONS of the Interviews with Women

Šefika Halilovic,
Returnee to the village of Petrica, Srebrenica;
Age: 36; single mother with three sons.

I: How is your health in general? Are you hampered in your daily activities in any way by any longstanding illness, or disability, infirmity or mental health problem?

SH: To some extent, yes. I've got backaches and headaches. I've got backaches for about five years and headaches for three years, my headaches being stronger during my periods. Basically, I feel so bad that I don't know what to do. My back aches in the morning, until I get warm and I can't even walk.

I: Does any member of your household suffer from some kind of chronically disease?

SH: No, nobody does.

I: Do you and your sons have a proper access to Health Care services and facilities?

SH: I visit sometimes when doctor from Tuzla come.

I: Are you able and willing to visit a gynecologist if you need to?

SH: Well, I felt ashamed, because somebody might see me visiting a gynecologist,... and I haven't got my husband. Some doctors from Tuzla said to me I shouldn't be ashamed and that my health was the most important thing.

I: Do you rely on services provided by the Center for Social Work?

SH: No, I don't. If they help me, thanks.

I: Highest educational degree completed

SH: I spent four years at primary school.

I: Did you manage to get a job after completed education?

SH: No, I never did.

I: What was the opinion of your parents on the male and female children education? Did they make a difference between them and prefer one over another?

SH: My primary school education lasted for four years. My father died when I was in the third year at school. My brother went to school. It was my brother's decision. Evening courses were held and I myself asked him to go, but he didn't let me go.

I: Do your children have proper access to education? Are they enrolled in school? Do they regularly attend classes?

SH: Yes, they go to school here. The oldest one entered university, but he couldn't find accommodation, for he was late to get his place at the hall of residence.

I: Do you manage to provide them with all needed school supplies?

SH: I couldn't provide them; I bought the books for the youngest one. Later on, they got the books, so I was given my money back.

I: When did you return to your home?

SH: Last August.

I: In which settlement were you displaced? How did they treat you over there? Do you still maintain the contact with that place and if so, in which way?

SH: At the beginning, I was accommodated with a local family in Banovici. Later on I moved to shared accommodation. I really had problems with a family over there. They caused me so many problems that I could write a book about that. Err, when I just think about it: I had only one room there, where I both cooked and slept.

When it comes to contacts, I do keep in touch. I have a friend, who also helps me in getting my pension, we're close and we often have phone conversations.

I: What was the main reason for you to return?

SH: I didn't have where to stay. If I had bought my children a house to live in, I probably wouldn't have returned. I was dislodged there and I had to leave.

I: How do you feel about your come back? Do you have any regrets?

SH: It's been nice so far. Nobody disturbs me and when it comes to neighbors, there aren't any. I don't regret. However, if I had had a place to stay, I wouldn't have returned.

I: Is it possible to live here again?

SH: Well, it is possible, but still I'd love to have something there (in the Federation). You know, I've got three sons, that's the main reason.

I: Have you returned all your property back? Did you have problems getting your property back?

SH: Yes, I got my property back, because it all belonged to my husband and I didn't have some problems. A man is said to have lived here, but he left before.

I: Are all members of your household back?

SH: Yes, we'll all back; my three sons and myself.

I: Are you able to express your cultural and religious beliefs? Do you feel free?

SH: Yes, of course I am able do so. During Ramadan I went to mosque, and now the children go. Nobody has ever said a vulgar word to us.

I: Are you employed?

SH: No, I'm not.

I: Have you ever been employed? Have you ever looked for a job? Have you ever been discriminated on a job selection because you were a woman?

SH: I've never been employed. My husband wouldn't have allowed me. He was jealous and was saying he'd never let me work, but I never asked for it. As a girl, I looked after my uncle's children for ten months in Germany.

I: How many hours per day, within your average workday, do you spend on: (at home, taking care of family members; yourself,)?

SH: When I get up in the morning, I have my coffee; I do crocheting thinking about how to spend my day. I make meal for my children, while some of them go back from school; the others go there and so on... Sometimes I go to the women's society, have a chat...that's it...

I: Including your hobbies, what kind of jobs are you capable of doing?

SH: I can do all housework, simply all. What I love best is to crochet. Sometimes I sit crocheting and crocheting, curing my nerves.

I: Do they bring you any income, or did they use to?

SH: It's only for my needs. Sometimes I give it as a present. No, they don't bring me any income.

I: Are you or some of your family members engaged in agricultural work? How much are you into it?

SH: I'm not engaged in it, because I don't have much land here, and what I have is far away from home. For instance, if I made a stable here, I would keep a cow. I have an oat now, but it is in the basement of the house.

I: Would you ever start your own business?

SH: I was never employed and I think I would never be able to work, because I'm not totally healthy.

I: Personal and household income

SH: Well, I have a pension. One of my sons gets money from an organization and I've got 130KM recently for the period of four months.

I haven't got any income but this pension. Well, I've got one brother in Australia, but he has never sent me a cent. Immediately after I'd got a phone line, I gave him a call, telling him he could get me on that number from now on, but he only gave a smile. So, here's my life, when my own brother has got such an attitude... that's difficult.

I: What kind of premises does your family live in? Are the premises entirely functional?

SH: My house have been rebuilt, two rooms upstairs, the kitchen was done. The children are upstairs, I'm here.

I: Do you have any work or repairs that you intend to carry out?

SH: Well, I do make plans. What's urgent to do at the moment is to do some bricklaying, the ground's being eroded, it's even dangerous, it could kill someone or bring damage to the building itself.

I: Do you think that the municipal authorities of your town serve the population on the best level they can?

SH: Well, they do help somehow. I've just intended to ask them to do some bricklaying for me, so we'll see what they're going to say.

I: If you face legal problems do you have easy access to the judiciary system?

SH: Well, I think we've got access to the judiciary system.

I: What is your experience with the police in the place where you live?

SH: I haven't had any experience so far.

I: How safe do you feel walking alone in your neighborhood after dark?

SH: I feel safe, I often go to see a friend of mine and I come back alone. I'm not scared. The reason might be that nobody has said anything to me or my children so far. We haven't experienced any provocations so far.

I: Do you sense any difference comparing now and two years ago situation?

SH: Well, when we talk about present situation, it's much easier now. It might have been more difficult in the beginning, but now it's much easier.

I: If you were walking within 50 kilometers of your neighborhood, would you worry that someone might attack you?

SH: Yes, I would be worried. Especially alone!

I: Have you ever been exposed to domestic violence? What type of violence was it?

SH: No, I haven't.

Fatima Ejubovic,
Returnee to the city of Srebrenica;
Age: 45; widow living alone.

I: How is your health in general? Are you hampered in your daily activities in any way by any longstanding illness, or disability, infirmity or mental health problem?

FE: My health...it's terrible! I have backaches, my arms ache. I can't move my arms. During my menopause I had problems. I shouldn't worry or get cold, and I have to do all work. I have rheumatic problems and headaches, and when I have headaches, I can't do anything, I have to lie for some time.

I: Do you have a proper access to Health Care services and facilities?

FE I have health insurance here, I'm registered here. What's going to happen in future, I don't know. I still haven't visited a doctor here, only those doctors coming from Tuzla.

I: Are you able and willing to visit a gynecologist if you need to?

FE: I don't need it, not yet. I can go to a private clinic whenever I want to. I used to have female problems, but I don't have them any more.

I: Do you rely on services provided by the Center for Social Work?

FE: I still haven't asked for their help.

I: Highest educational degree completed

FE: I spent four years at school; I haven't forgotten to read or write.

I: Did you manage to get a job after completed education?

FE: No, I didn't, because I didn't have opportunities. My father had ten children. I've never had a chance to work, nor could our father find some job for us.

I: What was the opinion of your parents on the male and female children education? Did they make a difference between them and prefer one over another?

FE: They treated us equally. Our mother provided education for one of my brothers. My three sisters spent ten years at school. It was due to circumstances.

I: When did you return to your home?

FE: Last Year.

I: In which settlement were you displaced? How did they treat you over there? Do you still maintain the contact with that place and if so, in which way?

FE: In the village of Puracic, in shared accommodation. I had a 4-square -meter- room; I kept my things in the loft.

I keep in touch with the women, I give them phone calls.

I: What was the main reason for you to return?

FE: I didn't have a place to stay, I couldn't buy anything.

I: How do you feel about your come back? Do you have any regrets?

FE: I don't have any regrets, this is my highest pleasure. I never regret my home is my freedom; I've never had a better time.

I: How does everything seem to you now?

FE: Well, it's a different life, everything's different. At least I know that nobody will throw me out or tell me I have to leave, as they used to come and say I had to leave while my house was occupied. I came here to get a paper saying that my house isn't empty.

I: Is it possible to live here again?

FE: As far as I know, it is. No neighbor says a bad word to me. My home...

I: Have you returned all your property back? Did you have problems getting your property back?

FE: I didn't have any problems getting my house back. I did it with the help of the RPC, though I still haven't returned my land in the village.

I: Are you able to express your cultural and religious beliefs? Do you feel free?

FE: I can move freely, we were wearing our scarves during the whole month of Ramadan. People met us but nobody said a word about it.

I: Are you employed?

FE: No, I'm not.

I: Have you ever been employed? Have you ever looked for a job?

FE: No, I've never been. I had my pension and looked after my children; you know how it's like to have female children.

I: How many hours per day, within your average workday, do you spend on: (at home, taking care of family members; yourself,)?

FE: When I get up, sometimes I could work all day long, when I'm well. Sometimes, when I don't feel good I can't do anything. I get up early, make myself a cup of coffee and sit all day long. It's all about one's health.

I: Including your hobbies, what kind of jobs are you capable of doing?

FE: I used to do both male and female jobs. I can do all housework, the only thing I can't do is to crochet, and this is what the girls used to do for me. Talking about cottage industry, I could do all sorts of it and I used to weave rugs.

I: Do they bring you any income, or did they use to?

FE: Yes, they do. We used to work for a woman. We used to make waistcoats and rugs. It was paid by square meters. She paid us 25KM a meter. It was cheap, but with my pension and this income, I could provide means for my daughter's education. It was of great help to me, still.

I: Are you engaged in agricultural work? How much are you into it?

FE: I don't have enough land for crops here. I've got only for some vegetable in the garden around the house.

I: Would you ever start your own business?

FE: I don't have any wish to do so. I can do what I've learned so far. My legs can't stand burden any more, I'm not healthy any more for work.

I: Personal and household income

FE: I don't expect anyone to send me some money. My labor's pension is 190KM; I've been getting this money since 1983 when my children went to school, and it was 215KM. It's been reduced.

I: Is there any type of home production within your household that brings you an income?

I do needlework; I've been a member of this women association. I do something, for instance I make woolen slippers for 4KM.

I: What kind of premises do you live in? Are the premises entirely functional?

FE: I've got only one room. I've got electricity, but I haven't got water, it needs to be installed. Sewage system should be done. One level has already been done.

I: Do you have any work or repairs that you intend to carry out?

FE: I can't do anything else without someone's help. What I'd love to do most is to put plaster on the outside walls, close the doors and windows totally.

I: Do you think that the municipal authorities of your town serve the population on the best level they can?

FE: They did what they could through this donation that I got; I can't go and ask more from them now that there are people who need help more than I do.

I: When was the last time you visited your local community office or went to the municipality office?

FE: When I needed them to sign me a receipt, they did it (she has in her mind the paper saying she didn't get her property back).

I: If you face legal problems do you have easy access to the judiciary system?

FE: Of course we have, if someone has complains, they come to check on the spot.

I: What is your experience with the police in the place where you live?

FE: I haven't had any experience.

I: How safe do you feel walking alone in your neighborhood after dark?

FE: I don't go far away from home, I go to see and chat with my friend. I think nobody would pick up on me, because nobody's ever said a bad word to me.

I: Do you sense any difference comparing now and two years ago situation?

FE: It's better now than it used to be. I used to be scared when I was alone. But now I'm not, because nobody's ever told me a bad word.

I: If you were walking within 50 kilometers of your neighborhood, would you worry that someone might attack you?

FE: I would, sure I would. One doesn't trust anyone any more.

I: Have you ever been exposed to domestic violence? What type of violence was it?

FE: No, never.

**Fatima Gabeljic,
Returnee to the Village of Gornji Likari, Srebrenica;
Age: 47; single mother with a daughter.**

I: How is your health in general? Are you hampered in your daily activities in any way by any longstanding illness, or disability, infirmity or mental health problem?

FG: It isn't extremely good. I suffer from sciatica, I've got rheumatic pains. Sometimes I'm fine, sometimes I'm not. When the weather is bad, like it is now, I hardly survive. I also have high blood pressure; I take my medicines regularly. I also treat my rheumatic disease somehow; I go to the doctor's. I go out a little, I have a walk.

I: Do you and your daughter have a proper access to Health Care services and facilities?

FG: I hesitate to go. Here's my decaying tooth, I need to cure it, but somehow I hesitate.

I: Are you able and willing to visit a gynecologist if you need to?

FG: I don't know... I'd visit them if I needed to, but if I didn't need...

I: Do you rely on services provided by the Center for Social Work?

FG: I'd be glad to accept if there's something.

I: Highest educational degree completed

FG: I'm not literate at all, but illiterate as I am, I can still talk pretty well. I've always regretted it.

I: What was the opinion of your parents on the male and female children education? Did they make a difference between them and prefer one over another?

FG: There were five brothers in my father's home and I was the only illiterate. My father paid for me not to go. This is how it was in villages: do more work to prevent your female child from going to school. It's turned out in the end that I've been the only illiterate. Male children were distinguished from female. I think that the rule should be the opposite: that it's more important to give education to females rather than males.

I: Do your daughter have proper access to education? Is she enrolled in school?

FG: My daughter's destiny is the same as mine. It was hard for me to put her to live with unknown people, and I don't have any family in cities.

I: When did you return to your home?

FG: Last November.

I: In which settlement were you displaced? How did they treat you over there? Do you still maintain the contact with that place and if so, in which way?

FG: In Vozuca. Well, I don't know, it was nice and bad at the same time. We had electricity, but no water. I don't maintain contact.

I: What was the main reason for you to return?

FG: How can I express myself, like...to be on my own was my strongest incentive. Why should I take something to live in another place if I've got my own place? I've returned because I think I'm the most resilient and strong at home, which suits me.

I: How do you feel about your come back? Do you have any regrets?

FG: I feel like...as if it were the best place in the world, as if I'd been born for the second time. I don't regret anything, nobody disturbs or bullies me.

I: Is it possible to live here again?

FG: It is possible. If it remains like this, it could be better.

I: Have you returned all your property back? Did you have problems getting your property back?

FG: My husband sorted out everything when he was alive.

I: Are you able to express your cultural and religious beliefs? Do you feel free?

FG: Nothing disturbs me; I do the same I used to do before.

I: Are you employed?

FG: No, I'm not.

I: Have you ever been employed? Have you ever looked for a job?

FG: Never. I've been a housewife all my life. I didn't need it, because I wasn't able to work.

I: How many hours per day, within your average workday, do you spend on: (at home, taking care of family members; yourself,)?

FG: You know... It depends on you and how active you are. If you do your work quickly, you can also have a rest, but everything depends on your mood.

I: Including your hobbies, what kind of jobs are you capable of doing?

FG: I can do all jobs possible, believe me...I used to weave, embroider, 'three-hand way'.

I: Do they bring you any income, or did they use to?

FG: I do this only for myself; I don't do it for anybody else.

I: Are you engaged in agricultural work? How much are you into it?

FG: Of course I do! I grow peppers, tomato, maize, but only for my own needs.

I: Would you ever take a job that you have not done before and it would require training?

FG: I wouldn't be able to do so now.

I: Would you ever start your own business?

FG: I wouldn't be able to do any serious business, because of my illness. That's big responsibility.

I: Personal and household income

FG: I've got 150KM of labor's pension and 200KM of disability pay... I don't have anybody abroad.

I: What kind of premises does your family live in? Are the premises entirely functional?

FG: We've got everything now. The material has been donated to me. We've got one room.

I: Do you have any work or repairs that you intend to carry out?

FG: If I can, I'll make a bedroom upstairs. When somebody comes for a visit, I would at least have a room for them.

I: Do you think that the municipal authorities of your town serve the population on the best level they can?

FG: I'm not competent to judge it. I think they can help if they want. And they should.

I: When was the last time you visited your local community office or went to the municipality office? What was the reason for your visit?

FG: When I went to get the credit. Since I finished it, I haven't visited them. They would say that I'd already got money and it's too much to ask for something else.

I: If you face legal problems do you have easy access to the judiciary system?

FG: I don't have any such problems.

I: What is your experience with the police in the place where you live?

FG: I don't have any.

I: How safe do you feel walking alone in your neighborhood after dark?

FG: After what we'd experienced with the fall of Srebrenica, nothing can make me scared.

I: Do you sense any difference comparing now and two years ago situation?

FG: Well, I feel much better now. I'm on my own and then I wasn't.

I: If you were walking within 50 kilometers of your neighborhood, would you worry that someone might attack you?

FG: Don't even think about it. Nothing can scare me any more.

I: Have you ever been exposed to domestic violence? What type of violence was it?

FG: I understand what you ask me. I never have.

Ibrima Begic,

Returnee to Ucina Bašta, Srebrenica;

**Age: 36; single mother living with her mother,
three sons and two daughters.**

I: How is your health in general? Are you hampered in your daily activities in any way by any longstanding illness, or disability, infirmity or mental health problem?

IB: When it comes to my health, I'm well. It's the only thing that's good. Smoking is the only thing that brings me harm, but I still don't have any health problems, thanks Allah.

I: Does any member of your household suffer from some kind of chronically disease?

IB: Nobody does, not my children, thanks God... I'm saying to you, but I don't know what future brings. I'm happy with everyone at the moment.

My mother is a diabetic.

I: Do you and other family members have a proper access to Health Care services and facilities?

IB: A dog bit one of my little twins, that's the only time I've tried to get some help. I had to pay everything then, all medicines. When it comes to their attitude, they were very approachable, though I wasn't registered there. I paid 17 KM for bandaging, and I can't tell you how much I paid for medicines. I take my mother to see doctors often because she's a diabetic. We go every two weeks when the doctors from Tuzla come. I visit these doctors because they examine us without taking money.

I: Are you able and willing to visit a gynecologist if you need to?

IB: I'm not, when I was over there, in the Federation, I didn't go to see one. However, I'd prefer to visit a Muslim doctor rather than these doctors here, because I'm more free and relaxed with them.

I: Do you rely on services provided by the Center for Social Work?

IB: We only get the help everyone else gets, but I don't get anything special. Well, I sometimes get a returnee's packet or something else, but I miss more than I get.

I: Highest educational degree completed

IB: I spent two years at primary school. That enables me to put my signature where it's needed. I can read newspapers and I think that's enough for me.

I: Did you manage to get a job after completed education?

IB: Neither did I get it in peacetime, nor during the war. Now it's difficult. But I'd search for it if there were such an opportunity. I'd love to work because it might be much easier for me. You know how it's like when you earn some money for your children, because with my pension I just make ends meet. It's difficult because there are seven family members. I've got five children and just to buy them shoes every three or four months is more than I can manage with my pension. Not to mention the children and their need for clothes, school kit, books...

I: What was the opinion of your parents on the male and female children education? Did they make a difference between them and prefer one over another?

IB: My mother and father had only two children. They sent my brother to school and they offered me to go, too. Srebrenica is far away from Suceska. You know that country philosophy: if there's a child that won't go and another one that won't go, why I should go - and this is how I remained uneducated. My parents didn't forbid me, even nowadays my mother keeps saying that they offered me to go to school, that I wanted to do what my neighbors did. They could give me education, but I myself made a mistake. It wasn't my parents' fault.

I: Do your children have proper access to education? Are they enrolled in school? Do they regularly attend classes?

IB: I've never been against it, because even if somebody isn't happy about it, I would force him to go. I know what my own experience was like. This is why I keep saying to my children they should be educated, even if it's a struggle to me. The only thing that I want is for them to have their education, their jobs.

My two daughters go to the local school. They walk to school for 3 km. We could send them by bus during peacetime, nowadays there isn't any...

While I was in the Federation, I sent my three other children to Mojmiro, Sarajevo, as a part of a program for single mothers. My daughter has been there since her first year at school. It's been five

years now, she's in her fifth form. It's the second year since my twins have been there.

I: Do you manage to provide them with all needed school supplies?

IB: My children in Sarajevo have got their school kits. I do my best to provide them with the most essential stuff; I buy what they both need for one of them at least.

I: When did you return to your home?

IB: A year and a half ago.

I: In which settlement were you displaced? How did they treat you over there? Do you still maintain the contact with that place and if so, in which way?

IB: In Vozuca. There were both local people and displaced. Serbs and Muslims used to live there together before. Serbs left and we got into their houses then. Well, you know... they treated us like DPs, but I didn't pay much attention to it. You know... as a DP, you're not welcome anywhere.

Speaking about local people, we call each other to wish a happy Bairam or New Year. We speak only on the phone, of course.

I: What was the main reason for you to return?

IB: To be honest with you, I was not in a position to buy a place to live for my children, for if I'd been, I'd never have returned. I was officially dislodged and I was forced to return. When I arrived, I didn't have electricity, water or windows, everything was destroyed. At least I don't fear now that someone might knock at the door saying we've got to leave.

I: How do you feel about your come back? Do you have any regrets?

IB: - I don't have any regrets; though life is really difficult. You know... I don't have any land to grow crops or to keep a cow, to start a better life. Still, I'm happy, because this is my home, I feel really good. I don't know... better times should come one day. I say to myself that this is my house, I don't have regrets.

I: Is it possible to live here again?

IB: Well, I feel it's possible, but still... I don't know. I came back and I'm happy to be at home, I guess there'll be good people to help. I hope better times will come.

I: Have you returned all your property back? Did you have problems getting your property back?

IB: I didn't have any such problems. Some people lived here, but when I was dislodged, they left.

I: Are all members of your household back?

IB: Yes, they are. Though my three children are in Sarajevo at school.

I: Are you able to express your cultural and religious beliefs? Do you feel free?

IB: Well, we can do this. You can keep your religious customs and do what you want to do, nobody will ever tell you anything wrong. Nobody's deprived of it. Nor did anybody make me any problems of this sort.

I: Have you ever been employed? Have you ever looked for a job?

IB: I've never tried to get a job so far, but if a chance occurred, to clean or something like that, it wouldn't be a problem for me, just to earn some money.

I: How many hours per day, within your average workday, do you spend on: (at home, taking care of family members; yourself,)?

IB: Well, I don't know, how can I say...when you get up in the morning, there are so many things you want to do, so there isn't much time for yourself. Only when the night falls, you relax a little, you're alone...So, there isn't much free time.

I: Including your hobbies, what kind of jobs are you capable of doing?

IB: I can do literally all sorts of work. Sewing, knitting, crocheting, weaving, I can do all this. We also go to the sewing course.

I: Do they bring you any income, or did they use to?

IB: No, it isn't profitable at all.

I: Are you or some of your family members engaged in agricultural work? How much are you into it?

IB: I don't have a cow, though I'd love to keep it, but I don't have proper conditions here. I could keep it in the village, if my mother's house is repaired; I could come when my girls need something. I could keep everything in the village; I have land there. I don't have anything here, just a small plot, that's enough only for some onion and peas and it is of some use. I spent whole summer going to the village. I've got my own wood. So, it was less expensive to me to pay for transportation than to buy wood.

I: Personal and household income

IB: I've just said to you that I've got about 400KM.

My mother's got an income of 130 KM, that's my father's pension, and the children have got those donations. They were in an organization, getting some help for three months; they don't get anything any more.

I: What kind of premises does your family live in? Are the premises entirely functional?

IB: The woodwork and roof are put. It's not damp, but it leaks - it wasn't done properly. I call these people who carried out what had been donated every now and then.

Two rooms, kitchen. My water system is not good; I can't use my washing machine because of the low water pressure. We'll try to get water from the town water pipelines.

I: Do you think that the municipal authorities of your town serve the population on the best level they can?

IB: Hardly any help do they provide. It's poor; the municipal authorities didn't help me much.

I: When was the last time you visited your local community office or went to the municipality office?

IB: I've been to the municipality recently, the last time I went there to ask a mayor about the lights and road, but he said that work had been finished.

I: What is your experience with the police in the place where you live?

IB: I haven't had any problems so far.

I: How safe do you feel walking alone in your neighborhood after dark?

IB: I never feel safe; I'm really scared and can't feel safe as in peacetime.

I: Do you sense any difference comparing now and two years ago situation?

IB: I'm more relaxed now, not thinking about the worst, but when I came back with my five children, I feared all the time who was going to hammer at the door. It's different now, more people have returned.

I: If you were walking within 50 kilometers of your neighborhood, would you worry that someone might attack you?

IB: I wouldn't be too scared, but I would be scared if it were dark.

I: Have you ever been exposed to domestic violence? What type of violence was it?

IB: No, I can't say I have. I've never experienced any attacks.

Fadila Efendic,

Returnee to the village of G. Potocari, Srebrenica;

Age: 55; widow living alone.

I: How is your health in general? Are you hampered in your daily activities in any way by any longstanding illness, or disability, infirmity or mental health problem?

FE: Relatively good. I'm a diabetic and it bothers me. Other than that, it's fine.

I: Do you have a proper access to Health Care services and facilities?

FE: Yes, I've got possibility if there's a need. I can go here in Srebrenica for emergency and if not I'd go to the Federation.

I: Are you able and willing to visit a gynecologist if you need to?

NO ANSWER

I: Do you rely on services provided by the Center for Social Work?

FE: No, I don't rely and if they help I'd appreciate.

I: Highest educational degree completed

FE: I've finished a business school (four year) in Tuzla and two years of college in Valjevo (Serbia).

I: Did you manage to get a job after completed education?

FE: I did. I was working during my studies also. I wasn't satisfied with high school alone so I decided to take two years more. I didn't have much use of it but I don't regret it. More you know the better is.

I: What was the opinion of your parents on the male and female children education? Did they make a difference between them and prefer one over another?

FE: My parents didn't make any difference. My father said: "I'll educate my daughters, but sons can do either way". So, it was like that. My sister has finished high school in economics, and my brothers graduated at university... My father also said that he prefers me as the oldest child to work and support my brothers and sisters than to go further to school.

I: When did you return to your home?

FE: Well, definitely, in June 2001.

I: In which settlement were you displaced? How did they treat you over there? Do you still maintain the contact with that place and if so, in which way?

FE: In Sarajevo. I was treated like all the other DPs: lower class citizens.

I keep in touch. My sister, brother and my daughter with her husband are there. We speak on the phone. When I miss them, I go there, when they miss me, they come... somehow, as guests.

I: What was the main reason for you to return?

FE: It was my wish to return that was decisive.... Simply like that. I want to live where I spent my past. And I feel good being here. Sarajevo is nice city. People born in Sarajevo like it. I don't hate it, but I can't like it.

I love Srebrenica, I love my Potocari.

I: How do you feel about your come back? Do you have any regrets?

FE: Absolutely none! My soul is in right place.

I: How does everything seem to you now?

FE: Like weather. When it's sunny, I'm happy and when it's snowing and raining I'm sad. But, that's normal... I see change of all seasons here.

I: Is it possible to live here again?

FE: It depends on someone's view, life expectations, meaning of life. I like nature and I have got a beautiful one here. I like livestock, sheep, chickens...

If I had conditions I'd keep a cow. I like it.

I: Have you returned all your property back? Did you have problems getting your property back?

FE: I had serious problems getting it back. They even said the house wasn't mine! I had to confirm it by sending my marriage certificate to Banjaluka. Oh, I did have problems. The people who were living in my house did not want to get out until they get donation to repair theirs.

I: Are you able to express your cultural and religious beliefs? Do you feel free?

FE: Yes, I do. I live the same way here and in the Federation. I was never bothered by someone.

I: Are you employed?

FE: No.

I: Have you ever been employed? Have you ever looked for a job? Have you ever been discriminated on a job selection because you were a woman?

FE: I'd worked until the war started (19 years)...

When I was a DP in Sarajevo I worked all the time, because my pension was not enough to secure things I needed. I did everything, but my own job. I cleaned, looked after one old woman...

I could have worked in my profession, but I had a bad experience: A man had insulted me and I told him: "I lost everything, but my pride is priceless".

I: Including your hobbies, what kind of jobs are you capable of doing?

FE: I can sew, knit...and have some computer skills.

I: Do they bring you any income, or did they use to?

FE: Yes, they used to, but not any more.

I: Are you engaged in agricultural work? How much are you into it?

FE: Nothing since 1995. I did it with my husband's help and never alone... I'm not an expert.

I: Would you ever take a job that you have not done before and it would require training?

FE: I'd like to improve my computer skills, because until now I've not paid enough attention to it.

I: Have you ever tried to start up any kind of business?

FE: I've not had a need for that until now, but it does not mean I'd not do it now. So far, I had no opportunity.

I: Would you ever start your own business?

FE: Yes, if I'd have a needed capital.

I: Personal income

FE: I have an old-age (148KM) and disability pension (380KM)... I've completed sewing course and it helped me a lot during the war, and now less.

I: What kind of premises do you live in? Are the premises entirely functional?

FE: Yes, they are. I've got five rooms. There're running water and electricity, telephone also and I need no more.

I: Do you have any work or repairs that you intend to carry out?

FE: I've repaired a lot and there is still more to do.

I: Do you think that the municipal authorities of your town serve the population on the best level they can?

FE: Some people they serve and some they don't. They should do a better job, be more righteous.

I: When was the last time you visited your local community office or went to the municipality office?

FE: I was in the municipality office only when I asked for donation and all they did is taken my statement.

I: What is your experience with the police in the place where you live?

FE: I had a bad experience. They confused me with someone else. They were very crude towards me. I was shocked.

I: How safe do you feel walking alone in your neighborhood after dark?

FE: I don't walk in dark, but I'm not scared either. If I was scared, I wouldn't have come back.

I: Have you ever been exposed to domestic violence?

FE: No, I haven't, except from grenade explosions and shooting. I was raised in nonviolent family.

Hamida Avdic,

**Returnee to the village of G. Kaldrmica, Milici; Age: 54;
widow living alone.**

I: How is your health in general? Are you hampered in your daily activities in any way by any longstanding illness, or disability, infirmity or mental health problem?

HA: I take medicines in huge quantities. Pills against high pressure, insomnia, heart disease, diabetes... My sight has deteriorated, too.

I: Do you and other household members have a proper access to Health Care services and facilities?

HA: I get my medical treatments in Tuzla. Even if I were registered in Milici, I'd never go at the doctor's there. I don't trust doctors in that town. How can I trust them after what has happened on July 5th last year when they refused my brother's request to come and give me a stress reduction drug when my daughter was killed?!

I: Are you able and willing to visit a gynecologist if you need to?

HA: I can't remember the last time I went.

I: Do you rely on services provided by the Center for Social Work?

HA: They don't even know about me in the Center for Social Work in Milici. They can't even visit me.

I: Highest educational degree completed

HA: I don't have any education. I haven't spent any single day at school. My husband was employed in a company, and I was at home. A mother and housewife. That was a nice life...

I: What was the opinion of your parents on the male and female children education?

HA: I have a brother. He finished secondary school. I wasn't sent to school, I didn't ask for it. There was much work to do at home.

I: When did you return to your home?

HA: Three years ago.

I: In which settlement were you displaced? How did they treat you over there? Do you still maintain the contact with that place and if so, in which way?

HA: I came here, to the village of Gornja Kaldrmica from Skugrici, and I came to Skugrici from Simin Ham (Tuzla). I came to Simin Ham from Srebrenica in a convoy... Nobody forced me to leave Simin Ham. Though I lived there with my mother and brother, we left it voluntarily, without being dislodged. I don't keep in touch from the people in Simin Ham at all.

I: What was the main reason for you to return?

HA: I don't have anything there. All I have is here.

I: How do you feel about your come back? Do you have any regrets?

HA: Nobody makes me any trouble. But, you know, they wouldn't come to give me an anti-stress injection when my daughter was killed. And they promised to install electricity and water, but it was a lie.

I: Is it possible to live here again?

HA: I've lived to be alone at the age of 54. I don't have a husband, and I don't have a son. They disappeared after the fall of Srebrenica. Since that July 11, 1995 I've been trying to find them in vain. I live alone and it's painful. I don't have anyone to talk to... I live here, but I haven't been registered here.

I: Have you returned all your property back? Did you have problems getting your property back?

HA: Yes, I have. My house was burnt down, and the authorities of the Republic of Srpska reconstructed one level, and my daughters that live in America sent me the money for the rest. I got my property back, but what's the use of it if I don't have anyone to work on it.

I: Are you able to express your cultural and religious beliefs? Do you feel free?

HA: I'm able to keep all my customs. We have a mosque here, and a Muslim priest. When my daughter was killed, she was buried according to our rituals.

I: Have you ever been employed?

HA: I've never been employed in a company.

I: How many hours per day, within your average workday, do you spend on: (at home, taking care of family members; yourself)?

HA: I spend all day moving around the house. I don't feel like working very much. Who can I work or cook for?!

I: Including your hobbies, what kind of jobs are you capable of doing? Do they bring you any income, or did they use to?

HA: Well, there isn't much I can do. I can't do and I can't see. And I used to do needlework, work land and raise children.

I: Are you engaged in agricultural work? How much are you engaged in it?

HA: I grow something for myself, but it's only to kill my time.

I: Personal and household income

HA: I have two daughters in America. They're both married. They help me and provide... I also have my husband's pension of 150 KM. It's enough for me alone.

I: What kind of premises does your family live in? Are the premises entirely functional?

HA: I lived in a garage for three years. It's been only three months since I moved to my house.

I: Do you think that the municipal authorities of your town serve the population on the best level they can?

HA: Though the authorities promised to get me electricity and water, if my daughters hadn't sent me money, I'd be living without both today.

The local authorities didn't even give me the certificates I asked to get - to see how much I'm supposed to get by law as a returnee.

I: How safe do you feel walking alone in your neighborhood after dark?

HA: I can go whenever I want to go. I'm not scared of anything or anybody. Nobody's ever disturbed me because I don't disturb anybody. I don't mind passing through Milici or any other Serbian town.

I: Have you ever been exposed to domestic violence? What type of violence was it?

HA: No, I haven't.

Fata Baltic,

**Returnee to the village of Donja Kaldrmica, Milici; Age: 38;
single mother with three children**

I: How is your health in general? Are you hampered in your daily activities in any way by any longstanding illness, or disability, infirmity or mental health problem?

FB: A group of 'Doctors without Frontiers' visited the village of Skugrici and after the examination they found out I have heart disease (my breathing is difficult), my blood pressure varies and I can't see well.

I: Do you and other household members have a proper access to Health Care services and facilities?

FB: I don't go to hospital here because I'm still registered in Gracanica. That's where I get my pension and I'm still registered there in the Center for Social work.

I: Are you able and willing to visit a gynecologist if you need to?

FB: I don't have these problems. Since I gave birth to my children, I haven't visited any.

I: Do you rely on services provided by the Center for Social Work?

FB: When I go to Gracanica, I go and pick what I'm entitled to, but it's nothing. If I had to go only to pick that up, I'd never go.

I: Highest educational degree completed

FB: I'm totally illiterate and I put my finger sign instead my signature.

I: What was the opinion of your parents on the male and female children education? Did they make a difference between them and prefer one over another?

FB: I didn't spend any single day at school. My brothers did go, I didn't. This is how it used to be before. I helped my mother in housework.

I: Do they have proper access to education? Are they enrolled in school?

FB: My sons went to school to learn some crafts; one of them has been applied at the Job Center in Milici. My daughter finished her primary school in Gracanica and she didn't continue her education.

I: When did you return to your home?

FB: In summer 2002.

I: In which settlement were you displaced? How did they treat you over there?

FB: When we had to flee to Srebrenica in 1993, nobody accepted me there...I had to suffer in the damp basements of other people's houses....We were hungry most of the time. In summer the four of us picked blue berries in order to survive. After the fall of Srebrenica, we came to Kladanj in a convoy.

We somehow got to Dubrave after Kladanj, where I spent eight months in the emergency accommodation, and finally we got to Gracanica.

I: What was the main reason for you to return?

FB: I knew that I'd nowhere find home. I'm most calm here.

I: Is it possible to live here again?

FB: If my sons could only find jobs...It's difficult like this. What is going to happen to them? God knows.

I: Have you returned all your property back? Did you Have problems getting your property back?

FB: I haven't had any. I don't have much property.

I: Are you able to express your cultural and religious beliefs? Do you feel free?

FB: There have never been any problems concerning the freedom of movement and praying to God. We've got a mosque in Konjevci Polje and Kasaba where we hold our prayers, funerals and weddings without obstacles.

I: Are you employed?

FB: I've never had a job. I can't work in any company, because I'm illiterate. I can't either work in the field when it's too hot, nor can I do any knitting.

I: Personal and household income

FB: Nobody's employed in my house. I've got some land. The land's fertile; it takes more than it gives. After paying tax, I don't get many crops. The pension that we get as a killed soldier's family does help us a little (300KM) and the cow I got from 'Mercy Corporation', so I don't buy milk, cheese and cream... Nobody can see how I live. My only brother was killed in the war, and my mother is withering in her sadness for him.

I: What kind of premises does your family live in? Are the premises entirely functional?

FB: I live with three adult children in the house that's not completed. There are four of us in a small house (a kitchen and one room).

It would be a great help if at least one child is employed. Only that or some humanitarian aid could help us put the plaster on the outside walls, and to make outside stairs that lead to the attic that's still not finished.

I: Do you think that the municipal authorities of your town serve the population on the best level they can?

FB: Nobody's ever visited me from the municipality of Milici to ask me how I live and if I had anything to eat. Only one journalist came once and I refused to say anything. If nobody that could help comes, why should I talk to a journalist? Nobody's offered jobs to my children; they would at least have something... I'm afraid I could die and leave them without pension... How are they going to get some money then? Stealing, robbery?

Well, my son's been registered at the job Center in Milici and the personnel's very kind to him. But, what's the point of that if there's no job?

I: Have you ever been exposed to domestic violence? What type of violence was it?

FB: No, never. That would be too much after all I've gone through throughout my life.

Safeta Beganovic,
Returnee to the village of Nova Kasaba, Milici;
Age: 34; single mother with a son

I: Does you or your son suffer from some kind of chronically disease?

SB: We're lucky to be healthy.

I: Do you and other household members have a proper access to Health Care services and facilities?

SB: I don't have health insurance here because we're registered in the Federation. It's because pension's laws of the Republic of Srpska and the Federation aren't regulated.

I: Are you able and willing to visit a gynecologist if you need to?

SB: I've visited them only once or twice since the war's over. Fortunately, I don't have any problems and if I had, I'd probably go. I'd go to Tuzla.

I: Do you rely on services provided by the Center for Social Work?

SB: No, I don't.

I: Highest educational degree completed; did you manage to get a job after completed education?

SB: I finished my secondary school in Bratunac, found a job in Bratunac, again, in a factory called 'Deveti oktobar'.

I: What was the opinion of your parents on the male and female children education?

SB: They sent me and my sister to school. My father forced us to go to school.

I: Do they have proper access to education? Are they enrolled in school? Do they regularly attend classes?

SB: My son's in his seventh form in Konjevic Polje. He regularly goes to school and is a good student. I'd be most happy if my son has a university degree, and be honest, educated and successful.

I: Do you manage to provide them with all needed school supplies?

SB: I do, because it's the most important thing.

I: When did you return to your home?

SB: At the end of 1992 I went to Austria, then to Germany. That's where I stayed until the end of the war. Two years after the war had been finished, I lose my status of a refugee in Germany and I have to get back to the Federation. Three years ago, I came back here. And

here - it was the chaos: everything was burnt down, my parents' house, my house; my husband was lost in 1995...

I: What was the main reason for you to return?

SB: I couldn't stay in Germany, and it's much easier for me here than in the Federation. The good thing is that we got these donations and loans. If we hadn't, I don't know how we'd get back and what would happen.

I: How do you feel about your come back? Do you have any regrets?

SB: Basically, I don't have any big problems.

I'm struggling to work and earn something, but... Sometimes it hurts me, as a woman, to hear some men with their inappropriate behavior trying to harm my personality with their allusions and two-faced remarks. They dare provoke me because I'm a young and free woman. Their attitude hurts because I'm a killed soldier's widow, who gave his life for this country. I know it's about ill manners, but they should think about them.

I: Are all members of your household back?

SB: My household has two members: that's me and my son.

I: Are you able to express your cultural and religious beliefs? Do you feel free?

SB: Who has time and wish for religious rites; they can go without any problems to the mosques in Konjevic Polje or here in Nova Kasaba and pray according to our religion and customs. I don't have much time for this, though I believe in God.

I: Are you employed?

SB: I was employed in Bratunac in the "Deveti Oktobar" factory before the war. A few years after that, I left the job in the public firm and started running my own shop...

Three years ago I returned to Nova Kasaba. Some donors appeared to help the reconstruction of my parents and sister's house. We haven't completed the work on the house, for it was more urgent for us to start a business rather than wholly solve our housing problem. We welcomed the help of donors and creditors and we used it, so we made a chicken farm out of this money. The business goes well - I work as a coordinator of a company from Gracanica. We have a lot of work to do, sometimes we work even 20 hours a day, but we also have good results. We don't get much profit out of this at the moment, because we have to pay off the credit rates, but even when we pay

off the loan rate, the expenses we have in production, and electricity bills, we have significant personal wages.

I: Personal and household income

SB: I get two pensions: as a widow of a killed soldier (300KM) and a labor's pension of my husband. I earn well. My business runs well. I'm one of the rare women that can manage so well.

I: What kind of premises does your family live in?

SB: I live in my house with my son. We've got two rooms and a kitchen. There's still work to do, but there's no need to hurry. I'll pay off my loan first, and then I'll repair my house as well.

I: Do you think that the municipal authorities of your town serve the population on the best level they can?

SB: I don't have any problems with the police from Milici; I don't have any problems with the state institutions.

I: How safe do you feel walking alone in your neighborhood after dark?

SB: I didn't have any problems with the population of Milici and Bratunac in terms of the freedom of movement. When we started a farming business, I wasn't a cooperater, so I sold my meat to the butchers, Serbs, without any problems or provocations I managed to get the money from them. I've never felt any sort of inferiority or humiliating because I'm a Muslim.

Milojka Durdic,

DP from Sarajevo living in Milici;

Age: 43; single mother with two children

I: How is your health in general? Are you hampered in your daily activities in any way by any longstanding illness, or disability, infirmity or mental health problem?

MD: I have high blood pressure and frequent headaches.

I: Do you and other household members have a proper access to Health Care services and facilities?

MD: Well, for minor issues we go to the local health center. And for something more serious we go to Zvornik.

I: Are you able and willing to visit a gynecologist if you need to?

MD: I do checkups once a year.

I: Do you rely on services provided by the Center for Social Work?

MD: No, I don't.

I: Highest educational degree completed; did you manage to get a job after completed education?

MD: I have finished Medical high school in Sarajevo. I have worked as a nurse ever since I graduated, during the war, too.

I: What was the opinion of your parents on the male and female children education? Did they make a difference between them and prefer one over another?

MD: They looked at my brother and me in the same way and never made any difference between two of us.

I: Do your children have proper access to education? Are they enrolled in school?

MD: My daughter studies in Belgrade. I put her through school on my own. My son is at final grade in high school and I intend to send him to a collage.

I will do all in my power for them to complete their studies. After they graduate I do not want them living here, the further the better.

I: Do you manage to provide them with all needed school supplies?

MD: With my low salary and their fallen father pension it is very difficult to provide them good schooling conditions. I do not know how I will manage if my son enrolls in a collage, but I will do anything just to get him out of here.

I: How long have you been here?

MD: The war started and I left Sarajevo for Ilijaš with my children. After the Dayton Peace Agreement was signed we left Ilijaš and went to Milici. My husband was killed at the beginning of the war. I am forty-three now and I have got so many obligations.

I: What place do you consider your 'real home'?

MD: It is where I can work and have good conditions to support my children. And for them, it is where they can have stable future.

I: Do you expect to return home?

MD: I often go to Sarajevo: on my own and on business and never have any problems. I will not be back just as I will not stay in Milici or Vlasenica. Further from here the better for us. There is no hope in better life here or anywhere in ex-Yugoslavia...

It is hard for anyone.

I am a nurse in Vlasenica health center. I travel to work and back every day. Work conditions are bad and sometimes it is really hard, but I like my job and I have to work for my children. Even though there are problems, I find myself lucky to work at all.

I: Personal and household income

MD: My salary is about 400KM and my husband's pension, which is 120KM. I have no other help from my relatives living abroad.

I: What kind of premises does your family live in?

MD: I have been knocking on all possible doors looking for one thing only: a roof over our heads! And never, never I got one! Who cares for Milojka Đurđić and her two children and who cares if she helped hundreds of wounded soldiers during the war?!

I live as a subtenant in one room apartment, which I pay 100 KM a month. We have basic living conditions and I have no plans for changing anything for the time being. Money is needed on the other sides.

I: Do you think that the municipal authorities of your town serve the population on the best level they can?

MD: They are here for their own sake alone and do not think of other people's lives. I do not expect anything from them and do not ask for nothing.

I: How safe do you feel walking alone in your neighborhood after dark?

MD: I feel safe anywhere I go. There is no reason to be afraid of anyone. One has no reason to attack me.

Vera Ljubenković,

DP from Ilijaš living in Milici;

Age: 47; single mother living with her daughter, sister, sister's son and old mother.

I: How is your health in general? Does any member of your household suffer from some kind of chronically disease?

V LJ: Our mother is old and sick. She needs special health care and lots of money for medical treatment. The rest of us don't have much time to look after our health states or to do checkups.

I: Do you and other household members have a proper access to Health Care services and facilities?

VLJ: My mother has a health insurance, but yet there're many other things to pay for. There's a health care center in Milici, but it offers only basic services and for everything else and more serious we have to go to bigger cities.

I: Are you able and willing to visit a gynecologist if you need to?

VLJ: I don't recall when it's the last time I visited one and I don't know who I'd address if I'd any problems or needs.

I: Do you rely on services provided by the Center for Social Work?

VLJ: No.

I: Highest educational degree completed; did you manage to get a job after completed education?

VLJ: I've finished four year high school in wood production.

I: What was the opinion of your parents on the male and female children education?

VLJ: My parents had no male children. They were poor, but they did best for me and my sister.

I: Do your children have proper access to education? Are they enrolled in school?

VLJ: I've got twenty year old daughter, Nataša. She studies geography in Srpsko Sarajevo.

I: How long have you been here?

VLJ: When the war started I've been wandering around Serbia for six months with my daughter and my sister's son.

Soon we got bored with that and returned to Ilijaš in 1992. After the Dayton Peace Agreement was signed we moved to Milici in February 1996.

I: Do you expect to return home?

VLJ: I often go to the Federation on business and on my own and I never had any problems. Sometimes we get nostalgic and take long walks in streets of Ilijaš. Even though I'm nostalgic I'll not return to Ilijaš.

I'll not stay in Milici, either. I live here, but I was not born in Milici. It is not the size of place that matters, it is its perspective and Milici don't have one. There's no life for anyone here, neither for the elderly nor youth. I'll not rest until my daughter and my sister's son leave far from here.

I: Working status

VLJ: I work in a good local company called 'Intel'. They gave me two-room apartment. The salary is fairly good but I have to work seven days a week.

I: Personal and household income

VLJ: My mother has pension (100KM) and my sister's child has a disablement pay (100KM). My salary is 400KM, so all together we get 600KM monthly for five of us.

My mother-in-law who lives in Sarajevo sends my daughter some money every month.

I: What kind of premises does your family live in?

VLJ: There are five of us living in two room apartment. It is good. We have roof over our heads. Luckily, children are away for studies so they are not here all the time.

I: Do you think that the municipal authorities of your town serve the population on the best level they can?

VLJ: They say one thing, think another and do something third. My opinion is that they are not willing and they do not have means to improve current situation in Milici.

Tima Delic,

Returnee to the city of Bratunac;

Age: 54; widow living alone.

I: How is your health in general? Are you hampered in your daily activities in any way by any longstanding illness, or disability, infirmity or mental health problem?

TD: Well, it's not bad when I take my medicines; without them I wouldn't be able to live much longer. I take anti depressants, heart disease medicines, rheumatism medicines, my bones ache. What can I tell you... you know...? I'm prone of catching a cold easily.

I: Do you have a proper access to Health Care services and facilities?

TD: I still haven't visited a doctor here. Well, you know...I've met a doctor recently, she called me to come and visit her, you know... This woman, Cana, used to say to me: "Come, there's a doctor, Vesna, you can visit her whenever you want to, there's no problems". Though I still haven't gone.

I: Are you able and willing to visit a gynecologist if you need to?

TD: Here? I've never visited one here, I didn't even asked about, and to tell you the truth, now, after this pain they inflicted upon me, I wouldn't think of going to see a male doctor. Only a female one, if I needed it. If it were a question of life and death, I wouldn't go. I used to visit them before, but not any more.

I: Highest educational degree completed

TD: I've never gone to school, to tell you the truth, but somehow... I've just learnt something. I don't see very well. I can read alphabet, every letter, and I can put my signature in. That's basically it.

I: What was the opinion of your parents on the male and female children education? Did they make a difference between them and prefer one over another?

TD: They did give priority to male children, that's the reason for my not going to school, in other words, I didn't go to school. My father was educated. He was employed in municipality...the city hall. Later on, he retired. We had some land, there was nobody who could worked it. I wasn't allowed, so I remained illiterate.

I: When did you return to your home?

TD: I went back home in June last year, I think. I've had ID card for three years now. I used to live in my sister-in-law house, my brother's house: the brother who was killed in the war.

I: In which settlement were you displaced? How did they treat you over there? Do you still maintain the contact with that place and if so, in which way?

TD: In Zivinice. Well...as a DP, of course.

Well, I do visit it. I take my pension there. There are those neighbors that I see and I say hello to them. We had good relationship with all of them. They didn't help us particularly, but they didn't disturb us either.

I: What was the main reason for you to return?

TD: I'm attached to this place, I was here. This is the place where my great-grandfather, my grandfather, my father, I don't even know who else were born... My two sons, my husband, my brother and sister were killed here, but still...

I spent my best years here. They've took my soul, my life, everything, should I leave them this as well? I can see from my window the school where my sons and my husband were killed, it may be the reason. I returned to leave my bones here.

I: How do you feel about your come back? Do you have any regrets?

TD: I never regret! Never! It's the most pleasant place for me. I carried my pain and my sorrow wherever I went... I tell you this as honestly as I can and here... it seems to me that this pain is a little less present here. It's the nicest place for me, my heart is relieved here.

I: Is it possible to live here again?

TD: I'm personally not scared of anything. Even if they're such bastards, even if they're interested in my life, they can come and kill me, I'm staying here. There are shortcomings. There are some things they don't want to understand.

I: Have you returned all your property back? Did you have problems getting your property back?

TD: I can't say I have. I returned my property back, all but phone line. It's been six months now since I put in for it.

I: Are you able to express your cultural and religious beliefs? Do you feel free?

TD: I behave freely. We prayed to Allah during the month of Ramadan. Sometimes somebody shouts a bad word, but there weren't any incidents.

I: Have you ever been employed? Have you ever looked for a job?

TD: No, I haven't. I've always been a housewife, that's what I am and what I will be.

I: How many hours per day, within your average workday, do you spend on: (at home, taking care of family members; yourself,)?

TD: Hmm, me spending time for myself...

I myself don't know how to say this. Sometimes, it's terrible, feeling I wouldn't do anything, there were days when I said to myself that I don't want anything, that I don't need anything, that I don't want to buy or do anything. To cook for myself, to eat on my own... I don't have children. Who shall I cook for? I don't have anybody to serve food to; I can do this only for myself. Shall I cook and eat on my own... you see... every day is like this.

I: Including your hobbies, what kind of jobs are you capable of doing?

TD: Well, I can sew and knit. There's no needlework I can't do, but I've lost my sight now. Hardly do I manage to do this for myself. And I can do everything to crochet, to embroider; I used to do all these things.

I: Do they bring you any income, or did they use to?

TD: I used to work in Zivinice for about two or three years. We used to go to a union. What sweaters did I use to knit, my sweaters were really among the most beautiful, than we did some decorations. We used to get 50 per cent of wool for that, I used to get 60 per cent because I knit more nicely. So, that way, we do something for ourselves.

I: Are you engaged in agricultural work? How much are you into it?

TD: Well, I sow seeds in my garden, some potatoes, peas, carrot, tomatoes... I do grow most of these supplies, I don't buy them. I never miss to sow seeds.

I: Would you ever start your own business?

TD: I don't know. I couldn't tell you. I'm not able to do anything any more, that's for sure. My back's very sensitive; I can't lift anything.

I: Personal and household income

TD: I get disability pay (it's been somewhat reduced and I also have a pension). My income reaches 500KM. However, I also sow seeds. I grew crops this year again, I have potatoes, onion, I made some pickled peppers, and I did much for myself. I buy milk. I keep hens, so I grow chickens and I have enough for my own needs. I can do light work. My killed brother's son and wife are abroad. Sometimes they send me something I need, though I'm modest. I'm alone, I don't go anywhere.

I: What kind of premises do you live in? Are the premises entirely functional?

TD: I have one room more. There is running water and electricity.

I: When was the last time you visited your local community office or went to the municipality office?

I get there when I needed some papers to get a donation. I had a lot of things to do those days, after that I didn't go for I didn't need to. That was in March last year. Err... I went to the electricity office many times. I went to the post office to settle out my phone line.

I: If you face legal problems do you have easy access to the judiciary system?

TD: Yes, I do. I went to register this lot on my name in Srebrenica.

I: What is your experience with the police in the place where you live?

TD: Since I moved to this house, they haven't come at all. When I was at my brother's place two years ago, they used to come. They used to visit us; they were fair to us nevertheless. They call out

straight away to ask if I had any problems. Here were three shifts. I made them coffee. I'm grateful to them for their fairness.

I: How safe do you feel walking alone in your neighborhood after dark?

TD: I never think someone might attack me. I do walk. Probably because of everything I experienced, so it doesn't even cross my mind, though something may happen. When it was Christmas, there were some families that I wished them all the best, for it's their religious day the same way Bairam is mine. But, they fired into the air too much, not only one day but almost for a month. Well, where do they get these arms?

I: Do you sense any difference comparing now and two years ago situation?

TD: It was nice to me when I returned; I didn't feel someone could have some negative emotions towards me. Simply, I think so. I didn't feel anything, I swear. I didn't think about that at all, if you believe me.

I: If you were walking within 50 kilometers of your neighborhood, would you worry that someone might attack you?

TD: Well, I might if I'm late in the evening. During the day, I wouldn't.

I: Have you ever been exposed to domestic violence? What type of violence was it?

TD: No, I haven't.

Dzulesma Muminovic,
Returnee to the village of Urkovici, Bratunac;
Age: 44; single mother with a daughter and two sons.

I: How is your health in general? Are you hampered in your daily activities in any way by any longstanding illness, or disability, infirmity or mental health problem?

DZM: Well, you can see, I'm ill. I haven't had a medical check-up for three years. I've gone to visit a doctor only once since the war started because I don't have the money to visit a doctor. I'm telling you I went to see a doctor, but he said to me that I should have paid my health insurance. I'm not registered here. So, it means I can't go there, I can't go here. I can only die and nothing else.

I: Does any member of your household suffer from some kind of chronically disease?

DZM: How should I know? Nobody's ever suffered any illness. We didn't even have medical check-ups after the war... my son had an ear operation. We don't know what status we've got. We don't even have the opportunity to be cured, have check-ups, to see...

I: Do you and your children have a proper access to Health Care services and facilities?

DZM: I'm telling you that I don't because I don't have health insurance. I do, but they won't verify it. In Zivinice, that's where I've been registered, where I have my pension. They told me to register in Bratunac, but I'd have to cancel my registration here, and I have no money to settle out all this.

I: Are you able and willing to visit a gynecologist if you need to?

DZM: Well, I'm not. I don't have any money at home now.

I: Do you rely on services provided by the Center for Social Work?

DZM: No, I don't.

I: Highest educational degree completed

DZM: No, I'm not; I didn't go to school at all.

I: What was the opinion of your parents on the male and female children education? Did they make a difference between them and prefer one over another?

DZM: My father didn't allow me to go to school, nor did he allow my sister to. He had to pay the fine, but he wouldn't let us go to school. If only I'd known what I know today. My father used to beat us, not letting us go to school. Our brothers went to school, but we didn't.

I: Do your children have proper access to education? Are they enrolled in school? Do they regularly attend classes?

(The interviewee doesn't want to talk about her children; they're all older than 18.)

I: When did you return to your home?

DZM: Well, among the first who returned, in 2001.

I: In which settlement were you displaced? How did they treat you over there? Do you still maintain the contact with that place and if so, in which way?

DZM: In Zivinice, in the placement of Karaula. They treated me worse than after the fall of Srebrenica. I was thrown out... Somebody told them I had a house and that my housing problem had been

solved. I found the papers with true data and brought them to the ministry in Zivinice, but they wouldn't even look at them.

I go there to get my pensions.

I: What was the main reason for you to return?

DZM: I was happy when people started coming back here, but if I'd known I'd be such a bad luck and so bullied and that I'd live such a life these two years, I'd never have returned my property back. I was happy when I came back to clean my house, which was mined... but I was happy to be at home, though I lived in a tent. I also feel nice now, but there are no conditions for anything.

I: How do you feel about your come back? Do you have any regrets?

DZM: I never regret my coming back, I never do, but I'm ill and I don't have any living conditions. My health has been destroyed in these two years that I spent carrying water... you see this pot, I put some snow into it, I keep it on the stove, to melt and to be able to wash something... Sometimes I feel like killing myself.... the lucky things that I didn't have any means for it. I've lived three years now without water. I cope, searching for water and I use ice now.

I: Is it possible to live here again?

DZM: Yes, it is for those who want to work. I can survive on my land, but my children don't have any conditions, no place to work, nothing. Why wouldn't it be possible for me to live here, I used to live here before as well. But men used to work in companies; our husbands were employed and we worked our land.

I: Have you returned all your property back? Did you have problems getting your property back?

DZM: Yes, I have and I didn't have any problems, and I wish I'd had. Though I don't have a house, I've started working on it, but it's a ruin for me. Just before you arrived, I'd taken out the water from my ceiling and walls. While I'm asleep, it leaks on my head. I can imagine what the state of our health is since we've spent three years in this camp. What I've done so far, I've done it with the money I took on credit, I pay it off through my pension rates. I was donated some material, but I don't have the money to use it. When I was expelled from Zivinice, I came here and put the concrete floor upstairs, I don't have the proper floor, I sleep on cement. I used my own money to make this basement. I'm an ill woman, I can't eat ...then I feel weak.

I: Are you able to express your cultural and religious beliefs? Do you feel free?

DZM: Wherever I go, nobody's ever said picked up on me.

I: Have you ever been employed? Have you ever looked for a job? Have you ever been discriminated on a job selection because you were a woman?

DZM: No, I'm not. My husband was employed for 18 years. This is the third year that I've been trying to get the pension, but it isn't possible. I think someone's been stealing it. What a state this is! This should be... those criminals should be removed.

I: Including your hobbies, what kind of jobs are you capable of doing?

DZM: Well, I can do all jobs. Needlework, everything. I used to weave carpets. I've just prepared something, but I don't have the place to put it, I wanted to weave at least a small carpet. In the end I realized it was useless, where I could put it.

I: Do they bring you any income, or did they use to?

DZM: I didn't sell them, but I used to work. For instance, you come to my place and I do it. I weaved for myself, I'm knitting slippers for myself, sometimes I make sweaters for my children, but I don't have the wool to do so.

I: Are you or some of your family members engaged in agricultural work? How much are you into it?

DZM: Yes, I do. This year I sew only a little, I didn't have enough seed. I sew some potatoes, peppers, tomatoes, all sorts of vegetable.

I: Would you ever take a job that you have not done before and it would require training?

DZM: It depends on my health condition, why shouldn't I work?

I: Would you ever start your own business?

DZM: I would, why not. This year I wanted to buy some nylon to make a hothouse on my own, but I couldn't buy seed, nor could I buy nylon. Lack of water is the biggest issue, if you sow something, you should pour water on it. This month I grew my peppers in vain, because I didn't have the water for myself let alone for them.

I: Personal and household income

DZM: I get 318 KM. I took some money as bank loan to do something. From these 318 KM, 20 KM go for my bus ticket that I need when I go and get my pension. I have to pay off 12 rates, 190 KM each. I didn't have any other options; I had to do this for myself. I was

without electricity, I've sorted that out. Imagine how it was, you enter your house, no plaster, no electricity, as if you were entering a tunnel. We slept here and worked on it at the same time. I can imagine what our lungs are like, our health. That's the first thing I'd like to know, to have check-ups, but I don't have the means to go.

... What's the use of having family abroad, who is going to help me?

I: What kind of premises does your family live in? Are the premises entirely functional?

DZM: The only water I have is that which leaks through my walls. I don't have water supply, only I know how it's like to live without it.

There's only one room, but I made it into two. A few days ago I covered a flour bag with nylon; I can't keep it away from damp.

I: Do you have any work or repairs that you intend to carry out?

DZM: If I could, if I had money, the first thing that I'd do is to bring dredgers here, and I'd throw into a lake everything that the country authorities have given me so far and I'd start something new for myself. I wouldn't ask anything from anyone. If there's someone to help me to finish this house, that's good and if there isn't, it's all right again. First I need to put cement upstairs. A few days ago, SFOR officials brought me some nylon, so I managed to cover something with it.

I: Do you think that the municipal authorities of your town serve the population on the best level they can?

DZM: I don't know. You see how they help me, nobody's ever visited me. Thanks to a mayor, once I went to see him to complain about water supplies. He gave me a water pipe, we started digging, but we couldn't finish it because the snow fell. It's only then that they came.

I: When was the last time you visited your local community office or went to the municipality office?

DZM: I went to the municipality so many times. Begic says to me he can't help me when it's bank holiday and there are always some meetings, they don't have the time to talk. So I myself don't know why I open any door if they won't help me. They came and saw where I lived. However, I begged them, to fix my papers so that I could leave the country if they wouldn't help me. Find me a solution to leave.

I: What is your experience with the police in the place where you live?

DZM: Yes, the police bullied us. Whatever happens, they come to search my house I've never been at peace here. I know they do their job, but they should have a nice approach and not to chase my child

in search of something. Once I said to them there was nothing to search in my house and that I myself burn my things damaged by damp. I told them they had never visited me to ask how I lived but always to scare me.

I: How safe do you feel walking alone in your neighborhood after dark?

DZM: I'll tell you... how I feel. I don't mind, I feel as safe here as I do in the Federation. I stay here alone, sometimes children go somewhere, and I walk outside as if I were in a city and not in this backwater. I don't care; I'm not frightened of anything, only of God. It's all the same to me, nobody's attacked us. I used to light a fire outside and sit all night long when I didn't have electricity. I can't sleep and it's difficult for me. When my children read the paper that says I've got a house and normal life conditions, the paper that someone cheated on me...

Ibrima Hasanovic,
Returnee to the village of Redzici, Bratunac;
Age: 27; single mother with a daughter.

I: How is your health in general? Are you hampered in your daily activities in any way by any longstanding illness, or disability, infirmity or mental health problem?

IH: Well, I'm healthy. I don't have any health problems. Everything's all right with my health. My only problem's my eyes, my sight, since my birth I don't see well on my left eye, but I've got lenses.

I: Does any member of your household suffer from some kind of chronically disease?

IH: No, Nobody does. I have a little daughter, but she's healthy, thanks God, she doesn't have any problems.

I: Do you and your daughter have a proper access to Health Care services and facilities?

IH: Thanks God, I still haven't had any need to complain, about my child's illness, not yet, but there must probably be a nice attitude. My friends said to me they were accepted nicely when they went. I go to pharmacy when I've got flu and buy a medicine, but I didn't go to see a doctor, for a medical examination or something like that.

I: Are you able and willing to visit a gynecologist if you need to?

IH: I don't have any regular income; I'm not employed. I didn't go to see a gynecologist, because I don't have such problems and I didn't go to ask for help.

I: Do you rely on services provided by the Center for Social Work?

IH: No.

I: Highest educational degree completed

IH: I went to a secondary mechanical school, I finished the first year and I didn't continue that school. I attended some sort of agricultural course, but that wasn't secondary school and I attended a hairdresser's course.

I: Did you manage to get a job after completed education?

IH: Well, let's say that I was employed by a man in a shop when I returned to my village. However, that man died and his wife closed the shop at the end of the year and I lost my job. So, I don't know what's going to happen next!

I: What was the opinion of your parents on the male and female children education? Did they make a difference between them and prefer one over another?

IH: No, they didn't. They never made a difference.

I: Do your daughter have proper access to education? Is she enrolled in school?

IH: My daughter's still not old enough to go to school.

I: When did you return to your home?

IH: -This is my father's house, which means it's a family house. I came back almost a year and seven months ago, or more precisely in June 2003.

I: In which settlement were you displaced? How did they treat you over there? Do you still maintain the contact with that place and if so, in which way?

IH: - I was in Zivinice. How can I say this?...As a DP...

Well, I do maintain. For instance, I lived in a woman's house last year, the Displaced Persons and Refugees Headquarter paid rent for me. That's a local woman and I still keep in touch with her. I visit her sometimes, she visits me and we speak on the phone. All in all, we socialize.

I: What was the main reason for you to return?

IH: -Well, simply I didn't have any prospective there, I didn't have job, I was a lodger, my house here was empty and we got our property back. Naturally, we returned to our house, we have where to sleep, I have some land to work out and so I live out of my work, it's fine to me. I can't complain! Simply, I have my house, my home; I'm my own boss. Home sweet home. I've never regretted, never! I never say that it was better for me where I was. No! It's always better here, somehow I'm more comfortable here and it really is. It's well. My father repaired my house a little, and sometimes I remember all that emptiness I felt there, because I was not in my town, at my home, it was nice to me, I can't say it was bad to me with those people where I was, but it's specially nice now. Wherever I go, I come back home. You know, when I was there, I longed for everything, and now...my freezer's full, my fridge; I have all food and somehow, I feel good. I'm happy to be back. It doesn't matter that I'm young and that I don't have people to socialize with, but I have my daughter and we live a modest life.

I: Is it possible to live here again?

IH: Yes, of course it is. For instance, I take a bus and go to town, without any problems. I never thought it could be like that. I sleep here and I think it's possible to come back.

I: Have you returned all your property back? Did you have problems getting your property back?

IH: We didn't have any problems. A man left our house according to the deal. My father got his property back without problems.

I: Are you able to express your cultural and religious beliefs? Do you feel free?

IH: Yes, I feel free, absolutely free! I celebrate my Bairam, I buy cattle as a religious sacrifice, I kill it freely, I can say freely I'm a Muslim, nobody's ever said a word to me. I visit my Serb neighbors; they visit me, too, on Bairam.

I: Have you ever been employed? Have you ever looked for a job? Have you ever been discriminated on a job selection because you were a woman?

IH: The last time I was employed was in a shop in my village, I worked there only for four months. To tell you the truth, I never searched so much for a job; my husband was the one who worked.

When we got divorced, I became a DP and then I was employed in a construction company for one year.

I: How many hours per day, within your average workday, do you spend on: (at home, taking care of family members; yourself,)?

IH: As for myself, I don't look after myself at all. It means I do only what's really needed, because I've dedicated all my time to this child of mine. When it comes to the house, I spend a lot of time inside it, cleaning it, cooking, and so on. I've got chickens outside, a dog, a cat. I'm trying to prevent my child from sensing her father's absence.

Vojna Šatara,

DP from Donji Vakuf living in the village of Glogovo, Bratunac;

Age: 42; single mother living with her daughter and her mother.

I: How is your health in general? Are you hampered in your daily activities in any way by any longstanding illness, or disability, infirmity or mental health problem?

VS: It depends on weather changes, because they've got influence on my blood pressure. Sometimes I'm cold.

I don't have any such problem, not really...I don't have any serious health problem.

I: Does any member of your household suffer from some kind of chronically disease?

VS: Only my mother's ill; she's a diabetic and has already had two heart attacks. That's it. When the weather changes, she's got some sort of attacks and becomes aggressive.

I: Do you and your sons have a proper access to Health Care services and facilities?

VS: No, we don't. We can't go to the health center because we don't have health insurance. We can't pay; they won't help us.

I: Are you able and willing to visit a gynecologist if you need to?

VS: No, I'm not.

I: Do you rely on services provided by the Center for Social Work?

VS: No.

I: Highest educational degree completed

VS: That's bad. I didn't receive any formal education. I didn't go to school at all. I can read.

I was employed in Donji Vakuf. I'm registered at the job centre in Bratunac. When I was there, I was employed.

I: What was the opinion of your parents on the male and female children education? Did they make a difference between them and prefer one over another?

VŠ: All the children were equally treated. Well, they sent children to school, but I was slightly ill, so they couldn't send me. I was very weak.

I: Do your daughter have proper access to education? Does she regularly attend classes?

VŠ: My daughter goes to school, though it depends on whether I've got the money to pay her bus ticket. A monthly ticket costs 20KM; the bus goes to the village of Kravice. If I don't have money, sometimes she stays at home.

I: Do you manage to provide them with all needed school supplies?

VŠ: No, I don't. Sometimes the municipal authorities help, sometimes they don't.

I: How long have you been here?

VŠ: I came here in 1996, when the Dayton Peace Agreement was signed. I was first in a Muslim house, and then I moved to this house in last October.

I: What place do you feel to be your home?

VŠ: Well, I'd like to own my plot, to buy it. I belong to this municipality, so I live where they find accommodation for me.

I: Would you like to return?

VŠ: To tell you the truth, no. I'm in a village; nobody's returned yet, why should I be the only one to return.

I: Do you expect to return one day?

VŠ: Well, we could have returned in the beginning, but nobody wanted to return, so everything was sold out.

I: Do you keep in touch with the place and, if you do, how do you do so?

VŠ: Yes, I do. For instance, when I need some certificates, I go to the municipality offices to get them. We have to do so.

I: Are you employed?

VŠ: No, I'm not.

I: Have you ever been employed? Have you ever looked for a job?

VŠ: I'd been employed before the war broke out. I've had eight years of job experience. I've been searching for a job, but wherever I come, they say there's none. Municipality officials don't have any solution for my employment.

I: How many hours per day, within your average workday, do you spend on: (at home, taking care of family members; yourself,)?

VŠ: My day is unpleasant, bad, how should I say so...when I get up, I get depressed because I don't have anything. I don't have any job skills, in a way, I don't have absolutely anything. I can't even be a cleaner.

I: Including your hobbies, what kind of jobs are you capable of doing?

VŠ: I do everything at home. When you're alone, you have to everything. I can do some needlework, but I have no time for it. I have to provide myself with wood, I have to cut and transport it.

I: Are you engaged in agricultural work? How much are you into it?

VŠ: No, I don't have anything at all. This is a Muslim territory, this is their land, we should move out from here. The local authorities said to us we must move. They won't let us grow any crops here.

I: Would you ever take a job that you have not done before and that would require training?

VŠ: Well, I did various types of work. I would work, but there isn't any work. I'd love to do everything if I had money, anything.

I: Would you ever start your own business?

VŠ: Well, I can't tell you just like this. If somebody helped me, I'd start any business.

I: Personal and household income

VŠ: I don't have anything. I don't have any help.

My mother's got a pension, but if he dies, I won't have any income. They told me I didn't even have the right to get child benefit. What are my rights? None, I don't have them! If I had, we'd have a stove at least, we'd have something.

My mother's got some income, but that's nothing...a pension of 80 marks, that's nothing. It's enough only for my child's bus ticket and for me to buy some flour. I spend all of it.

I: What kind of premises does your family live in? Are the premises entirely functional?

VŠ: A motor caravan. We've got water and electricity now. That's what I've got so far. I don't have a bathroom; we put something here so that we can have a bath.

I: Do you think that the municipal authorities of your town serve the population on the best level they can?

VŠ: Local authorities have helped me, providing my child with books, but now I don't have this form of help any more and they can't help me any more. I don't know what to do any more. I can't really tell you if they want to help me or not, if they can or can't... I can't insist they help me. I know they're fed up with the cases like mine.

I: When was the last time you visited your local community office or went to the municipality office?

VŠ: Yes, I do, but what's the use of it? I went on last Friday to ask them to help me pay my child's bus ticket. They told me to come next Friday. I don't know what's going to happen.

I: What is your experience with the police in the place where you live?

VŠ: I haven't had any experience.

I: How safe do you feel walking alone in your neighborhood after dark?

VŠ: Well, that's all right...nice...you have a walk. Nobody disturbs you.

I: If you were walking within 50 kilometers of your neighborhood, would you worry that someone might attack you?

VŠ: Well, I would because I'm alone. You can hear about various bad cases here.

I: Have you ever been exposed to domestic violence? What type of violence was it?

VŠ: I haven't had some problems.

I: Including your hobbies, what kind of jobs are you capable of doing?

IH: Well, I can crochet, knit, cook and, for instance, I work land. I can do all sorts of work that a country woman can do.

I: Do they bring you any income, or did they use to?

IH: Well, during the war, for example, I crocheted a lot in Zivinice and I sold much of what I did but, now...no, I don't have a market for my products.

I: Are you engaged in agricultural work? How much are you into it?

IH: Well, I have about 2 acres of land I work it. I sow maize, potato, all sorts of vegetable, and all I need at home.

I: Would you ever take a job that you have not done before and it would require training?

IH: Well, I can't remember at the moment, I'd do anything, in a company, for example. I'd go for training, I'm young enough for it, and I'll need it for my child. I'd love to have my job, my income.

I: Would you ever start your own business?

IH: Well, if I had opportunities, I would. I would go into agricultural work, but if someone who guarantee I could find a market. I'm sure I'd love to go into some business.

I: Personal and household income

IH: Well, I don't have personal income. I said my father's in the Netherlands, so he helps me from time to time, so I can afford a decent life.

I: Is there any type of home production within your household that brings you an income?

IH: Well, it's insignificant. For example, this last summer I sew maize, potatoes, so I managed to sell something, but it's nothing.

I: What kind of premises do you live in? Are the premises entirely functional?

IH: I've got two rooms... When I returned, there was nothing here and my father did some reparations.

I: Do you have any work or repairs that you intend to carry out?

IH: Well, I've got lots of plans. Nobody's ever helped me, or even came. For instance, I'd love to change my woodwork, and repair my carpets.

I: Do you think that the municipal authorities of your town serve the population on the best level they can?

IH: Well, I can't say anything about it, I myself didn't ask for their help.

I: What is your experience with the police in the place where you live?

IH: -I've never seen them personally. I've never met them, and I'd like not to be in touch with them.

I: How safe do you feel walking alone in your neighborhood after dark?

IH: I'm a coward by my nature, wherever I am. I've never felt 100 per cent safe; it might be one of the war consequences.

I: Do you sense any difference comparing now and two years ago situation?

IH: -Well, I'm telling you this...my uncle returned and he didn't have any problems, so I wasn't afraid of my return. It's the same now as it was to me. I returned without any problems, and I think that nobody will disturb me if I don't disturb them. This way, I've got a nice relationship with my neighbors.

I: If you were walking within 50 kilometers of your neighborhood, would you worry that someone might attack you?

IH: I wouldn't be particularly scared, though I would be scared at night.

I: Have you ever been exposed to domestic violence? What type of violence was it?

IH: No, I haven't. I might have been scared at the beginning of the war; I had that sort of fear.

**Zana Tomic,
DP from Sarajevo Canton living in Bratunac;
Age: 27; single mother with two children; a daughter and a son.**

I: How is your health in general? Are you hampered in your daily activities in any way by any longstanding illness, or disability, infirmity or mental health problem?

ZT: Well, it's fine. No problems at all.

I: Does any of your children suffer from some kind of chronically disease?

ZT: Luka, my son's got asthma, since long time ago; bronchitis appears occasionally, not all the time, as it is with children.

I: Do you and your sons have a proper access to Health Care services and facilities?

ZT: Well, I do. We go to the health centre for medical treatments. I've got health insurance, my husband had it, and so I've got it, too.

I: Are you able and willing to visit a gynaecologist if you need to?

ZT: There's always something more important, I know I should go... I haven't seen a gynaecologist since my childbirth.

I: Do you rely on services provided by the Centre for Social Work?

ZT: No, I don't.

I: Highest educational degree completed

ZT: I finished a mechanical secondary school.

I: Did you manage to get a job after completed education?

ZT: No, I didn't. Soon after my school I got married, had children...

I: What was the opinion of your parents on the male and female children education? Did they make a difference between them and prefer one over another?

ZT: Well, not really, though there weren't any male children, I've got only a sister, so I don't know. You know, there was a war, so there weren't opportunities for further education. I sort of finished my secondary school in 1995, so I couldn't even think of going somewhere else.

I: Do your children have proper access to education? Are they enrolled in school? Do they regularly attend classes?

ZT: Well, they do - they go to school. They attend classes regularly.

I: Do you manage to provide them with all needed school supplies?

ZT: Well, I do. In fact, that's the most important thing for me and it has to be. You have to give up many things. I wouldn't like them to be much different from the other children. Some difficult situations occurred in this sense. Some time ago, for instance, parents were supposed to give 20 marks each, I happened to be in an embarrassing situation, and, you know, why I should be the first one to say something, that I might not have money. I looked around myself, all parents were silent and there might have been more parents who felt equally bad, that was the reason why I didn't react.

I: How long have you been here?

ZT: We came here in 1992 from Donji Vakuf.

I: What place do you feel to be your home?

ZT: Well, nowhere. I don't feel this place to be my home, I'll have to leave it, and also that other place is not mine, because these aren't my people. When I go there, there are many people that I don't know. Everything's been changed. My mum returned, because she could not pay the rent. So, what I'd like to do most is to go somewhere close to her and Lukavica could be an option.

I: Would you like to return?

ZT: Well, honestly saying, not really. The reason is that so few people have returned, so few young people, really few people.

I: Do you expect to return one day?

ZT: Yes, sure I'd love to. That flat's unoccupied, why shouldn't I be happy to come back to my flat. We're wandering around at the moment.

I: Do you keep in touch with the place and, if you do, how do you do so?

ZT: Well, I do go because my mum's there.

I: Have you ever been employed? Have you ever looked for a job?

ZT: No, I haven't. I was called by those people from the 'Priroda' Organization, there was a free course of computers and English, but it was the time my husband died, actually he was in deathbed, so I couldn't. Now I'm looking for a job, but I can't find any. A man has asked me to work in a color and paint shop, but the salary's 100 marks. I think it wouldn't pay out, because I would have to pay more money for child care than my income would be, because they are too young to be left on their own.

I: How many hours per day, within your average workday, do you spend on: (at home, taking care of family members; yourself,)?

ZT: I spend my whole day at home and all I care about is my children. So, when they come back from school, I prepare everything to be cooked and warm for them. I don't have time for myself.

I: Including your hobbies, what kind of jobs are you capable of doing?

ZT: Apart from needlework, I can't do anything, but I think misery can teach everyone to do something. Nothing so special is needed to work in a shop, for example.

I: Are you engaged in agricultural work? How much are you into it?

ZT: Well, I don't have anything, this is no my home, I don't have any land.

I: Would you ever take a job that you have not done before and it would require training?

ZT: Well, I would. For example, I didn't expect for a single moment to go to the General Repair Company to apply for a qualified job. Their business is getting worse. When my husband died I had some money, I started a clothes shop, but I was unsuccessful, so I had to close it. It was difficult to succeed, the flea market is close. So I had to close it. I was sorry not to have attended these courses when these women called from the 'Priroda' Organization.

I: Would you ever start your own business?

ZT: Well, probably I would, sure I'd do something.

I: Personal and household income

ZT: Well, I've got my widow's pension of 150 KM.

In fact, that's the pension that my children are entitled to; I'm not entitled to it because of my age. That's 120 marks, a little more, in fact. Last two months there's been an increase, so it's reached 150 marks.

Honestly saying, my mum helps me financially. She works and helps us. My sister is in USA. Though they haven't gone so long ago, she leaves aside some money and sends us.

I: What kind of premises does your family live in? Are the premises entirely functional?

ZT: Well, they are. There's one room. I've got the essential things; I'm satisfied. The only thing that greatly helps me is that I don't have to pay the rent.

I: Do you think that the municipal authorities of your town serve the population on the best level they can?

ZT: Well, I don't know what to think. I think that so little or no attention is paid to single mothers. This is the first time someone's come to talk about it. There are hundreds of these women never visited by anybody.

I: When was the last time you visited your local community office or went to the municipality office?

ZT: Well, I can't remember. When I went to get my husband's death certificate might be the last time.

I: What is your experience with the police in the place where you live?

ZT: I haven't had an experience with the police.

I: How safe do you feel walking alone in your neighborhood after dark?

ZT: Well, how should I say so, I'm easily scared by nature. I don't feel safe since my husband's death. I'm carrying a kind of fear inside myself.

I: If you were walking within 50 kilometers of your neighborhood, would you worry that someone might attack you?

ZT: Well, I would. There were some situations when I went somewhere hitchhiking when I didn't feel particularly safe.

I: Have you ever been exposed to domestic violence? What type of violence was it?

ZT: No, I really haven't.

appendix 3: SUMMARY of the Considerations with NGOs

'ZORA', Milici

The biggest problem of the population in Milici is a difficult economic situation. Before the war, around 80 per cent of the population of this area was employed in the mine that is not functioning today.

Women of this area are facing the problem of maintaining the traditional role as housewives due to men's impossibility to provide necessary financial means for their households. So they have to take over a part of responsibility.

Realizing different projects ZORA established many contacts with women from Milici and gave them needed and extraordinary support and understanding. It was noticed that a simple conversation sometimes means a world.

The fact is that only few women are employed, which is partly caused by employers' tendency to dismiss women first and give priority to men. Their complaints and appeals to stop this (mis)treatment were ignored by legal authorities. Here we have the statement that

says: "In Milici, women live worse than animals", which is an evident case of human rights violation in the real sense of the word.

There are no job positions available in the municipality and everyone makes the same effort in an attempt to secure living means. Some women manage to do so by working seasonally (strawberry cull) and some plant their gardens.

Pensions and disablement benefit present a considerable part of their income. In most cases it is not more than 100KM but still: "Lucky is the one who gets it".

There is the Centre for Social Work in Milici, but it can provide very mean support to people who really need it (not more than 40KM).

The fact that the majority of the population is returnees that have difficulties providing basic living means makes the rural area extremely problematic. Most of women who are the heads of their households manage to survive thanks to their gardens and their husbands' pensions. In summer they collect fruit and their children do the same.

Humanitarian aid is very rare.

Milici town has electricity and water, but some of its villages do not.

Bad road conditions and limited access to the rural area is also a big problem.

People cannot rely on public health service in Milici. There is only one doctor (GP) serving the population of 11.000 inhabitants. In general, people are aware of their healthcare needs, but most of them do not have health insurance, and there are other priorities, too. At the end, it depends on money, which most of them do not have, and it is very difficult to earn it.

ZORA organized a project for women to learn to sew and they opened their own tailor's shop, but soon they closed it because of large expenses and no income.

The political situation in Milici is very complicated and very simple at the same time. It is simple because an 'all-mighty man' can do anything he wants and it is complicated because other people do not see the opportunity of changing the situation. The local authorities do not do anything to stop him. This person is not a local authority's official, but he controls the town and life in it. There are some differences of opinion about this man- some people support him (mostly those that have some use of this support) and some do not, but they

are afraid to show it. Women that were dismissed from their work are afraid to walk the town with their husbands because they could face consequences.

We also talked about the youth in Milici. Most of them would like to go abroad and never come back. They would go to study, work or simply to leave.

At the end of the conversation we got some ideas on how to improve life of women in this area:

- By gathering information on all women in Milici (at the moment they are working on that project);
- By organizing courses on agriculture, trade, cattle breeding, and sewing;
- By providing good connections between rural and urban area so that the population could exchange their products.

'AMICA - PRIJATELJICE', Srebrenica

AMICA has been present in Srebrenica for the last eight years. It helps people start small business, offering them financial support and providing free trainings.

Although the war stopped, its consequences are huge and still affect the lives of the people in Srebrenica. Most of them are returnees with women as heads of families whose life is so hard that there are no appropriate words that could describe it. It is especially difficult for the families living in surrounding area.

The unemployment rate must be very high since none of the pre-war factories work any more (app. 80 per cent). The households in rural and border areas make their living primarily by planting their small gardens, while in urban area they do not have that possibility. There is not any recorded data on these households, sources and height of their income.

One of the AMICA's activities is visiting villages and gathering information. The recent one was the visit to the village of Ljeskovik where they found out hard living conditions of the two households. In one of them a nine-month old child lives with its mother in the basement of a ruined house. In another one, there are five families hardly surviving.

There are forty school-aged children from Ljeskovik who are not enrolled in school. The reason for this might be the fact that the nearest school is thirty kilometers away. Municipality or other authorities do nothing to solve this problem and it is evident this is a basic children rights violation no matter what the reason for such a behavior is. In winter the village becomes isolated and remains so for the next three months.

Most of the families are without male members and women do all work. Seasonally, they send elderly children to work all over Bosnia and Herzegovina and it is a significant source of income for these households.

While younger women are interested in AMICA's trainings and seminars, the older ones would rather stay at home. These trainings are adapted to the population needs. They organized a sewing course but due to the difficult situation and the lack of support from the others, women failed to make living out of their newly learned skill.

They conducted two courses on mushroom growing, but it also remained an unused skill.

Public health service is poorly organized and the health center cannot meet population's needs. Most of the population cannot afford proper medical treatment due to lack of money and health insurance.

Srebrenica youth are not motivated to live in Srebrenica. Most of them want to leave this unpromising region after completing their high school education.

At the end we asked about their ideas on improvement of women life quality in Srebrenica, and it turned out that the immediate investment in economy appeared to be a foundation for future developments: encourage small businesses; continue perspective trainings for women (both rural and urban) in order to include them in the regional economy.

'SARA', Srebrenica

SARA's main activity is related to young population. They organize courses of foreign languages, computer course, etc. At the beginning, young people were highly interested, but eventually it turned out that knowledge skills they had acquired were useless and did not get them anywhere.

They do not have a particular project on women issue, but they occasionally meet their needs and help them individually. SARA is well informed about the work of the other governmental and non-governmental organizations that deal with women problems in the region and they point out that it is crucial to harmonize their work and improve their cooperation.

Women often do not have means to afford medical treatment and in addition they have to pay each medicine and visit to the health center.

In SARA, we have also been informed on the lack of understanding for women's issues in the municipality of Srebrenica. Although the problems and often-authentic sufferings are obvious, the authorities keep their eyes shut.

SARA emphasized that large number of young and elderly people is illiterate. They do not attend school or they have never been enrolled in one. The case of forty children in the village of Ljeskovik who do not attend school and also a considerable number of illiterates is alarming. This is a huge current issue and tells us that there are pending problems in the region that calls for immediate action.

SARA's members have had personal experience within the village and experienced this handicap.

The lack of accurate data on the population of Srebrenica (number of returnees, DPs, single mothers, etc.) is one of the main reasons for frequent failures in dealing with the issues. Gathering these data would be a starting point for future activities.

'PRIRODA', Bratunac

Bratunac municipality was known as an undeveloped one even before the war. The emigration tendency was also noticed before. Most of the population is into agriculture, especially strawberry growing, they are mostly women who are engaged while men work on farms or do construction work - those are men that leave away for work and households are left to women alone.

Very few of them had their own trade (profession). Consequently women are the ones working in agriculture while men are absent during summer to return home in winter.

Some women were employed in industry before the war and they are out of work now, but also huge number of them never worked before.

In contacts established through the implementation of various programs a huge number of illiterate women have been noticed.

Every second job application filled out by women is finger signed, even though no one knows the exact number of illiterate women.

This refers to the elderly and middle -aged women.

Lifestyle of the women in Bratunac is best shown in a direct contact and everything else is a matter of conjecture. PRIRODA is presently working on a project financed by USAID: "Support to minority return in BiH" and it is about economic strengthening through loans for realization of stable household income. 20 per cent of users of this program are women who are the heads of their families.

Female-headed households are mainly returnees. Even before the war these women were housewives; only few worked before.

These families are on the brink of existence - everyday fight for survival.

These women are strong and competent to use received money in the best possible way. It is evident that women in the post-war period are more energetic, more innovative than men, regardless on the area they live in - rural or urban. A woman who never thought of carrying ten bags to the market has to do so today. Necessity knows no law. People are aware that no work is a disgrace today.

Position and engagement of women depend on their age, too. There are lots of women who are single mothers, widowers who have become discouraged and are noticeably weaker.

They look older than they really are. These women are mostly not capable of and interested in anything, but if there would be any associations with professional help, a lot could be changed. Simple conversation can do a lot for these women.

The consciousness about woman position within a household still might be described as traditional, especially in rural area.

They are nothing but housewives in men's eyes. In case that woman does work, man only recognizes the salary that she brings home (university educated couples are not any different). There are five women NGO's in Bratunac, which tells us that the women conscious is slowly, but surely awaking. Women in Bratunac are not familiar with their rights - in general human rights and female rights.

Nevertheless, the personal engagement exists and they manage to get a job in small private companies. It all depends on woman capability and whether she is living alone or not.

It also depends on woman's (who is a head of her family) attitude on how the community will think of her and her family. Some look for pity even though they are not in the worst position.

Women who live closer to town centers have easier lives than those living further in the country.

Villages are jagged and to approach them is very difficult; in wintertime it is almost impossible. Not everybody has electricity. Solidarity of village people (neighbors) is fascinating. They help each other whenever they can.

It depends a lot on the geographical position of a village, whether it has running water or not, what is the infrastructure like and etc. Villages further from the town, up in hills, do not have running water and roads are bad.

There are cases where women do have husbands and are in far worse position than the ones that do not have husbands, but regular small incomes.

There are women, single mothers that are qualified for some jobs, like a hairdresser's, regardless of the area they live in and whether it is rural or urban. Women returnees who are housewives have mostly regular income (pension, disability benefit, and income from agriculture) although it is difficult to say how high it gets.

Those women who run households by themselves and have no income at all are treated as social cases and depend on help from

social centers, though their hands are tied up because of limited financial means.

Together with social center PRIRODA is planning to make a social card of Bratunac rooms due to lack of unique data base.

Health care of most of women is at a very low level and the reason for that is the lack of information and the fact that they are illiterate. There are local health stations that are renovated and equipped, but do not operate because there is no personnel to work. The health system services in Bratunac are better organized than in other municipalities in the region. There are different specialists at the health center and there is private practice, too. The rural population fears and does not trust local doctors, therefore they do not visit them often, not even when it is needed. Returnee women visit the health institutions in Bratunac and do have trust.

Women who are employed at private companies have difficulties to implement their social and health rights. Personal income is minimal and it is a miracle that they manage to survive with the amount they receive.

There is not any kind of associated women labor in Bratunac.

Local community functions quite well and men and women can visit and ask for any kind of help they need.

Life of women who are the heads of their households is very difficult. However, they do not need pity, but help and job offers - creative ideas and financial aid (for example, from NGOs). Women want to work, to collaborate, but they do need help, for example - information how to get an investment found. They need precise information on how and who to address for help to (the best conditions, etc.).

Agriculture and cattle breeding are best way of making money in Bratunac. The conditions for quality productions are ideal.

The people's attitude towards work has been changing. There are no big companies that could employ them, so they begin small business, turn to fruit growing (strawberries and raspberries). Huge number of households turns toward agriculture.

PRIRODA organizes computer course for last three years and the turnout is great.

'MAJA', Kravice

At the very beginning it should be underlined that one of MAJA's priorities is an opportunity of organizing economic activities and strengthening of mutual solidarity among the people in the village of Kravice, as well as developing collaboration with neighboring villages and municipalities. This aim is set as a mission of this association.

We have been told in MAJA that they keep busy and they meet with all kind of problems that population within their community (the village of Kravice and neighboring villages) regularly deals with. "We feel all those problems in the community (women issues, children, problems that local community office should deal with)".

A motive to start association was a necessity for organizing a life in a war destroyed community, "getting out from one closed post-war circle", connection of the community with other parts of the region, as well as connecting it with different organizations that might be of help to them. "To get some donation to help people".

Apart from this, one of the association aims is women education through organizing various seminars, and issues vary from health protection, gender equality to solving some present socio-economic issues.

Women are poorly informed and have hardly any knowledge on health protection. It is one of the biggest handicap of this community. There is a surgery, but no doctors, so these people mostly go to the hospital in Bratunac. "Those who have money go to Bratunac, those who haven't got it - die."

A short time ago MAJA has organized a round table discussion whose topic was "Women Health and Social Support", with a free mass medical examination as a part of it. As the turnout of women was very high, the MAJA members suggested this form of activity should come into practice until women's health consciousness did not reach a higher level and the village surgery did not start working in a proper way.

Some of MAJA's projects include some Bosnian Muslims returnees (cattle and poultry donations), though this population is not the main target of these projects.

Single mothers in the village of Kravice may be the most in the worst position, for hardly any of them are employed, which means these families do not have any health insurance.

Some of them grow some crops or keep cattle and poultry. In MAJA they are aware of this issue, putting this part of the population in the focus of their attention, because one of their priorities is economic strengthening of country women. Livestock revivals in these households, as well as any sort of help (providing seedlings, working material...) are various ways to achieve this goal. Most of the single mothers run their households successfully and manage to provide the means for living. MAJA's experience with these women is positive, in terms of the exploitation of these donations, since women manage to offer what is required and meet the expectations.

MAJA has also helped women get bank loans.

In other words, it has always been a center where women could express their wishes and needs.

There is not any form of collective work in Kravice. It is hard to sell products. Whatever people produce is hard to find the market for.

What they plan to do in MAJA is to make a complete registration of the whole local area.

We were told by the MAJA members the local people were not happy with how the local community office works. They have got a needed level of cooperation, but it could be higher, an issue depending on the leader's will.

MAJA has proposed a project for a local community office opening to the UNDP, and for the advisory council within it.

These activities speak volumes about their all including efforts to develop a civil society.

The men from Kravice go for a seasonal construction work in spring and they come back in autumn. There are three enterprisers who provide these people with seasonal work. What they earn enables them to provide their families with essential supplies.

Those households with women as their heads do not have such opportunities and they are deprived of this source of income. Killed soldier's widows have pensions.

"We have tried, in our negotiations with municipality officials, to stress how important it is to activate these women, the head of their

households, who are in a hard position. However, all our efforts still have not come in use."

For these women a solution could be to find some activities they could carry out at home. They struggle, asking around for job opportunity.

MAJA had a project of raspberry seedlings distribution and things that accompany with it. That is something easily kept, and there is also an opportunity of getting credits for seedlings. We introduced people from Kravice with a company that allows them credit for seedlings. MAJA has also worked on a project of getting a healthy food certificate for these women. For a woman to start any business, help is necessary.

UNDP has distributed cattle, now it is important to secure milk purchase. When a cow calves, who is going to sell 20l of milk? Securing market is the most important issue for any production. When people realize that a business is fruitful, they will make themselves take loans. The best thing to do is to make a final product rather than sell raw material.

A camp has been located in Kravice, where the displaced from the various parts of BiH are accommodated (from 7 municipalities). There is a large number of women living alone here. "This is a living cemetery." You can meet mentally deranged, a large number of social cases, single people helped by no one. "They don't even have money for their medicines. The camp is a mixture of all sorts of things."

The older women in need of nothing but assistance must be helped by these women able to work. Some contacts would be made this way and mutual solidarity would be encouraged.

The income of single mothers varies from 100 KM at maximum (pension, disablement and social benefit).

In MAJA they are less familiar with the population from the neighboring villages than with the population in the village of Kravice, so they could tell us nothing but general opinion.

'Majke Srebrenice', Srebrenica

It is important to point out at the beginning that all the statements and opinions that we have got in a conversation in this association are a product of personal experience of its members rather than organized and planned cooperation with Srebrenica women.

The first thing this association should do relates to searching for missing people, and there are no special schedules or projects dealing with women issues.

Up until now (since 2000) the returnees to Srebrenica include mainly older women households (55 and older). These are mostly older mothers and daughters. This is a population that can be described in two words: old and ill. Sometimes it is frightening to see how these women live; they all have the same feeling of being nowhere, which is a sign of their inability to normalize their lives in the places of their return.

They live mostly on their pensions, which they get in the Federation, which amount to 149KM on average. They also have significant help from their friends and relatives that live in different part of Bosnia or abroad. These are the two main sources of income for Srebrenica women. However, there are a significant number of women without any of these sources of income, and it is very hard to guess how they manage to survive. Ill women are in the worst position; they do not have means for their medical treatments.

The main reasons for their returning home were: 1) they did not have any other solution; and 2) they wanted "to be on their own".

They succeeded in providing the essential living means with the help of international organizations.

In the urban part of Srebrenica, it is not possible to go into in agriculture, so those households do not have this source of living means.

A big problem for the country households, remote from the main roads is difficult access to the urban parts of the region, as well as communication among villages. Bad and devastated roads give an explanation to this, and we have a large number of out-of-the-way households as the consequence, and there are a lot of female-headed households. Some of these households still do not have water or electricity. (A woman lives alone on the Bojna River. She is ill. There is no house in her surrounding. She has lived alone for two years now.

Another woman lives with her three children in a village, in a back-water. No electricity, no water. One of her children goes to school, and the other two are not even registered. When the snow falls, there is no communication.)

Among a large number of female-headed households, one can notice some old and ill persons that the other family members take care of, though they often have their personal incomes.

There are also a big number of middle-aged and older women who live alone, having pensions or disability pay at best, very often being without any other help. "You can't burden anybody when the others are in the same situation".

As we have found out in the Association, most of the pensions and disability pays are got in the Muslim-Croat Federation.

The women we talked to in the Association had a negative opinion about the municipal administrative authorities.

When it comes to health insurance, women from Srebrenica rely mostly on the humanitarian medical visits, which are paid every fortnight and are organized by an organization called "The Power of Women" from Tuzla. During these visits, a woman can be examined, have a blood test, and an ultrasound scan. Those that cannot wait for two weeks for these services go to the local hospital and their impressions are mostly positive.

appendix 4: Questionnaire

NUMBER OF INTERVIEW	<input type="text"/>
DATE OF INTERVIEW	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>
CODE OF SURVEYOR	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>
CODE OF COORDINATOR	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>
CODE OF MUNICIPALITY	<input type="text"/>
TYPE OF SETTLEMENT(1-TOWN, 2-VILLAGE	<input type="text"/>
MUNICIPALITY	<input type="text"/>
NAME OF SETTLEMENT	<input type="text"/>
STREET	<input type="text"/>
NUMBER OF TELEPHONE	<input type="text"/>

P1: Are you the "head" of this household?

1. Yes
2. No

P2: How many women and how many men live in your household older than 18?

Tell me the year of birth for every of them, and in which relation are you with them?

Women		Men	
Age	Relation	Age	Relation

P3: How many children younger than 18? Include children that don't live with you currently.
number

Tell me the year of birth for every of them, and in which relation are you with them? Namely, are you the mother of these children or not?

Female children		Male children	
Age	relation	Age	relation

P3A. Do you as a “head” of household manage to carry out with all problems?

1. Yes
2. No

SOMETHING ELSE:

P3B. How did it happen for you to become the head of household?

P4. What is your position now like comparing it with the time when you were not head of household?

P5. To which of next categories does your household belong ?

Read options!

1. Returnee
2. You didn't move from here during the war or after the war - domicile
3. You didn't live here before the war – internally displaced person

SPECIFIC SITUATION,
DESCRIBE:

Now we will talk about your health.

P6. Tell me globally what is your health like? Would you say it is

1. Very bad
2. Bad
3. Moderately
4. Good
5. Very good

P7. Do you have obstacles in your daily activities by some long-term illness, invalidity, or mental-health problem?

1. Yes, in big measure
2. Yes, in some measure
3. No - GO TO QUESTION 10

P8. What kind of pains do you have?

P9. If you have some illness, tell me what is it about?

P10. Do you have access to health care facilities and where do you go when you need doctor's help?

Only to women that said they visit doctor!!!

P11. In which measure are you satisfied with their work? By this I mean do they really help you.

Are you

1. Totally unsatisfied
 2. Not satisfied
 3. Not satisfied
 4. Satisfied
 5. Totally satisfied
- Something else.

P12. Is there a person in your household who need your or any other member's of household help every day because of illness?

1. Yes
2. No ► GO TO QUESTION 14

P13. What illness is it?

P14. How much money do you need monthly in order to secure medicines for the household?
amount!

96. I get medicines for free
97. I don't need any medicines

P15. Are you able to visit gynecologist when you need?

1. Yes
2. No
3. I don't need to visit gynecologist

P16. How much time is there since you have visited the gynecologist last time? I will read to you time period and you will choose the closest to your answer.

1. Less than one month
2. Less than three months
3. Less than half of year
4. Less than one year
5. Less than two years
6. Less than three years
7. More than three years
8. I never visited gynecologist
9. Doesn't remember

Few questions about Education.

P17. Can you read and write?

1. Yes
2. No
3. Poorly

P18. Which is the highest school that you have finished?

1. Without education
3. Four years of primary school
4. Primary school
5. Secondary school- three years
6. Secondary school- Four years
7. High education – University education

Question P19 only Women who finished some school

P19. How old were you when you have finished that school?
number of years!

P20. What was your parent's opinion about education of female and male children? Did they treat them equally or that were giving advantage to somebody?

1. Equally
2. They were giving advantage to male children
3. They were giving advantage to female children
4. In your family there were no male children

P21. Are your children age 7- 14 enrolled and go regularly to primary school?

1. Yes, they are enrolled and go regularly – **GO TO QUESTION P24**
2. They are enrolled but they don't go regularly – **GO TO QUESTION P22**
3. They are not enrolled in school – **GO TO QUESTION 22**
4. There are no children that age in this household – **GO QUESTION P24**

P22. Why don't they go to school regularly?

4

P23. Are those children male or female?

1. Male
2. Female
3. Both male and female

P24. Are your children age 15 – 18 enrolled and go regularly to primary school?

1. Yes, they are enrolled and go regularly – **GO TO QUESTION P27**
2. They are enrolled but they don't go regularly – **GO TO QUESTION P25**
3. They are not enrolled in school – **GO TO QUESTION 25**
4. There are no children that age in this household – **GO QUESTION P27**

P25. Why don't they go to school regularly?

P26. Are those children male or female?

1. Male
2. Female
3. Both male and female

P27. Where do they go to school? (If they go to primary and secondary school

P28. On the beginning of the conversation you told me that you have children older than 18 years. Can you tell me what school they have finished and if they are still in the school where are they going?

P29. What is your current working status? Are you...

- 1 – employed at somebody (in private, public sector) – **GO TO QUESTION P30**
- 2 – I work temporarily (part time, for fees) – **GO TO QUESTION P30**
- 3 – independently employed – owner of agriculture good, farm – **GO TO QUESTION P30**
- 4 - independently employed – owner of entrepreneurship – **GO TO QUESTION P30**
- 5 – housewife – **GO TO QUESTION P32**
- 6 – pupils and students- **GO TO QUESTION P32**
- 7 retired – **GO TO QUESTION P34**
- 8 – Something else. What?: _____ ► **GO TO QUESTION P30**

P30. Are you registered?

1. Yes
2. No
8. doesn't want to answer

P31. Are you employed on...?

- 1 - ...full working time?
- 2 - ...or part time?

5

P32. Did you ever work for salary?

1. Yes
2. No

P33. Are you socially ensured?

1. Yes
2. No

SPECIFIC SITUATION. DESCRIBE: _____

P34. Is your household occupied by agriculture?

1. Yes
2. No

P35. Do you personally do some agriculture jobs?

1. Yes
2. No

P36. Which kind of jobs you know and you can do? If those are agriculture jobs, tell me which kind of jobs are those; if those are some crafts, tell me what kind of craft it is; or anything else. Include hobbies as well: knitting, sewing...

P37. Do you possess land for cultivation near the place where you live?

1. Yes
2. No ► **GO TO QUESTION P38**

P37A. How big land for cultivation do you possess? Tell me in average in dunum?

P38. Do you cultivate land?

1. Yes
2. Yes I do cultivate, but I don't possess this land
3. No – **GO TO QUESTION P45**

P39. Which of the next cultures that I will read to you do you cultivate:

- | | |
|-----------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. Potato | 8. Green pepper |
| 2. Cabbage | 9. Carrot |
| 3. Bean | 10. Onion |
| 4. Strawberries | 11. Leek |
| 5. Raspberry | 12. Seedlings for vegetable |
| 6. Blackberry | 13. Corn |
| 7. Tomato | 14. Wheat |

_____ 6

P40. Do you sell anything of that or this serves for your own needs?

1. Yes, I manage to sell something
2. No I use it only for my own needs ► **GO TO QUESTION P46**

P41. In which way do you manage to find the buyer for your products?

P42. Can you tell me how much money did you earn last year in total from the products that you sell?

amount!

P43. Do you give something of your products to friends, neighbors or cousins?

1. Yes
2. No

P44. Would you be able to plant and produce more if you would have somebody to sell it

1. Yes ► **GO TO QUESTION P46**
2. No

P45. Why?

P46. Do you collect forest products when the season is for that?

1. Yes, very often
2. Yes, but not very often
3. No ► **GO TO QUESTION P48**

P47. Which product are those?

P48. If there would be started some agriculture production, where would be involved more men and women, would you be ready to participate in it?

1. Yes ► **GO TO QUESTION P50**
2. No

P49. Why?

_____ ► **GO TO QUESTION P51**

P50. If that production would be started few kilometers from your home, would you be ready again to participate?

1. Yes
2. No

P51. Did you participate so far in similar agriculture activities, namely, did you do some common agriculture production with men and women from other households?

1. Yes
2. No ► **GO TO QUESTION P53**

_____ 7

P52. What kind of production was that with whom did you do?

P53. What do you possess in your household of the things that I will read to you?

READ; MARK THE NUMBER BY EVERY ITEM WHERE YOU HAVE THE POSITIVE ANSWER

- | | |
|---------------------|---|
| 1. One or more cows | 8. Telephone |
| 2. Sheep | 9. Car |
| 3. Goat | 10. Bathroom |
| 4. Chicken | 11. Toilette with water |
| 5. Pigs | 12. Green house for vegetable and fruit |
| 6. Tractor | 13. Fruit- garden |
| 7. Electricity | 14. Stable |

QUESTION NUM.54 ASK ONLY WOMEN THAT SAID THEY HAVE TELEPHONE

P54. You said that you have the telephone. How much did you pay for connecting of telephone? **amount!**

P55. How many members of your family have regular monthly incomes?

num. of members with regular incomes!

97. No one ► **GO TO QUESTION P60**

P56. And can you tell me how much income you had last month, expressed in KM. We think about money that all members of your household earn, regardless of the source of income

amount!

P57. In last year was this amount regular? Did you get it every month?

1. Yes
3. No

P58. Which was the biggest individual income of your household in last 6 months?

READ. IT IS POSSIBLE TO HAVE MORE ANSWERS.

1. Incomes from the jobs where you are applied or some other member of the household
2. Incomes from the job where you are not applied or some other member of the household
3. Pension
4. War-pension

SOMETHING ELSE: _____

P59. You told me that your incomes from last months were in amount of _____. Now tell me, was it enough to cover your basic life needs. Was it:

1. Totally enough ► **GO TO QUESTION P61**
2. In a certain measure enough ► **GO TO QUESTION P60**

8

3. Not enough ► **GO TO QUESTION P60**

4. Totally not enough ► **GO TO QUESTION P60**

P60. How do you manage to cover other needs? Namely, how do you cover other needs that you can not cover with monthly incomes?

P61. Do you have close relatives abroad?

1. Yes
2. No

P62. Do you receive any help from him/her/them? Or help from cousin or friend that lives in other part of BiH. **IT IS POSSIBLE TO MARK TWO OFFERED ANSWERS**

1. Yes, I receive help from relative/s abroad ► **GO TO QUESTION P63**
2. Yes, I receive help from relatives that live in some other part of BiH ► **GO TO QUESTION P63**
3. NO, I don't receive any help ► **GO TO QUESTION P69**

P63. Is this help in money or something else?

1. Help in money
2. Something else: _____

P64. Is this help regular? Do you get it:

1. Every month
2. Once in 2-3 months
3. Once in half of year
4. Once a year, or
5. Less than once in a year

FOUR NEXT QUESTIONS ONLY to WOMEN THAT SAID THEY RECEIVE MONEY

P65. You said that you get help in money. Is it always the same amount or it varies from case to case?

1. Mostly always the same ► **GO TO QUESTION P66**
2. It varies ► **GO TO QUESTION P67**

P66. Can you tell me how big that amount is?

P67. Can you tell me in average how big this help is?

P68. Do you manage to save some money?

1. Yes
2. No

9

P69. And for the end, tell me when you consider everything, what would you say how happy are you? Please answer in the way to choose the mark from 0 – 10; where the “0” means that you are extremely unhappy, and “10” that you are extremely happy.

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
Extremely unhappy Extremely happy

Doesn't know

D1. Type of households:

1. private hous
2. flat
3. something else:

D2. Accomodation of household is in:

1. good condition
2. bad condition
3. something else: _____

D3. Is there an asphalt road to your village

1. Yes
2. Yes, but it is hardly passable
3. No

_____ 10

appendix 5: LIST OF SURVEYED VILLAGES

Surveyed Settlements

Bratunac	Srebrenica	Milici
A.Njiva	Bajramovici	Derventa
Bacici	Barakovici	Dubnicki Most
Banjevici	Bojna	Đile i Rupovo brdo
Bljajca	Bostahovine	Koprivno
Bjelovac	Brakovci	Nova Kasaba
Bljeceva	Brda	Podgovra
Boljevici	Brezani	Skrugici
Burnice	Bucinovici	Štedrici
Dubravice	Budak	Vukovici
Fakovici	Bujakovici	Zaklopaca
Gabelje	Crvica	
Glogova	D.Polje	
Hranca	Dobrak	
Hrncici	Đurdevac	
Jezestica	Fojhari	
Kaici	Gabelje	
Kamenice	Gladovici	
Konjevic Polje	Hranca	
Krasanovici	Hrncici	
Krasanpolje	Kalimanici	
Kravica	Kapetanova Cuprija	
Lolici	Karacic	
Magašici	Kazani	
Marici	Klotjevac	

Bratunac

Mihaljevici
Opravdici
Orlica
Pervani
Pobrde
Pobude
Podcaus
Polom
Radijevici
Rakovac
Sandici
Sikiric
Slapašnica
Stamatovici
Suha
Tegare
Vitkovici
Voljavica
Z. Most
Zagoni
Zalu je
Zapolje
Zanjevo
Zlijebac

Srebrenica

Konjevic Polje
Kostolomci
Kutlici
Liješće
Lipovac
Ljeskovik
Ljubisavici
Milacevici
Opetci
Orahovica
Osmace
Pale
Peci
Pecišta
Podgaj
Podravanje
Potocari
Prohici
Pusmulici
Pusmulici
Sase
Sjedace
Skejici
Skelani
Solocuša
Srebrenica
Staroglavice
Stozersko
Suceska
Suha
Viogor
Z. Jadar
Z. Most
Zabokvica
Zedenjsko

Milici

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