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PRIRUČNIK ZA POSLANICE I POSLANIKE

PARLAMENT PO MJERI DJETETA

Društvena kohezija i odgovorno postupanje parlamentarki i parlamentaraca

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Parlament po mjeri djeteta

Društvena kohezija i odgovorno postupanje parlamentarki i parlamentaraca

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Uvodna riječ

U demokratskim društvima kvalitet javnog govora nije samo pitanje političke kulture – on je mjerilo zrelosti institucija i odgovornosti prema građanima/kama, a posebno prema djeci i mladima, kojima odrasli i nosioci/teljke javnih funkcija treba da budu primjer.

Centar za demokratiju i ljudska prava (CEDEM) već godinama prati i analizira stanje demokratskih procesa u Crnoj Gori, sa posebnom pažnjom posvećenom kulturi dijaloga, poštovanju ljudskih prava i participaciji građana. Ovaj priručnik nastao je u saradnji sa UNICEF-om u Crnoj Gori kao odgovor na potrebu da se poslanicima i poslanicama, odbornicima i odbornicama i drugim nosiocima/teljkama javnih funkcija pruže konkretna znanja i alati za odgovornu političku komunikaciju osjetljivu na djecu i mlade.

Dostupna istraživanja i monitoring javnog diskursa ukazuju na prisustvo govora mržnje, diskriminatornih i stigmatizujućih narativa u političkom i širem javnom diskursu. Djeca i mladi su tim sadržajima izloženi neposredno i posredno, zbog čega političke akterke i politički akteri moraju biti svjesni snage, dometa i odgovornosti svojih riječi.

Ovaj priručnik nije samo zbir pravnih normi i akademskih analiza. On je praktičan vodič koji nudi smjernice, primjere dobre prakse, vježbe i alate za komunikaciju koja poštuje prava djeteta i omogućava smisleno učešće djece i mladih u procesima koji ih se tiču.

Uvjereni smo da odgovorna politička komunikacija nije ograničavanje slobode govora – naprotiv, to je njen najzreliji izraz. Sloboda govora ima svoju pravu vrijednost samo onda kada se koristi za jačanje dostojanstva svake osobe, a posebno djeteta.

Zahvaljujemo svim autorkama, saradnicama i saradnicima koji su doprinijeli nastanku ovog priručnika, kao i UNICEF-u na partnerstvu i podršci.

CEDEM – Centar za demokratiju i ljudska prava

Pojmovnik

Dijete
Svako ljudsko biće mlađe od osamnaest godina života.

Najbolji interes djeteta
Jedan od osnovnih principa *Konvencije o pravima djeteta,* prema kojem se u svim aktivnostima koje se odnose na djecu prvenstveno mora voditi računa o njihovoj dobrobiti, sigurnosti, razvoju i ostvarivanju prava.

Društvena kohezija
Stepen povezanosti, povjerenja i solidarnosti među članovima društva, zasnovan na osjećaju pripadnosti, ravnopravnosti i zajedničkoj odgovornosti.

Govor mržnje
Oblici izražavanja kojima se širi, podstiče, promoviše ili opravdava mržnja prema osobi ili grupi na osnovu ličnog svojstva i koji, zavisno od sadržaja i konteksta, mogu zahtijevati krivičnopravni, prekršajni, građanski, etički ili disciplinski odgovor. Od govora mržnje treba razlikovati diskriminatoran, stigmatizujući ili rizičan govor koji ne mora uvijek biti nezakonit, ali može imati ozbiljne štetne posljedice po djecu, mlade i društvenu koheziju.

Diskriminacija
Neopravdano pravljenje razlike, nejednako postupanje ili stavljanje pojedinca/ke ili grupe u nepovoljniji položaj zbog njihovih ličnih svojstava.

Participacija djece
Pravo djece da izraze svoje mišljenje o pitanjima koja ih se tiču i da njihovo mišljenje bude uzeto u obzir u skladu sa njihovim uzrastom i zrelošću.

Inkluzivna komunikacija
Komunikacija koja poštuje različitosti, promoviše ravnopravnost i omogućava svim pojedincima/kama i grupama da se osjećaju prihvaćeno i uvaženo.

Digitalno nasilje
Svaki oblik nasilja koji se vrši putem interneta, društvenih mreža, mobilnih telefona ili drugih digitalnih tehnologija.

Politička komunikacija
Proces javnog saopštavanja političkih stavova, odluka, ideja i vrijednosti sa ciljem informisanja, uvjeravanja i uključivanja građanki i građana u demokratske procese.

Parlament po mjeri djeteta
Parlament koji u svom radu dosljedno promoviše prava djeteta, podstiče participaciju djece i mladih i vodi računa o najboljem interesu djeteta u zakonodavnim i drugim aktivnostima.

Preporučena literatura

Međunarodni dokumenti

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- Preporuka CM/Rec(2022)16 o suzbijanju govora mržnje
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- Strategija Savjeta Evrope za prava djeteta 2022–2027.

UNICEF publikacije

- Priručnik o upravljanju po mjeri djeteta (Child Friendly Governance Handbook)
- UNICEF (2017), Ka definiciji društvene kohezije koju oblikuju djeca (Towards a Child-led Definition of Social Cohesion)
- UNICEF, Okvir za participaciju djece (Child Participation Framework)

Savjet Evrope

- Bookmarks – priručnik za borbu protiv govora mržnje na internetu
- Compass – priručnik za obrazovanje o ljudskim pravima
- Savjet Evrope, Referentni okvir kompetencija za demokratsku kulturu (Reference Framework of Competences for Democratic Culture).

Uvod

Ovaj priručnik nastao je u okviru saradnje CEDEM-a i UNICEF-a u Crnoj Gori, s ciljem jačanja kapaciteta poslanika/ca, odbornika/ca i drugih nositeljki i nosilaca javnih funkcija za političku komunikaciju koja je osjetljiva na djecu, oslobođena govora mržnje, diskriminacije i stigmatizujućih narativa i zasnovana na poštovanju prava djeteta.

Djeca nijesu samo korisnici zaštite niti „buduće građanke i budući građani". Ona su nosioci prava i građanke i građani sadašnjosti. Imaju pravo da budu informisana, saslušana i uključena u odluke koje ih se tiču, u skladu sa razvojnim kapacitetima djeteta. Zato *parlament po mjeri djeteta* podrazumijeva instituciju koja u svom zakonodavnom, nadzornom i komunikacijskom radu dosljedno razmatra najbolji interes djeteta, štiti njegovo dostojanstvo i stvara sigurne i smislene mehanizme participacije.

Primjena principa najboljeg interesa djeteta u političkoj komunikaciji podrazumijeva da se djeca ne posmatraju kao objekti zaštite ili sredstva za ostvarivanje političkih ciljeva, već kao nosioci prava čije se dostojanstvo, potrebe i perspektive moraju poštovati. Politički akteri imaju odgovornost da u javnim nastupima promovišu razumijevanje potreba djece, izbjegavaju govor koji može dovesti do njihove stigmatizacije i doprinesu stvaranju okruženja u kojem će svako dijete imati mogućnost da ostvari svoje potencijale.

Pravo djeteta da slobodno izrazi svoje mišljenje o svim pitanjima koja ga se tiču predstavlja jedno od temeljnih prava garantovanih Konvencijom Ujedinjenih nacija o pravima djeteta. Ovo pravo ne podrazumijeva samo mogućnost da dijete govori, već i obavezu odraslih da to mišljenje saslušaju i uzmu ga u razmatranje u skladu sa uzrastom i zrelošću djeteta.

Društvena kohezija je važan okvir za razumijevanje odgovornosti. Povjerenje, solidarnost, osjećaj pripadnosti, prihvatanje različitosti i mogućnost učešća u zajedničkom životu jačaju otpornost demokratskog društva. Nasuprot tome, govor mržnje, diskriminacija, dezinformacije, polarizujući narativi i isključivanje produbljuju nepovjerenje i podjele. Djeca i mladi su posebno izloženi tim uticajima jer odrastaju u okruženju u kojem se javne poruke brzo prenose kroz medije i digitalne platforme.

Povjerenje je istovremeno i lična i društvena vrijednost. Društva u kojima postoji visok stepen povjerenja među građanima/kama i između građanki i građana i institucija otpornija su na polarizaciju, manipulacije, govor mržnje i različite oblike nasilja. Zbog toga izgradnja povjerenja nije samo pitanje političke kulture, već i pitanje društvene stabilnosti, zaštite djece i mladih i očuvanja društvene kohezije u cjelini.

Problemi vršnjačkog nasilja, izazovi očuvanja mentalnog zdravlja, bezbjednost na internetu i izloženost govoru mržnje samo su neki od problema sa kojima se suočavaju djeca i mladi danas. Pritom, njihov glas se ne čuje dovoljno, njihova perspektiva se ne uvažava kao relevantna niti se, u potrebnoj mjeri, obezbjeđuju mehanizmi za njihovu participaciju u društvenom i najširem političkom smislu. Očuvanje i osnaživanje društvene kohezije u novoj, tehnološkoj i digitalnoj eri nesumnjivo podrazumijeva prepoznavanje značaja ovog dijela populacije, kao i specifičnosti sa kojima se suočavaju u procesu njihovog odrastanja i socijalizacije. Takođe, ono zavisi i od toga koliko ćemo biti uspješni u odgajanju informisanih, kritički orijentisanih i pismenih građanki i građana, što je zadatak koji zahtijeva angažovanje cjelokupne društvene zajednice.

Ostvarivanje društvene kohezije smatra se jednim od ključnih preduslova za uspješnu socijalizaciju djece i mladih u pravcu odgovornih građanki i građana i članica i članova političke i društvene zajednice.

Posebno mjesto u kontekstu jačanja društvene kohezije na lokalnom nivou pripada, dakle, djeci i mladima. Lokalni nivo je nivo neposrednog iskustva ovog dijela populacije sa izazovima i problemima koji utiču na njihov svakodnevni život. Mnogo manji obim

lokalne zajednice u odnosu na širu političku zajednicu i očekivano manja distanca između donositeljki i donosilaca političkih odluka na ovom nivou i građanki i građana, kreiraju ambijent sa više potencijala za neposrednu i aktivnu participaciju djece i mladih. Društvena kohezija na ovom nivou, ali i u širem obimu, podrazumijeva povezivanje djece i mladih sa institucijama i političkim akterima na lokalnom nivou. To povezivanje podrazumijeva najmanje dva elementa: prvo, prepoznavanje i uvažavanje potreba ovog dijela populacije i uspješno rješavanje izazova i problema koji ih pogađaju i sa kojima se suočavaju; drugo, korišćenje njihovog autentičnog iskustva u kreiranju kvalitetnih lokalnih politika koje će unaprijediti položaj i kvalitet njihovog života.

Takođe, sistem obrazovanja kao veoma važan agens socijalizacije treba da obezbijedi odgovarajuću bazu u smislu kvalitetne edukacije ali i razvoja kritičkog mišljenja. Uloga neformalnog obrazovanja u ovom smislu je takođe veoma važna.

Savremeni izazovi ne mogu se uspješno prevazilaziti kroz podjele i konflikte, već kroz saradnju, inkluzivnost i zajedničko djelovanje za opšte dobro. Društva koja razvijaju povjerenje, solidarnost i aktivno građansko učešće otpornija su na krize i sposobnija da odgovore na izazove savremenog doba. Važan dio odgovornosti parlamentarki i parlamentaraca odnosi se i na kreiranje politika koje podstiču društvenu koheziju i uključivanje građanki i građana. To podrazumijeva podršku politikama koje smanjuju nejednakosti, unapređuju ljudska prava, jačaju participaciju djece i mladih i štite ranjive društvene grupe. Parlament koji njeguje kulturu poštovanja, argumentovane rasprave i inkluzivne komunikacije šalje poruku djeci i mladima da institucije pripadaju svim građankama i građanima, uključujući i njih.

Participacija djece i mladih treba da bude sastavni, a ne deklarativni dio demokratskih procesa. Ona doprinosi kvalitetnijim odlukama, razvoju povjerenja u institucije i osjećaju pripadnosti zajednici. Aktivna participacija djece i mladih doprinosi ne samo njihovom ličnom razvoju, već i jačanju društvene kohezije i demokratske kulture u cjelini. Da bi bila smislena, mora biti dobrovoljna, sigurna, inkluzivna i prilagođena uzrastu, uz jasne informacije i povratnu informaciju djeci o tome kako su i da li su njihovi stavovi razmotreni. Djecu treba zaštititi od partijskog nadmetanja, političkog pritiska i javnog etiketiranja, kao i od obaveze da iznose lična iskustva koja mogu ugroziti njihovu sigurnost ili dobrobit.

Učešće djece i mladih u demokratskim procesima doprinosi ostvarivanju više važnih ciljeva. Ono jača osjećaj pripadnosti zajednici, podstiče razvoj odgovornosti, razvija demokratske vrijednosti i omogućava djeci i mladim ljudima da steknu iskustva koja će im pomoći da u budućnosti budu aktivni građani/ke.

Istovremeno, participacija djece i mladih doprinosi kvalitetnijem donošenju odluka. Djeca i mladi često imaju jedinstvenu perspektivu o pitanjima koja ih neposredno pogađaju, kao što su obrazovanje, bezbjednost, slobodno vrijeme, digitalno okruženje, mentalno zdravlje i zaštita od nasilja. Njihova iskustva i prijedlozi mogu pomoći institucijama da bolje razumiju probleme i razviju efikasnija rješenja.

Parlament ima posebno značajnu ulogu u promovisanju participacije djece i mladih. Kao najviše predstavničko tijelo, parlament može doprinijeti stvaranju institucionalnog okvira koji podstiče aktivno uključivanje djece i mladih u demokratske procese i afirmiše njihovo pravo da budu saslušani i da njihovo mišljenje bude uvaženo i razmotreno, posebno prilikom donošenja odluka koje ih se tiču.

Važno je naglasiti da participacija treba da bude inkluzivna. Posebna pažnja mora se posvetiti uključivanju djece i mladih koji pripadaju ranjivim grupama, uključujući djecu sa smetnjama u razvoju, djecu iz manjinskih zajednica, djecu koja žive u ruralnim područjima, djecu u stanju socijalne potrebe i drugu djecu koja se mogu suočavati sa preprekama u ostvarivanju svojih prava.

Parlament ima i važnu obrazovnu funkciju. Djeca i mladi često svoje prve predstave o demokratiji, političkom životu i javnom dijalogu formiraju upravo kroz praćenje

rada parlamenta. Način na koji se vode parlamentarne sjednice, kako se komunicira sa neistomišljenicima i kako se rješavaju neslaganja šalje snažne poruke budućim generacijama o tome šta demokratija jeste i kako treba da funkcioniše.

Zbog toga kultura dijaloga u parlamentu nije pitanje političkog bontona, već pitanje demokratske odgovornosti. Parlament koji njeguje međusobno poštovanje, argumentovanu raspravu i spremnost na saradnju doprinosi razvoju demokratskih vrijednosti i jačanju društvene kohezije.

U ovakvom kontekstu, uloga nositeljki i nosilaca javnih funkcija dobija poseban značaj. Kako mladi odrastaju u okruženju koje oblikuju obrazovni sistem i lokalna zajednica, ali i javni diskurs, način na koji se o djeci i mladima govori u političkom prostoru direktno se odražava na stepen povjerenja, uključenosti i osjećaja pripadnosti koji oni razvijaju.

Politička komunikacija zato nije neutralna u odnosu na djecu. Način na koji nosioci/teljke javnih funkcija govore o pojedincima i grupama, kako predstavljaju različitosti, kako reaguju na nasilje i krize, te da li uvažavaju glas djece utiče na političku kulturu, društvenu koheziju i povjerenje u institucije. Kritika politika i odluka jeste sastavni dio demokratije, ali ona ne smije prerasti u ponižavanje, stigmatizaciju ili ugrožavanje dostojanstva i sigurnosti drugih osoba.

S druge strane, pozitivan i odgovoran politički diskurs može imati veoma važnu ulogu u razvoju demokratske kulture kod djece i mladih. Komunikacija zasnovana na poštovanju, argumentima i uvažavanju različitosti doprinosi razvoju tolerancije, empatije i osjećaja zajedništva. Kada politički lideri pokazuju spremnost na dijalog i nenasilno rješavanje konflikata, djeca i mladi dobijaju pozitivan model društvenog ponašanja.

Posebno je značajno da politički akteri i akterke svojim ponašanjem pokažu da je neslaganje legitimno, ali da ono ne smije voditi ponižavanju, diskriminaciji ili isključivanju drugih. Takav model komunikacije doprinosi razvoju demokratske političke kulture kod djece i mladih i podstiče ih da i sami učestvuju u dijalogu na odgovoran i konstruktivan način. U tom smislu, parlament ima važnu ulogu ne samo u donošenju odluka, već i u izgradnji generacija djece i mladih koji institucije doživljavaju kao otvorene, sigurne i dostupne prostore za participaciju i društveni angažman.

Posebno značajnu praksu predstavljaju parlamentarna tijela i odbori koji se bave zaštitom prava djeteta. U pojedinim državama postoje posebna radna tijela koja vrše monitoring ostvarivanja prava djeteta, analiziraju uticaj zakona na djecu i razmatraju pitanja od značaja za njihov položaj. Takvi mehanizmi doprinose većoj vidljivosti dječjih prava u političkim procesima i podstiču razvoj politika zasnovanih na najboljem interesu djeteta.

Priručnik je strukturisan u tri međusobno povezana, ali autorski prepoznatljiva dijela. Prvi dio, autorke prof. dr Danijele Vuković Ćalasan, društvenu koheziju razmatra sa posebnim fokusom na djecu i mlade, povjerenje, pripadnost i participaciju. Drugi dio, autorke prof. dr Anete Spaić, prikazuje međunarodni, regionalni i nacionalni pravni okvir političkog govora i zaštite prava djeteta. Treći dio, autorki dr Branke Bošnjak i Vesne Pavićević, prevodi te principe u praktične smjernice za odgovornu političku komunikaciju i djelovanje parlamenta.

01 Društvena kohezija



Foto: Helena Jankovičová Kováčová / Pexels

1.1. Društvena kohezija – značenje, aktuelnost i značaj

Postoji mnogo značajnih pitanja na koja savremena demokratska društva moraju odgovoriti, a koja se tiču njihovog funkcionisanja u veoma specifičnim okolnostima kreiranim procesima globalizacije i krupnih tehnoloških promjena. U tu grupu nesumnjivo spadaju dva pitanja koja se tiču društvene kohezije: prvo, kako obezbijediti ostvarivanje, odnosno jačanje društvene kohezije u savremenim okolnostima? I drugo, kako se uspješno suočiti sa novim rizicima i izazovima u različitim dimenzijama i kako minimizirati njihove potencijalno negativne efekte koji mogu rezultirati erodiranjem društvene kohezije u njenim najvažnijim dimenzijama? Oba navedena pitanja podjednako su relevantna i neodvojiva, a promišljanje o optimalnim rješenjima zahtijeva angažovanje svih potencijala jednog društva, od političkih pa do različitih društvenih, individualnih i kolektivnih aktera. **U kontekstima poput crnogorskog, u kojima još uvijek dominira autoritarna politička kultura, u tom procesu se nerijetko izostavlja veoma značajan dio populacije, a to su djeca i mladi**. Prije nego što se razmotre neki od izazova u ostvarivanju društvene kohezije, sa posebnim akcentom na pomenutu populaciju, potrebno je objasniti sam koncept društvene kohezije i njegove najvažnije karakteristike.

Za *društvenu koheziju* najčešće se kaže da istovremeno predstavlja preduslov ali i cilj društvenog razvoja.[1] Savremena, ubrzana globalizacija od druge polovine XX vijeka naovamo, postaje doba novih globalnih rizika koji na naša društva utiču praktično u svim dimenzijama. U pitanju su rizici koji su društveno proizvedeni, čak i onda kada se manifestuju u ekološkoj dimenziji, na primjer. Ekološki rizici, klimatske promjene, zdravstveni rizici povezani sa sve većim ugrožavanjem životne sredine i bezbjednošću hrane, globalni bezbjednosni rizici, rizici povezani sa upotrebom tehnologije i drugi, imaju potencijal da erodiraju društvenu koheziju stavljajući u prvi plan kategorije poput povjerenja, solidarnosti, antagonizma između opšteg i partikularnog interesa itd. Ambijent globalno prisutnih rizika koji doprinose kreiranju kulture straha i neizvjesnosti dodatno može biti usložnjen specifičnostima pojedinačnih društava i dodatno uticati na djecu i mlade.

Prisutnost nepovjerenja u vertikalnoj i horizontalnoj dimenziji, govor mržnje, jačanje etnonacionalizma i porast različitih oblika nasilja, kršenje ljudskih prava i prisustvo lažnih vijesti karakterišu društva na Balkanu, ali i na širem evropskom prostoru. Takav ambijent negativno utiče na djecu i mlade koji su u eri društvenih mreža, digitalnih medija i novih tehnologija izloženi sadržajima koji kreiraju veoma nepovoljno okruženje u njihovom odrastanju i usložnjavaju izazove sa kojima se moraju suočavati.

U uslovima rastuće polarizacije i globalno prisutne nesigurnosti, društveni i politički akteri u savremenim demokratskim državama stavljaju fokus na otpornost zajednica i na kategorije poput povjerenja i solidarnosti.[2]

1 Bez dovoljnog stepena društvene kohezije opstanak društva može biti ugrožen. Istovremeno, demokratska društva koja uspijevaju da osnaže i ojačaju društvenu koheziju, stabilnija su i otpornija na postojeće, ali i potencijalno nove izazove koji se pojavljuju u eri globalizacije.

2 Kako povećati otpornost zajednica u uslovima izražene polarizacije i kako podići njihove kapacitete za solidarnost i povezivanje koje bi bilo usmjereno na opšte dobro? Društvena kohezija je pitanje postizanja uspješnog balansa između legitimnih partikularnih političkih, etničkih, nacionalnih i drugih interesa i ciljeva i onoga što je u zoni interesa/dobra od opšteg/javnog značaja u jednoj političkoj i društvenoj zajednici.

Postoji mnogo različitih definicija društvene kohezije i *višeznačnost* je jedna od njenih najvažnijih karakteristika. Dalje, pitanje određenja društvene kohezije i njenih najvažnijih dimenzija neodvojivo je od *kontekstualnosti*. Pojam društvene kohezije, njeno određenje u pogledu najvažnijih elemenata i dimenzija, neophodno je prilagoditi konkretnim okolnostima pojedinačnih društvenih i političkih zajednica koje se međusobno razlikuju po svojim demografskim, kulturnim, ekonomskim, političkim, istorijskim i drugim specifičnostima.[3]

1.2. Definicije društvene kohezije

Tabela 1. Izabrane definicije društvene kohezije[4]

Definicija	Izvor
Stepen povjerenja u vladu i unutar društva, kao i spremnost da se kolektivno učestvuje ka zajedničkoj viziji održivog mira i zajedničkih razvojnih ciljeva.	UNDP (2020)
Društvena kohezija podrazumijeva elemente koji okupljaju i povezuju ljude u društvu. U društvu sa snažnom kohezijom, svi pojedinci i grupe imaju osjećaj pripadnosti, učešća, uključenosti, priznanja i legitimnosti. Kohezivno društvo podrazumijeva društvo u kojem su ljudi zaštićeni od rizika po život, vjeruju svojim susjedima i državnim institucijama i mogu raditi na stvaranju bolje budućnosti za sebe i svoje porodice. Podsticanje društvene kohezije odnosi se na težnju ka većoj inkluzivnosti, većem građanskom učešću i stvaranju mogućnosti za napredovanje na društvenoj ljestvici. To je 'lijepak' koji drži društvo na okupu.	UNDESA (2007)[5] (2012)[6]
Prema UNICEF-u, društvena kohezija podrazumijeva stanje u kojem svako dijete može živjeti i doprinositi društvu, a odnose između državnih i društvenih grupa karakterišu povjerenje, inkluzija, zaštita i učešće.	UNICEF[7] (2025)

[3] Uzimanje u obzir navedenih specifičnosti neophodno je za razumijevanje najvažnijih slabih tačaka društvene kohezije u konkretnom kontekstu, kao i načina na koje bi ona mogla biti osnažena. Društvena kohezija, dakle, nije nešto što se podrazumijeva. Naprotiv, od odluka i aktivnosti političkih i društvenih akterki i aktera, između ostalog, zavisi i da li će doći do njenog erodiranja ili osnaživanja. O društvenoj koheziji se najčešće govori na nivou jednog društva, odnosno države. Neophodno je uzeti u obzir i druge relevantne nivoe društvenog i političkog organizovanja, poput lokalnog nivoa. Lokalne zajednice različitog obima, od mjesnih zajednica pa do jedinica lokalne samouprave, mogu biti kohezivne u manjem ili većem stepenu. Takođe, mogu biti više ili manje uspješne u prepoznavanju najvažnijih izazova koji prijete društvenoj koheziji u konkretnom lokalnom kontekstu, ali i potencijala koji bi mogli doprinijeti njenom osnaživanju.

Demokratsko društvo koje teži što većem stepenu društvene kohezije mora voditi računa o poštovanju ljudskih prava i sloboda pojedinki i pojedinaca i vladavini prava oslanjajući se na njihovu izraženu volju da budu članovi/ce konkretne društvene i političke zajednice. Važno je imati na umu da opstanak jednog društva, između ostalog, zavisi i od činjenice da je ono što povezuje njegove članove jače od dezintegracionih potencijala koji dolaze spolja ili iznutra. Dakle, dovoljan stepen društvene kohezije je preduslov, a njeno osnaživanje na bazi navedenih principa jeste cilj svakog savremenog društva.

[4] Tabelu je pripremila prof. dr Gordana Đurović za potrebe sljedeće publikacije: Đurović, Gordana; Vuković-Ćalasan, Danijela. 2025. *Izvještaj o procjeni: međuzavisnost društvene kohezije i procesa evropskih integracija Crne Gore. (Assessment Report: the intersection between social cohesion and European integration of Montenegro)* (neobjavljeno). Još relevantnih definicija društvene kohezije nalazi se u tabeli u dodatku Priručnika.

[5] UNDESA (2007). Odjeljenje za ekonomska i socijalna pitanja UN-a preuzima definiciju društvene kohezije koju je 1998. dao Jenson. Dostupno na: https://www.un.org/esa/socdev/sib/inclusive_society/social%20cohesion.html);

[6] UNDESA (2012). „Perspectives on social cohesion - the glue that holds society together". Dostupno na: https://www.un.org/en/development/desa/news/policy/perspectives-on-social-cohesion.html

[7] UNICEF, originally the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund, officially United Nations Children's Fund since 1953. Dostupno na: https://www.unicefusa.org/what-unicef-does/childrens-protection/peacebuilding

Definicija	Izvor
Sposobnost društva da osigura dobrobit svih svojih članova, minimizirajući razlike i izbjegavajući polarizaciju. Kohezivno društvo je međusobno podržavajuća zajednica slobodnih pojedinaca koji teže ovim zajedničkim ciljevima demokratskim sredstvima.	Council of Europe (2005)[8]

Izvor: Prošireno polazeći od UNECE (2023). Social Cohesion: Concept and Measurement

Iz navedene tabele jasno je da koncept društvene kohezije karakteriše višeznačnost, odnosno odsustvo jedne definicije koja bi bila opšteprihvaćena. Ipak, ukoliko se društvena kohezija razmatra iz perspektive konkretnog društveno-ekonomskog i pravno-političkog konteksta, uputno je skrenuti pažnju na dvije definicije. Obje imaju značajan potencijal iz perspektive kreiranja kvalitetnih rješenja u oblasti javnih politika, pa i onih koje se odnose na djecu i mlade, a u skladu sa potrebama konkretne zajednice koje se odnose na jačanje društvene kohezije i minimiziranje rizika koji mogu dovesti do njenog slabljenja. U pitanju su definicije društvene kohezije razrađene u okviru Savjeta Evrope i Ujedinjenih nacija, tačnije UNDP-a.

Bazirajući definiciju društvene kohezije na principima vladavine prava, ljudskih prava i značaju koji njeno ostvarivanje ima za proces demokratizacije savremenih društava, Savjet Evrope određuje društvenu koheziju kao „sposobnost društva da osigura dobrobit svih svojih članova – svodeći nejednakost na najmanju moguću mjeru i izbjegavajući marginalizaciju – da upravlja razlikama i podjelama te da svim svojim članovima osigura priliku za postizanje dobrobiti“.[9]

Jasno se naglašava da je društvena kohezija preduslov za ostvarivanje *socijalne pravde*, *demokratske sigurnosti* i *održivog razvoja*.[10] Ostvarivanje društvene kohezije, na osnovu ove definicije, neodvojivo je od uspješnog upravljanja etnokulturnim pluralizmom na bazi poštovanja ljudskih prava, demokratije i vladavine prava, što jesu tri ključne vrijednosti koje promoviše Savjet Evrope.[11] Važno je pomenuti *Izvještaj sa drugog sastanka* ovog tijela održanog 2017. godine u Strazburu. U Izvještaju se potencira značaj daljeg razvoja koncepta društvene kohezije na načelima Evropske društvene povelje i socijalnih prava, a društva se ohrabruju da pronalaze nove i inovativne načine za osnaživanje društvene kohezije[12] .

Ono što je posebno značajno za našu temu jeste sugestija da bi prioritetna područja u ostvarivanju društvene kohezije u savremenim okolnostima trebalo da uključe *djecu i mlade*, zaštitu i integraciju imigrantskih zajednica i izbjeglica, kao i analizu uticaja ekonomske krize na zdravlje i zdravstvenu zaštitu s posebnom usmjerenošću na siromaštvo, socijalnu isključenost i različite oblike radikalizacije

8 Council of Europe. (2005). *Concerted development of social cohesion indicators: Methodological guide*. Council of Europe, Strasbourg. https://www.coe.int/t/dg3/socialpolicies/socialcohesiondev/source/GUIDE_en.pdf

9 Ministarstvo za demografiju, obitelj, mlade i socijalnu politiku. „Vijeće Europe – aktivnosti vezane za jačanje socijalne kohezije“. B.d./ http://www.mzss.hr/layout/set/print/medunarodna_suradnja/socijalna_skrb/vijece_europe_aktivnosti_vezane_za_jacanje_socijalne_kohezije (01.04.2026).

10 Nova Strategija i Akcijski plan, 2010: 2.

11 Kada je riječ o pristupu razvijenom u okviru Savjeta Evrope, potrebno je pomenuti tzv. Evropsku platformu za društvenu koheziju (European Social Cohesion Platform), ad hoc komitet koji je formiran upravo kao rezultat prepoznavanja važnosti društvene kohezije u savremenim okolnostima.

Područja kojima se ovo tijelo posebno bavi uključuju siromaštvo djece, digitalizaciju i razvoj IT sektora, zaštitu i integraciju imigranata i izbjeglica, društvenu i zdravstvenu zaštitu kao i borbu protiv isključivanja grupa koja može dovesti do radikalizacije itd. Vidi: https://www.coe.int/en/web/european-social-charter/european-social-cohesion-platform-about (7. 4. 2021)

12 https://www.coe.int/en/web/european-social-charter/european-social-cohesion-platform-news/-/asset_publisher/cB4RDxm7CI4z/content/second-meeting-of-the-european-social-cohesion-platform?inheritRedirect=false (7. 4. 2021). Razmatrajući dobru praksu i potencijalno inovativne pristupe u ostvarivanju društvene kohezije koji bi se mogli primijeniti u različitim državnim kontekstima, posebno se naglašava sljedeće: Neophodno je da društvena kohezija bude povezana s obezbjeđivanjem i uspješnom implementacijom socijalnih i ekonomskih prava, uključujući i pravo na socijalnu zaštitu, u skladu s načelima prihvaćenim u Evropskoj socijalnoj povelji i drugim dokumentima koji su od značaja za ovu oblast. Jasno se ukazuje na to da je „efektivnost u ostvarivanju ovih prava ključna za društvenu koheziju.“

kao njihovu posljedicu.[13] **Savjet Evrope, dakle, prepoznaje važnost djece i mladih kao djelova populacije na koje je potrebno obratiti pažnju kada je riječ o ostvarivanju društvene kohezije.**

Program Ujedinjenih nacija za razvoj (UNDP) označava ovaj koncept kao povjerenje među ljudima, povjerenje građana u institucije, kao i spremnost svih društvenih aktera da zajednički rade za opšte dobro, doprinoseći na taj način održivom razvoju i dugoročnom miru. Drugim riječima, to je stepen povjerenja u institucije i unutar društva, spremnost za kolektivno učešće u ostvarivanju zajedničke vizije održivog mira i zajedničkih razvojnih ciljeva.[14] U okviru ove definicije društvene kohezije akcenat se stavlja na period izgradnje postkonfliktnog društva, ukoliko se desio nasilni konflikt u užem smislu. Čak i ukoliko do njega nije došlo, navedeno određenje društvene kohezije veoma je važno jer ukazuje na značaj konflikata identiteta i društvenih odnosa koji imaju karakter napetosti i sukoba, što jesu okolnosti u kojima egzistiraju savremena društva.

U ovom smislu posebno se naglašava prisustvo govora mržnje koji, kao oblik diskriminacije, ima značajan potencijal za ugrožavanje društvene kohezije u konkretnom kontekstu. Relevantna istraživanja pokazuju da je govor mržnje u Crnoj Gori naročito prisutan u diskursu političkih aktera, medijima i školskom okruženju i da je najviše usmjeren prema Romima.[15] Najnovije istraživanje iz februara 2026. godine donosi nekoliko ključnih nalaza. Prvo, prisutna je normalizacija govora mržnje koji postaje sveprisutan i vrlo često se uopšte i ne percipira kao problematičan. Ovo naročito pogađa Rome, u odnosu na koje već postoji visok stepen društvene prihvaćenosti antiromizma, čije manifestacije predstavljaju prije normu nego izuzetak. Drugo, i po ovom izvještaju, Romi su jedna od grupa koja je najviše izložena govoru mržnje u crnogorskom kontekstu koji se najčešće manifestuje kao vrijeđanje, isključivanje i delegitimizacija.[16] **U razmatranju društvene kohezije i prisutnog govora mržnje i njegovih dezintegrišućih potencijala, jasno je da posebna pažnja mora biti posvećena upravo djeci i mladima. Izloženost diskursu i porukama političkih aktera koji vrlo često predstavljaju zloupotrebu slobode izražavanja, prisutnost govora mržnje u medijima i u školskom okruženju naročito pogađaju upravo djecu i mlade. Mediji u eri globalizacije postaju veoma moćni agensi socijalizacije koji neposredno utiču na vrijednosti, ponašanje i svjetonazor djece i mladih u savremenim društvima, uključujući i crnogorsko. Kroz program „Moje vrijednosti i vrline“, djeca u osnovnim i srednjim školama uče više o empatiji, toleranciji, komunikaciji i timskom radu. Međutim, trenutno *ne postoji kontinuirana i sveobuhvatna edukacija djece i mladih koja bi omogućila veće razumijevanje govora mržnje, njegovih elemenata i efekata koje proizvodi.* To je izazov na koji nadležne obrazovne institucije, ali i društveni akteri u cjelini, moraju imati adekvatan odgovor u što skorijem periodu. U ovom smislu naročito se skreće pažnja na djecu i mlade iz romske i egipćanske zajednice koji se već nalaze u naročito teškom položaju isključenosti, neprihvatanja i postojanja značajnih prepreka u procesu njihovog uključivanja u obrazovni sistem. Istraživanje o socio-ekonomskom položaju Roma iz 2025. godine pokazuje u oblasti obrazovanja više nego ilustrativan podatak koji potvrđuje prethodno navedeno: *„više je nego udvostručen procenat djece u uzrastu koji uopšte ne ide u vrtić/školu i shodno tome pad djece koja idu između 2023. i 2025. godine, što upućuje na institucionalni neuspjeh uključivanja romske djece u obrazovni sistem... Zabilježen je jako zabrinjavajući procentualni porast djece u školskom uzrastu koja ne idu u školu i shodno tome***

[13] Sargsyan Arman, Report on good practices and innovative approaches (updated version), str. 3, dostupno na: https://rm.coe.int/pecs-report-on-good-practices-and-innovative-approaches/16807809f3 (8. 4. 2021)

[14] UNDP (2020). Strengthening social cohesion: Conceptual framing and programming implications, 10; (https://www.undp.org/arab-states/publications/strengthening-social-cohesion-conceptual-framing-and-programming-implications)

[15] Bešić, Miloš, CEDEM (2022). *Obrasci diskriminacije u Crnoj Gori*. Podgorica: CEDEM, str. 52.

[16] CEDEM (2026). *Mapping Hate Speech in Montenegro*. Podgorica: CEDEM.

procentualni pad djece tog uzrasta koja idu u školu".[17]

Važno je, dakle, imati u vidu da kategorije djece i mladih u Crnoj Gori nijesu homogene, već da unutar navedene populacije postoji izrazita heterogenost u etnokulturnom, teritorijalnom i drugom smislu. Različiti djelovi navedene populacije u različitom stepenu izloženi su siromaštvu, isključivanju, nepostojanju adekvatnih uslova za život i u različitom stepenu imaju pristup obrazovanju, adekvatnoj zdravstvenoj i socijalnoj zaštiti. Prilikom kreiranja javnih politika i odgovarajućih pravno-političkih rješenja, o pomenutoj heterogenosti mora se voditi računa.

1.3. Dimenzije društvene kohezije

Kada je riječ o društvenoj koheziji, važno je istaći i pitanje njenih najvažnijih dimenzija. Kao i u pogledu definisanja, tako i u određivanju najznačajnijih dimenzija društvene kohezije ne postoji saglasnost. Najmanje sporno i najšire prihvaćeno konceptualizovanje društvene kohezije u pogledu ključnih dimenzija podrazumijeva izdvajanje *vertikalne* i *horizontalne* dimenzije. Vertikalna dimenzija tiče se relacije država--društvo i obrnuto. Iz „pravca" društva podrazumijeva stepen povjerenja koji postoji u donositeljke i donosioce političkih odluka, najvažnije institucije jedne države kao i različite organizacije. Takođe, tiče se i povjerenja u najvažnije procese u kojima se donose političke odluke. Pitanje povjerenja u vertikalnoj dimenziji veoma je važno i iz perspektive djece i mladih. Postojanje povjerenja djece i mladih u odrasle koji su nosioci autoriteta i moći u porodici, školi, univerzitetu, institucijama, organizacijama i politici u najširem smislu, veoma je važno. Izgradnja povjerenja u pomenutom smislu preduslov je za kreiranje sigurnog ambijenta za djecu i mlade ali i za ostvarivanje društvene kohezije. U horizontalnoj dimenziji, povjerenje se odnosi na druge pojedince i grupe sa kojima se dijeli isti društveni i politički prostor i koji se, moguće, razlikuju u etnokulturnom, religijskom ili drugom smislu. U jednom kohezivnom društvu postoji povjerenje u one koji se razlikuju od nas i koji se doživljavaju kao „drugi". Povjerenje koje nadilazi grupnu pripadnost i ono koje nije rezervisano isključivo za one koje percipiramo kao dio svoje grupe, preduslov je aktiviranja društvenog kapitala na nivou šire političke zajednice, što jeste veoma važan element jednog kohezivnog društva.

Ipak, kada je riječ o najvažnijim dimenzijama društvene kohezije, najčešće se koristi određenje najvažnijih dimenzija dato od strane Bertelsmann fondacije (Bertelsmann Stiftung) 2015. godine. Pomenuto određenje podrazumijeva izdvajanje sljedeća tri najvažnija područja društvene kohezije: društveni odnosi, povezanost i fokus na opšte dobro. U okviru svakog područja izdvojene su po tri ključne dimenzije društvene kohezije.[18] Društveni odnosi podrazumijevaju tri najvažnije dimenzije društvene kohezije: društvene mreže, povjerenje među ljudima i prihvatanje različitosti. U kohezivnom društvu veze između društvenih aktera su snažne, bilo da se radi o pojedinačnim ili o kolektivnim akterima. Dalje, postoji visok stepen povjerenja među ljudima i visok stepen prihvatanja različitosti u društvu.

Povezanost kao drugo najvažnije područje izdvojeno od strane Bertelsmann fondacije, obuhvata povjerenje u institucije, poistovjećivanje i percepciju pravednosti. Kohezivno društvo podrazumijeva postojanje povjerenja u institucije i u one koji donose političke odluke. Navedeno se odnosi kako na državni tako i na lokalni nivo. Nepostojanje povjerenja u vertikalnoj dimenziji na lokalnom nivou može biti uzrokovano ignorantskim i nepravednim odnosom lokalnih vlasti prema određenim djelovima lokalne zajednice. To su djelovi populacije koji se mogu razlikovati u etničkom, nacionalnom, religijskom ili nekom drugom smislu, uključujući i starosnu dob. To, takođe, mogu biti članovi lokalne zajednice koncentrisani u ruralnom području

[17] Bešić, Miloš, CEDEM (2025). *Socio-ekonomski položaj Roma u Crnoj Gori. Empirijsko istraživanje*. Podgorica: CEDEM, str. 3, 14, 34.

[18] Bertelsmann Stiftung (2015) „Measuring Common Ground: Social Cohesion in Africa" www.bertelsmann-stiftung.de (https://www.bertelsmann-stiftung.de/en/our-projects/germany-and-asia/news/social-cohesion-preview/)

itd. Ukoliko postoji takav odnos lokalnih vlasti prema različitim djelovima populacije, to proizvodi osjećaj nepravde i isključivanja. Pritom, pojedinci mogu biti isključeni po više različitih osnova. Na primjer, djeca i mladi koji žive u ruralnom području, bez odgovarajuće infrastrukture i pritom su članovi manjinskih etnokulturnih zajednica prema kojima lokalne vlasti imaju ignorišući ili diskriminatorni odnos, posebno će biti pogođeni nepovjerenjem i doživljajem nepravednog postupanja. U tom slučaju veoma je teško razviti osjećaj poistovjećivanja, povezanosti i pripadnosti zajednici, kako na lokalnom tako i na državnom nivou. Na taj način društvena kohezija može biti ugrožena.

Treće područje imenovano je kao *fokus na opšte dobro* i obuhvata sljedeće dimenzije: solidarnost i pomaganje drugome, poštovanje društvenih pravila i građansko učešće. Ovo je veoma važno područje, kada je riječ o društvenoj koheziji iz perspektive djece i mladih. Kriza solidarnosti i empatije pogađa savremena društva koja se nalaze pod pritiskom postojeće forme globalizacije i krupnih tehnoloških promjena. Izazovi koji su povezani sa mentalnim zdravljem mladih i porast anksioznosti i depresije karakterišu naša društva i utiču na otpornost pojedinaca i zajednice. Institucije i društveni akteri moraju pronaći način i odgovarajuće modele za kreiranje ambijenta u kom će navedeni rizici po mlade i djecu biti minimizirani. Kohezivna društva su ona u kojima postoji solidarnost u smislu da ljudi osjećaju odgovornost za druge i žele da im pomognu. Pritom, osjećaj odgovornosti i želja da se pruži pomoć nijesu rezervisani isključivo za one koje percipiramo kao članove svoje partikularne grupe. Cilj je proizvesti osjećaj solidarnosti prema članicama i članovima političke zajednice u najširem smislu i to jeste karakteristika jednog kohezivnog društva. Podizanje kapaciteta za solidarnost i empatiju kod djece i mladih veoma je važan aspekt društvene kohezije. Poštovanje društvenih pravila i građansko učešće preostale su dvije dimenzije izdvojene u okviru ovog područja. U kohezivnom društvu građanke i građani poštuju društvena pravila i aktivno participiraju u društvenom i političkom životu. Pitanje političke participacije mladih jedno je od najvažnijih kada je riječ o ostvarivanju društvene kohezije i u crnogorskom kontekstu. Mladi moraju biti aktivno uključeni u procese donošenja političkih odluka, kako na državnom tako i na lokalnom nivou. Odgovornost je institucionalnih i političkih aktera da obezbijede mehanizme za ostvarivanje navedenog cilja.

Na osnovu navedenog jasno je da je pitanje društvene kohezije neodvojivo od onoga što se dešava na svim relevantnim nivoima društvene stvarnosti. Tačnije, problematika društvene kohezije ne može se svesti na nivo nacionalno-državnog, društvenog konteksta, već mora obuhvatiti i nivo pojedinačnih društvenih aktera, kao i nivo društveno relevantnih kolektivnih, grupnih identiteta.[19] Navedena činjenica otežava ne samo definisanje društvene kohezije već i kreiranje sveobuhvatnih mjera i mehanizama za njeno jačanje u pojedinačnom demokratskom kontekstu.

[19] Ritzen, Jo, Woolcock, Michael (2001). *Social Cohesion, Public Policy and Economic Growth: Implications for Countries in Transition.* (Conference Governance, Equity and Global Markets; Conference Development Thinking at the Millennium). Paris: Documentation Française. str. 8.



Izvor: Bertelsmann Stiftung, www.bertelsmann-stiftung.de

Iako je društvena kohezija višeznačan i višedimenzionalan koncept, navedena određenja u pogledu definicije i najvažnijih dimenzija mogu se u većoj ili manjoj mjeri primijeniti na različite društvene i političke zajednice. Međutim, kada je riječ o utvrđivanju najvažnijih „slabih" tačaka društvene kohezije i načina za njeno osnaživanje, neophodno je voditi računa o specifičnostima svakog pojedinačnog konteksta. Ovo se odnosi kako na najopštiji, društveni odnosno državni kontekst, tako i na druge kontekste u okviru kojih je moguće govoriti o društvenoj koheziji, poput lokalnog. Iako Crna Gora spada u kategoriju malih država, imajući u vidu veličinu teritorije i broj stanovnika, karakteriše je izražen diverzitet i heterogenost u etnokulturnom, religijskom, ali i u teritorijalnom smislu. Jedinice lokalne samouprave u Crnoj Gori prilično se razlikuju kada je riječ o geografskim činiocima, demografskoj situaciji u etnokulturnom i drugom smislu, istorijskim specifičnostima, stepenu ekonomskog razvoja, prirodi i karakteru rizika koji pogađaju lokalnu zajednicu, i tako dalje. Navedene razlike relevantne su iz perspektive ostvarivanja društvene kohezije na lokalnom, ali i državnom nivou.

1.4. Djeca i mladi iz perspektive ostvarivanja društvene kohezije

Da bi djeca i mladi bili u mogućnosti da u budućnosti na uspješan način preuzmu odgovornost za razvoj društvene zajednice, neophodno je obezbijediti sigurno i harmonično okruženje u procesu njihove socijalizacije. Suština ostvarivanja društvene kohezije, između ostalog, upravo je u uspješnom minimiziranju rizika i kreiranju bezbjednog okruženja, zatim u rješavanju problema nejednakosti, nepravednog i diskriminatornog postupanja, pa do uspješnog suočavanja sa izazovima poput siromaštva, neadekvatnog stanovanja, razvijanja kapaciteta za solidarnost i empatiju, obezbjeđivanja kvalitetnog obrazovanja i slično. Sa druge strane, oni koji trenutno pripadaju kategoriji djece i mladih biće budući donosioci političkih odluka i od stepena njihove osposobljenosti u pogledu razumijevanja najvažnijih izazova sa kojima se suočavaju savremena društva, zavisiće ostvarivanje društvene kohezije. U tom smislu u potpunosti je opravdano označiti mlade „nosiocima izgradnje društvene kohezije".[20]

Nema mnogo pokušaja određenja društvene kohezije i njenih ključnih elemenata iz perspektive djece i mladih kao specifičnog dijela populacije. Važno je ukazati na napore UNICEF-a u pogledu razvijanja definicije društvene kohezije odnosno njenog ostvarivanja iz perspektive djece, kao veoma značajnog dijela populacije. Imajući u vidu specifičnost pomenute populacije, UNICEF konceptualizuje društvenu koheziju na način što izdvaja najvažnije indikatore koji ukazuju na njeno postojanje, u većoj ili manjoj mjeri, u konkretnom kontekstu. Prema toj definiciji, društvena kohezija iz perspektive interesa i ciljeva koji se tiču djece, ostvarena je onda kada djeca:

1. Imaju osjećaj da su konsultovana, uvažena i da ih odrasli razumiju;
2. Imaju dobre odnose sa odraslima;
3. Tretirana su jednako;
4. Imaju prisutne prijatelje;
5. Imaju povjerenje, kako u vertikalnoj tako i u horizontalnoj dimenziji;
6. Imaju na raspolaganju razrađene i jasne strukture za pružanje različitih vrsta pomoći i razumiju ih;
7. Imaju slobodu izražavanja i participacije;
8. Uključena su u aktivnosti na način da niko nije isključen;
9. Nijesu izložena nasilju i zlostavljanju, kako u vertikalnom tako i u horizontalnom smislu.[21]

Navedena definicija, razvijena na bazi empirijskih podataka,[22] razlikuje se od preovlađujućih definicija društvene kohezije koje se mogu pronaći u literaturi različitog tipa i u tom smislu predstavlja doprinos njenom sveobuhvatnom određenju. U ovom slučaju, šest od devet najvažnijih elemenata društvene kohezije odnosi se na pripadnost i uključivanje (tačke od 1 do 6), dva elementa (tačke 7 i 8) su povezana sa participacijom i učešćem, dok se jedan (tačka 9) odnosi na toleranciju.[23] Pomenuta i vrlo relevantna UNICEF-ova definicija društvene kohezije pokazuje specifičnosti djece i mladih kao dijela populacije koja se „osjeća najsigurnije onda kada ima osjećaj pripadnosti grupi" ali se i nalazi u riziku od radikalizacije i nasilja, onda kada ta pripadnost izostane.[24] Takođe, navedena definicija pokazuje koliko su za ostvarivanje društvene kohezije iz perspektive djece i mladih, važne određene dimenzije izdvojene na prethodnoj slici. Ukoliko kao društvena i politička zajednica ne uspijemo da kod djece ojačamo kapacitete za empatiju, povezivanje i solidarnost, biće veoma teško osnažiti društvenu koheziju. Nedostatak povjerenja, kao i institucionalne i druge podrške za uključivanje i participaciju djece i mladih, otežava izgradnju jakih i otpornih društvenih mreža koje su jedna od ključnih

[20] UNDP, Glavni grad Podgorica, Vlada Crne Gore, PEACEBUILDING FUND. 2025. *Povelja o društvenoj koheziji Glavnog grada Podgorice*. Podgorica. str. 5. Dostupno na: https://share.google/gX6VNqeTmiPyW6Nn6 (05.05.2026).
[21] UNICEF. 2017. Towards a Child-led Definition of Social Cohesion. str. 8.
[22] Definicija razvijena od strane UNICEF-a bazira se, između ostalog, i na percepciji 287 djece/mladih uzrasta od 10 do 24 godine o elementima važnim za ostvarivanje društvene kohezije.
[23] UNICEF. 2017. Towards a Child-led Definition of Social Cohesion. str. 9.
[24] UNICEF. 2017. Towards a Child-led Definition of Social Cohesion. str. 9.

karakteristika kohezivnog društva. UNICEF je još 2014. godine posvetio značajnu pažnju ostvarivanju društvene kohezije iz perspektive djece i mladih i na primjeru Jordana utvrdio da je veoma važno uključiti bihejvioralnu komponentu kada je riječ o ovom dijelu populacije.

Najvažnije preporuke koje su tom prilikom izdvojene relevantne su i za druge pojedinačne kontekste: prvo, neophodno je da postoji edukacija i senzitizacija institucionalnih i društvenih aktera u pogledu specifičnosti vršnjačkog i drugog nasilja i načina za njihovo minimiziranje. Neophodne su jasne strukture podrške, ali je veoma važno i „povećati stepen povjerenja i osjećaj pripadnosti (u vertikalnoj i horizontalnoj dimenziji), stepen jednakosti i inkluzije" kako bi došlo do ostvarivanja društvene kohezije po mjeri djece i mladih.[25] Drugo, neophodno je kod djece i mladih podići stepen svijesti o vršnjačkom i drugim oblicima nasilja, kao i načinima za njihovo minimiziranje. Paralelno sa navedenim, neophodno je raditi na većem stepenu razumijevanja mehanizama koji su djeci na raspolaganju kada je riječ o prijavljivanju slučajeva nasilja kojem su izložena. Treće, prilikom kreiranja mjera i mehanizama za borbu protiv različitih oblika nasilja neophodno je obezbijediti učešće djece i mladih i uzeti u obzir njihovo iskustvo. Participaciju djece i mladih u ovom smislu treba obezbijediti u svim relevantnim fazama, uključujući i implementaciju, monitoring i evaluaciju primijenjenih rješenja.[26] Imajući u vidu porast vršnjačkog nasilja, sve veću izloženost djece i mladih govoru mržnje, kao i činjenicu da je govor mržnje u percepciji građana najviše prisutan u diskursu političkih aktera, medijima i školskom okruženju, navedene preporuke relevantne su i za crnogorski kontekst.[27]

Generalno, kada je riječ o ostvarivanju društvene kohezije u demokratskom kontekstu, neophodno je obezbijediti aktivnu participaciju djece i mladih.[28]

Potrebno je imati na umu da su djeca važan dio populacije i da imaju potencijal za aktivno učešće u kreiranju društvene zajednice kojoj pripadaju i njene društvene kohezije. Dobar primjer u ovom smislu jesu napori Evropske unije koja prepoznaje važnost participacije djece u društvenom životu i neophodnost njihovog sveobuhvatnog uključivanja. U *Strategiji (Planu) Evropske unije o pravima djeteta* koja je usvojena 2021. godine, izdvojeno je šest najvažnijih ciljeva kada je riječ o ovom dijelu populacije. Pomenuti ciljevi veoma su relevantni iz perspektive ostvarivanja društvene kohezije i uključivanja djece kao relevantnih i važnih članova društva. Precizirano je da Evropska unija, kada je riječ o djeci, želi osigurati ostvarivanje sljedećih ciljeva: "1. Da sva djeca mogu izraziti svoje mišljenje; 2. Da sva djeca imaju pristup kvalitetnom obrazovanju i zdravstvenoj zaštiti, kao i dovoljno finansijskih sredstava koje će porodicama omogućiti zadovoljavanje dječijih potreba; 3. Da djeca budu sigurna; 4. Da policija, advokati i sudije sa djecom postupaju pravedno, da uvažavaju njihovo mišljenje i odgovore na njihove potrebe; 5. Da sva djeca imaju pristup digitalnoj dimenziji i da u ovoj dimenziji budu bezbjedna kao i 6. Da sva djeca mogu ostvariti svoja prava".[29] Način na koji je Evropska komisija formulisala i usvojila navedene ciljeve primjer je uključivanja i uvažavanja djece i njihovih stavova u kreiranju politika koje ih se tiču. Dokument je usvojen, između ostalog, i na osnovu mišljenja 10 000 djece i on je, u širem smislu, dio *Evropske platforme za participaciju djece* koja je uspostavljena 2022. godine.

Platforma je veoma dobar primjer korišćenja digitalnog prostora za povećanje stepena participacije djece i adolescenata i mogućnosti da se njihov glas čuje a njihove perspektive i potrebe uvaže, u procesu kreiranja javnih politika. Strukturu Platforme čine članovi (djeca i organizacije koje se bave njihovim pravima), savjetodavni odbor (djeca i odrasli iz EU organizacija), dječiji panel (manja grupa

25 UNICEF. 2017. Towards a Child-led Definition of Social Cohesion. str. 10.
26 UNICEF. 2017. Towards a Child-led Definition of Social Cohesion. str. 10.
27 Vidi: Bešić, Miloš (CEDEM) 2022. Obrasci i stepen diskriminacije u Crnoj Gori. str. 52.
28 Vidi: https://eu-for-children.europa.eu/about/plans-strategies_en (05.08.2026).
29 Europska komisija. 2021. Plan Europske unije za prava djece. Dostupno na: https://op.europa.eu/en/publication-detail/-/publication/ (05.08.2026).

djece koja analiziraju planove i daju ideje o tome šta jesu njihove potrebe i želje) i sekretarijat.[30] U osnovi pomenute Platforme je kreiranje bezbjednog online digitalnog prostora u kom djeca mogu da izraze svoje stavove, podijele svoja razmišljanja i ideje na jedan prilično jednostavan način. Kao rezultat konsultovanja i uključivanja velikog broja djece donešeni su veoma važni dokumenti koji se odnose na različite dimenzije od značaja za njih i svaki od njih ima i svoju child-friendly verziju koja je dostupna na Platformi. Ova verzija je prilagođena na način što su veoma složene teme poput mentalnog zdravlja, klimatskih promjena, kvaliteta obrazovanja i slično, obrađene i prezentovane na način razumljiv i jasan djeci i adolescentima.[31] Redovno se objavljuju i Izvještaji o konsultativnim aktivnostima sa djecom sa preciznim podacima o broju djece koja su konsultovana i na koji način. Tako, najnoviji Izvještaj koji se odnosi na digitalni prostor, iz jula mjeseca 2026. godine, baziran je na konsultacijama za preko 4 000 djece uzrasta od 12 do 17 godina.[32] Osim konsultacija u vezi sa unapređenjem bezbjednosti online prostora, djeca su konsultovana prije kreiranja rješenja u domenu njihove bezbjednosti u fizičkom prostoru, učešća u demokratskim procesima, ukidanja nasilja na internetu i borbe protiv siromaštva. **Plan EU za 2025-2026. izdvaja određena područja i izazove kao posebno važne, kada je riječ o djeci, a koji su od ključnog značaja i za društvenu koheziju. Teme su izdvojila sama djeca nakon niza konsultacija u online formi, ali i u formi panela i susreta: jednake mogućnosti i društvena uključenost (pristup obrazovanju, zdravstvenoj zaštiti i stanovanju), bezbjednost online prostora sa akcentom na digitalna prava djece, osiguranje mentalnog zdravlja i dobrobiti djece, kao i uključivanje djece kao aktivnih sudionika u sprovođenju i kreiranju klimatskih politika**.[33] **Teme i izazove koje su djeca iz zemalja Evropske unije izdvojila kao najvažnije, u potpunosti se poklapaju sa onim što jesu i neki od najvažnijih izazova za ostvarivanje i jačanje društvene kohezije i na nivou pojedinačnih država. Primjetno je da se sve veći značaj daje upravo rizicima kao što su klimatske promjene i djeci kao aktivnim sudionicima u njihovom minimiziranju, o čemu je bilo riječi u prvom dijelu poglavlja. Način funkcionisanja, alati i struktura *Evropske platforme za participaciju djece* mogu poslužiti kao inspiracija i pojedinačnim državama, u prvom redu njihovim zakonodavnim tijelima, u potrebi da djecu prepoznaju kao aktivne članove društva i podstaknu njihovu participaciju. Navedeno važi kako za nacionalni, tako i za lokalni nivo donošenja političkih odluka koje su od značaja za djecu i mlade.**

Treba imati na umu da su društveno-ekonomska i u najširem smislu demokratska i politička isključenost djece i mladih usko povezane i to je prepoznato i u važećoj *Strategiji Evropske unije za mlade za period od 2019. do 2027. godine*: „Mladi u nepovoljnom položaju obično su manje aktivni građani i imaju manje povjerenja u institucije".[34] Poboljšanje socio-ekonomskog položaja, ostvaren pristup obrazovanju, ukidanje svih oblika diskriminacije i isključivanja preduslovi su efektivne participacije djece i mladih u najširem smislu. Istovremeno, obezbjeđivanje učešća mladih u procesu donošenja političkih odluka i uključivanje u kreiranje javnih politika od značaja za djecu i mlade, ali i širu društvenu zajednicu, način je da se utiče i na promjenu nepovoljnog društveno-ekonomskog položaja i isključenosti. Autentično predstavljanje i zastupanje interesa

30 EU Children Participation Platform. Platform Information Sheet. 2022. Dostupno na: https://eu-for-children.europa.eu/documents_en#work-plan-25-26 (05.08.2026).

31 Vidi: https://europa.eu/eu-for-children/work-plan-2025-2026/en/ (05.08.2026).

32 EU Children's Participation Platform Findings from the consultation with children on The Digital Fairness Act (DFA). 2026. Dostupno na: https://eu-for-children.europa.eu/documents_en#work-plan-25-26 (05.08.2026).

33 EU Children Participation Platform. Work Plan 2025-2026. Dostupno na: https://eu-for-children.europa.eu/documents_en#work-plan-25-26 (05.08.2026).

34 Vijeće Evropske unije. Rezolucija Vijeća Europske unije i predstavnika vlada država članica, koji su se sastali unutar Vijeća, o okviru za europsku suradnju u području mladih: strategija Europske unije za mlade za razdoblje 2019.–2027. *Službeni list Evropske unije*. *(2018/C 456/01)*. str. 1. Dostupno na: https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=CELEX:42018Y1218(01)

djece i mladih u adekvatnim formama na različitim nivoima političkog odlučivanja veoma je važan element iz perspektive ostvarivanja društvene kohezije u savremenim demokratskim društvima.

Kao rezultat otvorenog, javnog i inkluzivnog dijaloga između donositeljki i donosilaca odluka na nivou Evropske unije, istraživača/ca i mladih sa evropskog prostora, formulisano je 11 evropskih ciljeva za mlade. U pitanju su ciljevi koji čine suštinu pomenute Strategije i istovremeno predstavljaju ključne prioritete Evropske unije kada je riječ o ovom dijelu populacije.

Neki od pomenutih ciljeva veoma su važni za djecu i mlade i istovremeno su od neposrednog značaja za društvenu koheziju:[35] 1. *Povezivanje Evropske unije sa mladima (Connecting EU with Youth)*. Ostvarivanje navedenog cilja podrazumijeva aktivnu participaciju mladih u procesu donošenja odluka kao i postojanje povjerenja u institucije. Očekivano članstvo Crne Gore u Evropskoj uniji čini ovaj cilj relevantnim i u našem kontekstu; 2. *Rodna ravnopravnost (Equality of All Genders)* koja će biti postignuta ukoliko postoje jednaka prava i mogućnosti bez diskriminacije i isključivanja po osnovu rodne pripadnosti; 3. *Inkluzivna društva (Inclusive Societies)*. Navedeni cilj naglašava značaj uključivanja svih i ukazuje na heterogenost unutar zajednice mladih, od kojih su mnogi izloženi marginalizaciji i višestrukoj diskriminaciji po različitim osnovama, kao što je naglašeno i u prvom poglavlju. Navedeno je u potpunosti relevantno i za djecu; 4. *Informisanje i konstruktivan dijalog (Information & Constructive Dialogue)*. Ostvarivanje ovog cilja podrazumijeva pristup pouzdanim informacijama, digitalnu pismenost, ali i jačanje i izgradnju kritičkog mišljenja kod mladih, ali i djece; *5. Mentalno zdravlje i dobrobit mladih (Mental Health & Wellbeing).* Očuvanje i unapređenje mentalnog zdravlja kod djece i mladih jedan je od značajnijih izazova kada je riječ o individualnom nivou u ostvarivanju društvene kohezije. Adekvatna podrška mentalnom zdravlju, obezbjeđivanje dobrobiti i minimiziranje svih oblika stigmatizacije dio su ostvarivanja navedenog cilja; 6. *Podrška mladima u ruralnom području (Moving Rural Youth Forward).* Mladi, ali i djeca koji žive u ruralnom području, potrebuju veći stepen podrške institucionalnih aktera i društvene zajednice u cjelini. Neophodno je stvoriti bolje uslove za život i rad mladih u ruralnim krajevima i navedeno je vrlo relevantno i u crnogorskom kontekstu. Djeca i mladi u ruralnim krajevima imaju, između ostalog, ograničen pristup kulturnim sadržajima, lošiju infrastrukturu i ograničen pristup socijalnoj i zdravstvenoj zaštiti. Ravnomjeran razvoj društva i države u ovom smislu vrlo je važan za ostvarivanje društvene kohezije; 7. *Kvalitetno učenje (Quality Learning).* Kvalitet obrazovanja veoma je važna stavka kada je riječ o osposobljavanju djece i mladih za buduće uključivanje u društveno-ekonomski i politički život konkretne zajednice. Sistem obrazovanja mora podsticati kreativnost ali i izgrađivati kritičko mišljenje; *9. Prostor i učešće za sve (Space and Participation for All).* Iako je teritorijalni, odnosno fizički prostor, i dalje veoma relevantan, doba globalizacije i krupnih tehnoloških promjena donijelo je sve veći značaj digitalnog prostora u različitim dimenzijama života pojedinca i zajednice: od ekonomske, političke, pa do identitetske. Mladi i djeca naročito su vezani za ovaj novi tip prostora, na različite načine i u različitim formama. Sadržaj prisutan u digitalnom, online prostoru u značajnoj mjeri ih oblikuje i socijalizuje. Istovremeno, digitalni prostor je važan i iz perspektive ostvarivanja društvene kohezije, čemu svjedoči sve prisutnija debata o ostvarivanju, potencijalnom jačanju ali i opasnostima po društvenu koheziju koje dolaze iz online dimenzije.

Sadržaji prisutni u ovoj dimenziji mogu produbiti podjele koje već postoje u društvu, erodirati društvene veze i omogućiti veću vidljivost i uticaj radikalnih i ekstremističkih stavova, što je veoma važno kada je riječ o djeci i mladima i njihovoj otpornosti na različite oblike nasilja. Uticaj lažnih vijesti, prisutnost govora mržnje, algoritmi koji reprodukuju stereotipne i stigmatizirajuće sadržaje sve više se razmatraju kada je riječ o uticaju na društvenu koheziju. Takođe, pitanje

[35] https://youth.europa.eu/strategy/european-youth-goals_hr

tzv. digitalno posredovane socijalne inkluzije (digitally-mediated social inclusion) postaje veoma relevantno: „Moguće je argumentovati da sveprisutna digitalna povezanost 24/7 aktivno preoblikuje dinamiku ljudske društvenosti... Dok se društvena energija sve više preusmjerava iz fizičkog u digitalni prostor, otvarajući mogućnost za pojavu potpuno novih oblika društvene kohezije, nedavna istraživanja u oblasti neuronauke komunikacije sugerišu da asinhrona, digitalno posredovana povezanost može ugroziti društveno učenje, empatiju i emocionalnu fluentnost...".[36] Jasno je da digitalna dimenzija sve više dobija na značaju i o njenim različitim aspektima, poput sadržaja i efekata koje proizvodi, mora se voditi računa pogotovo kada je riječ o djeci i mladima. Navedene okolnosti komplikuje i nova era upotrebe vještačke inteligencije koja otvara značajna i brojna pitanja kako za društvenu koheziju tako i za položaj koji u odnosu na njenu upotrebu imaju djeca i mladi. I digitalni, kao i fizički prostor mora biti bezbjedno mjesto za djecu i mlade, a njegovi potencijali treba da budu iskorišćeni za njihovu društvenu i političku participaciju.

Važnost digitalne i online dimenzije za jačanje i/ili slabljenje društvene kohezije odnosno za pozitivan ili negativan uticaj na djecu i mlade, nije dovoljno prepoznata od strane političkih aktera. Potpuno je legitimno zastupati i promovisati partikularne političke i partijske interese u online prostoru. **Ono što, međutim, mora biti neprihvatljivo jeste širenje sadržaja koji generiše netrpeljivost i nepovjerenje, razara društvene mreže i odnose i potencira razlike do isključivosti, pogotovo u društvu koje je izrazito etnokulturno heterogeno kao što je crnogorsko. Iako je društvena kohezija odgovornost svih društvenih aktera i zavisi od svakog od nas pojedinačno, donositeljke i donosioci političkih odluka i institucionalni akteri moraju biti svjesni da su primarno odgovorni za njeno osnaživanje odnosno slabljenje. Sadržaj i način njihove političke komunikacije neposredno utiču na djecu i mlade, a zabrinjavajući je prethodno pomenuti podatak da je u percepciji građana govor mržnje najviše prisutan upravo u govorima, odnosno izjavama političara**.

Deseti evropski cilj za mlade koji je relevantan i iz perspektive ostvarivanja interesa djece, imenovan je kao *Održiva zelena Evropa (Sustainable Green Europe).* Doba globalizacije je, između ostalog, i doba novih, globalnih rizika. Rizici koje vezujemo za ekološku dimenziju naše društvene stvarnosti postaju sve relevantniji. Važan dio društvene kohezije postaje uspješno upravljanje rizicima i opasnostima. Veoma je važno da nijedna zajednica unutar države ne bude u poziciji da gomila rizike i da u primjeni mjera i mehanizama za borbu protiv rizika bude u marginalizovanom ili diskriminisanom položaju. Ovo je naročito značajno ukoliko imamo u vidu djelove populacije koji su već u osjetljivom položaju, kao što su djeca. Oni ne smiju gomilati nove rizike i opasnosti koji dolaze iz sfere ekologije i država mora uložiti dodatni napor u pružanju adekvatne zaštite. Ostvarivanje navedenog cilja podrazumijeva i podsticanje ekološke svijesti kod djece kao i održivi razvoj; posljednji, jedanaesti cilj određen je kao *Omladinske organizacije i evropski programi (Youth Organisations & European Programmes).* Saradnja i povezivanje, iskustva različitosti i upoznavanje drugih kultura od velikog su značaja za socijalizaciju djece ali i mladih u uslovima rastuće etnokulturne pluralnosti koju donose procesi globalizacije. U tom smislu bilo bi dobro omogućiti ne samo mladima, već i djeci pristup različitim programima mobilnosti. Veoma važna dimenzija društvene kohezije tiče se prihvatanja različitosti kao i povjerenja u horizontalnoj ravni, naročito kada je riječ o onima u odnosu na koje se razlikujemo u etničkom, nacionalnom, religijskom i drugom smislu. Programi razmjene mogu pomoći jačanju društvene kohezije upravo u navedenim dimenzijama. Navedeno se odnosi i na veoma važna iskustva različitosti koja bi djeca stekla u okviru Crne Gore i koja bi im omogućila socijalizaciju u pravcu većeg razumijevanja razlika i povezivanja. Na taj

[36] Berggruen Institute, East-West Center (2025). AI, Privacy, and Social Cohesion: A Collaborative Futures Symposium, str. 2. Dostupno na: https://www.eastwestcenter.org/ (05.05.2026).

način stvara se temelj za jačanje povjerenja u horizontalnoj dimenziji i osnaživanje društvene kohezije.

Za razliku od određenja društvene kohezije iz perspektive djece koja akcentuje osjećaje sigurnosti, pripadnosti i prihvatanja, za mlade je mnogo više karakteristična neposredna politička i društvena participacija. Mogućnost direktnog uticaja na političke i društvene procese od značaja za društvenu koheziju izraženija je kod mladih. Uzimajući u obzir navedenu razliku, kada je riječ o djeci kao osjetljivijem i uticaju podložnijem dijelu populacije, posebno je važno voditi računa o sadržajima kojima su izloženi i koji ih socijalizuju. Kao što je već naglašeno, različiti oblici nasilja i govor mržnje postaju sve prisutniji, kako u školskom okruženju, tako i u medijima i u digitalnoj dimenziji u najopštijem smislu.

1.5. Društvena kohezija na nivou lokalne zajednice. Uključivanje djece i mladih

Različiti nivoi društvenog i političkog organizovanja međusobno su povezani i ne postoje kao potpuno odvojene cjeline. Odluke koje se donose na nivou države reflektuju se i na lokalni društveni i politički kontekst i obrnuto. O društvenoj koheziji govori se uglavnom na nivou države, pri čemu se lokalni kontekst u većoj ili manjoj mjeri zanemaruje. Iz perspektive ostvarivanja i jačanja društvene kohezije, naročito ukoliko je riječ o djeci i mladima, lokalni nivo je vrlo značajan i njegovi potencijali su dominantno neiskorišćeni. To je pogotovo izraženo u dijelu koji se tiče identifikacije i poistovjećivanja, ali i participacije i uključivanja pomenutog dijela populacije.

Lokalni konteksti u Crnoj Gori imaju svoje specifičnosti i razlike između njih mogu biti prilično izražene: od geografskog položaja i veličine opštine, preko infrastrukturnih i drugih izazova koji su sa njima povezani, pa do demografske slike, stepena etnokulturne heterogenosti i ekonomske moći. Takođe, neke jedinice lokalne samouprave, odnosno stanovništvo koje živi na njenoj teritoriji, koncentrišu rizike koji utiču na zdravlje u većem stepenu nego što je to slučaj u drugim opštinama. Kada je riječ o lokalnom kontekstu, treba naglasiti da postoje značajne razlike kako u pogledu slabih tačaka društvene kohezije na ovom nivou, tako i u pogledu načina i sredstava za njeno jačanje. Ukoliko donosioci političkih odluka na lokalnom nivou nedovoljno vode računa o najvažnijim dimenzijama društvene kohezije, ona može erodirati slabeći otpornost lokalne zajednice. Nejednakost u tretmanu različitih djelova populacije od strane lokalnih institucija, isključivanje određenih kategorija stanovništva poput djece i mladih, gubitak povjerenja u horizontalnoj i vertikalnoj dimenziji, produbljivanje podjela i potenciranje etnokulturnih razlika do isključivosti slabe, između ostalog, društvenu koheziju na lokalnom nivou. Aktiviranje društvenog kapitala lokalne zajednice u ovakvim uslovima postaje prilično otežano.

Važnost ostvarivanja društvene kohezije na lokalnom nivou nedavno je prepoznata i u crnogorskom kontekstu. Krajem 2025. godine usvojena je *Povelja o društvenoj koheziji Glavnog grada Podgorice* koja, između ostalog, sadrži precizirane ključne ciljeve koji će „usmjeravati" aktivnosti i djelovanje najvažnijih institucionalnih i društvenih aktera u navedenom kontekstu, postavljajući kao ključni kriterijum upravo ostvarivanje društvene kohezije. Sedamnaest najvažnijih ciljeva *Povelje o društvenoj koheziji glavnog grada - Podgorice,* obuhvataju, između ostalog, i one koje se odnose na mlade u užem smislu i relevantni su i za djecu: uključivanje ranjivih grupa, jačanje međugeneracijske solidarnosti između mladih i starijih članova zajednice (na obostranu korist i korist društvene zajednice u cjelini), korišćenje potencijala sporta i sportskih događaja za povezivanje i jačanje društvenih veza i odnosa, aktivnu participaciju mladih koji se označavaju kao „ključni akteri društvene kohezije" i kojima je neophodno obezbijediti ne samo učešće u procesima donošenja odluka već i veći stepen zaposlenosti i bolji pristup tržištu rada. Dalje, proklamovani ciljevi obuhvataju i značajnije napore u obezbjeđivanju sigurnosti

i bezbjednosti građana sa posebnim akcentom na najranjivije djelove populacije poput djece, kao i jačanje društvene kohezije uspješnom prevencijom različitih oblika nasilja, pogotovo vršnjačkog. Vrlo značajne stavke formulisane u formi ciljeva odnose se na povezivanje lokalne zajednice i obrazovnog sistema na svim nivoima, ali i na borbu protiv „štetnih medijskih narativa", dezinformacija i govora mržnje što je od ogromnog značaja za djecu i mlade i za osnaživanje društvene kohezije. Unapređenje kvaliteta života i održivog razvoja u smislu očuvanja životne sredine takođe je jedan od proklamovanih ciljeva od neposrednog značaja za djecu i mlade.[37]

Posebno mjesto u kontekstu jačanja društvene kohezije na lokalnom nivou pripada, dakle, djeci i mladima. Lokalni nivo je nivo neposrednog iskustva ovog dijela populacije sa izazovima i problemima koji utiču na njihov svakodnevni život. Princip kontekstualnosti trebalo bi da bude dominantan i u ovom slučaju. Neke lokalne samouprave suočavaju se sa krupnim demografskim promjenama nastalim kao rezultat spoljnih i/ili internih migracija. To kreira svojevrsni pritisak na postojeće infrastrukturne i druge kapacitete lokalne zajednice i neophodno je veoma pažljivo analizirati tendencije i promjene koje se dešavaju u ovom smislu u svim dimenzijama od značaja za djecu i mlade. Na primjer, na koji način i u kojoj mjeri obrazovne ustanove integrišu djecu novih imigrantskih zajednica, da li se u praksi dešava neki oblik segregacije u obrazovanju itd. U lokalnim samoupravama koje se suočavaju sa sličnim izazovima neophodno je obezbijediti institucionalne kapacitete za kvalitetan monitoring u pogledu ocjene stanja, ali i kreiranja odgovarajućih rješenja. U nekim drugim lokalnim kontekstima postoje izazovi koji se tiču izolovanosti i isključivanja djece i mladih iz ruralnog područja ili, recimo, prethodno pomenuti izazovi segregacije djece i mladih iz romske zajednice. Rješavanje pomenutih problema zahtijeva drugačiji pristup i drugačije mjere i mehanizme. U pogledu ostvarivanja društvene kohezije iz perspektive djece i mladih, ne postoje, dakle, univerzalna rješenja u smislu odgovarajućih mjera i mehanizama za njeno jačanje. Postoje, međutim, jasni indikatori ostvarivanja društvene kohezije o kojima je bilo riječi u prvom poglavlju.

Različiti su i mnogobrojni mehanizmi i alati za uključivanje i participaciju djece i mladih u najvažnijim dimenzijama društveno-ekonomskog i političkog života lokalne zajednice. Neki od tih mehanizama već su prepoznati kao veoma važni u pomenutoj *Povelji o društvenoj koheziji Glavnog grada Podgorica*, i to kako za djecu i mlade tako i za ostvarivanje društvene kohezije: osnivanje lokalnih savjeta, organizovanje javnih rasprava i forumskih sesija, ali i korišćenje potencijala online prostora u obliku različitih digitalnih platformi koje bi omogućile jednostavno podnošenje inicijativa, ideja i prijedloga, kao i praćenje stepena i dinamike njihove realizacije.[38] Bez obzira na to koje konkretne alate, odnosno mehanizme javne politike biraju, važno je naglasiti da svaki od od njih mora biti siguran, dobrovoljan, inkluzivan i prilagođen uzrastu. Djeca ne smiju biti izložena političkom pritisku i političkoj instrumentalizaciji, partijskom nadmetanju, javnom etiketiranju ili obavezi da govore o ličnim iskustvima nasilja, diskriminacije ili siromaštva. Nakon konsultacija, institucija treba da obezbijedi djeci i mladima povratnu informaciju o tome da li su njihovi predlozi razmotreni i da li će i na koji način biti uvaženi.

Imajući u vidu dominantni, podaničko-participativni tip političke kulture u Crnoj Gori[39], preduslovi za aktivnu participaciju djece i mladih podrazumijevaju povećanje stepena njihove motivacije za uključivanje u društveni i politički život zajednice na svim nivoima.

[37] UNDP, Glavni grad Podgorica, Vlada Crne Gore, PEACEBUILDING FUND. 2025. *Povelja o društvenoj koheziji Glavnog grada Podgorice.* Podgorica. Str. 4-7. Dostupno na: https://share.google/gX6VNqeTmiPyW6Nn6 (11.05.2026).

[38] UNDP, Glavni grad Podgorica, Vlada Crne Gore, PEACEBUILDING FUND. 2025. *Povelja o društvenoj koheziji Glavnog grada Podgorice*. Podgorica. str. 5. Dostupno na: https://share.google/gX6VNqeTmiPyW6Nn6 (11.05.2026).

[39] Komar, Olivera. Politička kultura u Crnoj Gori: Političko odlučivanje građana. u: Tomović-Šundić, Sonja (ur.). *Crna Gora u XXI stoljeću - u eri kompetitivnosti*. Podgorica: CANU.

02 Pravni okvir političkog govora i zaštite djece



Skupština Crne Gore, Podgorica (2012). Foto: Rasho992 / Wikimedia Commons, CC BY-SA 3.0; kadar prilagođen

2.1 Međunarodni i regionalni pravni instrumenti u oblasti zaštite dostojanstva, sigurnosti i razvoja djece i njihovog učešća u građanskim i političkim procesima

Pravni okvir koji uređuje javni govor, uključujući i politički govor, zasniva se na kompleksnom sistemu međunarodnih i nacionalnih normi koje garantuju slobodu izražavanja ali istovremeno postavljaju njena ograničenja radi zaštite prava drugih, a posebno djece. Normativni sistem u ovoj oblasti obuhvata instrumente Ujedinjenih nacija, Savjeta Evrope, i relevantnog nacionalnog zakonodavstva, kao i relevantnu praksu Evropskog suda za ljudska prava. Ovim regulatornim okvirom uspostavlja se osnov za razumijevanje granica javnog i političkog govora, definisanjem pravila za balansiranje između slobode izražavanja i potrebe zaštite dostojanstva, sigurnosti i razvoja djece.

Pravni režim UN, Savjeta Evrope i Evropskog suda za ljudska prava, određuje visok stepen zaštite poslanika posebno kada je riječ o političkom govoru i govoru u parlamentu. Ipak, ta zaštita nije apsolutna, jer kada govor prelazi u govor mržnje, stigmatizaciju, podsticanje netrpeljivosti, diskriminacije ili nasilja, ili kada ugrožava prava i dobrobit djece, država ima ne samo pravo, nego i pozitivnu obavezu da edukativnim, zakonodavnim, institucionalnim mjerama prevenira štetna dejstva ovakvih sadržaja.[40]

Prava djeteta u savremenom digitalnom i demokratskom okruženju potrebno je posmatrati kroz djelotvornu zaštitu djece i njihovu bezbjednu participaciju. Djeca zahtijevaju posebnu zaštitu od govora mržnje, diskriminatornih i štetnih narativa, dezinformacija, nasilja i drugih sadržaja koji mogu ugroziti njihovo dostojanstvo, privatnost, bezbjednost i razvoj. U tom kontekstu, poseban značaj ima kvalitet javnog i političkog diskursa, budući da način na koji politički akteri, mediji i druge javne ličnosti komuniciraju o djeci i pitanjima koja ih se tiču može doprinositi stvaranju sigurnog i inkluzivnog društvenog okruženja, ali i podsticati stigmatizaciju, diskriminaciju i širenje štetnih narativa.

Djelotvorna zaštita djece ne smije voditi njihovom isključivanju iz javnog prostora, naprotiv, ona podrazumijeva njihovu aktivnu participaciju. Konvencija UN-a o pravima djeteta afirmiše dijete kao samostalnog nosioca prava, uključujući pravo da slobodno izražava svoje mišljenje o pitanjima koja ga se tiču i da se njegovom mišljenju posveti odgovarajuća pažnja u skladu sa uzrastom i zrelošću. Stoga, ispravno je reći da prava djeteta obuhvataju i stvaranje bezbjednog okruženja i uslova za njihovu informisanu, aktivnu i, što je najvažnije, sigurnu participaciju, uključujući njihovo učešće u digitalnom prostoru i javnim debatama.

2.2. Normativni okvir

2.2.1. Međunarodno-pravni okvir

2.2.2. Pravni okvir slobode izražavanja UN

Sloboda izražavanja u međunarodnom pravu Ujedinjenih nacija predstavlja osnovno pravo, koje obuhvata slobodu primanja i saopštavanja informacija i ideja bez miješanja vlasti, ali uz ograničenja koja moraju biti propisana zakonom, imati legitiman cilj i biti nužna i proporcionalna. Međunarodni pakt o građanskim i političkim pravima definiše da sloboda izražavanja može biti podvrgnuta izvjesnim ograničenjima koja moraju biti predviđena zakonom, a potrebna su iz razloga poštovanja prava i ugleda drugih lica i zaštite državne bezbjednosti, javnog reda, javnog zdravlja i morala. Takođe, Paktom se propisuje da je svako propagiranje rata zakonom nedozvoljeno, a da je „svaki poziv na nacionalnu, rasnu i vjersku mržnju koji predstavlja podsticanje na diskriminaciju, neprijateljstvo ili nasilje“, zakonom zabranjeno.

Međunarodni pakt o građanskim i političkim pravima jasno propisuje zabranu govora koji

[40] Vodič za djecu i mlade - Strategija Savjeta Evrope za prava djeteta (2022–2027), dostupno na: https://rm.coe.int/guide-for-children-and-young-people-to-the-coe-strategy-for-the-rights/1680a8bf13, Vodič o pravima djeteta, dostupno na: https://www.ombudsman.co.me/img-publications/3/vodic-o-pravima-djeteta.pdf

podstiče mržnju, diskriminaciju ili nasilje, čime se uspostavlja granica između zaštićenog govora i govora mržnje, pri čemu sloboda izražavanja uključuje i uvredljive ili šokantne stavove, ali ne i izražavanje koje negira prava drugih ili ugrožava njihovo dostojanstvo. UN Rabat plan dodatno precizira šestodjelni test za procjenu da li određeni govor dostiže prag kažnjivog podsticanja: kontekst, status govornika, namjera, sadržaj i forma, doseg govora i vjerovatnoća štete.[41]

2.2.3. Pravni okvir slobode izražavanja Savjeta Evrope

Normativni pristup Savjeta Evrope zasniva se na pažljivom odmjeravanju ravnoteže između prava i sloboda garantovanih Evropskom konvencijom o ljudskim pravima i osnovnim slobodama (Evropska konvencija). Konvencijom se garantuje pravo svakog pojedinca da ima sopstveno mišljenje kao temelj demokratskog društva. Ipak, sloboda izražavanja i obim njenog ostvarivanja moraju biti usklađeni sa pravom na poštovanje privatnog i porodičnog života, koje obuhvata zaštitu dostojanstva, identiteta i psihičkog integriteta pojedinca, uključujući i djecu kao posebno ranjivu kategoriju. U ekstremnim situacijama, kada se sloboda izražavanja koristi za negiranje temeljnih vrijednosti Konvencije ili za podsticanje mržnje i netrpeljivosti, aktivira se norma Evropske konvencije sadržana u članu 17, koja zabranjuje zloupotrebu prava, isključujući takav govor iz konvencijske zaštite. U okviru Evropske konvencije o ljudskim pravima, sloboda izražavanja mora se tumačiti u odnosu na druga konvencijska prava, posebno u odnosu na pravo na poštovanje privatnog i porodičnog života. Konvencija zabranjuje diskriminaciju po bilo kom osnovu, čime se uspostavlja normativni okvir za ograničavanje izražavanja koje ugrožava prava drugih.
U tom kontekstu, Evropski sud za ljudska prava primjenjuje test proporcionalnosti, prema kojem svako ograničenje slobode izražavanja mora biti propisano zakonom djelo i imati legitiman cilj i biti nužno u demokratskom društvu. Svako ograničenje prava garantovanih Konvencijom mora predstavljati „hitnu društvenu potrebu“ i biti proporcionalno cilju koji se želi postići, a ono se ispituje kao questio facti pitanje, odnosno pitanje o kome se odlučuje u svakom konkretnom slučaju u kome se vrši balansiranje prava. Normativni osnov za ograničenja proizlazi iz Konvencije, koja dozvoljava ograničenja slobode izražavanja kada su „propisana zakonom“ i „nužna u demokratskom društvu“ radi zaštite, između ostalog, ugleda i prava drugih, što uključuje i djecu kao posebno zaštićenu kategoriju.
U ovom kontekstu, mora se voditi računa o međunarodnim i standardima Savjeta Evrope o najboljem interesu, zaštiti časti i ugleda djeteta i zaštiti od mentalnog nasilja.

Ovakav pristup je, takođe, zauzet prvo u Preporuci CM/Rec (97) 20, a zatim u Preporuci CM/Rec(2022)16 o suzbijanju govora mržnje, koja naglašava obavezu država da uspostave efektivan balans između zaštite slobode izražavanja i potrebe za suzbijanjem govora mržnje, uz posebno uvažavanje zaštite dostojanstva i prava ranjivih grupa, i u online i offline prostoru. U tom okviru, pravni standard zahtijeva proporcionalnu procjenu u svakom konkretnom slučaju, uzimajući u obzir kontekst, uticaj govora i status govornika, čime se dodatno afirmiše odgovornost javnih aktera u javnom prostoru.

2.2.4. Preporuka CM/Rec(2022)16 o suzbijanju govora mržnje

Savjet Evrope, Preporuka CM/Rec(2022)16 Komiteta ministara državama članicama o borbi protiv govora mržnje.

Preporuka CM/Rec (2022)16[42] o suzbijanju govora mržnje predstavlja centralni normativni okvir Savjeta Evrope za suzbijanje govora mržnje, sa eksplicitnim obuhvatom kako offline, tako i online prostora. Javni zvaničnici, posebno oni na rukovodećim pozicijama, trebalo bi, s obzirom na svoj uticajni položaj, da izbjegavaju učešće

41 Međunarodni pakt o građanskim i političkim pravima, dostupno na: https://www.ohchr.org/en/instruments-mechanisms/instruments/international-covenant-civil-and-political-rights

42 Preporuka CM/Rec(2022)16 o suzbijanju govora mržnje, dostupno na: https://search.coe.int/cm#{%22CoEIdentifier%22:[%220900001680a67955%22],%22sort%22:[%22CoEValidationDate%20Descending%22]}

u, podržavanje ili širenje govora mržnje. Preporuka instistira na javno promovisanje kulture ljudskih prava i osuđivanje govora mržnje, uz poštovanje slobode izražavanja i informisanja, uključujući kritike i informacije koje mogu uvrediti, šokirati ili uznemiriti državu ili bilo koji sektor stanovništva. U tom smislu, Preporukom se navodi da „parlamente, druga izabrana tijela i političke stranke bi trebalo podsticati da uspostave **posebne politike za rješavanje i borbu protiv govora mržnje, posebno u kontekstu izbornih kampanja i u debatama predstavničkih skupština**." U tom cilju, trebalo **bi da usvoje kodeks ponašanja koji predviđa interni postupak za žalbe i sankcije**. Takođe bi trebalo da izbjegavaju svako izražavanje koje može podsticati netoleranciju i trebalo bi da otvoreno osuđuju govor mržnje.[43] Normativna vrijednost ove Preporuke ogleda se upravo u njenom sveobuhvatnom pristupu, koji problem govora mržnje ne posmatra isključivo kroz prizmu krivičnopravne sankcije, već ga šire kontekstualizuje kao pitanje demokratske političke kulture i institucionalne odgovornosti. Pošto govor mržnje obuhvata niz izraza mržnje koji se razlikuju po svojoj težini, šteti koju prouzrokuju i svom uticaju na članove određenih grupa u različitim kontekstima, države članice treba da obezbijede da je na snazi niz pravilno kalibrisanih mjera za efikasno sprečavanje i borbu protiv govora mržnje. Takav sveobuhvatni pristup treba da bude u potpunosti usklađen sa Evropskom konvencijom o ljudskim pravima i relevantnom sudskom praksom Evropskog suda za ljudska prava. Preporukom se institira na razlici između: govora mržnje koji je zabranjen krivičnim pravom i govora mržnje koji ne dostiže nivo težine potreban za krivičnu odgovornost, ali je ipak predmet građanskog ili upravnog prava i govora - uvredljivih ili štetnih vrsta izražavanja koje nijesu dovoljno teške da bi bile legitimno ograničene Evropskom konvencijom o ljudskim pravima, ali ipak zahtijevaju alternativne odgovore, kao što su: kontra-govor i druge kontramjere, mjere koje podstiču međukulturni dijalog i razumijevanje, uključujući putem medija i društvenih medija, i relevantne obrazovne, informativne i aktivnosti podizanja svijesti.[44] Takođe, države članice treba da uspostave i ojačaju obrazovne inicijative, programe za djecu i mlade, roditelje i staratelje, edukatore, koji rade sa djecom i koji im omogućavaju da razumiju i da se nose sa govorom mržnje.[45]

2.2.5. ECRI Opšta preporuka, br. 15 o borbi protiv govora mržnje

ECRI Opšta preporuka br.15 o borbi protiv govora mržnje[46] obuhvata normativne, etičke, obrazovne i zaštitne mehanizme, uključujući parlamentarne kodekse, javnu osudu, edukaciju i zaštitu ranjivih grupa, i među njima djecu. ECRI Preporuka uspostavlja sveobuhvatan regulatorni okvir za razumijevanje i suzbijanje govora mržnje, definišući ga široko kao svaki oblik zagovaranja, promovisanja ili podsticanja omalovažavanja, mržnje, stigmatizacije, negativnog stereotipisanja, vrijeđanja ili prijetnji usmjerenih prema pojedincu ili grupi na osnovu zaštićenih karakteristika. ECRI insistira na odlučnom institucionalnom odgovoru u situacijama kada političari ili drugi u javnom životu imaju posebno važnu odgovornost usljed njihovog društvenog uticaja. U okviru takvog pristupa, ECRI posebno naglašava odgovornost javnih ličnosti, propisujući potrebu za njihovim brzim reakcijama na govor mržnje. Države članice Savjeta Evrope se pozivaju da usvoje mjere kojima se ukazuje na neistinitost i neprihvatljivost govora mržnje i „hrabre reakcije političara, vjerskih i vođa u zajednici, kojima se takav govor osuđuje".[47] Preporuka propisuje podršku borbi protiv

[43] Para. 28-29 Preporuke CM/Rec(2022)16 o suzbijanju govora mržnje, dostupno na: https://search.coe.int/cm#{%22CoEIdentifier%22:[%220900001680a67955%22],%22sort%22:[%22CoEValidationDate%20Descending%22]}

[44] Para. 3 Appendix to Recommendation CM/Rec(2022)16, dostupno na: https://search.coe.int/cm#{%22CoEIdentifier%22:[%220900001680a67955%22],%22sort%22:[%22CoEValidationDate%20Descending%22]}

[45] Para.99 ECRI Opšta preporuka, br. 15 o borbi protiv govora mržnje, dostupno na: https://rm.coe.int/ecri-general-policy-recommendation-no-15-on-hate-speech-bosnian-transl/1680a0bb2d

[46] ECRI Opšta preporuka, br. 15 o borbi protiv govora mržnje, dostupno na: https://rm.coe.int/ecri-general-policy-recommendation-no-15-on-hate-speech-bosnian-transl/1680a0bb2d

[47] Preambula 4 (g) ECRI Opšta preporuka, br. 15 o borbi protiv govora mržnje, dostupno na: https://rm.coe.int/ecri-general-policy-recommendation-no-15-on-hate-speech-bosnian-transl/1680a0bb2d

upotrebe govora mržnje, a u tom kontekstu države članice će: „a. podsticati usvajanje odgovarajućih kodeksa ponašanja koji predviđaju suspenziju i druge sankcije zbog kršenja njihovih odredbi, kao i efikasnih kanala prijavljivanja; b. podsticati političke stranke da potpišu Povelju evropskih političkih stranaka za društvo bez rasizma; c. promovisati praćenje dezinformacija, negativnih stereotipa i stigmatizacije; d. podsticati nedvosmislenu osudu kršenja ovih kodeksa; e. podržati odgovarajuću obuku o značenju i negativnim posljedicama govora mržnje, kao i o načinima na koje se njegova upotreba može osporiti; i f. promovisati i pomagati uspostavljanje mehanizama za podnošenje pritužbi."[48] U slučaju djece i mladih ne samo zbog toga što ih njihova dob čini posebno podložnima uticaju govora mržnje, već i zbog toga što se time omogućava obrazovnom sistemu da ih lakše oslobodi predrasuda koje podržavaju upotrebu govora mržnje.[49]

2.3. Pravni okvir prava djeteta – temeljni standardi

Konvencija UN-a o pravima djeteta predstavlja univerzalni i pravno obavezujući međunarodni instrument koji uspostavlja minimalne standarde zaštite prava djeteta, zasnovane na principu cjelovitog razvoja, dostojanstva i participacije djeteta u društvu. Konvencija uspostavlja načelo „*najboljeg interesa djeteta*" čija primjena nameće obavezu državama da sistemski integrišu ovaj princip u sve relevantne politike i prakse u zakonodavnoj, administrativnoj i sudskoj sferi.[50] Ovom Konvencijom se garantuje pravo na slobodno izražavanje mišljenja djeteta, čime se afirmiše participativna dimenzija prava djeteta.[51] Dijete se štiti i od proizvoljnog ili nezakonitog miješanja u njegov privatni život, porodicu, dom ili prepisku, te od nezakonitih napada na njegovu čast i ugled, čime se uspostavlja jasna veza sa zaštitom privatnosti i reputacije u medijima i online prostoru, a državama se nameće obaveza da podstiču razvoj medija koji doprinose dobrobiti djeteta, uključujući njihov socijalni, moralni i mentalni razvoj, kao i da razvijaju odgovarajuće smjernice i mehanizme zaštite djece od štetnih informacija i sadržaja.[52] Konvencijom se definišu ciljevi obrazovanja, ističući razvoj ličnosti, talenata i mentalnih i fizičkih sposobnosti djeteta do njihovog punog potencijala, što implicira i obavezu stvaranja sigurnog i podsticajnog informacionog okruženja.[53] Nadalje, propisuje se obaveza države da preduzme zakonodavne, administrativne, socijalne i obrazovne mjere radi zaštite djece od svih oblika fizičkog ili mentalnog nasilja, uključujući zloupotrebe u digitalnom okruženju.[54]

U praksi međunarodnog prava i sistema zaštite ljudskih prava, tumačenja odredbi Konvencije povjerena su Komitetu za prava djeteta koji kroz Opšte komentare obezbjeđuje ključni vodič primjene Konvencije. Iako formalno nemaju obavezujuću pravnu snagu poput same Konvencije, oni imaju izuzetno značajnu interpretativnu vrijednost, jer razrađuju sadržaj i domet pojedinačnih prava, definišu obaveze država i uspostavljaju standarde njihove implementacije u savremenim društvenim okolnostima. Prilikom primjene i razvoja standarda zaštite prava djeteta koriste ih međunarodne organizacije, nacionalni sudovi i druga tijela. U tom smislu se posebnu ističu četiri opšta komentara. *Opštim komentarom br. 13 (2011) Komiteta za prava djeteta UN-a za pravo djeteta na zaštitu od svih oblika nasilja,* insistira se na prevenciji svih oblika nasilja i na uspostavljanju integrisanih sistema zaštite djece. To je veoma bitno

48 Preambula 6 ECRI Opšta preporuka, br. 15 o borbi protiv govora mržnje, dostupno na: https://rm.coe.int/ecri-general-policy-recommendation-no-15-on-hate-speech-bosnian-transl/1680a0bb2d

49 Para.99 ECRI Opšta preporuka, br. 15 o borbi protiv govora mržnje, dostupno na: https://rm.coe.int/ecri-general-policy-recommendation-no-15-on-hate-speech-bosnian-transl/1680a0bb2d

50 Član 3 Konvencije o pravima djeteta

51 Članovi 12 i 13 Konvencije o pravima djeteta

52 Članovi 16 i 17 Konvencije o pravima djeteta

53 Član 29 Konvencije. Konvencija o pravima djeteta, usvojena Rezolucijom UN, 1989, dostupno na: https://www.ohchr.org/en/instruments-mechanisms/instruments/convention-rights-child. Takođe, dostupno na: https://www.unicef.org/montenegro/media/9106/file/MNE-media-MNEpublication502.pdf, https://www.ombudsman.co.me/img-page/40/konvencija%20o%20pravima%20djeteta%20crc.pdf

54 Član 19 Konvencije o pravima djeteta.

za govor javnih funkcionera: javni govor koji normalizuje ponižavanje može biti dio okruženja koje proizvodi psihološku štetu i sekundarnu viktimizaciju. *Opšti komentar br. 14 (2013) Komiteta za prava djeteta UN*-a naglašava da najbolji interes djeteta nije retorički već interpretativni princip i proceduralno pravilo kojim se obezbjeđuje da svako odstupanje od njega zahtijeva obrazloženje. To je važno za parlament, jer znači da javne politike, narativi i institucionalni odgovori koji se tiču djece moraju demonstrirati da je interes djeteta primarni interes zajednice. Komitet je kroz *Opštu napomenu br. 16 (2013) Komiteta za prava djeteta Ujedinjenih nacija* uveo koncept šireg društvenog i institucionalnog okruženja koje utiče na ostvarivanje prava djeteta. Iako primarno usmjeren na poslovni sektor, ovim Komentarom se uspostavlja važan princip da se prava djeteta mogu ugroziti i kroz posredne uticaje, koji, i kada nijesu direktno usmjereni na djecu, mogu oblikovati vrijednosti sa posljedicama po njihov razvoj i dobrobit. Shodno izazovima novog doba Komitet za prava djeteta UN-a je 2021. godine dao posebno tumačenje prava djece u digitalnom prostoru i naglasio da države moraju usvajati zakonodavne, političke i druge mjere radi pune zaštite dječjih prava u digitalnom okruženju. Opšti komentar br. 25 (2021) Komiteta za prava djeteta UN–a prava djeteta u digitalnom okruženju obuhvata i društvene mreže, odnosno javne profile političara i poslanika, kada njihov govor ili digitalna komunikacija dopiru do djece ili utiču na njih.

2.3.1. Konvencija Savjeta Evrope o sprečavanju i borbi protiv nasilja nad ženama i nasilja u porodici i zaštiti djece od seksualnog iskorišćavanja i seksualnog zlostavljanja

Konvencija Savjeta Evrope o sprečavanju i borbi protiv nasilja nad ženama i nasilja u porodici (Istanbulska konvencija) obezbjeđuje zaštitu djece kroz propisivanje obaveze država da sprečavaju i sankcionišu sve oblike nasilja, uključujući i psihološko nasilje. Zaštita djece od nasilja podrazumijeva podizanje svijesti o različitim oblicima nasilja i njihovim posljedicama, kao i obezbjeđivanje dostupnosti informacija o mjerama prevencije i zaštite. Konvencijom se definiše i potreba uspostavljanja efikasne saradnje svih institucija i organizacija radi pružanja pravovremene zaštite i podrške djeci kao žrtvama i svjedocima, uz sprječavanje sekundarne viktimizacije i uvažavanje njihovih specifičnih potreba.[55] Konvencije Savjeta Evrope o zaštiti djece od seksualnog iskorišćavanja i seksualnog zlostavljanja (Lanzarote konvencija)[56] bavi se zaštitom djece, uključujući i zaštitu od štetnih sadržaja i komunikacije.[57]

[55] Istanbulska konvencija, 2011, članovi 13, 18, dostupno na: https://rm.coe.int/168008482e, https://rm.coe.int/1680464e6e

[56] Lanzarote konvencija, 2010, dostupno na: https://www.coe.int/en/web/conventions/full-list?module=treaty-detail&treatynum=201, https://www.coe.int/en/web/children/lanzarote-convention

[57] Član 6 naglašava obavezu država da osiguraju obrazovanje djece o rizicima seksualnog iskorišćavanja, uključujući i putem medija i interneta, dok član 9 predviđa mjere za podizanje svijesti i informisanje javnosti, uključujući djecu, o opasnostima štetnih sadržaja.

2.3.2. Strategija Savjeta Evrope za prava djeteta 2022–2027.

Strategija Savjeta Evrope za prava djeteta 2022–2027. je važan političko-pravni okvir kojim se posebno naglašava pravo djeteta na zaštitu od svih oblika nasilja, diskriminacije, stigmatizacije kao i štetnih obrazaca komunikacije u javnom i digitalnom prostoru.[58] Strategijom se definiše obaveza država Članica Savjeta Evrope da razviju specifične mehanizme zaštite djece od štetnih uticaja.[59] Tako, predviđena je i obaveza država članica da stvore bezbjedno digitalno okruženje za djecu.[60]

2.3.3. Preporuka Savjeta Evrope CM/Rec(2018)7 o pravima djeteta - Smjernice za poštovanje, zaštitu i ostvarivanje prava djeteta u digitalnom okruženju

Ovom Preporukom Savjeta Evrope CM/Rec(2018)7 o pravima djeteta sa smjernicama za poštovanje, zaštitu i ostvarivanje prava djeteta u digitalnom okruženju prepoznaje se značaj digitalnog okruženja za razvoj djeteta. Ona propisuje da svako dijete može ostvarivati svoja prava online isto kao offline, te da države treba da uređuju digitalni prostor tako da štite dječje blagostanje i prava. Dokument naglašava potrebu za kvalitetnim informacijama, ali i obavezu država da djeci osiguraju okruženje koje ne podriva njihova prava, dostojanstvo i razvoj.

2.4. Nacionalni pravni okvir

Normativni okvir u Crnoj Gori upućuje na nepostojanje jedinstvene norme kojom se reguliše štetni i nezakoniti govor javnih funkcionera prema djeci, ali kombinacija ustavnih odredbi, antidiskriminacionih normi, medijskih standarda zaštite i pravila parlamentarnog ponašanja omogućava uspostavljanje šireg standarda odgovornog javnog govora u odnosu na djecu. Taj standard obuhvata ne samo zaštitu od govora mržnje, već i svakog drugog govora kojim se može normalizovati diskriminacija, stereotipi ili drugi obrasci ponašanja štetni za razvoj djece.

Nacionalni pravni okvir dodatno potvrđuje potrebu šire zaštite djece. Norme koje zabranjuju uznemiravanje, diskriminaciju i štetne medijske sadržaje, kao i pravila o zaštiti najboljeg interesa djeteta, omogućavaju da se i javni govor koji nije eksplicitno nezakonit prepozna kao potencijalno štetan. Standard zaštite djece u javnom diskursu bi morao podrazumijevati zaštitu djece ne samo od govora koji direktno podstiče mržnju ili nasilje, već i od svakog onog koji može doprinijeti normalizaciji diskriminacije, stvaranju neprijateljskog okruženja ili narušavanju psihološke i socijalne dobrobiti djece. Ovaj pristup naglašava preventivnu funkciju prava, usmjerenu na stvaranje sigurnog i podsticajnog društvenog okruženja za djecu.

2.4.1. Ustavni okvir: zaštita djeteta kao ograničenje slobode izražavanja

Ustav Crne Gore jamči slobodu izražavanja, ali u isto vrijeme postavlja osnov za njeno ograničenje, kada se druge ustavne i konvencijske vrijednosti dovedu u pitanje. Dakle, Ustav garantuje slobodu izražavanja, ali istovremeno zabranjuje govor koji podstiče mržnju ili netrpeljivost. Ustavnom se izričito zabranjuje izazivanje ili podsticanje mržnje ili netrpeljivosti, kao i svaka neposredna ili posredna diskriminacija. S druge strane, Ustavom se garantuje posebna zaštita djeteta, što uključuje i zaštitu od sadržaja koji mogu ugroziti njegov fizički, psihički i moralni razvoj.

[58] Vodič za djecu i mlade kroz Strategiju Savjeta Evrope za prava djeteta, dostupno na: https://rm.coe.int/council-of-europe-strategy-for-the-rights-of-the-child-2022-2027-child/1680a5ef27, https://rm.coe.int/coe-child-friendly-version-of-the-strategy/1680a9097d, str. 18-21.

[59] Vodič za djecu i mlade kroz Strategiju Savjeta Evrope za prava djeteta, dostupno na: https://rm.coe.int/council-of-europe-strategy-for-the-rights-of-the-child-2022-2027-child/1680a5ef27, Dostupno na: https://rm.coe.int/coe-child-friendly-version-of-the-strategy/1680a9097d

[60] Ibidem. str. 25-28.

2.4.2. Antidiskriminacioni okvir: štetni govor kao uznemiravanje i degradacija dostojanstva

U središtu antidiskriminacionog zakonodavstva Crne Gore je Zakon o zaštiti jednakosti i zabrani diskriminacije. Njime se definiše pojam uznemiravanja kao svako neželjeno ponašanje, uključujući i uznemiravanje putem audio i video nadzora, mobilnih uređaja, društvenih mreža i interneta, koje ima za cilj ili čija je posljedica povreda ličnog dostojanstva, izazivanje straha, osjećaja poniženosti ili uvrijeđenosti ili stvaranje neprijateljskog, ponižavajućeg ili uvredljivog okruženja. Nadalje, ovim normativnim tekstom precizira se da svaki oblik izražavanja ideja, tvrdnji, informacija i mišljenja koji širi, raspiruje, podstiče ili pravda diskriminaciju, mržnju ili nasilje protiv lica ili grupe lica zbog njihovog ličnog svojstva, ksenofobiju, rasnu mržnju, antisemitizam ili ostale oblike mržnje zasnovane na netoleranciji, uključujući i netoleranciju izraženu u formi nacionalizma, diskriminacije i neprijateljstva protiv manjina, predstavlja govor mržnje. Iz ovoga proističe da normativni okvir pretpostavlja odgovornost i za oblike javnog govora koji nijesu eksplicitno „govor mržnje“, kao što su stereotipizacija, stigmatizacija i normalizacija nasilja, a koji mogu neposredno ili posredno imati štetne efekte na ranjive grupe, naročito na djecu.

2.4.3. Krivičnopravni okvir: zaštita djece od štetnih i opasnih sadržaja

Krivični zakonik Crne Gore,[61] obezbjeđuje minimalni prag zaštite kroz kriminalizaciju najtežih oblika štetnog govora i sadržaja. Zakonik sankcioniše izazivanje mržnje, ali su za širi koncept nezakonitog i štetnog govora važni i drugi članovi koji štite maloljetnike od sadržaja koji mogu negativno uticati na njihov razvoj.[62] Inkriminacija dječje pornografije u Krivičnom zakoniku predstavlja izraz pojačane krivičnopravne zaštite djece od sadržaja i oblika komunikacije koji mogu ugroziti njihovo dostojanstvo, integritet i razvoj, uključujući i štetne digitalne i medijske narative.[63] Iako politički govor rijetko potpada pod krivičnu odgovornost, ovi standardi postavljaju granice društveno neprihvatljivog diskursa.

2.4.4. Medijski i audiovizuelni okvir: zaštita razvoja maloljetnika

Zakon o medijima Crne Gore i Zakon o elektronskim medijima Crne Gore su od posebnog značaja za razumijevanje (in)direktnog uticaja javnih narativa na djecu. Ovi zakoni zabranjuju sadržaje koji podstiču mržnju, ali i šire sadržaje koji mogu štetiti fizičkom, mentalnom ili moralnom razvoju maloljetnika. Posebno su značajne odredbe o zaštiti maloljetnika u programskim sadržajima, koje podrazumijevaju ograničenje emitovanja nasilnog, vulgarnog ili degradirajućeg sadržaja. Budući da se parlamentarni govor prenosi kroz medije, ove norme omogućavaju da se procjenjuje njegov širi društveni efekat.

61 Krivični zakonik Crne Gore, dostupno na: https://www.gov.me/dokumenta/c4dcee51-ee88-430f-a8db-de91f38eadc4

62 Član 370 Krivičnog zakonika Crne Gore, dostupno na: https://www.gov.me/dokumenta/c4dcee51-ee88-430f-a8db-de91f38eadc4

63 Član 211a Krivičnog zakonika Crne Gore, dostupno na: https://www.gov.me/dokumenta/c4dcee51-ee88-430f-a8db-de91f38eadc4

2.4.5. Okvir zaštite djece: najbolji interes i zaštita od psihološkog uticaja

Porodični zakon Crne Gore[64] uspostavlja princip najboljeg interesa djeteta kao vrhovno načelo koje se prožima kroz cijeli tekst zakona. Nadalje, Zakonom o socijalnoj i dječjoj zaštiti[65] naglašava se obaveza države da štiti dijete od svih oblika zanemarivanja i štetnog uticaja, dok Zakon o zaštiti od nasilja u porodici[66] prepoznaje pored ostalih formi i psihološko nasilje. Ovaj okvir omogućava da se štetni govor – čak i kada nije direktno upućen djeci – analizira kao faktor koji utiče na njihovu sigurnost, identitet i razvoj.

2.4.6. Obrazovni i društveni kontekst

Zakon o obrazovanju i vaspitanju[67] propisuje da obrazovni sistem mora obezbijediti razvoj ličnosti djeteta u skladu sa demokratskim vrijednostima, tolerancijom i nenasiljem. U tom kontekstu, javni govor koji promoviše netoleranciju, agresiju ili degradaciju može biti u suprotnosti sa ciljevima obrazovanja i imati negativan uticaj na djecu kao dio šireg društvenog okruženja.

2.4.7. Politički i institucionalni okvir: odgovornost javnog govora

Zakon o izboru odbornika i poslanika[68] definiše status i odgovornost izabranih predstavnika. Iako ne regulišu direktno sadržaj govora, ovi zakoni su važni jer se odnose na legitimitet, javnu funkciju poslanika, i njihovo djelovanje u kontekstu demokratskog društva.

2.4.8. Parlamentarni i etički okvir: standardi prihvatljivog govora

Poslovnik Skupštine Crne Gore[69] omogućava sankcionisanje neprimjerenog govora kroz mjere održavanja reda, dok Etički kodeks poslanika Skupštine Crne Gore[70] propisuje etička načela, standarde ponašanja i profesionalnih obaveza kojih se poslanici/ce moraju pridržavati tokom vršenja svoje poslaničke funkcije. Propisuje obavezu poštovanja ljudskih prava i sloboda, zaštitu dostojanstva, zabranu uvredljivog i neprimjerenog izražavanja, kao i odgovornost za javnu riječ.

2.5. Odgovornost poslanika/ca u javnom govoru

Uporište za stav da poslanik, kao javni funkcioner, uživa širok, ali ne neograničen opseg slobode izražavanja, uz istovremeno pojačanu odgovornost za izgovorenu riječ, nalazi se u kombinaciji međunarodnih standarda slobode izražavanja i zaštite drugih prava, posebno prava djece. Tako Venecijanska komisija u svom mišljenju navodi da sloboda izražavanja poslanika, kao suštinski dio demokratije, mora biti široko zaštićena, uključujući i kada govore van parlamenta. Ograničenja slobode izražavanja poslanika „trebalo bi da se primjenjuju samo, ako uopšte, na izjave naročito teške prirode, i uvijek moraju biti odmjerena u odnosu na prevladavajući zahtjev obezbjeđivanja slobodne političke debate u parlamentu."

U pravno-teorijskom smislu, iz ovih izvora proizlazi jasno diferenciran standard: što je veći javni uticaj i institucionalna moć govornika, to je viši prag njegove

64 Porodični zakon Crne Gore, dostupno na: https://wapi.gov.me/download-preview/6ffd2ae9-25a5-44ff-8f24-3d8645107d92?version=1.0

65 Zakon o socijalnoj i dječjoj zaštit „Službeni list Crne Gore", br. 27/13, 1/15, 42/15, 47/15, 56/16, 66/16, 1/17, 31/17, 42/17, 50/17, 59/21, 145/21, 3/23, 48/24, 84/24, 33/25, 122/25, 160/25 i 33/26. Dostupno na: https://www.zzzcg.me/wp-content/uploads/2025/08/Zakon-o-socijalnoj-i-djecjoj-zastiti-2.pdf

66 Zakon o zaštiti od nasilja u porodici, dostupno na: Zakon o zaštiti od nasilja u porodici

67 Opšti zakon o obrazovanju i vaspitanju, dostupno na: https://www.sluzbenilist.me/propisi/2B8F99BE-BAE5-42CF-A57E-ED92373E8A8E

68 Zakon o izboru odbornika i poslanika („Službeni list RCG", br. 4/98, 5/98, 17/98, 14/00 i 18/00, „Službeni list SRJ", br. 73/00, 9/01, 41/02, 46/02, 45/04, 48/06 i 56/06, i „Službeni list CG", br. 46/11, 14/14, 47/14, 12/16, 60/17, 10/18, 109/20 i 81/25). Prečišćeni tekst dostupan na: https://mail.dik.co.me/images/DIK-media/legislativa/zakoni/Zakon_o_izboru_odbornika_i_poslanika.pdf

69 „Poslovnik Skupštine Crne Gore, dostupno na: https://www.skupstina.me/me/poslovnik-o-radu".

70 Etički kodeks poslanika, dostupno na: Skupština Crne Gore

odgovornosti. Poslanik, kao nosilac javne funkcije i učesnik u oblikovanju javnog mnjenja, ima legitimno pravo na pojačanu zaštitu slobode izražavanja. Zbog tog dosega njegove riječi, odnosno potencijala da proizvede široke društvene posljedice, uključujući i negativne efekte na, javni funkcioneri su dužni da svoju slobodu ostvaruju uz pojačanu odgovornost, posebno kada se izjašnjavaju o pitanjima koja mogu uticati na dostojanstvo, razvoj i psihološki integritet djece. Pravno posmatrano, sloboda izražavanja poslanika je funkcionalno šira radi zaštite demokratske debate, ali je istovremeno normativno ograničena principima zaštite prava drugih, naročito djece međunarodni i nacionalni norm. Time se uspostavlja sistem povećane odgovornosti javnog funkcionera za sadržaj i posljedice javno izgovorene riječi.

U savremenim uslovima digitalizacije javne sfere, uloga javnih funkcionera, a naročito poslanika, u političkoj edukaciji mladih značajno je transformisana i proširena. Dok je u prethodnim decenijama komunikacija sa mladima bila posredovana tradicionalnim medijima (televizija, štampa, informativne emisije), danas je karakteriše neposrednost, interaktivnost i kontinuirana dostupnost putem društvenih mreža. Istraživanja Evropske Unije, Evropskog parlamenta i Komisije, pokazuju da čak 65% mladih starosti od 15 do 24 godine, navodi društvene mreže kao primarni izvor informacija o političkim i društvenim pitanjima. Rezultati istraživanja iz 2025. godine, ukazuju na kombinaciju aktivnog i pasivnog konzumiranja društvenih i političkih informacija na društvenim mrežama, pri čemu mnogi korisnici istovremeno namjerno traže sadržaj (66%) i neočekivano nailaze na njega tokom uobičajenog pregledanja (76%). Ispitanici se sa društvenim i političkim sadržajem na društvenim mrežama najčešće angažuju tako što ga čitaju ili pregledaju u okviru svojih feed-ova (38%) ili lajkuju i reaguju na objave (36%). Takođe, istraživanja iz 2022. godine pokazuju da između 25% i 35% mladih aktivno dijeli politički sadržaj online, što potvrđuje dvosmjernu prirodu savremene političke komunikacije i transformaciju mladih iz pasivnih konzumenata u aktivne učesnike.

Ova transformacija nameće povećanu odgovornost javnim funkcionerima, jer njihovo *online* djelovanje više nije samo pitanje marketinga, već i pitanje javne odgovornosti i demokratske edukacije. Za razliku od ranijeg perioda, kada je pristup izjavama poslanika bio ograničen na uređivačke politike medija, digitalno doba omogućava kontinuirano i neregulisano prisustvo u javnom prostoru, čime se povećava i rizik od dezinformacija, ali i potencijal za kvalitetnu političku edukaciju djece i mladih. U tom smislu, važno je razumjeti da standard odgovornog i demokratskog djelovanja podrazumijeva da poslanici koriste digitalne platforme na način koji doprinosi informisanju, političkoj pismenosti i aktivnom uključivanju djece i mladih u demokratske procese.

2.5.1. ESLJP – ključni pravci sudske prakse: govor poslanika/ca

Govor u parlamentu ima pojačanu zaštitu

Evropska konvencija o ljudskim pravima u članu 10 garantuje slobodu izražavanja, pri čemu Evropski sud za ljudska prava u svojoj ustaljenoj praksi naglašava da politički govor, naročito govor izabranih predstavnika, uživa najviši stepen zaštite, jer je od suštinskog značaja za demokratsku raspravu. Poslanici imaju široku slobodu političkog govora, naročito u parlamentu. Takav pristup potvrđen je, između ostalog, u predmetu Castells v. Spain, 1992 u kojem je Sud istakao da političari moraju imati posebno širok prostor za izražavanje, uključujući i oštru kritiku vlasti. Poseban značaj ima i predmet Karácsony and Others v. Hungary, 2016 u kojem je Sud dodatno naglasio da parlament predstavlja centralno mjesto demokratske debate, te da se ograničenja slobode izražavanja poslanika moraju tumačiti restriktivno, čak i kada je riječ o provokativnom ili disruptivnom ponašanju u parlamentarnom kontekstu. U ovom predmetu Sud je istakao da govor u parlamentu uživa povišen nivo zaštite, što je povezano s parlamentarnom autonomijom i imunitetom. To znači da država mora biti vrlo oprezna kada poseže za sankcionisanjem govora poslanika unutar parlamenta.

2.5.2. Političari ne smiju širiti netoleranciju

Zaštita političkog govora nije apsolutna. Status govornika je posebno važan - što je uloga i značaj govornika veći u društvu to govor ima veću legitimacinu i mobilizacionu moć. Izjave javnih funkcionera odnosno poslanika koje mogu izazvati strah, nesigurnost ili osjećaj isključenosti kod djece predstavljaju potencijalni rizik po njihovu dobrobit, čak i kada nijesu usmjerene direktno na njih ni kada su formalno nezakonite. Dakle, ako poslanik govori na način da djecu direktno ili indirektno stigmatizuje, izlaže stereotipima, izaziva strah, podstiče prezir ili normalizuje verbalno nasilje prema djeci, to nije samo pitanje "oštre političke debate", nego i pitanje povrede prava djeteta na dostojanstvo, zaštitu, razvoj i nediskriminaciju.[71]

U predmetu *Erbakan v. Turkey*, *2006*[72] Sud je rekao da je od ključnog značaja da političari u svojim govorima izbjegavaju komentare koji mogu podstaći netoleranciju. U ovom predmetu se dodatno naglašava da političari moraju izbjegavati izjave koje mogu produbiti društvene podjele i podstaći netrpeljivost.

[71] Konvencija o pravima djeteta, usvojena Rezolucijom UN, 1989, dostupno na: https://www.ohchr.org/en/instruments-mechanisms/instruments/convention-rights-child

[72] Erbakan v. Turkey, dostupno na: https://hudoc.echr.coe.int/eng#{%22itemid%22:[%22001-76232%22]}, https://hudoc.echr.coe.int/eng-press#{%22itemid%22:[%22003-1728198-1812055%22]}

Sud je u predmetu *Féret v. Belgium, 2009*[73] naglasio da političari, upravo zbog svog uticaja i dometa javne riječi, imaju posebne dužnosti i odgovornosti, naročito obavezu da se uzdrže od govora koji može podsticati netrpeljivost, diskriminaciju ili štetu prema ranjivim grupama. Sud ističe da političari u javnom diskursu ne smiju širiti stavove koji podstiču netrpeljivost, posebno zato što takav govor ima snažan društveni odjek.

U predmetu *Vejdeland and Others v. Sweden, 2012*[74] Sud je prihvatio sankcionisanje distribucije letaka djeci u srednjoj školi sa ozbiljno uvredljivim i predrasudnim navodima u odnosu na homoseksualce, iako nije postojao direktan poziv na nasilje. Ovo je važno jer i govor o djeci ili grupama djece može biti značaj i kada nije otvoreno kada se direktno na njih ne odnosi ali im se "pozivanje na napad", nego kada proizvodi stigmu, poniženje i neprijateljsko društveno okruženje. Dakle, nije poziv na nasilje neophodan da bi se govor smatrao štetnim, nezakonitim i da bi se sankcionisao. Sličan pristup potvrđen je u predmetu *Le Pen v. France*, *2010*[75] u kojem je Sud prihvatio ograničenje političkog govora zbog izjava koje su podsticale netoleranciju, ističući da sloboda izražavanja ne štiti govor suprotan osnovnim vrijednostima Konvencije.

Takođe, Sud u svojoj praksi o govoru mržnje redovno podsjeća da izrazi koji napadaju temeljne vrijednosti Konvencije mogu biti ograničeni po članu 10 stav 2, a u ekstremnim slučajevima isključeni iz zaštite po članu 17.[76] Tako u predmetu *Norwood v. UK*, *2004*[77] Sud je razmatrao slučaj političkog aktiviste koji je istakao poster sa porukom „Islam out of Britain", uz sliku zapaljenih kula bliznakinja. Sud je zaključio da takva poruka predstavlja opšti napad na jednu religijsku grupu i da je nespojiva sa vrijednostima tolerancije i nediskriminacije. Pozivajući se na član 17, Sud je isključio zaštitu iz člana 10 i predstavku proglasio nedopuštenom.

2.5.3. Društvene mreže: pojačana odgovornost političara

Poseban izazov predstavlja indirektan uticaj političkog i javnog govora preko društvenih mreža. Na ovom digitalnom forumu, djeca nijesu pasivni posmatrači, već aktivni učesnici u digitalnom sistemu u kome provode značajan dio svog vremena. Politički diskurs, iako primarno usmjeren ka odrasloj javnosti, oblikuje društvene norme, vrijednosti i obrasce ponašanja koji, u novoj informativnoj eri, neposrednije utiču na djecu, pa je granica između "govora o politici" i "govora koji utiče na djecu" sve manje vidljiva. U digitalnom okruženju ovaj uticaj je dodatno pojačan–na društvenim mrežama i online platformama, gdje se političke poruke brzo šire i normalizuju. Takva izloženost povećava rizik od „normalizacije" negativnih stereotipa, netolerancije i agresivnih obrazaca komunikacije, što može imati dugoročne posljedice po njihov razvoj i društvenu integraciju.

73 Féret v. Belgium, dostupno na: https://hudoc.echr.coe.int/eng#{%22itemid%22:[%22001-114399%22]}, https://hudoc.echr.coe.int/eng#{%22itemid%22:[%22002-1407%22]}

74 Vejdeland and Others v. Sweden, dostupno na: https://hudoc.echr.coe.int/fre#{%22itemid%22:[%22001-109046%22]}, https://hudoc.echr.coe.int/fre#{%22itemid%22:[%22002-116%22]}

75 Le Pen v. France, dostupno na: https://hudoc.echr.coe.int/eng#{%22itemid%22:[%22001-98489%22]}, https://hudoc.echr.coe.int/eng-press#{%22itemid%22:[%22003-3117124-3455760%22]}

76 Hate speech factsheet. Dostupno na: https://www.echr.coe.int/documents/d/echr/fs_hate_speech_eng

77 Norwood v. U.K., dostupno na: https://hudoc.echr.coe.int/eng#{%22itemid%22:[%22001-67632%22]}, https://hudoc.echr.coe.int/eng#{%22itemid%22:[%22002-4154%22]}.

U predmetu *Sanchez v. France*, *2021*[78] Sud je potvrdio odgovornost političara zbog nezakonitih komentara mržnje trećih lica na njegovom otvorenom Facebook profilu u izbornoj kampanji. Sud je naglasio da je njegov status političara zahtijevao da bude posebno „budan i oprezan“ u odnosu na aktivnosti trećih na njegovom profilu, uz određenje da poslanik ne može svoj otvoreni profil na društvenim mrežama tretirati kao “privatni ventil”, ako ih koristi kao politički javni prostor. U ovom predmetu, Veliko vijeće Suda donosi jednu od najvažnijih i najkontroverznijih presuda utvrđujući da političari mogu snositi odgovornost i za govor mržnje koji se širi putem njihovih naloga na društvenim mrežama, čime se dodatno naglašava pojačana odgovornost javnih aktera i u digitalnom prostoru.

Kada djelovanje poslanika može dovesti do stigmatizacije, ponižavanja, diskriminacije, dehumanizacije ili podsticanje netolerancije, država je dužna da zaštiti djecu kroz standard najboljeg interesa djeteta, zaštitu od mentalnog nasilja, zaštitu časti i ugleda, te mora obezbijediti efikasne mjere protiv govora mržnje i štetnog javnog narativa, uključujući i digitalni prostor.

[78] Sanchez v. France, dostupno na: https://hudoc.echr.coe.int/eng#{%22itemid%22:[%22001-224928%22]}, https://hudoc.echr.coe.int/eng#{%22itemid%22:[%22002-14074%22]}. Ovaj predmet predstavlja jedan od najvažnijih predmeta u kojima se utvrđuje odgovornost političara za komentare trećih lica objavljene na njegovoj javnoj Facebook stranici, u kojima je sadržan govor mržnje usmjeren prema migrantima. Sud je naglasio da, iako komentari nijesu bili direktno autorstvo podnosioca predstavke, činjenica da je on upravljao stranicom i imao mogućnost kontrole sadržaja nameće posebnu dužnost nadzora i reagovanja. Imajući u vidu njegov status javne ličnosti i političkog aktera, Sud je istakao da se od njega očekuje viši stepen odgovornosti u sprječavanju širenja nezakonitog i štetnog govora. Propust da ukloni takve komentare u razumnom roku bio je dovoljan osnov za utvrđivanje njegove odgovornosti, pri čemu je Sud zaključio da izrečena sankcija ne predstavlja povredu slobode izražavanja, već legitimnu mjeru zaštite prava drugih i očuvanja demokratskog društva.

03 Odgovorna politička komunikacija i uloga parlamenta



Foto: Pavel Danilyuk / Pexels

3.1. Politički diskurs i kultura demokratskog dijaloga

U savremenim demokratskim društvima politički diskurs ne predstavlja samo način komunikacije među političkim akterima, već i važan društveni obrazac koji utiče na formiranje vrijednosti, stavova i ponašanja građana. Posebno su osjetljiva djeca i mladi, jer se nalaze u procesu razvoja identiteta, socijalizacije i usvajanja normi ponašanja.

Kada politički prostor karakterišu uvrede, etiketiranja, govor mržnje, agresivna retorika i narativi podjela, takav model komunikacije postaje normalizovan i prenosi se na svakodnevni život, školsko okruženje i digitalni prostor. Djeca i mladi usvajaju obrasce ponašanja koje vide kod odraslih i autoriteta. Ukoliko je javni prostor ispunjen neprijateljskim govorom, ponižavanjem neistomišljenika i konfliktom, povećava se vjerovatnoća da će i međusobna komunikacija među mladima postati konfliktna, netolerantna i nasilna. Na taj način politički diskurs prestaje biti samo pitanje politike i postaje pitanje društvene odgovornosti i zaštite djece i mladih.

Poseban problem predstavlja činjenica da su djeca i mladi danas istovremeno izloženi tradicionalnim medijima, društvenim mrežama i digitalnim platformama koje omogućavaju brzo širenje polarizujućih i senzacionalističkih sadržaja. Algoritmi digitalnih mreža često favorizuju konflikt, emocionalno intenzivne poruke i sadržaje koji izazivaju podjele, jer oni generišu veću vidljivost i interakciju. U takvom ambijentu mladi svakodnevno dolaze u kontakt sa govorom mržnje, stereotipima, diskriminacijom i političkom manipulacijom. Dugoročno, to može dovesti do slabljenja empatije, porasta nepovjerenja, normalizacije nasilja i smanjenja osjećaja pripadnosti zajednici.

Istraživanja sve više upozoravaju da kvalitet javnog i političkog govora ima direktan uticaj na društvenu koheziju, mentalno zdravlje mladih i njihovu spremnost za demokratsko učešće. Društva u kojima dominiraju podjele i antagonizmi teže razvijaju povjerenje među građanima, dok djeca i mladi odrastaju u atmosferi nesigurnosti i konflikta. Nasuprot tome, politička komunikacija zasnovana na kulturi dijaloga, poštovanju različitosti i argumentovanoj raspravi doprinosi razvoju tolerantnijeg i otpornijeg društva.

Kultura dijaloga podrazumijeva sposobnost da se neslaganje izrazi bez vrijeđanja i ponižavanja drugih. Ona ne znači odsustvo političkih razlika, već spremnost da se različita mišljenja uvažavaju i da se konflikti rješavaju demokratskim sredstvima.

3.2. Uticaj na društvo

Politički diskurs ima snažan uticaj na ukupne društvene odnose, kvalitet demokratije i stepen društvene kohezije. Način na koji politički akteri komuniciraju u javnom prostoru oblikuje atmosferu u društvu, utiče na međusobno povjerenje građana, odnos prema institucijama i percepciju različitosti. Politički govor nije samo sredstvo predstavljanja političkih stavova i programa, već i važan faktor socijalizacije koji utiče na vrijednosti, norme i obrasce ponašanja u zajednici.

U društvima u kojima dominira kultura dijaloga, argumentovana rasprava i poštovanje različitih mišljenja, razvija se veći stepen povjerenja među građanima i jača osjećaj pripadnosti zajednici. Nasuprot tome, politički diskurs zasnovan na podjelama, etiketiranju, vrijeđanju i stvaranju neprijatelja produbljuje društvene sukobe i slabi društvenu koheziju. Kada politički akteri koriste agresivnu retoriku i narative “mi protiv njih”, razlike među građanima počinju se doživljavati kao prijetnja, a ne kao legitimni dio demokratskog društva.

Takva komunikacija može dovesti do normalizacije netolerancije, govora mržnje i različitih oblika diskriminacije. Posebno je opasno kada se političke razlike predstavljaju kroz prizmu nacionalne, vjerske, etničke ili druge pripadnosti, jer se na taj način podstiču podjele koje dugoročno mogu ugroziti stabilnost društva. U ambijentu stalnih konflikata i polarizacije smanjuje se spremnost građana na saradnju, dijalog i zajedničko djelovanje za opšte dobro.

Jedna od najvažnijih posljedica negativnog političkog diskursa jeste gubitak povjerenja u institucije. Kada javni prostor karakterišu uvrede, sukobi i neodgovorna komunikacija, građani počinju da doživljavaju institucije kao prostor konflikta i obračuna, a ne kao mehanizam za rješavanje društvenih problema. Posljedica toga može biti politička apatija, smanjeno građansko učešće i osjećaj da pojedinac nema mogućnost da utiče na društvene procese.

Politički diskurs utiče i na kvalitet medijskog prostora. Mediji često preuzimaju dominantne obrasce političke komunikacije, pa se konflikt, senzacionalizam i polarizacija dodatno pojačavaju. U digitalnom prostoru ovakvi sadržaji postaju još vidljiviji jer algoritmi društvenih mreža favorizuju emocionalno intenzivne i konfliktne objave. Time se podjele dodatno produbljuju, a društveni dijalog postaje otežan.

Sa druge strane, odgovorna politička komunikacija može imati pozitivan uticaj na društvo. Politički lideri koji promovišu kulturu dijaloga, toleranciju i međusobno poštovanje doprinose jačanju povjerenja i stabilnosti zajednice. Konstruktivan politički govor može podstaći građansku participaciju, razvijati osjećaj zajedništva i ojačati otpornost društva na manipulacije, dezinformacije i ekstremizam.

Posebno je važna sposobnost političkih aktera da u kriznim situacijama komuniciraju odgovorno i solidarno. U periodima društvenih, ekonomskih ili bezbjednosnih izazova način komunikacije političkih lidera može smanjiti tenzije i povećati osjećaj sigurnosti, ili, suprotno tome, dodatno pojačati strah, nepovjerenje i konflikte. Zato politički diskurs predstavlja jedan od ključnih faktora koji utiču na stabilnost, otpornost, društvenu koheziju i demokratski razvoj savremenih društava.

Društvena kohezija, povjerenje među građanima i demokratska kultura ne grade se samo zakonima i institucijama, već i svakodnevnim načinom komunikacije u javnom prostoru. Politički akteri imaju posebnu odgovornost jer njihove riječi oblikuju društvenu atmosferu i utiču na to da li će društvo razvijati kulturu dijaloga i saradnje ili atmosferu podjela i sukoba.

Društvena kohezija ne može se graditi isključivo kroz formalne institucije i pravne mehanizme. Ona se svakodnevno oblikuje kroz način na koji govorimo jedni o drugima, kako predstavljamo različitosti i kako komuniciramo neslaganja. Upravo zbog toga politički diskurs ima snažan uticaj na djecu i mlade i predstavlja jedno od ključnih pitanja savremenih demokratskih društava

3.3. Poseban uticaj političkog diskursa na djecu i mlade

Djeca i mladi predstavljaju jednu od najosjetljivijih društvenih grupa kada je riječ o uticaju političkog diskursa. U periodu odrastanja i formiranja identiteta, mladi usvajaju obrasce ponašanja, vrijednosti i načine komunikacije koje prepoznaju u porodici, školi, medijima i javnom prostoru. Zbog toga način na koji politički akteri govore, komuniciraju neslaganja i predstavljaju druge ljude ima snažan uticaj na njihovo razumijevanje društva, demokratije i međuljudskih odnosa.

Kada politički prostor karakterišu uvrede, etiketiranja, agresivna retorika i govor mržnje, djeca i mladi takve obrasce mogu početi doživljavati kao prihvatljiv način komunikacije. Normalizacija konflikta i netolerancije u javnom prostoru povećava rizik da se slični modeli ponašanja prenesu u škole, vršnjačke odnose i digitalnu komunikaciju. Na taj način politički diskurs može indirektno doprinositi vršnjačkom nasilju, digitalnom nasilju i slabljenju empatije među mladima.

Poseban problem predstavlja činjenica da su djeca i mladi danas svakodnevno izloženi velikom broju sadržaja putem društvenih mreža i digitalnih medija. Političke poruke, konflikti i podjele veoma brzo postaju dio njihovog online okruženja. U digitalnom prostoru negativni narativi se često dodatno pojačavaju kroz komentare, dijeljenje sadržaja i algoritme koji favorizuju konfliktne i emocionalno intenzivne objave. Mladi tako postaju izloženi dezinformacijama,

stereotipima, diskriminaciji i govoru mržnje mnogo češće nego prethodne generacije.

Takvo okruženje može proizvesti osjećaj nesigurnosti, nepovjerenja i frustracije. Dugotrajna izloženost agresivnoj komunikaciji i društvenim podjelama utiče i na mentalno zdravlje djece i mladih, povećavajući osjećaj anksioznosti, straha i bespomoćnosti. Posebno su ranjiva djeca i mladi koji pripadaju manjinskim ili marginalizovanim grupama, jer politički diskurs koji potencira podjele može dodatno pojačati osjećaj isključenosti i neprihvaćenosti.

Politički diskurs utiče i na odnos mladih prema institucijama i demokratiji. Ukoliko mladi u javnom prostoru dominantno vide sukobe, vrijeđanja i nepovjerenje, mogu razviti osjećaj da politika nije prostor dijaloga i zajedničkog djelovanja, već prostor konflikta i podjela. Posljedica toga može biti politička apatija, gubitak povjerenja u institucije i smanjena spremnost mladih da učestvuju u društvenom i političkom životu zajednice.

Posebno je važno uključivanje djece i mladih u procese donošenja odluka i stvaranje prostora u kojem će njihov glas biti uvažen.Djeca i mladi koji imaju osjećaj da su saslušani razvijaju veći stepen povjerenja u zajednicu i institucije.

Uloga političkih aktera u ovom procesu je izuzetno značajna. Nositelji/ke javnih funkcija imaju odgovornost ne samo za sadržaj politika koje sprovode, već i za način na koji komuniciraju sa građanima i političkim protivnicima. Njihove riječi imaju pojačan društveni uticaj jer oblikuju javni prostor i utiču na društvene norme. Posebno u malim i etnokulturno heterogenim zajednicama, politička komunikacija može ili doprinositi povezivanju i povjerenju ili dodatno produbljivati postojeće podjele.

Važno je razvijati javne politike i obrazovne programe koji će jačati i razvijati kritičko mišljenje i osnaživati kapacitete za nenasilnu komunikaciju kod djece i mladih. Jednako je važno uključivati mlade u procese donošenja odluka i stvarati prostor u kojem će njihov glas biti uvažen.

3.4. Karakteristike konstruktivnog diskursa

Konstruktivan diskurs predstavlja način komunikacije koji doprinosi razumijevanju, saradnji i pronalaženju rješenja, čak i kada postoje različita mišljenja i politički stavovi. U demokratskom društvu neslaganja su prirodna i očekivana, ali način na koji se ona izražavaju određuje da li će komunikacija doprinositi jačanju povjerenja i društvene kohezije ili produbljivanju podjela i konflikata. Konstruktivan diskurs ne podrazumijeva odsustvo kritike, već sposobnost da se kritika iznese argumentovano, odgovorno i uz poštovanje sagovornika.

Jedna od osnovnih karakteristika konstruktivnog diskursa jeste poštovanje različitosti. To znači prihvatanje činjenice da ljudi mogu imati različita politička, ideološka, vjerska, nacionalna ili druga uvjerenja, bez njihovog omalovažavanja i stigmatizacije. U konstruktivnoj komunikaciji fokus je na idejama i argumentima, a ne na vrijeđanju i diskreditaciji pojedinaca ili grupa. Takav pristup doprinosi stvaranju atmosfere sigurnosti i međusobnog uvažavanja.

Druga važna karakteristika konstruktivnog diskursa jeste i odgovornost u javnoj komunikaciji. Odgovorna komunikacija podrazumijeva svijest o mogućim posljedicama javno izgovorenih riječi i spremnost da se doprinese smirivanju tenzija, a ne njihovom produbljivanju.

Konstruktivan diskurs zasniva se i na argumentovanoj raspravi. Umjesto manipulacija, dezinformacija i emocionalnih provokacija, naglasak je na činjenicama, dijalogu i razmjeni mišljenja. Argumentovana komunikacija razvija kulturu demokratskog dijaloga i omogućava građanima da kritički promišljaju društvene procese. Ona podstiče povjerenje u institucije i doprinosi kvalitetnijem donošenju odluka.

Empatija i aktivno slušanje takođe su važni elementi konstruktivnog diskursa. Sposobnost da se razumije perspektiva drugog, čak i kada se sa njom ne slažemo, doprinosi smanjenju konflikata i jačanju međusobnog povjerenja. Aktivno slušanje podrazumijeva spremnost

da se drugoj strani omogući da izrazi svoj stav bez prekidanja, ismijavanja ili omalovažavanja. Na taj način komunikacija postaje prostor saradnje, a ne nadmetanja i sukoba.

Konstruktivan diskurs podrazumijeva i fokus na zajedničko dobro. U društvima koja su suočena sa polarizacijom i podjelama posebno je važno razvijati komunikaciju koja povezuje ljude oko zajedničkih interesa i vrijednosti. Umjesto potenciranja razlika do isključivosti, konstruktivan pristup naglašava potrebu za saradnjom i zajedničkim rješavanjem problema od opšteg značaja.

U savremenom digitalnom okruženju kultura konstruktivnog diskursa dobija dodatni značaj. Društvene mreže i online platforme omogućavaju brzo širenje sadržaja, ali istovremeno povećavaju rizik od govora mržnje, dezinformacija i agresivne komunikacije. Zato je važno razvijati digitalnu pismenost, kritičko mišljenje i odgovorno ponašanje u online prostoru, posebno među djecom i mladima.

Konstruktivan diskurs predstavlja važan preduslov društvene kohezije, demokratske kulture i povjerenja među građanima. Društva u kojima dominiraju dijalog, poštovanje i argumentovana komunikacija otpornija su na konflikte, manipulacije i ekstremizam. Zbog toga razvoj kulture konstruktivnog dijaloga predstavlja odgovornost svih društvenih aktera – institucija, političkih lidera, medija, obrazovnog sistema i građana u cjelini.

3.5. Izazovi savremenog društva

Procesi globalizacije, ubrzani tehnološki razvoj, digitalizacija i društvene promjene donijeli su nove mogućnosti za razvoj i povezivanje ljudi, ali istovremeno i nove rizike, nesigurnosti i podjele. U takvim okolnostima društva se suočavaju sa izazovom očuvanja povjerenja, solidarnosti i osjećaja zajedništva među građanima.

Jedan od najizraženijih izazova jeste rast društvene polarizacije. U mnogim društvima prisutno je produbljivanje političkih, ideoloških, etničkih i drugih podjela koje otežavaju dijalog i saradnju. Narativi “mi protiv njih”, govor mržnje i agresivna komunikacija sve češće postaju dio javnog prostora i doprinose slabljenju društvenog povjerenja. Polarizacija ne utiče samo na političke odnose, već i na svakodnevni život građana, stvarajući atmosferu nepovjerenja i konflikta.

Savremeno društvo suočava se i sa izazovima koje donosi digitalna era. Društvene mreže i online platforme omogućile su brzu razmjenu informacija i veću povezanost ljudi, ali su istovremeno otvorile prostor za širenje dezinformacija, manipulacija i govora mržnje. Algoritmi često favorizuju konfliktne i senzacionalističke sadržaje, što dodatno pojačava podjele i otežava razvoj konstruktivnog dijaloga. Posebno su osjetljiva djeca i mladi, koji veliki dio vremena provode u digitalnom prostoru i izloženi su različitim oblicima digitalnog nasilja i negativnih sadržaja.

Važan izazov predstavljaju i problemi mentalnog zdravlja, posebno među mladima. Povećana izloženost stresu, nesigurnosti, nasilju i pritiscima savremenog načina života utiče na porast anksioznosti, depresije i osjećaja izolovanosti. Kriza empatije i slabljenje međuljudskih odnosa dodatno otežavaju sposobnost zajednice da pruži podršku pojedincima u kriznim situacijama.

Ekonomske nejednakosti i siromaštvo takođe predstavljaju ozbiljan izazov društvenoj koheziji. Razlike u pristupu obrazovanju, zdravstvenoj zaštiti, zaposlenju i drugim osnovnim pravima mogu dovesti do osjećaja nepravde, isključenosti i marginalizacije određenih grupa stanovništva. Posebno su pogođeni mladi, stanovnici ruralnih područja i pripadnici ranjivih i manjinskih zajednica. Društva koja ne uspijevaju da smanje nejednakosti suočavaju se sa većim rizikom od društvenih tenzija i nepovjerenja u institucije.

Savremena društva sve više pogađaju i globalni rizici poput klimatskih promjena, ekoloških problema i zdravstvenih kriza. Posljedice ovih izazova utiču na svakodnevni život građana i zahtijevaju zajedničko djelovanje institucija, lokalnih zajednica i pojedinaca. U kriznim situacijama posebno dolaze do izražaja značaj solidarnosti,

odgovorne komunikacije i povjerenja u institucije.

Dodatni izazov predstavlja slabljenje povjerenja u demokratske institucije i procese. Kada građani imaju osjećaj da njihove potrebe nijesu prepoznate ili da ne mogu uticati na donošenje odluka, raste politička apatija i smanjuje se građansko učešće. Nedostatak povjerenja može oslabiti otpornost društva i otežati zajedničko djelovanje u rješavanju problema od opšteg interesa.

U takvim okolnostima posebno je važna uloga obrazovanja, medija, institucija i političkih aktera u jačanju kulture dijaloga, tolerancije i društvene odgovornosti.

3.6. Uloga parlamentaraca

Parlamentarci imaju izuzetno važnu ulogu u oblikovanju društvene atmosfere, jačanju demokratske kulture i očuvanju društvene kohezije. Kao nosioci javnih funkcija i predstavnici građana, oni ne utiču samo na donošenje zakona i politika, već i na način na koji društvo komunicira, rješava konflikte i razumije različitosti. Njihov javni govor, ponašanje i način vođenja političkog dijaloga predstavljaju model komunikacije koji građani, a posebno djeca i mladi, svakodnevno posmatraju i često usvajaju.

Jedna od osnovnih uloga parlamentaraca jeste predstavljanje interesa građana kroz demokratski i argumentovan dijalog. Parlament bi trebalo da bude prostor u kojem se različita mišljenja i politički stavovi izražavaju uz međusobno poštovanje, uvažavanje procedura i fokus na opštem dobru. Kada parlamentarna komunikacija ostaje u okvirima konstruktivnog dijaloga, ona doprinosi jačanju povjerenja građana u institucije i demokratske procese.

Parlamentarci imaju posebnu odgovornost u oblikovanju javnog diskursa. Njihove riječi imaju snažan društveni uticaj jer se prenose putem medija i društvenih mreža i dopiru do velikog broja građana. Zbog toga je važno da politička komunikacija bude oslobođena govora mržnje, vrijeđanja, stereotipa i podsticanja podjela. Odgovoran politički govor može doprinijeti smirivanju tenzija, jačanju tolerancije i stvaranju atmosfere povjerenja i sigurnosti u društvu.

Posebno je značajna uloga parlamentaraca u zaštiti djece i mladih od negativnih uticaja agresivnog političkog diskursa. Djeca i mladi često usvajaju obrasce ponašanja koje vide kod odraslih i autoriteta. Kada javni prostor karakterišu sukobi, ponižavanja i netolerancija, povećava se rizik da takvi obrasci postanu normalizovani i među djecom i mladima. Suprotno tome, parlamentarci koji promovišu kulturu dijaloga, empatiju i poštovanje različitosti doprinose razvoju zdravijih društvenih odnosa i demokratskih vrijednosti kod mlađih generacija.[79]

Parlamentarci imaju mogućnost da kroz zakonska rješenja i javne politike doprinesu stvaranju društva u kojem se svi građani osjećaju uključeno, ravnopravno i sigurno.

Posebno je važna njihova uloga u podsticanju participacije djece i mladih. Mladi treba da imaju mogućnost da učestvuju u procesima donošenja odluka koje ih se tiču, kako na državnom tako i na lokalnom nivou. Parlamentarci mogu doprinositi tome kroz podršku omladinskim inicijativama, uključivanje djece i mladih u javne rasprave, saradnju sa školama, omladinskim organizacijama i savjetima, kao i kroz promociju politika koje podstiču aktivno građanstvo.

U vremenu digitalnih medija i društvenih mreža odgovornost parlamentaraca postaje još veća. Njihove izjave i poruke danas se veoma brzo šire i mogu imati snažan pozitivan ili negativan uticaj na javnost. Zato je važno da politički akteri koriste digitalni prostor odgovorno, promovišući tačne informacije, kulturu dijaloga i nenasilnu komunikaciju.

Parlamentarci imaju važnu ulogu u jačanju otpornosti društva na dezinformacije, ekstremizam i manipulacije. Kroz transparentan rad, otvorenu komunikaciju i poštovanje demokratskih procedura mogu doprinositi jačanju povjerenja građana u institucije i demokratski sistem. Društva u kojima postoji povjerenje između građana i institucija otpornija su na podjele, konflikte i različite oblike radikalizacije.

Zbog svega navedenog, uloga parlamentaraca ne može se posmatrati samo kroz formalno donošenje odluka i zakona. Oni su važni društveni akteri koji svojim riječima, ponašanjem i načinom komunikacije direktno utiču na kvalitet javnog prostora, razvoj demokratske kulture i nivo društvene kohezije. Njihova odgovornost posebno je velika kada je riječ o stvaranju sigurnog, inkluzivnog i podsticajnog društvenog okruženja za djecu i mlade.

[79] Bushman, B.J., & Huesmann, L.R. (2012). Effects of violent media on aggression. In D.G. Singer & J.L. Singer (Eds.), Handbook of children and the media (2nd ed., pp. 231–248). Sage. Vidjeti i: Bandura, A. (1986). Social foundations of thought and action: A social cognitive theory. Prentice-Hall. Istraživanja teorije socijalnog učenja dosljedno pokazuju da djeca i mladi usvajaju obrasce ponašanja posmatranjem autoritativnih figura, uključujući javne ličnosti i nosioce političke moći.

04 Značaj i standardi odgovorne političke komunikacije



Foto: cottonbro studio / Pexels

Komunikacija predstavlja jedan od najvažnijih temelja svakog društva jer omogućava razmjenu mišljenja, izražavanje potreba, rješavanje konflikata i izgradnju međusobnih odnosa. Kroz komunikaciju ljudi oblikuju način na koji razumiju sebe, druge i društvo u kojem žive. Kvalitet komunikacije neposredno utiče na kvalitet međuljudskih odnosa, nivo povjerenja u zajednici i sposobnost društva da se suočava sa izazovima na demokratski i nenasilan način.

U savremenom društvu značaj komunikacije dodatno je povećan razvojem medija i digitalnih tehnologija. Informacije se danas prenose veoma brzo i dostupne su velikom broju ljudi u kratkom vremenskom periodu. Takve okolnosti omogućavaju veću povezanost i razmjenu znanja, ali istovremeno povećavaju odgovornost svih društvenih aktera za način na koji komuniciraju. Riječi i poruke imaju snažan uticaj na javno mnjenje, društvene odnose i osjećaj sigurnosti i pripadnosti među građanima.

Komunikacija ima posebno važnu ulogu u procesu socijalizacije djece i mladih. Djeca usvajaju obrasce ponašanja kroz komunikaciju koju posmatraju u porodici, školi, medijima i javnom prostoru. Način na koji odrasli komuniciraju utiče na razvoj empatije, tolerancije i sposobnosti mladih da rješavaju konflikte nenasilnim putem. Ukoliko su djeca i mladi svakodnevno izloženi vrijeđanju, ponižavanju i agresivnoj retorici, postoji rizik da takve obrasce počnu smatrati prihvatljivim.

Da bi se ove razlike lakše prepoznale u javnom govoru, korisno je razlikovati tri nivoa:

- Govor mržnje – govor koji, u zavisnosti od sadržaja i konteksta, može ispuniti uslove za pravnu ili drugu formalnu odgovornost.
- Rizičan, diskriminatoran ili stigmatizujući govor – ne mora uvijek biti nezakonit, ali može ponižavati, širiti stereotipe, produbljivati podjele i nanositi štetu djeci i društvenoj koheziji.
- Jaka, ali legitimna politička kritika – oštra kritika politike, odluke ili postupka koja ne napada dostojanstvo osobe ili grupe i ne podstiče mržnju ili diskriminaciju.

U političkom i javnom prostoru komunikacija ima dodatnu težinu jer oblikuje društvenu atmosferu i utiče na povjerenje građana u institucije. Odgovorna politička komunikacija može doprinositi smirivanju tenzija, jačanju demokratske kulture i podsticanju građanskog učešća. Sa druge strane, komunikacija zasnovana na podjelama, manipulacijama i konfliktu može produbiti polarizaciju i oslabiti društvenu otpornost.

Značaj komunikacije posebno dolazi do izražaja u kriznim situacijama. U trenucima društvenih, ekonomskih ili bezbjednosnih izazova građani očekuju tačne, jasne i odgovorne informacije. Kvalitetna komunikacija u takvim okolnostima može povećati osjećaj sigurnosti, smanjiti strah i podstaći solidarnost među ljudima. Nedostatak transparentne i odgovorne komunikacije, međutim, može pojačati nesigurnost, dezinformacije i nepovjerenje.

Digitalni prostor dodatno je promijenio način komunikacije. Društvene mreže omogućile su veću participaciju građana i bržu razmjenu informacija, ali su istovremeno otvorile prostor za širenje govora mržnje, dezinformacija i manipulacija. Zbog toga su medijska i digitalna pismenost postale važan dio savremenog obrazovanja i razvoja demokratske kulture. Građani, a posebno djeca i mladi, treba da razvijaju sposobnost kritičkog promišljanja sadržaja kojima su izloženi i odgovornog ponašanja u online prostoru.

Kvalitet komunikacije pokazuje kvalitet odnosa u jednom društvu. Društva koja njeguju dijalog, međusobno poštovanje i odgovornu komunikaciju otpornija su na konflikte, podjele i ekstremizam. Zato razvoj kulture konstruktivne komunikacije predstavlja važan preduslov za jačanje društvene kohezije, povjerenja među građanima i demokratskog razvoja zajednice.

Standardi odgovorne političke komunikacije

- Kritikovati politike, odluke i postupke, a ne dostojanstvo osoba ili grupa.
- Ne objavljivati informacije koje mogu identifikovati dijete u osjetljivoj situaciji.
- Provjeriti činjenice prije javne izjave, posebno u kriznim situacijama.

- Jasno se distancirati od govora mržnje, diskriminacije i stigmatizacije.
- U raspravama o djeci govoriti o pravima, podršci i sistemskim rješenjima, a ne o krivici ili sramoti.

4.1. Govor mržnje

Govor mržnje predstavlja svaki oblik izražavanja kojim se podstiče, širi ili opravdava mržnja, diskriminacija, netrpeljivost ili nasilje prema pojedincu ili grupi zbog njihovih ličnih ili društvenih karakteristika. Te karakteristike mogu uključivati nacionalnu, etničku, vjersku, rasnu, rodnu ili političku pripadnost, jezik, invaliditet, seksualnu orijentaciju ili bilo koju drugu osnovu po kojoj se neko razlikuje od većine ili druge društvene grupe.

U savremenim društvima govor mržnje predstavlja ozbiljan izazov demokratiji, ljudskim pravima i društvenoj koheziji. Njegova opasnost ne ogleda se samo u uvredljivim riječima, već u tome što može doprinositi stvaranju atmosfere straha, nepovjerenja i podjela. Kada se određene grupe kontinuirano predstavljaju kao manje vrijedne, opasne ili nepoželjne, povećava se rizik od diskriminacije, socijalne isključenosti i različitih oblika nasilja.

Posebno zabrinjava činjenica da govor mržnje danas veoma brzo cirkuliše putem društvenih mreža i digitalnih platformi. Online prostor omogućava brzo širenje sadržaja, često bez odgovornosti i provjere tačnosti informacija. Algoritmi društvenih mreža dodatno pojačavaju vidljivost konfliktnih i agresivnih sadržaja, zbog čega govor mržnje može postati normalizovan i široko prisutan u svakodnevnoj komunikaciji. U takvom ambijentu posebno su ugrožena djeca i mladi, koji veliki dio vremena provode upravo u digitalnom prostoru.

Govor mržnje ima snažan negativan uticaj na djecu i mlade. Dugotrajna izloženost agresivnoj i diskriminatornoj komunikaciji može dovesti do razvoja netolerancije, slabljenja empatije i prihvatanja nasilnih obrazaca ponašanja. Djeca i mladi koji su meta govora mržnje često se suočavaju sa osjećajem straha, nesigurnosti, izolacije i neprihvaćenosti, što može ozbiljno uticati na njihovo mentalno zdravlje, samopouzdanje i osjećaj pripadnosti zajednici.

Posebno je opasna normalizacija govora mržnje u javnom prostoru. Kada agresivna komunikacija postane svakodnevna pojava u politici, medijima ili na društvenim mrežama, postoji rizik da građani počnu da je doživljavaju kao prihvatljiv i uobičajen način izražavanja. Na taj način granica između slobode izražavanja i govora koji podstiče mržnju postaje zamagljena. Važno je naglasiti da sloboda govora ne podrazumijeva pravo na ponižavanje, diskriminaciju i podsticanje nasilja prema drugima.

Govor mržnje posebno negativno utiče na društvenu koheziju jer slabi povjerenje među građanima i produbljuje društvene podjele. Društva u kojima dominiraju netrpeljivost i antagonizmi teže razvijaju osjećaj zajedništva, solidarnosti i međusobnog poštovanja. Umjesto saradnje i dijaloga, jačaju nepovjerenje i konflikti, što može ugroziti demokratsku stabilnost i društvenu otpornost.

Uloga političkih i društvenih aktera u suzbijanju govora mržnje veoma je važna. Javne ličnosti, mediji i institucije imaju odgovornost da promovišu kulturu dijaloga, tolerancije i poštovanja ljudskih prava. Posebno je značajno da politički govor bude oslobođen retorike koja podstiče podjele i neprijateljstvo, jer takve poruke imaju snažan uticaj na društvo, a posebno na mlade generacije.

Borba protiv govora mržnje ne podrazumijeva samo sankcionisanje neprimjerenog sadržaja, već i razvoj obrazovanja, medijske i digitalne pismenosti, kritičkog mišljenja i empatije. Djecu i mlade treba osnaživati da prepoznaju govor mržnje, razumiju njegove posljedice i razvijaju sposobnost nenasilne i odgovorne komunikacije. Važno je stvarati društveno okruženje u kojem će različitosti biti doživljavane kao vrijednost, a ne kao razlog za podjele i diskriminaciju.

Mjesta na kojima djeca najčešće vide govor mržnje

Prema rezultatima istraživanja (UNICEF - U-Report, Zapadni Balkan i Turska, 2023), djeca i mladi su naveli da se govor mržnje najčešće pojavljuje na sljedećim mjestima:



Podaci predstavljaju procenat djece i mladih (uzrasta 14-24) koji su izjavili da se govor mržnje na tim mjestima često ili veoma često pojavljuje.

Izvor: UNICEF - U-Report, "Our Views, Our Europe: Children and Young People's Perspectives on Diversity and Social Cohesion in the Western Balkans and Türkiye", 2023.

4.2. Narativi koji izazivaju podjele

Savremena društva karakterišu sve izraženije političke, društvene i identitetske podjele koje se sve češće prenose i u digitalni prostor. U takvom ambijentu posebno mjesto zauzimaju tzv. narativi podjela, odnosno obrasci komunikacije koji društvo predstavljaju kroz sukobljene grupe, najčešće kroz logiku „mi" i „oni". Takvi narativi ne podrazumijevaju samo postojanje različitih mišljenja, što jeste legitimno i poželjno u demokratskom društvu, već produbljivanje nepovjerenja, antagonizma i osjećaja ugroženosti između različitih društvenih grupa.

Narativi podjela mogu biti zasnovani na političkim, nacionalnim, etničkim, religijskim, regionalnim, generacijskim ili drugim razlikama. Oni se često manifestuju kroz stereotipe, generalizacije, etiketiranje, delegitimizaciju i predstavljanje „drugih" kao prijetnje zajednici, identitetu ili vrijednostima društva. Poseban izazov predstavlja činjenica da se takvi sadržaji danas veoma brzo šire putem društvenih mreža, online medija i digitalnih platformi, gdje konfliktni i emocionalno intenzivni sadržaji imaju veću vidljivost i domet.

U društvima u kojima postoji visok stepen polarizacije, djeca i mladi posebno su osjetljivi na prisustvo narativa podjela. U procesu odrastanja i socijalizacije oni oblikuju svoje stavove, vrijednosti i obrasce ponašanja posmatrajući komunikaciju odraslih, političkih aktera, medija i digitalnog okruženja. Ukoliko su dominantni obrasci komunikacije zasnovani na vrijeđanju, isključivanju, govoru mržnje i nepovjerenju prema „drugima", postoji rizik

da takvi obrasci postanu normalizovani i prihvaćeni kao društveno poželjni modeli ponašanja.

Narativi podjela mogu imati brojne negativne posljedice na djecu i mlade. Oni utiču na povećanje osjećaja nesigurnosti, anksioznosti i nepovjerenja, slabe empatiju i solidarnost, podstiču stereotipe i diskriminaciju, ali i doprinose pojavi vršnjačkog nasilja i digitalnog nasilja. Posebno zabrinjava činjenica da se društvene podjele iz javnog i političkog prostora često prenose u škole, vršnjačke grupe i online komunikaciju među djecom i mladima. U takvim okolnostima djeca mogu postati i žrtve i prenosioci narativa podjela.

Digitalni prostor dodatno komplikuje navedene izazove. Algoritmi društvenih mreža često favorizuju sadržaje koji izazivaju snažne emocionalne reakcije, konflikt i polarizaciju, zbog čega sadržaji zasnovani na vrijeđanju, ismijavanju i podjelama ostvaruju veću vidljivost. Djeca i mladi, kao najaktivniji korisnici digitalnih platformi, svakodnevno su izloženi velikoj količini sadržaja koji mogu doprinositi normalizaciji agresivne komunikacije i smanjenju tolerancije prema različitostima. Poseban problem predstavljaju anonimnost i osjećaj distance u online prostoru, koji često doprinose lakšem širenju govora mržnje i digitalnog nasilja.

Istraživanja međunarodnih organizacija ukazuju da kontinuirana izloženost govorima mržnje, stereotipima i konfliktnoj komunikaciji može negativno uticati na mentalno zdravlje djece i mladih, osjećaj pripadnosti zajednici i povjerenje u institucije i druge ljude. Istovremeno, prisustvo polarizujućih sadržaja može smanjiti spremnost mladih za dijalog, saradnju i građansko učešće, što dugoročno slabi društvenu koheziju.

Iz perspektive društvene kohezije posebno je važno razvijati kulturu dijaloga, empatiju, kritičko mišljenje i digitalnu pismenost kod djece i mladih. Obrazovne institucije, lokalne zajednice, mediji, politički akteri i porodica imaju značajnu odgovornost u stvaranju sigurnog i podsticajnog okruženja u kojem će se različitosti doživljavati kao vrijednost, a ne kao prijetnja. Jačanje otpornosti djece i mladih na govor mržnje, manipulaciju i polarizujuće sadržaje predstavlja jedan od važnih preduslova očuvanja društvene kohezije u savremenom digitalnom društvu.

4.3. Prepoznavanje rizične komunikacije

Crvene zastavice rizične komunikacije

Rizična komunikacija predstavlja način izražavanja koji može podsticati konflikte, širiti netrpeljivost, izazivati osjećaj nesigurnosti ili doprinositi diskriminaciji i nasilju. Takva komunikacija ne mora uvijek biti otvoreno agresivna ili direktno prijeteća. Često se pojavljuje kroz stereotipe, ponižavanje, manipulacije, širenje straha, dezinformacije ili kroz govor koji produbljuje podjele među ljudima i grupama. Zbog toga je veoma važno razvijati sposobnost prepoznavanja rizičnih obrazaca komunikacije, posebno u političkom, medijskom i digitalnom prostoru.

Jedna od osnovnih karakteristika rizične komunikacije jeste podjela ljudi na “mi” i “oni”. Takvi narativi predstavljaju određene grupe kao prijetnju, manje vrijedne ili odgovorne za društvene probleme. Na taj način produbljuju se postojeće podjele i stvara atmosfera nepovjerenja i antagonizma. Kada se različitosti predstavljaju kao opasnost, povećava se rizik od diskriminacije, isključivanja i sukoba.

Rizična komunikacija često koristi stereotipe i generalizacije. Pojedinci ili čitave grupe predstavljaju se kroz negativne etikete i pojednostavljene predstave koje zanemaruju individualne razlike. Takvi obrasci komunikacije mogu doprinositi stigmatizaciji određenih zajednica i jačanju predrasuda u društvu. Posebno je problematično kada stereotipi postanu dio političkog govora ili medijskih sadržaja jer tada dobijaju veću vidljivost i uticaj.

Važan pokazatelj rizične komunikacije jeste i prisustvo govora mržnje, vrijeđanja i ponižavanja. Komunikacija koja podstiče netrpeljivost prema pojedincima ili grupama zbog njihove nacionalne, vjerske, političke, rodne ili druge pripadnosti predstavlja

ozbiljan rizik za društvenu koheziju i sigurnost zajednice. Dugotrajna izloženost takvom sadržaju može dovesti do normalizacije agresivnog ponašanja i smanjenja empatije među ljudima.

Manipulacija emocijama takođe je čest element rizične komunikacije. Širenje straha, panike, mržnje ili osjećaja ugroženosti koristi se kako bi se uticalo na stavove i ponašanje građana. U takvim situacijama činjenice se često zamjenjuju senzacionalizmom, poluinformacijama ili dezinformacijama koje imaju cilj da izazovu snažne emocionalne reakcije. Posebno su osjetljiva djeca i mladi, jer još uvijek razvijaju sposobnost kritičkog promišljanja sadržaja kojima su izloženi.

Digitalni prostor dodatno povećava rizik od širenja štetne komunikacije. Društvene mreže omogućavaju brzo i masovno širenje sadržaja, često bez provjere tačnosti i bez osjećaja odgovornosti. Anonimnost online prostora može podstaći agresivnije ponašanje, vrijeđanje i širenje govora mržnje. Algoritmi društvenih mreža često favorizuju konfliktne i emocionalno intenzivne sadržaje, što doprinosi njihovoj većoj vidljivosti i uticaju.

Posebno je važno prepoznati prikrivene oblike rizične komunikacije. Ona se ne manifestuje uvijek kroz otvorene prijetnje ili uvrede. Često se pojavljuje kroz ismijavanje, omalovažavanje, ironične komentare, širenje glasina ili isključivanje određenih grupa iz društvenog dijaloga. Takvi oblici komunikacije mogu djelovati manje opasno, ali dugoročno imaju snažan negativan uticaj na međuljudske odnose i osjećaj sigurnosti i pripadnosti.

Kako bi se rizični obrasci lakše prepoznali u svakodnevnoj komunikaciji, korisno je izdvojiti nekoliko upozoravajućih znakova:

- Generalizacije poput „svi oni“, „uvijek“ i „nikad“.
- Povezivanje cijele grupe sa kriminalom, nazadovanjem ili nepoželjnošću.
- Korišćenje pojedinačnog incidenta kao dokaza o karakteru cijele grupe.
- Korišćenje djece kao ilustracije političkog neuspjeha bez zaštite njihovog dostojanstva.
- Objavljivanje fotografije, lokacije ili detalja koji mogu identifikovati dijete.

Prepoznavanje rizične komunikacije važno je za očuvanje kulture dijaloga i demokratskih vrijednosti. Građani, a posebno djeca i mladi, treba da razvijaju medijsku i digitalnu pismenost, sposobnost kritičkog mišljenja i razumijevanje posljedica koje riječi mogu imati na pojedince i zajednicu. Jednako je važno razvijati empatiju, odgovornu komunikaciju i sposobnost nenasilnog rješavanja konflikata.

Društva koja uspješno prepoznaju i suzbijaju rizične obrasce komunikacije otpornija su na podjele, manipulacije i ekstremizam. Zbog toga odgovornost za razvoj sigurnog i konstruktivnog javnog prostora imaju institucije, mediji, obrazovni sistem, politički akteri i građani u cjelini

4.4. Digitalni prostor: mogućnosti, rizici i zaštita djece i mladih

Digitalne platforme su važan prostor informisanja, političke komunikacije i građanske participacije. One mogu povećati dostupnost institucija i omogućiti djeci i mladima da se informišu i izraze mišljenje, ali istovremeno ubrzavaju širenje dezinformacija, govora mržnje, stigmatizacije i agresivne komunikacije.

Djeca i mladi su posebno osjetljivi na digitalno nasilje, javno ponižavanje, uznemiravanje, širenje privatnih sadržaja i druge oblike štete koji se mogu brzo proširiti i ostati trajno dostupni. Zbog toga zaštita privatnosti, dostojanstva i identiteta djeteta mora imati prednost nad političkim ili medijskim interesom.

Rodna dimenzija digitalnog nasilja zahtijeva posebnu pažnju: djevojčice i mlade žene mogu biti izložene seksualizovanom vrijeđanju, prijetnjama i rodno zasnovanom uznemiravanju, dok djeca koja pripadaju manjinskim i drugim ranjivim grupama mogu biti izložena višestrukoj stigmatizaciji.

Odgovorna politička komunikacija na internetu podrazumijeva provjeru činjenica, izbjegavanje senzacionalizma i generalizacija, zaštitu identiteta djece, jasno distanciranje od govora mržnje i spremnost da se štetan

sadržaj ispravi ili ukloni. Politički akteri treba da imaju na umu da njihove objave mogu postati model komunikacije koji djeca i mladi posmatraju i oponašaju.

Sigurno digitalno okruženje nije odgovornost samo pojedinca. Institucije, obrazovni sistem, mediji, tehnološke platforme, roditelji i politički akteri imaju zajedničku odgovornost da jačaju digitalnu i medijsku pismenost, dostupne mehanizme prijavljivanja i podrške i da djecu smisleno uključe u odluke koje se odnose na njihov digitalni život.

4.5. Unapređenje digitalne komunikacije

Unapređenje digitalne komunikacije predstavlja važan zadatak savremenog društva jer digitalni prostor danas ima snažan uticaj na informisanje, obrazovanje, međuljudske odnose i demokratske procese. Društvene mreže i online platforme omogućile su bržu razmjenu informacija i veću povezanost ljudi, ali su istovremeno otvorile prostor za širenje dezinformacija, govora mržnje, manipulacija i različitih oblika digitalnog nasilja. Zbog toga je neophodno razvijati kvalitetniju, sigurniju i odgovorniju digitalnu komunikaciju koja će doprinositi dijalogu, povjerenju i društvenoj koheziji.

Jedan od ključnih koraka u unapređenju digitalne komunikacije jeste razvoj medijske i digitalne pismenosti. Građani, a posebno djeca i mladi, treba da razvijaju sposobnost kritičkog procjenjivanja sadržaja kojima su izloženi u online prostoru. Važno je naučiti kako prepoznati dezinformacije, manipulativne sadržaje, govor mržnje i nepouzdane izvore informacija. Digitalna pismenost ne podrazumijeva samo tehničko korišćenje tehnologije, već i razumijevanje društvenih i etičkih posljedica komunikacije u online prostoru.[80]

Unapređenje digitalne komunikacije podrazumijeva i razvoj kulture dijaloga i odgovornog ponašanja na internetu. Online prostor treba da bude mjesto razmjene ideja, saradnje i međusobnog poštovanja, a ne prostor konflikta i ponižavanja. Važno je podsticati komunikaciju zasnovanu na argumentima, toleranciji i empatiji, uz jasno odbacivanje govora mržnje, diskriminacije i nasilja. Posebno je značajno razvijati svijest o tome da riječi i sadržaji objavljeni na internetu mogu imati stvarne posljedice po druge ljude.

80 Council of Europe / European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI) (2025). Annual Report 2025. Strasbourg: Council of Europe. Izvještaj naglašava da digitalna pismenost i kritičko mišljenje predstavljaju ključne alate u borbi protiv govora mržnje i dezinformacija, posebno za djecu i mlade koji su primarni korisnici digitalnih platformi. Dostupno na: https://www.coe.int/en/web/portal/-/hate-speech-levels-across-europe-alarming-stronger-action-needed

Veliku ulogu u unapređenju digitalne komunikacije imaju obrazovne institucije. Škole i univerziteti treba da razvijaju programe koji će djeci i mladima pomoći da sigurno i odgovorno koriste digitalne tehnologije. Obrazovni sistem treba da podstiče razvoj kritičkog mišljenja, nenasilne komunikacije i sposobnosti konstruktivnog učešća u digitalnom prostoru. Jednako je važno osnaživati nastavnike i roditelje kako bi mogli pružiti podršku mladima u suočavanju sa izazovima online okruženja.[81]

Mediji i digitalne platforme takođe imaju značajnu odgovornost. Online platforme treba da razvijaju efikasnije mehanizme zaštite korisnika od nasilnih i štetnih sadržaja, posebno kada su u pitanju djeca i mladi. Potrebno je podsticati transparentnost algoritama, odgovornije moderiranje sadržaja i brže reagovanje na govor mržnje i digitalno nasilje. Mediji, sa druge strane, imaju važnu ulogu u promovisanju tačnih informacija, kulture dijaloga i profesionalnog izvještavanja.

Važno je razvijati i mehanizme podrške i zaštite korisnika u digitalnom prostoru. Djeca i mladi treba da znaju kome mogu prijaviti digitalno nasilje i na koji način mogu zaštititi svoju privatnost i sigurnost online. Podrška porodice, škole i institucija od velikog je značaja za stvaranje osjećaja sigurnosti i povjerenja kod mladih korisnika interneta.

Unapređenje digitalne komunikacije povezano je i sa jačanjem društvene kohezije. Digitalni prostor može biti mjesto povezivanja ljudi različitih kultura, iskustava i mišljenja, ali samo ukoliko se razvijaju kultura poštovanja, odgovornost i spremnost na dijalog. Društva koja uspješno razvijaju sigurnu i konstruktivnu digitalnu komunikaciju otpornija su na manipulacije, nasilje i polarizaciju i stvaraju kvalitetnije uslove za demokratski razvoj i aktivno građansko učešće.

Savremeno društvo ne može izbjeći uticaj digitalnih tehnologija, ali može razvijati načine njihove odgovorne i etičke upotrebe. Upravo zato unapređenje digitalne komunikacije predstavlja važan dio zaštite djece i mladih, razvoja demokratske kulture i izgradnje sigurnijeg i povezanijeg društva.

4.6. Parlament kao model ponašanja

Parlament, kao najviše predstavničko tijelo građana, ne predstavlja samo mjesto donošenja odluka, već i važan društveni prostor u kojem se oblikuju obrasci komunikacije, političke kulture i javnog ponašanja. Način na koji odbornici i poslanici govore, raspravljaju, izražavaju neslaganje i odnose se prema političkim protivnicima, šalje snažne poruke građanima, a posebno djeci i mladima koji kroz posmatranje političkog života usvajaju obrasce društvenog ponašanja. U tom smislu, parlament ima značajnu vaspitnu i društvenu ulogu – on može biti prostor demokratskog dijaloga, međusobnog uvažavanja i odgovornosti, ali i mjesto produbljivanja podjela, netrpeljivosti i normalizacije nasilne komunikacije.

U demokratskim društvima parlament bi trebalo da predstavlja model kulture dijaloga i primjer kako se različitosti mogu izražavati i usklađivati mirnim, argumentovanim i inkluzivnim putem. Suština parlamentarne demokratije nije odsustvo sukoba mišljenja, već sposobnost da se neslaganja rješavaju kroz dijalog, poštovanje procedura i uvažavanje dostojanstva svih učesnika. Upravo zbog toga politički diskurs koji dominira u parlamentu ima direktan uticaj na društvenu koheziju, povjerenje građana u institucije i kvalitet javnog prostora. Kada se u parlamentarnom govoru normalizuju uvrede, govor mržnje, etiketiranje ili narativi podjela, takvi obrasci vrlo brzo postaju prisutni i u medijima, digitalnom prostoru, školskom okruženju i svakodnevnoj komunikaciji građana.

Djeca i mladi posebno su osjetljivi na poruke koje dolaze iz političkog prostora. U periodu formiranja identiteta i vrijednosti oni kroz ponašanje odraslih, a naročito nosilaca političke moći i autoriteta, razvijaju predstavu o tome šta je prihvatljivo ponašanje u

[81] UNESCO (2023). Global Education Monitoring Report 2023: Technology in Education – A Tool on Whose Terms? Paris: UNESCO. Izvještaj naglašava ključnu ulogu obrazovnih institucija u razvoju digitalne pismenosti i medijskog obrazovanja djece i mladih. Dostupno na: https://www.unesco.org/en/gem-report/2023. Vidjeti i: Vuorinen, M. et al. (2023). Teaching digital literacy in schools: a systematic review. Computers in Education, 12(1), 14–28.

društvu. Ukoliko su izloženi agresivnom političkom govoru, ponižavanju, ismijavanju i netoleranciji, postoji rizik da takve obrasce dožive kao legitimne i poželjne. Nasuprot tome, parlament koji njeguje kulturu dijaloga, toleranciju, empatiju i poštovanje različitosti može doprinijeti razvoju demokratskih vrijednosti, osjećaja sigurnosti i društvene odgovornosti kod mladih generacija.[82]

Parlament kao model ponašanja podrazumijeva i odgovornost za stvaranje prostora u kojem će se čuti glas djece i mladih. Demokratija koja želi da bude inkluzivna mora omogućiti djeci i mladima da učestvuju u procesima donošenja odluka, da iznose stavove i da budu uvaženi kao ravnopravni članovi zajednice. Uključivanje djece i mladih u javne rasprave, dječije i omladinske parlamente, savjete za djecu i mlade i druge mehanizme participacije doprinosi jačanju povjerenja u institucije i osjećaja pripadnosti zajednici. Na taj način parlament ne postaje samo mjesto političkog odlučivanja, već i prostor učenja demokratije, odgovornosti i zajedničkog djelovanja za opšte dobro.

U kontekstu društvene kohezije, parlament ima posebnu ulogu u izgradnji povjerenja među građanima i između građana i institucija. Kultura dijaloga, poštovanje različitosti, odgovorna komunikacija i odbacivanje govora mržnje nijesu samo politička pitanja, već i pitanja zaštite djece, očuvanja mentalnog zdravlja mladih i stvaranja sigurnog društvenog okruženja. Zato parlament mora biti primjer ponašanja koje povezuje, a ne dijeli; koje podstiče argumentovanu raspravu, a ne sukob; i koje afirmiše vrijednosti demokratije, solidarnosti i međusobnog poštovanja.

4.7. Uticaj na participaciju djece i mladih

Način na koji parlament i politički akteri komuniciraju neposredno utiče i na spremnost djece i mladih da učestvuju u društvenom i političkom životu zajednice. Djeca i mladi mnogo lakše prepoznaju institucije kao otvorene, dostupne i legitimne onda kada osjećaju da se njihov glas uvažava, razmatra, da postoji prostor za dijalog i da politički akteri pokazuju spremnost da saslušaju, uvaže i uzmu u obzir različita mišljenja u procesu donošenja odluka.

Nasuprot tome, politički diskurs obilježen vrijeđanjem, sukobima, govorom mržnje i isključivošću može kod mladih proizvesti osjećaj nepovjerenja, distance i uvjerenje da institucije nijesu mjesto u kojem mogu ostvariti uticaj ili biti prihvaćeni. Dugotrajna izloženost takvom ambijentu dovodi do političke apatije, smanjenog interesovanja za demokratske procese i povlačenja djece i mladih iz javnog života. Djeca i mladi tada institucije ne doživljavaju kao prostor saradnje i zajedničkog djelovanja, već kao zatvoren prostor konflikta i podjela.

Otvorenost institucija prema djeci i mladima ne podrazumijeva samo formalne mehanizme učešća, već i način komunikacije koji pokazuje poštovanje prema njihovim stavovima i potrebama. Kada parlament organizuje konsultacije sa djecom i mladima, omogućava dječije i omladinske parlamente, uključuje djecu i mlade u javne rasprave ili podržava inicijative koje dolaze od djece i mladih, tada se razvija osjećaj pripadnosti zajednici i povjerenje u demokratske procese. Djeca i mladi koji imaju iskustvo da su saslušani i uvaženi mnogo češće razvijaju osjećaj odgovornosti prema zajednici i spremnost da aktivno učestvuju u njenom razvoju.

[82] Kwak, J., Tomescu-Dubrow, I., Slomczynski, K.M., & Dubrow, J.K. (2020). Youth, Institutional Trust, and Democratic Backsliding. American Behavioral Scientist, 64(9), 1366–1385. https://doi.org/10.1177/0002764220941222. Studija pokazuje da je povjerenje mladih u institucije, uključujući parlament, ključni faktor demokratske stabilnosti, a da nivo agresivnosti i netolerancije u parlamentarnom govoru direktno korelira sa padom povjerenja mladih u institucije.

4.8. Izgradnja povjerenja

Izgradnja povjerenja predstavlja jedan od ključnih preduslova društvene kohezije i demokratskog razvoja zajednice. Povjerenje se ne razvija samo kroz formalni autoritet institucija, već prvenstveno kroz način na koji institucije i nosioci javnih funkcija komuniciraju sa građanima i odnose se prema njihovim potrebama, stavovima i pravima. U tom smislu, parlament i politički akteri imaju posebnu odgovornost, jer njihovo ponašanje direktno utiče na percepciju građana o tome da li su institucije pravedne, otvorene i usmjerene ka opštem dobru.

Za djecu i mlade povjerenje je posebno važno, jer se u periodu odrastanja formira odnos prema autoritetu, zajednici i demokratskim procesima. Kada mladi vide da se u parlamentu poštuju pravila dijaloga, da postoji spremnost na saradnju uprkos razlikama i da se odluke donose odgovorno i transparentno, razvija se osjećaj sigurnosti i uvjerenje da institucije rade u interesu građana. Takvo iskustvo podstiče djecu i mlade da vjeruju institucijama, da se aktivnije uključuju u društveni život i da razvijaju osjećaj pripadnosti zajednici.

Povjerenje se gradi i kroz dosljednost između riječi i postupaka političkih aktera. Ukoliko političari javno zagovaraju toleranciju, poštovanje i zaštitu prava djece i mladih, a istovremeno koriste govor mržnje, vrijeđanje ili diskriminatornu komunikaciju, dolazi do slabljenja povjerenja i osjećaja razočaranja kod građana, posebno kod djece i mladih. Nasuprot tome, odgovorna i etička politička komunikacija doprinosi jačanju povjerenja kako u pojedince koji obavljaju javne funkcije, tako i u institucije u cjelini.[83]

Izgradnja povjerenja podrazumijeva i stvaranje prostora u kojem se građani osjećaju saslušano i uvaženo. Mladi mnogo lakše razvijaju povjerenje prema institucijama kada imaju mogućnost da učestvuju u donošenju odluka, da iznesu svoje mišljenje i da vide da njihove inicijative mogu proizvesti konkretne promjene. Uključivanje djece i mladih u procese konsultacija, dječije i omladinske parlamente, javne rasprave i lokalne inicijative doprinosi osjećaju pripadnosti i jačanju veze između mladih i zajednice.

[83] Chevalier, T. (2019). Political trust, young people and institutions in Europe: A multilevel analysis. International Journal of Social Welfare, 28(4), 418–430. https://doi.org/10.1111/ijsw.12380. Vidjeti i: Eurostat (2024). Being Young in Europe Today – 2024 edition. Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union. Izvještaj dokumentuje vezu između kvaliteta javne komunikacije i izgradnje povjerenja mladih u demokratske institucije. Dostupno na: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/web/products-statistical-books/-/ks-05-22-001

05 Komunikacija usmjerena na zaštitu djece i jačanje demokratske kulture



Foto: Arthur Krijgsman / Pexels

5.1. Najbolji interes djeteta kao standard političke komunikacije

Jedan od temeljnih principa Konvencije Ujedinjenih nacija o pravima djeteta jeste princip najboljeg interesa djeteta. Ovaj princip ne predstavlja samo pravni standard koji obavezuje institucije prilikom donošenja odluka koje se odnose na djecu, već i vrijednosni okvir koji treba da usmjerava javnu i političku komunikaciju.

U demokratskom društvu politička komunikacija ima mnogo širi značaj od pukog prenošenja političkih poruka. Ona oblikuje javno mnjenje, utiče na društvene norme i vrijednosti i doprinosi stvaranju okruženja u kojem djeca odrastaju. Zbog toga način na koji politički akteri govore o djeci, mladima i pitanjima koja ih se tiču može imati dugoročne posljedice po njihov razvoj, osjećaj pripadnosti zajednici i percepciju sopstvenog mjesta u društvu.

Posebno je važno imati u vidu da djeca i mladi značajan dio svojih stavova o društvu, politici i institucijama formiraju posmatrajući ponašanje odraslih. U tom smislu javni govor političkih predstavnika ima i važnu obrazovnu funkciju. Kada politički lideri pokazuju poštovanje prema drugima, koriste argumente umjesto uvreda i promovišu kulturu dijaloga, oni istovremeno šalju poruku mladim generacijama o vrijednostima na kojima treba da počiva demokratsko društvo.

Sa druge strane, korišćenje govora koji podstiče podjele, diskriminaciju ili netrpeljivost može negativno uticati na proces socijalizacije djece i mladih i doprinijeti normalizaciji obrazaca ponašanja koji nijesu u skladu sa principima ljudskih prava i demokratske kulture.

U savremenom medijskom okruženju, u kojem političke poruke veoma brzo dopiru do velikog broja ljudi, uključujući djecu i mlade, odgovornost za javnu riječ postaje još izraženija. Politički akteri stoga treba da vode računa ne samo o sadržaju svojih poruka, već i o mogućim posljedicama koje te poruke mogu imati na najmlađe članove društva.

Poštovanje najboljeg interesa djeteta ne odnosi se samo na donošenje zakona i javnih politika. Ono podrazumijeva i odgovornu političku komunikaciju koja doprinosi zaštiti dostojanstva, prava i dobrobiti svakog djeteta.

5.2. Govor koji uključuje, a ne isključuje

Jedan od najvažnijih zadataka savremenih demokratskih društava jeste izgradnja društvenog ambijenta u kojem se svaki pojedinac osjeća prihvaćeno, uvaženo i ravnopravno. U tom procesu politička komunikacija ima posebno značajnu ulogu. Riječi koje koriste politički lideri ne utiču samo na političke procese, već oblikuju društvene odnose, percepciju različitosti i nivo međusobnog povjerenja među građanima.

Politička komunikacija može doprinositi povezivanju ljudi i jačanju osjećaja zajedništva, ali može biti i faktor produbljivanja podjela, nepovjerenja i društvenih sukoba. Zbog toga je važno da javni govor političkih aktera bude zasnovan na principima poštovanja ljudskog dostojanstva, ravnopravnosti i uvažavanja različitosti.

U demokratskom društvu različitosti predstavljaju vrijednost, a ne prepreku. Građani se razlikuju po nacionalnoj, etničkoj, vjerskoj, kulturnoj, jezičkoj, političkoj i drugim osnovama. Upravo sposobnost društva da te različitosti prihvati i pretvori u izvor međusobnog obogaćivanja predstavlja jedan od pokazatelja njegove demokratske zrelosti.

Odgovorna politička komunikacija podrazumijeva korišćenje jezika koji uključuje, a ne isključuje. Takav govor ne negira postojanje razlika među ljudima, već doprinosi njihovom međusobnom razumijevanju. Umjesto podjela na „nas“ i „njih“, inkluzivna komunikacija promoviše ideju zajedničke odgovornosti za razvoj društva i ostvarivanje opšteg dobra.

Posebno je važno izbjegavati stereotipe i generalizacije. Stereotipi pojednostavljuju složenu društvenu stvarnost i često dovode do stvaranja predrasuda prema pojedinim grupama. Kada se stereotipi koriste u političkom govoru, oni mogu dodatno ojačati

postojeće društvene podjele i otežati procese dijaloga i saradnje.

Djeca i mladi naročito su osjetljivi na poruke koje dolaze iz javnog prostora. Tokom procesa odrastanja oni oblikuju svoje stavove prema različitim društvenim grupama posmatrajući ponašanje odraslih i slušajući poruke koje dolaze od političkih lidera, medija i drugih javnih autoriteta. Zbog toga politička komunikacija koja promoviše poštovanje, solidarnost i uvažavanje različitosti može imati značajan pozitivan uticaj na razvoj demokratskih vrijednosti kod mladih generacija.

Sa druge strane, komunikacija koja podstiče netrpeljivost ili stigmatizuje određene društvene grupe može doprinijeti normalizaciji diskriminacije i isključivanja. Posebno zabrinjavajuće posljedice mogu nastati kada su predmet negativnih stereotipa djeca i mladi iz manjinskih zajednica, djeca sa smetnjama u razvoju, djeca koja žive u siromaštvu ili druge ranjive grupe.

Odgovorna politička komunikacija ne znači izbjegavanje rasprava o osjetljivim društvenim pitanjima. Naprotiv, ona podrazumijeva otvoren dijalog o izazovima sa kojima se društvo suočava, ali na način koji ne ugrožava dostojanstvo pojedinaca i grupa. Demokratska rasprava može biti snažna i sadržajna, a istovremeno zasnovana na međusobnom poštovanju i argumentima.

U tom smislu važno je razlikovati legitimnu političku kritiku od govora koji dovodi do stigmatizacije ili isključivanja. Kritika politika, odluka i postupaka sastavni je dio demokratskog procesa. Međutim, osporavanje prava, dostojanstva ili jednakog položaja pojedinaca i grupa nije u skladu sa principima demokratskog društva i ljudskih prava.

Inkluzivna komunikacija doprinosi jačanju društvene kohezije, povjerenja među građanima i otpornosti zajednice na različite oblike polarizacije. Ona istovremeno šalje poruku da je svaki član društva važan i da ima pravo da bude saslušan i uvažen.

Politička komunikacija koja uključuje, a ne isključuje, doprinosi jačanju društvene kohezije, razvoju demokratske kulture i stvaranju okruženja u kojem se svako dijete i svaki građanin mogu osjećati prihvaćeno, bezbjedno i ravnopravno.

5.3. Odgovorno komuniciranje o djeci i mladima

Djeca i mladi predstavljaju značajan dio svakog društva i njegov najvažniji razvojni potencijal. Način na koji se o njima govori u javnom prostoru utiče ne samo na percepciju njihovog položaja i potreba, već i na društvene stavove prema njihovim pravima, mogućnostima i ulozi u zajednici. Zbog toga odgovorno komuniciranje o djeci i mladima predstavlja važan segment odgovorne političke komunikacije.

Politički akteri često govore o pitanjima koja se odnose na obrazovanje, zdravlje, socijalnu zaštitu, bezbjednost, participaciju i druge oblasti od neposrednog značaja za djecu i mlade. U takvim situacijama posebno je važno da javni govor bude zasnovan na činjenicama, poštovanju ljudskih prava i razumijevanju specifičnih potreba djece i mladih.

Djeca i mladi ne predstavljaju homogenu grupu. Njihova iskustva, potrebe i mogućnosti razlikuju se u zavisnosti od uzrasta, pola, mjesta stanovanja, socio-ekonomskog položaja, zdravstvenog stanja, pripadnosti manjinskim zajednicama i brojnih drugih okolnosti. Odgovorna komunikacija podrazumijeva prepoznavanje te raznolikosti i izbjegavanje pojednostavljenih predstava koje mogu dovesti do stereotipa i predrasuda.

Posebnu pažnju potrebno je posvetiti izbjegavanju stigmatizujućeg jezika. Izrazi koji djecu i mlade predstavljaju kao problem, prijetnju ili teret za društvo mogu negativno uticati na njihov osjećaj pripadnosti zajednici i samopouzdanje. Takav govor često zanemaruje šire društvene okolnosti koje utiču na položaj djece i mladih i prebacuje odgovornost na same pojedince.

Odgovorna politička komunikacija podrazumijeva da se djeca i mladi posmatraju kao nosioci prava i aktivni članovi zajednice. Umjesto fokusiranja isključivo na probleme, važno je ukazivati i na njihove potencijale, uspjehe, kreativnost i doprinos društvu. Takav pristup doprinosi stvaranju pozitivne slike

o mladim generacijama i podstiče njihovo aktivno uključivanje u društveni život.

Posebno osjetljivo pitanje predstavlja javni govor o djeci koja su žrtve nasilja, zanemarivanja, siromaštva ili drugih oblika ugroženosti. U takvim slučajevima neophodno je voditi računa o zaštiti privatnosti i dostojanstva djeteta. Iznošenje privatnih detalja koji mogu dovesti do identifikacije djeteta ili njegove porodice može imati dugoročne posljedice po njegov razvoj i dobrobit.

Pored toga, politički akteri treba da budu svjesni da javne izjave o pojedinačnim slučajevima nasilja ili drugih teških događaja mogu uticati na percepciju djece i mladih u cjelini. Generalizacije i pojednostavljeni zaključci često stvaraju pogrešnu sliku i mogu dovesti do dodatne stigmatizacije određenih grupa.

Razlika između štetnog i odgovornog pristupa najbolje se vidi kroz konkretne primjere:

NE: „Djeca danas nemaju dobar sistem vrijednosti."
DA: „Ovaj događaj zahtijeva ozbiljan, smiren i sistemski odgovor. Moramo zaštititi privatnost djece, utvrditi činjenice i ojačati podršku djeci, porodicama i školama."

NE: „Kriva je porodica / škola / sistem."
DA: „Potrebno je da nadležne institucije utvrde činjenice, a naš zadatak je da obezbijedimo bolju prevenciju, podršku i koordinaciju."

NE: „Ovo pokazuje kakva su današnja djeca."
DA: „Pojedinačni slučaj ne smije biti povod za generalizaciju o djeci i mladima. Fokus treba da bude na zaštiti, prevenciji i podrški."

Odgovorno komuniciranje o djeci i mladima podrazumijeva i njihovo aktivno uključivanje u razgovore o pitanjima koja ih se tiču. U skladu sa principima Konvencije o pravima djeteta, djeca imaju pravo da izraze svoje mišljenje i da ono bude uzeto u obzir u skladu sa njihovim uzrastom i zrelošću. Politički akteri mogu doprinijeti ostvarivanju ovog prava kroz podršku različitim oblicima participacije djece i mladih u društvenom i političkom životu.

Poseban značaj ima način na koji politički lideri reaguju na pojave poput vršnjačkog nasilja, diskriminacije, govora mržnje i drugih izazova sa kojima se suočavaju mladi. Njihove poruke mogu doprinijeti smirivanju tenzija, jačanju solidarnosti i pronalaženju konstruktivnih rješenja, ali mogu i produbiti postojeće podjele ukoliko nijesu pažljivo oblikovane.

U vremenu intenzivne digitalne komunikacije, djeca i mladi svakodnevno su izloženi velikom broju informacija i poruka koje dolaze iz javnog prostora. Zbog toga je odgovornost političkih aktera danas veća nego ikada ranije. Svaka javna riječ može doprinijeti stvaranju okruženja koje podstiče razumijevanje, poštovanje i uključivanje ili, sa druge strane, netrpeljivost, nepovjerenje i isključivanje.

Odgovorno komuniciranje o djeci i mladima ne podrazumijeva samo izbjegavanje štetnih poruka. Ono podrazumijeva aktivno promovisanje vrijednosti koje doprinose zaštiti prava djeteta, razvoju demokratske kulture i izgradnji društva u kojem svako dijete ima mogućnost da raste, razvija se i ostvaruje svoje potencijale.

Način na koji politički akteri govore o djeci i mladima oblikuje društvene stavove, utiče na ostvarivanje njihovih prava i doprinosi stvaranju okruženja u kojem se mladi osjećaju prihvaćeno, uvaženo i ohrabreno da aktivno učestvuju u životu zajednice.

5.4. Politička komunikacija i prevencija društvene polarizacije

Savremena demokratska društva suočavaju se sa brojnim izazovima koji utiču na kvalitet društvenih odnosa, povjerenje u institucije i sposobnost zajednice da odgovori na složene društvene probleme. Među tim izazovima posebno mjesto zauzima društvena polarizacija, odnosno proces produbljivanja podjela između različitih društvenih grupa, političkih opcija i identitetskih zajednica.

Određeni stepen političkog neslaganja prirodan je i poželjan u svakom demokratskom društvu. Demokratski proces podrazumijeva postojanje različitih mišljenja, ideja i interesa koji se kroz dijalog i institucionalne mehanizme usklađuju i pretvaraju u javne politike. Međutim, problem nastaje onda kada političke razlike prerastu u duboke društvene podjele koje

otežavaju saradnju, smanjuju povjerenje među građanima i ugrožavaju društvenu koheziju.

Politička komunikacija može imati značajnu ulogu u nastanku, ali i u prevenciji društvene polarizacije. Način na koji politički lideri predstavljaju društvene probleme, govore o političkim protivnicima i komuniciraju sa građanima utiče na ukupnu društvenu klimu i oblikuje odnose među različitim grupama u društvu.

Komunikacija zasnovana na podjelama često koristi retoriku suprotstavljanja, stvarajući utisak da društvo čine nepomirljive grupe sa međusobno isključivim interesima. Takav pristup može kratkoročno donijeti političku korist, ali dugoročno doprinosi slabljenju društvenog povjerenja, otežava dijalog i smanjuje sposobnost društva da zajednički odgovori na izazove od opšteg interesa.

Posebno su osjetljive situacije u kojima se političke poruke zasnivaju na podsticanju straha, nepovjerenja ili negativnih emocija prema određenim grupama. Takve poruke mogu dovesti do jačanja predrasuda, stereotipa i netrpeljivosti, čime se dodatno produbljuju postojeće društvene podjele.

Nasuprot tome, odgovorna politička komunikacija doprinosi izgradnji mostova između različitih društvenih grupa. Ona ne negira postojanje razlika, već promoviše dijalog, međusobno razumijevanje i traženje zajedničkih rješenja za probleme koji pogađaju građane bez obzira na njihovu političku, nacionalnu, vjersku ili drugu pripadnost.

U tom kontekstu posebno je važna uloga parlamenta kao centralne demokratske institucije. Parlament predstavlja prostor u kojem se susreću različita politička mišljenja i interesi, ali istovremeno i mjesto na kojem se kroz dijalog i demokratske procedure dolazi do odluka od javnog značaja. Način na koji se vode parlamentarne rasprave može značajno uticati na kvalitet javnog diskursa i odnose u društvu.

Kada parlamentarna debata počiva na argumentima, međusobnom uvažavanju i poštovanju procedura, ona šalje poruku da se društvene razlike mogu rješavati kroz dijalog i demokratske institucije. Nasuprot tome, rasprave obilježene uvredama, etiketiranjem i ličnim obračunima mogu doprinijeti normalizaciji konfliktnog ponašanja i dodatnom slabljenju povjerenja građana u institucije.

Djeca i mladi posebno su osjetljivi na poruke koje dolaze iz političkog prostora. Tokom procesa socijalizacije oni razvijaju stavove o demokratiji, institucijama i društvenim odnosima posmatrajući ponašanje odraslih i javnih autoriteta. Ukoliko su izloženi komunikaciji koja promoviše sukobe, netrpeljivost i isključivost, postoji rizik da takve obrasce ponašanja prihvate kao društveno prihvatljive.

Sa druge strane, politička komunikacija koja podstiče saradnju, razumijevanje i poštovanje različitosti može doprinijeti razvoju demokratske kulture i jačanju osjećaja pripadnosti zajednici. Takve poruke imaju poseban značaj za djecu i mlade ljude jer oblikuju njihovo razumijevanje društvenih vrijednosti i odnosa među ljudima.

Prevencija društvene polarizacije ne znači izbjegavanje političkih razlika niti odustajanje od političke debate. Naprotiv, ona podrazumijeva sposobnost da se i o najosjetljivijim pitanjima razgovara na način koji poštuje dostojanstvo svih učesnika i ostavlja prostor za dijalog i saradnju.

5.5. Komunikacija u kriznim i osjetljivim situacijama koje uključuju djecu

Krizne situacije predstavljaju poseban izazov za političku komunikaciju. Tragični događaji, slučajevi vršnjačkog nasilja, nasilja nad djecom, porodične tragedije, incidenti u školama, digitalno nasilje, slučajevi diskriminacije i drugi događaji koji uključuju djecu izazivaju snažne emocije u javnosti i zahtijevaju odgovoran pristup svih društvenih aktera.

U takvim okolnostima javnost očekuje pravovremene informacije, jasno iskazanu zabrinutost i spremnost institucija da preduzmu odgovarajuće mjere. Istovremeno, upravo u kriznim situacijama postoji povećan rizik od širenja dezinformacija,

senzacionalizma, politizacije pojedinačnih slučajeva i dodatnog ugrožavanja prava djece.

Odgovorna politička komunikacija u kriznim situacijama mora biti zasnovana na činjenicama, empatiji i poštovanju dostojanstva svih uključenih osoba. Posebnu pažnju potrebno je posvetiti zaštiti prava i interesa djece, bez obzira na okolnosti konkretnog slučaja.

Jedan od osnovnih principa jeste izbjegavanje preuranjenih zaključaka i javnih ocjena prije nego što nadležne institucije utvrde relevantne činjenice. U uslovima pojačanog interesovanja javnosti često postoji pritisak da se odmah ponude odgovori i tumačenja događaja. Međutim, brzina ne smije biti važnija od tačnosti i odgovornosti.

Politički akteri treba da budu svjesni da njihove izjave imaju značajan uticaj na javnost. Neprovjerene informacije, nagađanja ili emotivno obojene kvalifikacije mogu dodatno uznemiriti građane, otežati rad nadležnih institucija i dovesti do stvaranja pogrešnih predstava o samom događaju.

Posebnu pažnju potrebno je posvetiti zaštiti privatnosti djece. U slučajevima nasilja, zanemarivanja, porodičnih tragedija ili drugih osjetljivih situacija, objavljivanje informacija koje mogu dovesti do identifikacije djeteta može imati ozbiljne posljedice po njegov razvoj, psihološko stanje i budući život. Odgovorna komunikacija podrazumijeva puno poštovanje prava djeteta na privatnost i zaštitu od dodatne viktimizacije.

U kriznim situacijama važno je izbjeći govor koji doprinosi stigmatizaciji pojedinaca ili grupa. Pojedinačni slučajevi ne smiju biti povod za generalizacije o čitavim zajednicama, obrazovnim ustanovama, porodicama ili grupama djece i mladih. Takav pristup ne doprinosi razumijevanju problema niti pronalaženju rješenja, već može dovesti do dodatnih podjela i predrasuda.

Poseban izazov predstavljaju slučajevi vršnjačkog nasilja. Ovakvi događaji opravdano izazivaju zabrinutost javnosti, ali je važno imati u vidu da pojednostavljena objašnjenja rijetko mogu obuhvatiti složenost uzroka koji dovode do nasilnog ponašanja. Odgovorna politička komunikacija treba da podstiče razumijevanje problema, jačanje preventivnih mehanizama i razvoj sistema podrške djeci, roditeljima i obrazovnim ustanovama.

U situacijama koje uključuju digitalno nasilje i govor mržnje na internetu, politički akteri mogu imati značajnu ulogu u promovisanju odgovornog ponašanja u digitalnom prostoru. Jasne poruke kojima se osuđuju nasilje, uznemiravanje i diskriminacija doprinose stvaranju sigurnijeg okruženja za djecu i mlade.

Empatija predstavlja jedan od najvažnijih elemenata komunikacije u kriznim situacijama. Javne poruke treba da pokažu razumijevanje za patnju i zabrinutost pogođenih osoba i zajednica. Međutim, iskazivanje empatije ne smije prerasti u eksploataciju tragedije radi ostvarivanja političkih ciljeva ili privlačenja medijske pažnje.

Odgovorna politička komunikacija treba da bude usmjerena na rješenja. Građani od svojih predstavnika očekuju da ponude inicijative, podrže rad institucija i doprinesu jačanju sistema zaštite djece. Fokus na prevenciji, podršci i unapređenju institucionalnih mehanizama često ima veći značaj od političkih polemika koje se vode neposredno nakon kriznih događaja.

Parlament kao najviše predstavničko tijelo ima posebnu odgovornost da u kriznim situacijama promoviše smirenost, solidarnost i institucionalni pristup rješavanju problema. Kvalitet javne rasprave o osjetljivim pitanjima može značajno uticati na povjerenje građana u institucije i njihovu spremnost da podrže mjere koje doprinose zaštiti djece.

Djeca i mladi pažljivo prate reakcije odraslih tokom kriznih događaja. Način na koji politički lideri komuniciraju u takvim situacijama šalje snažne poruke o vrijednostima društva, odnosu prema ljudskom dostojanstvu i značaju međusobne solidarnosti. Upravo zbog toga odgovornost za javnu riječ u kriznim okolnostima postaje još izraženija.

Krizne situacije mogu predstavljati iskušenje za demokratsku kulturu, ali istovremeno i priliku da društvo pokaže sposobnost zajedničkog djelovanja, međusobnog uvažavanja i zaštite najranjivijih članova

zajednice. Odgovorna politička komunikacija ima važnu ulogu u ostvarivanju tog cilja.

U kriznim i osjetljivim situacijama koje uključuju djecu, politička komunikacija mora biti zasnovana na činjenicama, empatiji, zaštiti privatnosti i najboljem interesu djeteta. Odgovorna riječ doprinosi smirivanju tenzija, jačanju povjerenja i pronalaženju rješenja, dok neodgovorna komunikacija može dodatno ugroziti prava i dobrobit djece.

5.6. Uloga parlamenta u promovisanju kulture dijaloga

Uloga parlamenta u promovisanju kulture dijaloga posebno dolazi do izražaja u periodima društvenih kriza, političkih tenzija i polarizacije. U takvim okolnostima građani sa posebnom pažnjom prate javne nastupe političkih predstavnika i očekuju da institucije pokažu odgovornost, ozbiljnost i spremnost na saradnju u pitanjima od opšteg interesa.

Politički akteri imaju snažan uticaj na oblikovanje javnog mišljenja jer su njihove poruke prisutne u medijima, na društvenim mrežama i u svakodnevnom javnom prostoru. Kada politička komunikacija počiva na argumentima, poštovanju različitosti i konstruktivnom dijalogu, ona doprinosi jačanju demokratske kulture i povjerenja u institucije. Nasuprot tome, agresivna retorika, govor mržnje, etiketiranje i podsticanje podjela mogu produbiti društvene konflikte i oslabiti društvenu koheziju.

Posebno je važna odgovornost političkih aktera prema djeci i mladima. Djeca i mladi često usvajaju obrasce ponašanja koje vide kod odraslih i javnih ličnosti. Kada politički lideri koriste vrijeđanje, ponižavanje ili govor mržnje, postoji rizik da takvi modeli komunikacije postanu normalizovani i među mladima. Sa druge strane, politički akteri koji promovišu kulturu dijaloga, toleranciju i međusobno poštovanje mogu pozitivno uticati na razvoj demokratskih vrijednosti i nenasilne komunikacije kod mlađih generacija.

Uloga političkih aktera posebno je važna u vremenu društvenih kriza i polarizacije. U situacijama kada su društvene tenzije izražene, način komunikacije političkih lidera može doprinositi smirivanju konflikata i jačanju osjećaja sigurnosti ili, suprotno tome, dodatno podsticati nepovjerenje, strah i podjele. Odgovorna politička komunikacija u kriznim situacijama podrazumijeva tačne informacije, smirivanje tenzija i fokus na zajedničke interese i opšte dobro.[84]

Politički akteri imaju značajnu ulogu i u stvaranju sigurnog digitalnog prostora. Društvene mreže danas predstavljaju važan kanal političke komunikacije, ali istovremeno povećavaju rizik od širenja dezinformacija, govora mržnje i manipulativnih sadržaja. Način na koji političari koriste digitalne platforme utiče na kvalitet online komunikacije i društvenu atmosferu u cjelini. Promovisanje odgovorne i nenasilne komunikacije u digitalnom prostoru važan je dio njihove društvene odgovornosti.

Pored komunikacije, politički akteri imaju ključnu ulogu u kreiranju javnih politika koje utiču na društvenu koheziju i položaj djece i mladih. Kroz zakone, strategije i institucionalne mehanizme mogu doprinositi smanjenju nejednakosti, zaštiti ljudskih prava, razvoju obrazovanja, podršci mentalnom zdravlju i jačanju participacije djece i mladih u društvenim i političkim procesima. Posebno je važno obezbijediti mehanizme koji omogućavaju djeci i mladima da izraze svoje mišljenje i učestvuju u donošenju odluka koje ih se tiču.

Odgovornost političkih aktera ogleda se i u sposobnosti da prepoznaju i osude govor mržnje, diskriminaciju i nasilje. Njihove reakcije na negativne društvene pojave imaju snažan simbolički značaj i utiču na društvene norme i percepciju prihvatljivog ponašanja. Jasno i dosljedno zalaganje za ljudska prava, toleranciju i nenasilje doprinosi jačanju

[84] UNICEF (2023). Children and the COVID-19 Pandemic: A Special Report. New York: UNICEF. Vidjeti i: Save the Children (2022). Protect a Generation: The Impact of COVID-19 on Children's Lives. London: Save the Children International. Oba izvještaja naglašavaju da u periodima krize odgovorna komunikacija institucija i javnih lidera neposredno utiče na osjećaj sigurnosti djece i mladih te na koheziju zajednice. Dostupno na: https://www.unicef.org/reports/children-and-covid-19-pandemic

povjerenja među građanima i otpornosti društva na ekstremizam i podjele.

U demokratskom društvu politički akteri ne bi trebalo da budu samo predstavnici političkih interesa, već i važni nosioci društvene odgovornosti. Njihova komunikacija i djelovanje mogu doprinositi povezivanju ljudi, razvoju povjerenja i jačanju osjećaja zajedništva ili, suprotno tome, stvaranju konflikata i nepovjerenja. Zato kvalitet političkog djelovanja i javne komunikacije ima direktan uticaj na demokratski razvoj, društvenu stabilnost i kvalitet života građana, posebno djece i mladih.

U savremenim društvima dijalog ima dodatni značaj zbog brzog širenja informacija i sve izraženije prisutnosti društvenih mreža. Pojedine izjave iz parlamenta često u veoma kratkom roku postaju dostupne velikom broju građana i mogu značajno uticati na javni diskurs. To dodatno povećava odgovornost političkih aktera za način na koji komuniciraju.

Promovisanje kulture dijaloga podrazumijeva i spremnost da se prepoznaju zajednički interesi koji prevazilaze političke razlike. Zaštita djece i mladih, unapređenje obrazovanja, borba protiv nasilja, jačanje socijalne zaštite i zaštita ljudskih prava predstavljaju oblasti u kojima je saradnja političkih aktera od posebnog značaja za društvo u cjelini.

Parlament može doprinijeti razvoju kulture dijaloga i kroz saradnju sa civilnim društvom, akademskom zajednicom, medijima, djecom i mladima. Otvorenost prema različitim društvenim akterima jača transparentnost institucija i omogućava šire učešće građana u demokratskim procesima.

Kultura dijaloga ne podrazumijeva odustajanje od političkih uvjerenja niti umanjivanje značaja političke konkurencije. Naprotiv, ona podrazumijeva vođenje političke borbe na način koji poštuje demokratska pravila, dostojanstvo svih učesnika i interes društva u cjelini.

Parlament koji uspješno promoviše kulturu dijaloga doprinosi jačanju povjerenja građana, smanjenju društvenih podjela i razvoju demokratske političke kulture zasnovane na međusobnom uvažavanju i odgovornosti.

Parlament nije samo mjesto donošenja odluka, već i prostor u kojem se oblikuju standardi javne komunikacije. Kultura dijaloga u parlamentu doprinosi jačanju demokratije, povjerenja građana i društvene kohezije.

Dobra praksa: U demokratski razvijenim društvima kvalitet parlamentarne rasprave smatra se jednim od pokazatelja demokratske zrelosti institucija. Uspješni parlamenti ne mjere se samo brojem usvojenih zakona, već i sposobnošću da kroz dijalog, međusobno poštovanje i argumentovanu raspravu grade povjerenje građana i doprinose rješavanju društvenih problema.

Građansko obrazovanje i socio-emocionalne kompetencije

Razvoj demokratske kulture ne zavisi samo od formalnih institucija. Građansko obrazovanje i programi socio-emocionalnog učenja mogu pomoći djeci da razvijaju empatiju, kritičko mišljenje, nenasilnu komunikaciju, razumijevanje različitosti i vještine učešća. Parlamentarci/ke mogu podržati da takvi sadržaji imaju stabilno mjesto u obrazovnom sistemu i da se razvijaju u saradnji sa djecom, školama i stručnom zajednicom.

5.7. Participacija djece i mladih u demokratskim procesima

Uprkos značaju participacije, brojna istraživanja ukazuju da djeca i mladi često imaju osjećaj da njihovo mišljenje nije dovoljno uvaženo. Mnogi mladi smatraju da institucije rijetko traže njihovo mišljenje ili da se ono ne uzima ozbiljno prilikom donošenja odluka. Takva percepcija može dovesti do osjećaja udaljenosti od institucija i smanjenog povjerenja u demokratske procese.

Zbog toga je važno razvijati mehanizme koji omogućavaju smisleno i kontinuirano učešće djece i mladih u javnom životu. Participacija ne treba da bude povremena aktivnost ili formalno ispunjavanje obaveze, već sastavni dio procesa donošenja odluka na lokalnom i nacionalnom nivou.

Da bi participacija djece bila smislena, a ne formalna, potrebno je obezbijediti nekoliko ključnih elemenata:

- Siguran prostor u kojem dijete može slobodno da izrazi mišljenje.
- Informacije i materijali prilagođeni uzrastu i sposobnostima djece.
- Obučene institucije i odrasli koji su spremni da saslušaju i ozbiljno razmotre stavove djece.
- Povratna informacija djeci o tome kako su njihove sugestije uzete u obzir i kakav je rezultat procesa.

U praksi postoje različiti modeli participacije djece i mladih. Dječji parlamenti, omladinski parlamenti, savjeti mladih, savjeti za prava djeteta, konsultativni forumi i različiti oblici javnih rasprava predstavljaju važne mehanizme koji omogućavaju mladima da iznesu svoje stavove i prijedloge.

Posebnu vrijednost imaju inicijative koje omogućavaju direktan dijalog između djece, mladih i donosilaca odluka. Takvi susreti doprinose međusobnom razumijevanju, jačanju povjerenja i stvaranju osjećaja da institucije uvažavaju glas djece i mladih.

Digitalne tehnologije otvorile su nove mogućnosti za participaciju djece i mladih. Online platforme, digitalne konsultacije i različiti oblici elektronskog učešća omogućavaju da se glas većeg broja djece i mladih čuje i uvaži. Međutim, važno je voditi računa da digitalna participacija ne zamijeni neposredni dijalog, već da ga dopuni i unaprijedi.

Za razvoj demokratske kulture od posebnog je značaja da djeca i mladi vide konkretne rezultate svog učešća. Kada djeca i mladi prepoznaju da su njihove ideje saslušane i uvažene i da mogu doprinijeti promjenama u zajednici, raste njihovo povjerenje u institucije i spremnost da aktivno učestvuju u društvenom životu.

Učešće djece i mladih nije samo pravo koje proizlazi iz međunarodnih standarda. Ono predstavlja ulaganje u budućnost demokratskog društva. Mladi koji imaju priliku da učestvuju u procesima odlučivanja razvijaju osjećaj odgovornosti, razumijevanje demokratskih procedura i spremnost da aktivno doprinose razvoju zajednice.

U vremenu složenih društvenih izazova, jačanje participacije djece i mladih predstavlja jedan od najvažnijih koraka ka izgradnji društva zasnovanog na povjerenju, uključivanju i međusobnom poštovanju.

Djeca i mladi nijesu samo budući građani – oni su građani sadašnjosti. Njihovo pravo da budu saslušani i uključeni u procese odlučivanja predstavlja važan preduslov za razvoj demokratske kulture, jačanje društvene kohezije i izgradnju institucija kojima građani vjeruju.

Primjer dobre prakse: Skupština opštine Bijelo Polje prva je u Crnoj Gori donijela odluku o osnivanju Savjeta za prava djeteta kao stalnog radnog tijela Skupštine, čime je uspostavljen institucionalni mehanizam za neposredno učešće djece u procesima donošenja odluka koje se odnose na njihova prava, potrebe i interese. Osnivanjem ovog Savjeta djeci je omogućeno da aktivno izražavaju svoja mišljenja i daju prijedloge o pitanjima koja ih se tiču, u skladu sa principima sadržanim u Konvenciji Ujedinjenih nacija o pravima djeteta. Istovremeno, Savjet doprinosi jačanju kulture dijaloga, međusobnog uvažavanja i zajedničke odgovornosti, stvarajući uslove za razvoj demokratske

zajednice u kojoj se glas djece prepoznaje i poštuje kao važan dio procesa odlučivanja.

Na ovaj način Bijelo Polje daje konkretan doprinos ostvarivanju UNICEF-ove vizije društva po mjeri djeteta, zasnovanog na poštovanju dječjih prava, aktivnom učešću djece i stvaranju okruženja u kojem svako dijete ima priliku da bude saslušano i uključeno u donošenje odluka koje ga se tiču.

5.8. Primjeri dobre parlamentarne prakse u promociji odgovorne političke komunikacije i prava djeteta

Odgovorna politička komunikacija i zaštita prava djeteta nijesu pitanja koja se mogu ostvariti isključivo kroz zakonske norme. Njihova uspješna primjena zavisi od političke kulture, institucionalne posvećenosti i spremnosti nosilaca javnih funkcija da svojim djelovanjem promovišu vrijednosti demokratije, poštovanja ljudskih prava i društvene odgovornosti.

U posljednjim decenijama brojni parlamenti razvili su mehanizme kojima nastoje unaprijediti kvalitet javnog diskursa, osnažiti učešće djece i mladih i promovisati kulturu dijaloga. Iako se institucionalna rješenja razlikuju od države do države, zajednička karakteristika ovih inicijativa jeste nastojanje da parlament bude prepoznat ne samo kao zakonodavno tijelo, već i kao promoter demokratskih vrijednosti.

Jedan od najrasprostranjenijih modela predstavljaju dječji i omladinski parlamenti. Kroz ovakve mehanizme djeca i mladi imaju priliku da se upoznaju sa radom institucija, razvijaju vještine javnog nastupa i aktivno učestvuju u raspravama o pitanjima koja ih se neposredno tiču. Istovremeno, parlamenti dobijaju mogućnost da neposredno čuju mišljenja djece i mladih i bolje razumiju njihove potrebe i očekivanja.

Sve veći broj parlamentarnih institucija razvija i posebne smjernice za javnu komunikaciju svojih članova. Ove smjernice najčešće naglašavaju značaj poštovanja ljudskog dostojanstva, odgovornosti za javnu riječ, izbjegavanja govora mržnje i promovisanja kulture dijaloga. Njihov cilj nije ograničavanje političke debate, već unapređenje kvaliteta javnog diskursa i jačanje povjerenja građana u institucije.

Dobra praksa pokazuje da parlamenti mogu imati važnu ulogu u podizanju svijesti o pravima djeteta i izazovima sa kojima se djeca suočavaju. Organizovanje tematskih sjednica, javnih rasprava, konsultacija sa djecom i mladima, kao i obilježavanje međunarodnih dana posvećenih pravima djeteta predstavljaju značajne mehanizme za jačanje društvene pažnje prema ovim pitanjima.

Važan segment dobre parlamentarne prakse odnosi se na saradnju sa institucijama, međunarodnim organizacijama, akademskom zajednicom i organizacijama civilnog društva koje se bave zaštitom djece. Takva saradnja omogućava razmjenu iskustava, unapređenje znanja i razvoj kvalitetnijih politika zasnovanih na dokazima i potrebama djece.

Kada je riječ o participaciji djece i mladih, posebno vrijedne primjere predstavljaju inicijative koje omogućavaju kontinuirani dijalog između djece i mladih i donosilaca odluka. Takvi modeli doprinose razvoju povjerenja, jačanju osjećaja pripadnosti zajednici i boljem razumijevanju potreba mladih od strane institucija.

Na lokalnom nivou značajan doprinos mogu dati savjeti za prava djeteta, omladinski savjeti, dječji parlamenti i druga konsultativna tijela koja omogućavaju aktivno uključivanje djece i mladih u procese odlučivanja. Ovakvi modeli participacije doprinose ostvarivanju prava djeteta da bude saslušano i predstavljaju važan korak ka izgradnji zajednica po mjeri djece.

Dobra praksa pokazuje da kvalitet demokratskih institucija ne zavisi samo od njihovih formalnih nadležnosti, već i od njihove sposobnosti da budu otvorene, dostupne i odgovorne prema građanima. Parlament koji promoviše dijalog, uvažava različitosti i aktivno uključuje djecu i mlade u svoj rad doprinosi jačanju demokratske kulture i društvene kohezije.

Posebno je važno naglasiti da primjeri dobre prakse nijesu univerzalni modeli koje je moguće mehanički primijeniti u svakom društvu. Njihova vrijednost prvenstveno se

ogleda u tome što pokazuju da postoje različiti načini za unapređenje političke komunikacije, zaštitu prava djeteta i jačanje participacije mladih u demokratskim procesima.

Parlamentarne institucije koje uspješno razvijaju ovakve pristupe šalju važnu poruku da demokratija nije samo sistem donošenja odluka, već i prostor u kojem se razvijaju povjerenje, dijalog, odgovornost i poštovanje ljudskog dostojanstva.

Dobra parlamentarna praksa pokazuje da odgovorna politička komunikacija, aktivno uključivanje djece i mladih i dosljedna promocija ljudskih prava predstavljaju važne preduslove za razvoj demokratskog društva i jačanje povjerenja građana u institucije.

5.9. Preporuke za političku komunikaciju osjetljivu na djecu i bez govora mržnje

Odgovorna politička komunikacija ne predstavlja samo pitanje ličnog stila ili političke kulture pojedinog javnog funkcionera. Ona je sastavni dio demokratske odgovornosti i jedan od važnih mehanizama zaštite ljudskih prava, jačanja društvene kohezije i očuvanja povjerenja građana u institucije.

U savremenom društvu, obilježenom intenzivnom medijskom i digitalnom komunikacijom, političke poruke imaju daleko veći domet i uticaj nego ranije. Izjave političkih aktera prenose se putem tradicionalnih medija, društvenih mreža i digitalnih platformi, postajući dostupne velikom broju građana, uključujući djecu i mlade. Zbog toga odgovornost za javnu riječ podrazumijeva stalno promišljanje o sadržaju poruka, njihovom mogućem uticaju i posljedicama koje mogu proizvesti u društvu.

U cilju unapređenja političke komunikacije osjetljive na djecu i usklađene sa principima ljudskih prava, korisno je rukovoditi se sljedećim preporukama.

Poštovati dostojanstvo svakog pojedinca

Bez obzira na političke razlike, javna komunikacija treba da bude zasnovana na poštovanju ljudskog dostojanstva. Kritika političkih stavova, odluka i postupaka legitimni je dio demokratskog procesa, ali ne smije prerasti u vrijeđanje, ponižavanje ili osporavanje dostojanstva drugih osoba.

Poštovanje dostojanstva predstavlja osnovu kulture dijaloga i preduslov za izgradnju društva zasnovanog na međusobnom uvažavanju.

Voditi računa o najboljem interesu djeteta

Prilikom javnog obraćanja o pitanjima koja se odnose na djecu i mlade, potrebno je razmotriti da li sadržaj poruke doprinosi zaštiti njihovih prava i dobrobiti.

Najbolji interes djeteta treba da bude jedan od osnovnih kriterijuma prilikom oblikovanja političkih poruka koje se odnose na obrazovanje, zdravlje, socijalnu zaštitu, bezbjednost, digitalno okruženje i druga pitanja od značaja za djecu.

Izbjegavati stereotipe i generalizacije

Stereotipi pojednostavljuju složenu društvenu stvarnost i često predstavljaju osnov za razvoj predrasuda i diskriminacije.

Posebno je važno izbjegavati generalizacije koje se odnose na djecu, mlade, manjinske zajednice, osobe sa invaliditetom, migrante ili druge društvene grupe. Pojedinačni slučajevi ne smiju biti korišćeni za stvaranje negativnih predstava o čitavim grupama ljudi.

Koristiti provjerene informacije

Tačnost i pouzdanost informacija predstavljaju osnov odgovorne političke komunikacije.

Prije iznošenja tvrdnji koje mogu uticati na javnost, potrebno je provjeriti njihovu tačnost i pouzdanost izvora. Širenje netačnih ili neprovjerenih informacija može izazvati nepovjerenje, nesigurnost i dodatne društvene podjele.

Posebnu pažnju potrebno je posvetiti informacijama koje se odnose na djecu i

mlade, imajući u vidu njihovu osjetljivost i potencijalne posljedice koje netačne informacije mogu proizvesti.

Ne koristiti govor mržnje niti podsticati netrpeljivost

Govor mržnje ugrožava ljudsko dostojanstvo, produbljuje društvene podjele i može podstaći diskriminaciju i nasilje.

Od političkih predstavnika očekuje se da svojim javnim nastupima doprinesu stvaranju ambijenta u kojem se poštuju ljudska prava, različitosti i demokratske vrijednosti. To podrazumijeva jasno odbacivanje svih oblika govora mržnje, diskriminacije i netrpeljivosti.

Promovisati kulturu dijaloga

Politička komunikacija treba da podstiče razmjenu mišljenja i argumentovanu raspravu.

Kultura dijaloga ne podrazumijeva odsustvo neslaganja, već sposobnost da se različiti stavovi iznose i razmatraju uz međusobno poštovanje. Takav pristup doprinosi jačanju demokratskih institucija i povjerenja građana.

Podsticati participaciju djece i mladih

Djeca i mladi imaju pravo da budu saslušani u pitanjima koja ih se tiču.

Politički akteri mogu doprinijeti ostvarivanju ovog prava kroz podršku različitim mehanizmima participacije, uključujući dječje parlamente, omladinske savjete, savjete za prava djeteta, konsultativne procese i druge oblike uključivanja mladih u donošenje odluka.

Kako bi se ove preporuke lakše primijenile u praksi, koristan je i kratak pregled uobičajenih formulacija koje treba izbjegavati, sa predlozima za odgovorniji izraz:

- NE: „Mladi su nezainteresovani.“
- DA: „Mladi se često ne uključuju jer ne vide dovoljno prostora da utiču na odluke. Naša je obaveza da budemo dostupniji i obezbijedimo bolje mehanizme učešća.“
- NE: „Problematična djeca.“
- DA: „Djeca koja se suočavaju sa problemima ili rizicima i kojima su potrebni podrška, zaštita i odgovarajuće usluge.“
- NE: „Oni su drugačiji od nas.“
- DA: „Različitosti su dio našeg društva i svako dijete ima jednako pravo na dostojanstvo, zaštitu i učešće.“

Prilozi

PRILOG 1: Pravna zaštita (djece) od štetnog javnog diskursa – standardi ESLJP - radionice

Zaštita djece u kontekstu javnog i političkog diskursa ne odnosi se isključivo na zabranu najtežeg oblika govora mržnje u užem smislu, već obuhvata širi spektar javnih izraza koji mogu negativno uticati na njihov razvoj, dostojanstvo i sigurnost. U tom smislu, relevantan standard nije samo zakonitost govora, već i njegov stvarni društveni i psihološki efekat – odnosno štetnost govora na razvoj djece. Zaštita djece u javnom diskursu ne odnosi se samo na zabranu govora mržnje, već na sprečavanje svakog govora koji može negativno uticati na njihov razvoj, dostojanstvo i sigurnost, naročito kada govor potiče od javnog funkcionera. Iz perspektive prava djeteta, štetan govor obuhvata svaki javni narativ koji djecu direktno ili indirektno izlaže stigmatizaciji, stereotipima, ponižavanju ili normalizaciji nasilja, koji proizvodi neprijateljsko, ponižavajuće ili nesigurno društveno okruženje za djecu. U tom kontekstu, princip najboljeg interesa djeteta zahtijeva da se svaki javni govor procjenjuje i sa aspekta njegovog uticaja na dječji razvoj. To podrazumijeva da se, pored slobode izražavanja, mora uzeti u obzir najznačajniji interes društva a to je potreba zaštite psihološkog integriteta, dostojanstva i identiteta djece.

U nastavku su dati pregledi relevantnih presuda Evropskog suda za ljudska prava koje su pomenute u prikazu standarda država članica Savjeta Evrope.[85] Cilj njihovog uključivanja u ovaj priručnik jeste da omogući učesnicima radionica da, kroz analizu konkretnih presuda Evropskog suda za ljudska prava, steknu i produbе razumijevanje standarda slobode izražavanja javnih funkcionera i poslanika, kao i njenih ograničenja u kontekstu zaštite prava djece i mladih.

Castells v. Spain, 1992[86]

Sažetak predmeta i ishod

Evropski sud za ljudska prava utvrdio je da su krivični postupak za klevetu i izrečena kazna zatvora protiv člana španskog Senata, koji je kritikovao vladinu politiku, predstavljali povredu prava na slobodu izražavanja. Senator je kritikovao vlast zbog neuspjeha da obezbijedi sigurnost građana Baskije i optužio državne zvaničnike za umiješanost u ubistva političkih neistomišljenika, nakon čega je osuđen na kaznu zatvora u trajanju od jedne godine i jednog dana. Sud je naglasio da svako miješanje u slobodu izražavanja izabranog predstavnika, naročito opozicionog političara, zahtijeva najstrožu kontrolu. Takođe je zaključio da je odbijanje domaćih sudova da dozvole izvođenje dokaza o istinitosti tvrdnji dovelo do toga da krivični postupak predstavlja neopravdano ograničenje slobode govora.

Činjenice

Castells je bio advokat iz San Sebastiana u Španiji i senator izabran sa liste političke grupe Herri Batasuna, koja je podržavala nezavisnost Baskije. U junu 1979. objavio je članak u nedjeljniku *Punto y Hora de Euskalherria* o situaciji u Baskiji. U tekstu je naveo da vlasti nisu bile spremne da identifikuju i procesuiraju odgovorne za terorističke napade u kojima je stradalo mnogo ljudi. Dalje je sugerisao da je vlada umiješana u ta ubistva, tvrdeći da iza tih djela „mogu stajati samo Vlada, vladajuća partija i njihovi ljudi“, te da će koristiti „nemilosrdni progon baskijskih disidenata i njihovu fizičku eliminaciju“ kao političko sredstvo. Nedugo zatim, protiv njega je pokrenut krivični postupak zbog vrijeđanja vlade. Nakon

[85] Format predstavljanja odluka Evropskog suda za ljudska prava je *ad literam* preuzet i preveden od strane *Global Freedom of Expression, Columbia University*.

[86] Format prezentacije i interpretacije presude Castells v. Spain, 1992., preuzet je sa: Global Freedom of Expression | Castells v. Spain - Global Freedom of Expression

ukidanja poslaničkog imuniteta, Vrhovni sud ga je osudio na kaznu zatvora, smatrajući da je prekoračio granice dozvoljene političke kritike i povrijedio čast vlade. Castells je u žalbi tvrdio da mu je povrijeđeno pravo na pretpostavku nevinosti jer mu nije bilo dozvoljeno da dokaže istinitost svojih tvrdnji. Takođe se pozvao na pravo da učestvuje u političkom životu kao senator. Ustavni sud je odbio njegovu žalbu. Potom se obratio Evropskoj komisiji za ljudska prava, tvrdeći da mu je povrijeđeno pravo na slobodu izražavanja iz člana 10 Konvencije.

Odluka Suda

Sud je prvo utvrdio da su krivični postupak i kazna zatvora nesumnjivo predstavljali miješanje u slobodu izražavanja. Zatim je analizirao da li je to miješanje:

- propisano zakonom,
- imalo legitiman cilj,
- bilo „neophodno u demokratskom društvu".

Sud je prihvatio da je miješanje bilo zasnovano na zakonu i da je imalo legitiman cilj (sprečavanje nereda i zaštita ugleda drugih), imajući u vidu tadašnju bezbjednosnu situaciju u Španiji. Međutim, ključni dio analize odnosio se na pitanje nužnosti. Sud je naglasio:

- sloboda izražavanja štiti i ideje koje vrijeđaju, šokiraju ili uznemiravaju;
- politički govor, naročito opozicionih poslanika, uživa pojačanu zaštitu;
- granice dozvoljene kritike šire su kada je riječ o vladi nego o privatnim licima;
- vlast mora pokazati uzdržanost u korišćenju krivičnih sankcija.

U konkretnom slučaju, Sud je istakao da Castellsu nije bilo dozvoljeno da iznese dokaze o istinitosti svojih tvrdnji, što je bilo ključno za njegovu odbranu. Zaključak Suda bio je da miješanje nije bilo „neophodno u demokratskom društvu", te je utvrđena povreda člana 10 Evropske konvencije o ljudskim pravima.

Karácsony and Others v. Hungary, 2016[87]

Sažetak predmeta i ishod

Veliko vijeće Evropskog suda za ljudska prava utvrdilo je da se od poslanika može zahtijevati da poštuju pravila parlamentarnog ponašanja, ali da izricanje novčane kazne zbog kršenja tih pravila, bez saslušanja, predstavlja povredu njihovih prava. Predmet je nastao nakon što je sedam članova mađarskog parlamenta pokazalo protivljenje novim zakonima o duvanu i raspodjeli poljoprivrednog i šumskog zemljišta tako što su uzvikivali parole, mahali transparentima i plakatima, i u parlamentarnu salu unijeli kolica puna zemlje. Svakom od njih izrečena je novčana kazna, a da im prethodno nije pružena mogućnost da brane svoje ponašanje.

Činjenice

Predmet je nastao povodom izricanja novčanih kazni protiv više članova mađarskog parlamenta koji su odlučili da izraze svoje protivljenje različitim novim zakonima na način drugačiji od uobičajenih parlamentarnih govora i podnesaka. Prvo, na plenarnoj sjednici 30. aprila 2013. godine, kada je državni sekretar za nacionalnu ekonomiju držao govor u ime vlade o reorganizaciji tržišta duvana, opozicioni poslanici Gergely Karácsony i Péter Szilágyi unijeli su veliki plakat u sredinu parlamentarne sale. Na plakatu je bilo navedeno ime vladajuće partije i pisalo je: „Vi kradete, varate i lažete." Zatim su plakat postavili pored mjesta državnog sekretara. Prema zapisniku sa sjednice, nakon kratkog prekida, predsjednik parlamenta naredio je da se plakat ukloni iz sale. Dvije sedmice kasnije, parlament je usvojio prijedlog predsjednika da se Karácsony kazni sa 170 eura, a Szilágyi sa 600 eura zbog njihovog ponašanja, koje je ocijenjeno kao ozbiljno uvredljivo za parlamentarni red prema Zakonu o parlamentu iz 2012. godine. Dana 21. maja 2013. godine, dva druga poslanika, Dávid Dorosz i Rebeka Szabó, protestovali su protiv prijedloga izmjena zakona o duvanu tako što su u salu unijeli veliki transparent na kojem je pisalo: „Ovdje djeluje nacionalna duvanska mafija." Slično prethodnom incidentu, predsjednik parlamenta naredio je uklanjanje transparenta, a parlament je potom usvojio prijedlog da se Dorosz i Szabó kazne sa po 240 eura zbog njihovog ponašanja. Na kraju, 21. juna 2013. godine, kada je parlament

[87] Format prezentacije i interpretacije presude Karácsony and Others v. Hungary, 2016, preuzet je sa: Global Freedom of Expression | Karácsony and Others v. Hungary - Global Freedom of Expression

zasijedao radi glasanja o kontroverznom zakonu o prenosu poljoprivrednog i šumskog zemljišta, Bernadett Szél postavila je mala zlatna kolica napunjena zemljom na sto ispred premijera, dok su Ágnes Osztolykán i Szilvia Lengyel istakle transparent sa natpisom „Raspodjela zemlje umjesto pljačke zemlje". Lengyel je tokom prekida koristila i megafon. Nekoliko dana kasnije, parlament je usvojio prijedlog da se ove tri poslanice kazne, jer se incident dogodio tokom glasanja, a njihovo ponašanje je ocijenjeno kao ozbiljno uvredljivo za parlamentarni red. Poslanici su podnijeli dvije odvojene predstavke Evropskom sudu za ljudska prava, a vijeće Suda je u septembru 2014. godine donijelo presudu kojom je jednoglasno utvrdilo da su odluke o izricanju kazni povrijedile njihovo pravo na slobodu izražavanja i pravo na djelotvorno pravno sredstvo. Vlada Mađarske je zatražila da predmet bude upućen Velikom vijeću.

Pregled odluke

Veliko vijeće Suda jednoglasno je donijelo presudu. Podnosioci predstavke su tvrdili da je vladajuća koalicija, koja je u to vrijeme imala dvotrećinsku većinu, preduzimala više mjera kako bi umanjila učešće opozicionih partija u parlamentu. Na primjer, hitni postupci su korišćeni za donošenje zakona u izuzetno kratkom roku, a pravila parlamentarne disciplinske procedure su pooštrena, sve na štetu opozicije. Tvrdili su da, budući da su sistematski lišeni uobičajenih načina izražavanja svojih stavova u parlamentu, treba da im bude dozvoljeno da izraze mišljenje putem simboličkog govora, kao što je isticanje plakata.

Mađarska vlada je tvrdila da su pravila parlamentarne discipline u skladu sa sličnim pravilima koja važe drugdje, kao što su pravila Parlamentarne skupštine Savjeta Evrope i Evropskog parlamenta. Takođe je navela da je ponašanje predmetnih poslanika izazvalo ozbiljno ometanje rada parlamenta i izrazila zabrinutost da bi se slično ponašanje moglo ponoviti i negativno uticati na kvalitet parlamentarne debate. Vlade Češke i Ujedinjenog Kraljevstva su intervenisale u predmetu i navele da parlamenti treba da imaju pravo da sami uređuju svoje ponašanje. Vlada Ujedinjenog Kraljevstva je istakla da bi se slično ponašanje u Donjem domu smatralo ozbiljno ometajućim i neprimjerenim, te da bi poslanici, ukoliko bi u takvom ponašanju ustrajali, mogli biti privremeno suspendovani. Veliko vijeće Suda fokusiralo se na pitanje da li je miješanje bilo „neophodno u demokratskom društvu", što je jedan od tri uslova da bi miješanje u slobodu izražavanja – kakve su bile novčane kazne – bilo opravdano. Sud je naglasio važnost uzimanja u obzir pravičnosti postupka i procesnih garancija koje se pružaju okrivljenima u postupcima koji dovode do izricanja kazni, uključujući i postojanje odgovarajuće sudske kontrole. Sud je takođe istakao značaj slobode izražavanja za poslanike i naveo da govor u parlamentu uživa „povišen nivo zaštite". Posebno se pozvao na svoju presudu Castells v. Spain, u kojoj je utvrdio da miješanje u slobodu izražavanja opozicionog poslanika zahtijeva najstrožu kontrolu od strane Suda. Sud je upozorio da pravo na slobodu izražavanja nije apsolutno i da države imaju širi prostor procjene u propisivanju disciplinskih pravila koja se odnose na vrijeme, mjesto i način izražavanja u parlamentu, za razliku od sadržaja govora. Istovremeno je naglasio da se „parlamentarna autonomija ne smije zloupotrijebiti radi suzbijanja slobode izražavanja poslanika, koja je u samoj srži političke debate u demokratiji". Primjenjujući ove principe na konkretan slučaj, Sud se fokusirao na procesne garancije koje postoje radi sprječavanja zloupotreba u parlamentarnim postupcima i naveo da ne vidi potrebu da odlučuje o tome da li je sankcionisanje bilo „neophodno", imajući u vidu širok prostor procjene države. Sud je naglasio da su kazne izrečene zbog načina na koji su se poslanici izražavali, a ne zbog sadržaja njihovih izjava. Njihovo ponašanje je ometalo rad parlamenta i kršilo pravila parlamentarnog ponašanja. Sud je zaključio da je izricanje sankcija radi regulisanja parlamentarnog ponašanja u okviru prostora procjene mađarskog parlamenta; isticanje plakata i transparenta i korišćenje megafona tokom sjednica narušavalo je parlamentarni red.

Međutim, Sud je detaljno ispitao pravičnost postupaka koji su doveli do izricanja kazni. Za razliku od neposrednih sankcija, kao što su oduzimanje riječi ili udaljenje sa sjednice, novčane kazne u ovom slučaju predstavljale su naknadne disciplinske mjere. Prema stavu

Suda, procesne garancije u takvim slučajevima moraju, kao minimum, uključivati pravo poslanika da bude saslušan prije izricanja sankcije. Sud je dodatno naveo da svaka takva odluka mora sadržati osnovne razloge, kako bi poslanik mogao razumjeti opravdanje mjere, ali i kako bi bila omogućena određena javna kontrola. Sud je primijetio da Zakon o parlamentu, na osnovu kojeg su poslanici kažnjeni, nije predviđao mogućnost njihovog učešća u postupku, naročito pravo da budu saslušani. Odsustvo ove ključne procesne garancije predstavljalo je povredu prava na slobodu izražavanja zagarantovanog članom 10 Evropske konvencije o ljudskim pravima.

Erbakan v. Turkey, 2006[88]

Sažetak predmeta i ishod

Evropski sud za ljudska prava utvrdio je, sa šest glasova prema jedan, da su prava podnosioca predstavke povrijeđena prema članu 10 sloboda izražavanja Evropske konvencije o ljudskim pravima.

Podnosilac predstavke, političar, bio je optužen za podsticanje na nasilje i mržnju zbog predizbornog govora u kojem je iznosio omalovažavajuće komentare o drugim religijama, rasama i regionima.

Sud je naveo da je borba protiv svih oblika netolerancije sastavni dio zaštite ljudskih prava i da je od ključne važnosti da političari izbjegavaju izjave koje mogu podsticati takvu netoleranciju. Međutim, imajući u vidu temeljni značaj slobode političke debate u demokratskom društvu, Sud je morao ocijeniti da li postoje uvjerljivi razlozi koji opravdavaju izricanje stroge kazne za politički govor.

S tim u vezi, Sud je posebno primijetio da vlasti nijesu pokušale da utvrde sadržaj spornog govora sve do četiri godine nakon skupa, i to isključivo na osnovu video-snimka čija je autentičnost bila osporavana.

Činjenice

Podnosilac predstavke, Necmettin Erbakan, bio je političar i predsjednik Vlade Turske u periodu od jedne godine između 1996. i 1997. godine. U relevantno vrijeme bio je predsjednik Refah Partisi Narodne stranke blagostanja, koja je raspuštena 1998. godine zbog djelovanja suprotno principima sekularizma. Godine 1994, tokom lokalne izborne kampanje, podnosilac predstavke održao je javni govor u jugoistočnoj Turskoj. Nije postojao zvanični snimak tog govora. Više od četiri godine kasnije, protiv Erbakana je pokrenut krivični postupak na osnovu tvrdnje da je svojim govorom iz 1994. godine podsticao ljude na mržnju ili neprijateljstvo u vezi sa njegovim komentarima o razlikama između religija, rasa i regiona. Na primjer, opisao je sve političke partije, osim svoje, kao partije nepravde, pristalice nevjernika i branioce sistema navodno zasnovanog na ličnom interesu, te je zastupao stav da su „te partije objavile rat, prema Kuranu, protiv Allaha."

Pregled odluke

Sud je morao razmotriti pravni test koji se primjenjuje prilikom ocjene moguće povrede člana 10, ispitujući njegovu zakonitost, nužnost i proporcionalnost. Pritom, i prilikom ocjene da li je pokretanje postupka protiv podnosioca predstavke odgovaralo hitnoj društvenoj potrebi i bilo proporcionalno legitimnim ciljevima, Sud je morao sagledati osporenu mjeru „u svjetlu slučaja u cjelini, uključujući kontekst spornih izjava i kontekst u kojem su one izrečene". Takođe je morao uzeti u obzir „težinu izrečenih kazni... prilikom ocjene proporcionalnosti miješanja". Sud je naglasio da „nema sumnje da konkretni izrazi koji predstavljaju govor mržnje... koji mogu biti uvredljivi za pojedince ili grupe, ne uživaju zaštitu člana 10 Konvencije". U svojoj analizi pozvao se na ključne presude kao što su Handyside v. the United Kingdom, Wingrove v. the United Kingdom i Gündüz v. Turkey.

Uzimajući u obzir okolnosti slučaja, Sud je smatrao da je posebno teško smatrati podnosioca predstavke odgovornim za sve navode iz optužnice. Takođe, u vrijeme pokretanja postupka nije bilo utvrđeno da

[88] Format prezentacije i interpretacije presude Erbakan v. Turkey, 2006, preuzet je sa: Global Freedom of Expression | Erbakan v. Turkey - Global Freedom of Expression

li je sporni govor izazvao ili je vjerovatno mogao izazvati „aktuelni rizik“ i „neposrednu opasnost“. Na kraju, Sud je uzeo u obzir izuzetno strogu kaznu izrečenu jednom tako poznatom političaru i ukazao na „zastrašujući efekat“ zatvaranja političara.

Stoga je Sud zaključio da krivični postupak pokrenut protiv političara četiri godine i pet mjeseci nakon spornih izjava nije bio razumno proporcionalan legitimnim ciljevima koji su se željeli postići, imajući u vidu interese demokratskog društva u obezbjeđivanju i očuvanju slobode političke debate. Sud je takođe naveo da, u svjetlu okolnosti slučaja, nije utvrđeno da je u trenutku pokretanja postupka sporni govor predstavljao „aktuelni rizik“ i „neposrednu opasnost“ za društvo, niti da je vjerovatno mogao to postati. U djelimično izdvojenom mišljenju, sudija Steiner smatrao je da izjave podnosioca predstavljaju „govor mržnje, opravdavanje nasilja ili podsticanje na nasilje“ i da se stoga ne mogu smatrati kompatibilnim sa duhom tolerancije niti sa osnovnim vrijednostima pravde i mira izraženim u Preambuli Konvencije. Sud je, sa šest glasova prema jedan, utvrdio povredu prava podnosioca predstavke iz člana 10 sloboda izražavanja Evropske konvencije o ljudskim pravima.

Féret v. Belgium, 2009[89]

Sažetak predmeta i ishod

Sud je, sa četiri glasa prema tri, utvrdio da nije došlo do povrede člana 10 sloboda izražavanja Evropske konvencije o ljudskim pravima u vezi sa osudom podnosioca predstavke, predsjednika političke partije „Front National“, za javno podsticanje diskriminacije ili mržnje nakon pritužbi u vezi sa letcima koje je ta partija distribuirala tokom izbornih kampanja. Kako inicijalna predstavka po članu 10 nije uspjela, ostatak predstavke proglašen je nedopuštenim.

Činjenice

Podnosilac predstavke, gospodin Daniel Féret, državljanin je Belgije, rođen 1944. godine i živi u Briselu. Bio je glavni urednik partijskih publikacija i u relevantno vrijeme član Predstavničkog doma Belgije. Njegov poslanički imunitet ukinut je na zahtjev javnog tužioca, a u novembru 2002. godine pokrenut je krivični postupak protiv njega kao autora i glavnog urednika spornih letaka.

U periodu između jula 1999. i oktobra 2001. godine, distribucija letaka i plakata od strane „Front National“ dovela je do pritužbi pojedinaca i udruženja zbog podsticanja mržnje, diskriminacije i nasilja, podnijetih na osnovu zakona od 30. jula 1981. godine koji sankcioniše određene radnje inspirisane rasizmom ili ksenofobijom. Letci i plakati su takođe distribuirani putem interneta na internet stranici Féret-a i „Front National“.

Pregled odluke

Iako je sloboda izražavanja važan element u demokratskom društvu, ona je posebno značajna za izabrane predstavnike naroda, jer predstavljaju birače i brane njihove interese. Sud je stoga ponovio značaj odgovornosti političara kada javno nastupaju, s obzirom na to da imaju veću mogućnost da dopru do šire publike i utiču na nju, zbog čega je neophodno da izbjegavaju izjave koje mogu podsticati netoleranciju.

U izbornom kontekstu, argumenti prirodno postaju snažniji, pa se i uticaj rasističkog i ksenofobnog govora dodatno pojačava. U konkretnom slučaju postojala je uvjerljiva potreba da se zaštite prava manjina i imigrantske zajednice. Belgijski sudovi su postupali pravilno u nastojanju da spriječe takav govor.

[89] Format prezentacije i interpretacije presude Féret v. Belgium, 2009, preuzet je sa:Global Freedom of Expression | Féret v. Belgium - Global Freedom of Expression

Vejdeland and Others v. Sweden, 2012[90]

Sažetak predmeta i ishod

Evropski sud za ljudska prava potvrdio je odluku Vrhovnog suda Švedske i utvrdio da osuda podnosilaca predstavke zbog distribucije letaka koji su sadržali homofobnu propagandu ne predstavlja povredu člana 10 Evropske konvencije o ljudskim pravima, koji štiti slobodu izražavanja.

Činjenice

Četiri švedska državljanina bila su krivično gonjena jer su otišla u srednju školu i dijelila letke koji su sadržali izjave protiv homoseksualnosti. Podnosioci predstavke optuženi su za „podsticanje protiv nacionalne ili etničke grupe".

Okružni sud ih je osudio na novčane kazne i kazne zatvora. Oni su uložili žalbu Apelacionom sudu, koji je preinačio presudu, smatrajući da bi kažnjavanje predstavljalo povredu prava na slobodu izražavanja. Tužilac je potom uložio žalbu Vrhovnom sudu, koji je preinačio odluku Apelacionog suda i potvrdio odluku Okružnog suda, ali je sankcije sveo na novčane kazne i uslovne kazne. Nakon toga uslijedila je predstavka Sudu. INTERIGHTS, Međunarodni centar za pravnu zaštitu ljudskih prava, intervenisao je u postupku.

Pregled odluke

Odluka Suda bila je jednoglasna, a predsjedavao je sudija Dean Spielmann. Podnosioci predstavke su najprije tvrdili da odluka Vrhovnog suda predstavlja povredu člana 10 Konvencije. Takođe su tvrdili da je zakon bio nejasan i da su time povrijeđena njihova prava iz člana 7 Konvencije. Sud je utvrdio da je osuda predstavljala miješanje u slobodu izražavanja, pa je zatim ispitao da li je to miješanje bilo propisano zakonom i da li je bilo neophodno u demokratskom društvu. Sud je utvrdio da je osuda bila propisana zakonom, jer je bila zasnovana na relevantnim odredbama švedskog krivičnog zakonodavstva i imala legitiman cilj – zaštitu ugleda i prava drugih. Zatim je Sud ispitao da li je miješanje bilo neophodno u demokratskom društvu, odnosno da li je bilo proporcionalno cilju koji se želi postići. Utvrdio je da podnosioci predstavke nijesu osuđeni na zatvorsku kaznu, iako je maksimalna kazna za to djelo bila dvije godine, te da su distribuirali letke koji su gotovo dostizali nivo govora mržnje među mladim i podložnim učenicima. Na osnovu tih okolnosti, Sud je zaključio da, iako je riječ o ograničenju slobode izražavanja, ono je bilo propisano zakonom i neophodno u demokratskom društvu radi zaštite prava i ugleda drugih. Sud je odbacio navode u vezi sa članom 7 kao nedopuštene.

Izdvojena mišljenja

Sudija Spielmann je u saglasnom mišljenju naveo da ne bi smatrao da letci predstavljaju govor mržnje, već da su bili usmjereni na pokretanje debate. Takođe je istakao da član 10 ne štiti govor mržnje, pa je smatrao da je trebalo primijeniti drugačiji pristup u analizi. Sudija Boštjan M. Zupančič je uporedio ovu odluku sa praksom u Sjedinjenim Američkim Državama i naveo da bi ishod tamo vjerovatno bio drugačiji, jer se primjenjuje viši standard zaštite slobode govora. Smatrao je da je Sud otišao predaleko u ograničavanju slobode izražavanja.

Sudija Yudivska je u posebnom mišljenju navela da smatra da letci predstavljaju govor mržnje i da ne uživaju zaštitu prema članu 10 Konvencije.

[90] Format prezentacije i interpretacije presude Vejdeland and Others v. Sweden, 2012, preuzet je sa: Global Freedom of Expression | Case of Vejdeland and Others v. Sweden - Global Freedom of Expression

Le Pen v. France, 2010[91]

Sažetak predmeta i ishod

Peto odjeljenje Evropskog suda za ljudska prava jednoglasno je utvrdilo da nije došlo do povrede člana 10 Evropske konvencije o ljudskim pravima u odnosu na podnosioca predstavke.

Podnosilac predstavke je 2005. godine kažnjen novčanom kaznom od 10.000 eura zbog podsticanja na diskriminaciju, mržnju i nasilje usljed izjava koje je dao o muslimanima u Francuskoj u intervjuu za *Le Monde*. Između ostalog, naveo je da će „onog dana kada u Francuskoj ne bude više 5 miliona nego 25 miliona muslimana, oni biti na vlasti". Godine 2006. izrečena mu je dodatna kazna od 10.000 eura zbog daljih komentara koje je dao povodom prve kazne. Evropski sud za ljudska prava ocijenio je predstavku kao očigledno neosnovanu, jer su izjave podnosioca predstavke podsticale odbacivanje i neprijateljstvo prema muslimanskoj zajednici i stoga nijesu mogle potpasti pod zaštitu slobode izražavanja iz člana 10 Konvencije.

Činjenice

Ovaj predmet odnosio se na Jean-Marie Le Pena, bivšeg predsjednika francuske političke partije „National Front", koji je tvrdio da mu je povrijeđeno pravo na slobodu izražavanja iz člana 10 nakon osude zbog izjava datih u intervjuu za *Le Monde* 2005. godine.

Prvostepeni sud ga je kaznio novčanom kaznom od 10.000 eura zbog „podsticanja na diskriminaciju, mržnju i nasilje prema grupi ljudi zbog njihovog porijekla ili pripadnosti ili nepripadnosti određenoj etničkoj grupi, naciji, rasi ili religiji". Tokom intervjua izjavio je da će „onog dana kada u Francuskoj ne bude više 5 miliona nego 25 miliona muslimana, oni biti na vlasti". Godine 2006. Apelacioni sud u Parizu izrekao mu je još jednu kaznu u istom iznosu nakon što je u nedjeljniku *Rivarol* komentarisao prvu kaznu, navodeći: „Kada ljudima kažem da ćemo, kada u Francuskoj bude 25 miliona muslimana, mi Francuzi morati da pazimo na svaki korak, oni često odgovaraju: 'Ali gospodine Le Pen, to je već sada slučaj!' – i u pravu su."

Pregled odluke

Peto odjeljenje Suda jednoglasno je utvrdilo da je predstavka očigledno neosnovana, jer priroda izjava podnosioca predstavke podstiče odbacivanje i neprijateljstvo prema muslimanima.

Glavno pitanje pred Sudom bilo je da li osuda Le Pena zbog podsticanja mržnje prema muslimanima predstavlja povredu člana 10 Konvencije. Podnosilac predstavke je tvrdio da mu je povrijeđeno pravo na slobodu izražavanja jer je kažnjen zbog izjava datih u Le Monde i Rivarol. Osporio je zakonitost, nužnost i proporcionalnost miješanja u slobodu izražavanja, naglašavajući da su njegove izjave date u okviru političke debate o imigraciji i da nijesu bile usmjerene protiv muslimana kao religijske grupe. Njegova osuda na nacionalnom nivou zasnivala se na odredbama zakona o slobodi štampe iz 1991. godine, koje sankcionišu podsticanje na diskriminaciju i mržnju. Sud se pozvao na svoju ustaljenu praksu i naglasio značaj slobode izražavanja u demokratskom društvu, upućujući na predmete Handyside v. the United Kingdom, Lingens v. Austria i Jersild v. Denmark. Iako je razmotrio elemente testa iz člana 10, Sud nije sproveo detaljnu analizu kao u nekim drugim predmetima, jer je smatrao da izjave podnosioca predstavke izlaze izvan okvira zaštite člana 10. Sud je naveo da su izjave Le Pena bile takve da mogu stvoriti negativnu, pa čak i zabrinjavajuću sliku o muslimanskoj zajednici u cjelini. Pozvao se na nalaze Apelacionog suda koji je utvrdio da je Le Pen „usađivao u svijest javnosti uvjerenje da bezbjednost Francuza zavisi od odbacivanja muslimana i da će strah i zabrinutost nestati ako se njihov broj smanji ili oni nestanu". Iako Sud nije eksplicitno govorio o posebnoj odgovornosti političara, implicitno je naglasio potrebu zaštite prava drugih i borbe protiv rasne diskriminacije.

U svjetlu svega navedenog, Sud je zaključio da izjave podnosioca predstavke podstiču odbacivanje i neprijateljstvo prema muslimanskoj zajednici i da stoga ne uživaju zaštitu iz člana 10, te je predstavku proglasio očigledno neosnovanom.

[91] Format prezentacije i interpretacije presude Le Pen v. France, 2010 preuzet je sa: Global Freedom of Expression | Le Pen v. France - Global Freedom of Expression

Norwood v United Kingdom, 2004[92]

Sažetak predmeta i ishod

Evropski sud za ljudska prava utvrdio je da jasan i snažan napad na određenu grupu može predstavljati povredu člana 17 Evropske konvencije o ljudskim pravima. Norwood, član ekstremno desničarske političke partije, postavio je plakat na prozor svog stana kojim je pozvao na uklanjanje svih muslimana iz Velike Britanije. Policija je uklonila plakat, a protiv njega je pokrenut postupak zbog kvalifikovanog prekršaja prema Zakonu o javnom redu iz 1986. godine.

Sud je zaključio da se član 10 (sloboda izražavanja) ne može pozivati protiv člana 17, koji propisuje da niko nema pravo da koristi svoja prava radi uništavanja prava i sloboda drugih. Konkretno, plakat je predstavljao snažan napad na vjersku grupu, implicirajući da su svi muslimani odgovorni za teška djela terorizma, što je nespojivo sa vrijednostima Konvencije.

Činjenice

Podnosilac predstavke bio je član Britanske nacionalne partije, ekstremno desničarske političke stranke. U periodu između novembra 2001. i 9. januara 2002. godine, istakao je na prozoru svog stana veliki plakat koji je obezbijedila njegova partija. Plakat je prikazivao kule bliznakinje u plamenu, natpis „Islam napolje iz Britanije – zaštitite britanski narod“, kao i simbol polumjeseca i zvijezde u znaku zabrane. Nakon pritužbe jednog građanina, policija je uklonila plakat. Iako je podnosilac pozvan na razgovor, odbio je da se odazove. Protiv njega je pokrenut postupak zbog kvalifikovanog prekršaja prema članu 5 Zakona o javnom redu iz 1986. godine, zbog isticanja poruke sa neprijateljskim sadržajem prema rasnoj ili vjerskoj grupi. Nakon osude, podnio je žalbu Visokom sudu, koji je odbio žalbu i utvrdio da plakat predstavlja „javni izraz napada na sve muslimane u ovoj zemlji“, pozivajući na njihovo uklanjanje i predstavljajući njihovo prisustvo kao prijetnju britanskom narodu.

Podnosilac se zatim obratio Evropskom sudu za ljudska prava, tvrdeći povredu člana 10 Konvencije.

Pregled odluke

Podnosilac predstavke je tvrdio da sloboda izražavanja obuhvata ne samo bezazlene, već i provokativne, uvredljive i uznemirujuće izjave, pod uslovom da ne podstiču nasilje. Takođe je naveo da kritika religije ne treba da se izjednačava sa napadom na njene sljedbenike. Sud se pozvao na član 17 Konvencije, koji propisuje da se nijedna odredba Konvencije ne može tumačiti kao pravo da se koristi za uništavanje prava i sloboda drugih.

Opšti cilj člana 17 je da spriječi pojedince ili grupe sa totalitarnim ciljevima da zloupotrijebe prava iz Konvencije. Sud je utvrdio da se sloboda izražavanja iz člana 10 ne može koristiti na način koji je suprotan članu 17. Primjenjujući ovaj standard, Sud je ocijenio da je sporni plakat predstavljao opšti i snažan napad na muslimane kao vjersku grupu, implicirajući njihovu kolektivnu odgovornost za terorizam. Takav govor je nespojiv sa vrijednostima Konvencije, posebno tolerancijom, društvenim mirom i nediskriminacijom. Zbog toga je Sud zaključio da ovakvo ponašanje potpada pod član 17 i ne uživa zaštitu iz člana 10 niti člana 14 Konvencije.

[92] Format prezentacije i interpretacije presude Norwood v United Kingdom, 2004, preuzet je sa: Global Freedom of Expression | Norwood v. United Kingdom - Global Freedom of Expression

Sanchez v. France, 2021[93]

Sažetak predmeta i ishod

Peto odjeljenje Evropskog suda za ljudska prava utvrdilo je da osuda političara zbog toga što nije blagovremeno uklonio nezakonite komentare trećih lica objavljene na javnom zidu njegovog Facebook naloga nije predstavljala povredu člana 10 Evropske konvencije o ljudskim pravima, uprkos tome što nije nužno bio upoznat sa tim komentarima.

Podnosilac predstavke, Julien Sanchez, lokalni izabrani predstavnik i kandidat na parlamentarnim izborima, osuđen je zbog podsticanja na mržnju ili nasilje prema osobama islamske vjere. Sud je naglasio značaj slobode izražavanja u političkoj debati, ali je utvrdio da je odluka francuskih sudova bila zasnovana na relevantnim i dovoljnim razlozima koji se odnose na njegov nedostatak pažnje i reakcije u nadzoru komentara na njegovoj stranici.

Veliko vijeće je potvrdilo ovu presudu u maju 2023. godine.

Činjenice

Podnosilac predstavke, Julien Sanchez, bio je kandidat na parlamentarnim izborima u izbornoj jedinici Nîmes ispred političke partije Front National. Jedan od njegovih političkih protivnika bio je poslanik Evropskog parlamenta i zamjenik gradonačelnika Nîmesa. Dana 24. oktobra 2011. godine, Sanchez je objavio komentar o tom protivniku na javno dostupnom Facebook profilu kojim je upravljao. Drugi korisnik, SB, objavio je komentar u kojem je, između ostalog, naveo da je grad Nîmes pretvoren u „Alžir“, da „nema ulice bez kebab prodavnice i džamije“ i da „dileri droge i prostitutke vladaju“, uz druge uvredljive i diskriminatorne navode o muslimanima. Treći korisnik, LR, dodao je još komentara usmjerenih protiv muslimana. Nakon što je partnerka političkog protivnika podnijela pritužbu, jedan od autora komentara je uklonio svoj komentar. Međutim, Sanchez, kao i autori komentara, pozvani su pred krivični sud u Nîmesu zbog podsticanja na mržnju ili nasilje prema grupi ljudi na osnovu njihove pripadnosti religiji. Dana 28. februara 2013. godine, sud je proglasio Sanchez-a i ostale krivima i izrekao im novčane kazne od po 4.000 eura, uz obavezu naknade nematerijalne štete. Sud je zaključio da je Sanchez, kao upravljač javne stranice, propustio da blagovremeno ukloni nezakonite komentare i time omogućio njihovo dalje širenje. Njegova žalba je odbijena, kao i kasnija žalba pred Kasacionim sudom. Nakon toga se obratio Evropskom sudu za ljudska prava, tvrdeći povredu člana 10 Konvencije.

[93] Format prezentacije i interpretacije presude Sanchez v. France, 2021, preuzet je sa: Global Freedom of Expression | Sanchez v. France - Global Freedom of Expression

Pregled odluke

Sud je utvrdio da je došlo do miješanja u pravo na slobodu izražavanja, ali da je ono bilo propisano zakonom i imalo legitiman cilj.

U pogledu pitanja da li je miješanje bilo neophodno u demokratskom društvu, Sud je razmatrao:

- kontekst komentara
- mjere koje je podnosilac predstavke preduzeo da ih ukloni
- mogućnost da se odgovornost pripiše autorima komentara
- posljedice postupka za podnosioca predstavke

Sud je utvrdio da su komentari bili očigledno nezakoniti i da su povezivali muslimansku zajednicu sa kriminalom i nesigurnošću, što je moglo izazvati snažno osjećanje odbacivanja ili neprijateljstva prema toj grupi. Naglasio je da sloboda političke debate nije apsolutna i da je u demokratskom društvu potrebno sankcionisati izraze koji podstiču mržnju i netoleranciju. Sud je utvrdio da podnosilac predstavke nije bio sankcionisan zbog sopstvenog političkog govora, već zbog nedostatka pažnje i blagovremene reakcije. Kao javna ličnost i korisnik javno dostupnog profila, imao je određene obaveze u pogledu kontrole sadržaja. Sud je takođe naveo da postoji podijeljena odgovornost između korisnika naloga i platforme, ali da je legitimno očekivati da vlasnik javnog naloga preduzme mjere kada je riječ o očigledno nezakonitom sadržaju. Iako su autori komentara identifikovani, podnosilac predstavke je odgovarao za sopstveno ponašanje – odnosno za to što nije uklonio komentare u razumnom roku. Uzimajući u obzir relativno blagu sankciju i sve okolnosti slučaja, Sud je zaključio da je miješanje bilo proporcionalno i neophodno u demokratskom društvu. Zbog toga nije utvrđena povreda člana 10 Konvencije.

Izdvojeno mišljenje

Sudija Mourou-Vikström je ukazala da je u predmetu Delfi AS protiv Estonije napravljena razlika između velikih komercijalnih portala i individualnih korisnika ili administratora naloga na društvenim mrežama. Smatrala je da većina nije dovoljno obrazložila zašto taj standard nije primijenjen u ovom slučaju i upozorila da ovakav pristup može nametnuti preveliku obavezu kontrole korisnicima, pretvarajući ih u svojevrsne cenzore sadržaja.

Formulari za praktični rad

Prilog 2. Model programa obuke za poslanike/ce, odbornike/ce i javne funkcionere/ke



Model obuke povezuje društvenu koheziju, prava djeteta, pravni okvir političkog govora, govor mržnje i rizične narative, digitalnu komunikaciju, participaciju djece i odgovornost parlamenta. Cilj je da učesnici teorijske i pravne standarde prevedu u konkretne obrasce javnog nastupa i institucionalnog postupanja.

Cilj obuke

Jačanje kapaciteta učesnika za odgovornu političku komunikaciju zasnovanu na poštovanju ljudskih prava, zaštiti prava djeteta, prevenciji govora mržnje i promociji društvene kohezije.

Obuka je zamišljena kao zajednički rad: kratka izlaganja, razmjena iskustava, vježbe, radionice i simulacije parlamenta.

Očekivani ishodi

Kroz razmjenu iskustava, diskusiju i praktične vježbe, učesnici će imati priliku da:

- prepoznaju različite oblike govora mržnje;
- razlikuju legitimnu političku kritiku od diskriminatornog govora;
- primjenjuju principe komunikacije osjetljive na djecu;
- unaprijede komunikaciju u parlamentarnim raspravama;
- promovišu odgovorno korišćenje društvenih mreža;
- se zalažu za participaciju djece i mladih u donošenju odluka.

Prilog 3. Predloženi jednodnevni program obuke

Vrijeme	Tema
09:00 – 09:30	Uvod i očekivanja
09:30 – 10:30	Društvena kohezija i pravni okvir
10:30 – 11:30	Uticaj političkog diskursa na djecu
11:30 – 11:45	Pauza
11:45 – 12:45	Govor mržnje i narativi podjela
12:45 – 13:30	Ručak
13:30 – 14:30	Društvene mreže i odgovorna komunikacija
14:30 – 15:30	Parlament po mjeri djeteta
15:30 – 16:15	Studije slučaja
16:15 – 16:30	Zaključci i evaluacija

Prilog 4. VJEŽBA: KLIK ili STOP

Tema: Govor mržnje, digitalno nasilje i odgovorna komunikacija

Trajanje: 10-15 minuta

CILJ VJEŽBE

- Prepoznati govor mržnje i nasilje
- Razlikovati kritiku od uvrede

POTREBNO (KLIK / STOP) - Učesnici dižu ruku

KAKO SE IGRA (za trenera)

"Ja ću čitati različite situacije.
Vaš zadatak je da procijenite da li je ponašanje u redu ili nije.

→ Ako mislite da je u redu – kažete KLIK
→ Ako mislite da nije u redu – kažete STOP

Nakon svakog primjera, kratko ćemo razgovarati zašto ste tako odlučili. „VAŽNO PRAVILO - Nema tačnih i netačnih odgovora – važno je da objasnimo zašto tako mislimo."

Prilog 5. KRATKA IGRA: Uključenost djece?

Tema: participacija djece u donošenju odluka
Trajanje: 10 minuta

Bez ustajanja i pomjeranja
Učesnici: odbornici/ce, javni funkcioneri i djeca

Igra-Pripremiti tvrdnje za naznačenu temu

Uvod trenera

„Sada ćemo vidjeti koliko se slažemo oko toga koliko djeca treba da učestvuju u donošenju odluka.“

Trener čita tvrdnje.
Učesnici odgovaraju:

- ✓ „DA“

ili

- ✗ „NE“

Mogu samo podići palac gore/dolje ili karticu DA/NE

Nakon odgovora trener kratko pita:

„Zašto?“
i daje riječ jednom djetetu i jednoj odrasloj osobi.

Na kraju trener kaže:

„Sada jedno dijete postavlja pitanje odbornicima.“

Primjeri:

„Zašto odrasli nekad ne pitaju djecu?“

„Da li biste prihvatili ideju djeteta ako je bolja?“

„Šta biste prvo promijenili za djecu u opštini?“

Odbornici odgovaraju kratko.

Igra je brza i svi učestvuju, dobra je za razmrdavanje, otvara diskusiju. Često je zanimljiva, zbog različitih odgovora.

Zaključak igre:

„Participacija djece ne znači da djeca odlučuju sama.
To znači da njihov glas ima mjesto tamo gdje se donose odluke koje utiču na njihov život.“

Prilog 6. RADIONICA (60–70 min)

Uticaj političkog diskursa na djecu i mlade

(govor mržnje – digitalno nasilje – rodno zasnovano nasilje)

CILJ RADIONICE

- Da učesnici prepoznaju kako politički govor utiče na djecu i mlade
- Da povežu govor odraslih (posebno političara i javnih ličnosti) sa ponašanjem djece
- Da razviju odgovorniji pristup komunikaciji

MATERIJALI:

- flipchart papiri (3+)
- markeri
- traka za lijepljenje

STRUKTURA

Faza	Trajanje
1. Uvod + aktivacija	10 min
2. Formiranje grupa i zadatak	5 min
3. Grupni rad (flipchart)	25 min
4. Prezentacije	20 min
5. Zaključak	10 min

1. UVOD – „ODAKLE DJECA UČE?“ (10 min)

Instrukcija za trenera:

Postavi pitanje cijeloj grupi:

„Od koga djeca najviše uče kako da govore i kako da se ponašaju?“

Pusti odgovore (roditelji, škola, internet...)

Zatim dodaj:

„A koliko učimo djecu svojim javnim govorom – posebno u politici?“

Mini aktivacija (2–3 min)

Reci učesnicima:

„Sjetite se jedne rečenice koju ste čuli u javnom prostoru (TV, skupština, mreže), a koja bi mogla uticati na dijete.“

Nekoliko učesnika podijeli.

Poenta (ti naglašavaš):

- Djeca ne slušaju samo šta govorimo → nego *kako govorimo*
- Politički diskurs postaje model ponašanja

2. PODJELA U GRUPE I ZADATAK (5 min)

Podijeli učesnike u **3 grupe** (miješane: odbornici + djeca).

Svaka grupa dobija:

- flipchart
- marker
- svoju temu

TEME PO GRUPAMA:

GRUPA 1 – Govor mržnje i narativi podjela

GRUPA 2 – Digitalno nasilje

GRUPA 3 – Rodno zasnovano nasilje

3. GRUPNI RAD (25 min)

ZADATAK ZA SVE GRUPE (isti okvir):

Na flipchartu podijeliti papir u 3 kolone:

1. ŠTA DJECA ČUJU/VIDE?
(konkretne rečenice, ponašanja, primjeri)

2. KAKAV JE UTICAJ NA DJECU?
(emocije, ponašanje, odnosi)

3. ŠTA MI KAO ODRASLI/POLITIČARI TREBA DA RADIMO DRUGAČIJE?
(rješenja, odgovorno ponašanje)

DODATNE SMJERNICE PO GRUPAMA:

• **GRUPA 1 – Govor mržnje**
Pomoć pitanjima:

- Kako izgleda govor podjela?
- Da li djeca to ponavljaju?
- Kako to utiče na vršnjačke odnose?

• **GRUPA 2 – Digitalno nasilje**

- Kako politički govor završava na društvenim mrežama?
- Kako djeca komentarišu i oponašaju?
- Gdje je granica slobode govora?

GRUPA 3 – Rodno zasnovano nasilje

- Kakve poruke djeca dobijaju o ženama/muškarcima?
- Kako govor utiče na djevojčice?
- Da li normalizujemo uvrede?

4. PREZENTACIJE GRUPA (20 min)

Svaka grupa bira **1 predstavnika**.

◷ **Vrijeme po grupi: 5–6 min**

TOK PREZENTACIJE:

Predstavnik izlaže:

1. Šta djeca vide/čuju
2. Kakav je uticaj
3. Šta treba mijenjati

5. ZAKLJUČAK – ZAJEDNIČKA REFLEKSIJA (10 min)

Postavi pitanje cijeloj grupi:

„Ako djeca slušaju nas – kakvu poruku im danas šaljemo?“

ZAVRŠNE PORUKE:

- Politički govor nije samo politika → to je obrazac ponašanja
- Djeca ne razlikuju „javnu“ i „privatnu“ komunikaciju
- Svaka riječ može postati model nasilja ili model poštovanja

Prilog 7. Radionica „Moć riječi“

Cilj

Razumijevanje uticaja političke komunikacije na građane, a posebno na djecu i mlade.

Trajanje: 45 minuta

Materijal

- Flipchart
- Markeri
- Kartice sa izjavama

Zadatak

Učesnici dobijaju niz političkih izjava i razvrstavaju ih u tri kategorije:

1. Komunikacija koja gradi povjerenje

2. Komunikacija koja produbljuje podjele

3. Komunikacija koja može predstavljati govor mržnje

Diskusija

Zašto je određena izjava svrstana u konkretnu kategoriju?

Kakve posljedice može imati na:

- djecu;
- mlade;
- građane;
- društvenu koheziju?

Prilog 8. Radionica „Kako bi ovo čulo dijete?“

Cilj

Razvijanje empatije i razumijevanja uticaja javnog govora na djecu.

Trajanje: 60 minuta

Zadatak

Učesnicima se daju političke izjave.

Primjer:

„Ova generacija mladih je nezainteresovana za društvo.“

Grupe analiziraju:

- Kako bi izjavu razumjelo dijete od 12 godina?
- Kako bi je razumio srednjoškolac?
- Kakav osjećaj izjava može izazvati?
- Kako bi se mogla drugačije formulisati?

Zaključak

Javna riječ utiče na samopouzdanje, osjećaj pripadnosti i percepciju vlastite vrijednosti kod djece i mladih.

Prilog 9. ROLE PLAY – Građansko obrazovanje u školama

„Parlament po mjeri djeteta – Građansko obrazovanje u školama?“

Trajanje: 45–60 minuta
Učesnici: odbornice/i i djeca/mladi

Cilj radionice:

- razumijevanje značaja participacije djece i mladih
- razvoj kulture dijaloga
- razumijevanje različitih političkih stavova
- učenje argumentovane komunikacije
- podsticanje saradnje između odbornika i djece
- Građansko obrazovanje

SCENARIJ – Simulacija parlamenta

Parlament organizuje posebnu sjednicu na kojoj se raspravlja o prijedlogu:

„Da se u osnovne i srednje škole uvede redovni predmet Građansko obrazovanje sa više časova i praktičnim uključivanjem djece u lokalne odluke.“

Učestvuju:

- **odbornici koji podržavaju prijedlog**
- **odbornici koji se protive**
- **djeca i mladi koji žele da učestvuju**
- **predsjedavajući sjednice**
- **mediji/posmatrači**
- **trener/moderator radionice**

Raspored sjedenja

U sredini:

Sto za predsjedavajućeg sjednice u sredini, na lijevoj strani sjedi GRUPA 1-Oni odbornici koji su inicirali održavanje sjednice i podržavaju prijedlog, na desnoj strani sjedi GRUPA 2 – Odbornici koji negiraju prijedlog

Preko puta svih sjede – djeca/mladi-GRUPA 3. Iza svih je GRUPA 4-novinari i posmatrači

TOK IGRE

Trener govori:

- „Govori samo osoba kojoj je data riječ.“
- „Nema vrijeđanja.“
- „Koristimo argumente.“
- „Poštujemo djecu i sagovornike.“
- „Ne prekidamo jedni druge.“
- „Možete pokazati emociju, ali ne i agresiju.“

GRUPA 1

ODBORNICI KOJI PODRŽAVAJU PRIJEDLOG

Opis ponašanja:

- smireni
- argumentovani
- žele promjene
- podržavaju glas djece
- govore o demokratiji i pravima djece

Šta rade:

- traže da djeca učestvuju
- predlažu konkretne mjere
- odgovaraju na kritike

REČENICE KOJE GOVORI GRUPA 1

Kartica 1
„Djeca nisu samo budućnost – ona su i sadašnjost društva.“

Kartica 2
„Ako učimo matematiku i jezike, zašto ne bismo učili i kako funkcioniše društvo?“

Kartica 3
„Građansko obrazovanje razvija toleranciju i kulturu dijaloga.“

Kartica 4
„Mladi danas žele da ih neko čuje.“

Kartica 5
„Parlament po mjeri djeteta znači da djeca imaju pravo da iznesu mišljenje.“

GRUPA 2

ODBORNICI KOJI NEGIRAJU PRIJEDLOG

Ponašanje:

- skeptični
- konzervativni
- smatraju da škole imaju previše obaveza

- umanjuju značaj participacije djece

Važno:

Ne vrijeđati djecu, već političko neslaganje.

REČENICE KOJE IZGOVARAJU:

Kartica 1
„Djeca treba da budu fokusirana na školu, a ne na politiku.“

Kartica 2
„Već postoji previše predmeta.“

Kartica 3
„Mladi nemaju dovoljno iskustva da odlučuju o važnim pitanjima.“

Kartica 4
„Odluke treba da donose odrasli.“

Kartica 5
„Ovo bi moglo dodatno opteretiti škole.“

GRUPA 3

DJECA I MLADI

Opis ponašanja:

- zainteresovani
- emotivni ali argumentovani
- žele da ih odrasli čuju
- govore iz iskustva

Šta rade:

- traže pravo glasa
- objašnjavaju probleme mladih
- govore kako se osjećaju kada ih niko ne pita

REČENICE:

Kartica 1
„Odluke odraslih utiču na naš život, a niko nas ne pita za mišljenje.“

Kartica 2
„Želimo da učimo kako da budemo aktivni građani.“

Kartica 3
„Mladi najbolje znaju šta je problem među mladima.“

Kartica 4
„Ako nas sada ne naučite demokratiji, kako ćemo je sjutra živjeti?“

Kartica 5
„Ne tražimo da odlučujemo sami – tražimo da učestvujemo.“

GRUPA 4

MEDIJI I POSMATRAČI

Šta oni rade:

- prate komunikaciju
- zapisuju:
  - ko sluša druge
  - ko prekida
  - ko koristi argumente
  - kako se djeca osjećaju
  - ko pokazuje poštovanje

Pitanja za medije...

- „Da li je dijalog bio konstruktivan?“
- „Da li su djeca bila saslušana?“
- „Ko je koristio najbolje argumente?“
- „Da li je bilo omalovažavanja?“
- „Kako je izgledao parlament po mjeri djeteta?“

TOK IGRE

FAZA 1

UVOD SJEDNICE (5 min)

Predsjedavajući govori:
„Otvaram posebnu sjednicu lokalnog parlamenta. Tema današnje rasprave je prijedlog uvođenja građanskog obrazovanja i većeg učešća djece i mladih u donošenju odluka.“

FAZA 2

IZLAGANJE PRIJEDLOGA (5 min)
Grupa koja podržava:

- predstavlja ideju
- govori zašto je važna

Djeca:

- govore svoja iskustva

FAZA 3

DEBATA (15–20 min)

PRIMJER TOKA RASPRAVE

Odbornik:
„Mladi nemaju dovoljno iskustva.“

Dijete:
„Kako ćemo steći iskustvo ako nam niko ne daje priliku?“

Odbornik:
„Škole su već opterećene.“

Drugo dijete:
„Građansko obrazovanje nas uči komunikaciji i poštovanju.“

Odbornik koji podržava:
„Društvu trebaju mladi koji znaju da razgovaraju i sarađuju.“

(SVI učesnici mogu da improvizuju, ali bez uvreda)

FAZA 4

GLASANJE (5 min)
Predsjedavajući:
„Ko je za prijedlog?“

Sve grupe glasaju.

IZLAZAK IZ ULOGA (2–3 min)

Ovo je veoma važno.

Trener kaže:

- da svi ustanu
- duboko udahnu
- nasmiju se

Refleksije (10 min.)

TRENER POSTAVLJA PITANJA

Djeci:

- „Kako ste se osjećali?“
- „Da li ste imali osjećaj da vas neko čuje?“
- „Šta biste poručili odbornicima?“

Odbornicima:

- „Šta ste naučili danas?“
- „Da li ste drugačije razumjeli perspektivu djece?“
- „Koliko često u stvarnosti uključujemo mlade?“

Posmatračima:

- „Ko je pokazao kulturu dijaloga?“
- „Da li je neko dominirao?“
- „Kako izgleda parlament po mjeri djeteta?“

ZAVRŠNI ZADATAK – „NAŠ PARLAMENT“ (5–10 min)

Na veliki flipchart:

„PARLAMENT PO MJERI DJETETA JE...“

Učesnici dopisuju riječi ili kratke rečenice.

Primjeri:

- **„mjesto gdje se sluša“**
- **„siguran prostor“**
- **„saradnja“**
- **„poštovanje“**
- **„učešće“**
- **„glas djece“**
- **„dijalog bez vrijeđanja“**

SIMBOLIČNO GLASANJE (OPCIONO)

Na zid:

- DA
- NE

Pitanje:

„Da li djeca i mladi treba aktivno da učestvuju u donošenju odluka?“

Učesnici lijepe stikere.

Obično se vidi promjena mišljenja nakon radionice.

PORUKA TRENERA:

„Demokratija nije samo glasanje. Demokratija znači slušanje, poštovanje i uključivanje svih građana — uključujući djecu i mlade.

Parlament po mjeri djeteta nije mjesto gdje djeca donose sve odluke, već mjesto gdje se njihov glas čuje i poštuje.“

Prilog 10. Studije slučaja

Slučaj 1 – Vršnjačko nasilje

Nakon incidenta u školi političar javno izjavljuje:

„Ova djeca su izgubila sve vrijednosti.“

Pitanja

- Da li je riječ o generalizaciji?
- Kako izjava može uticati na drugu djecu?
- Kako bi izgledala odgovorna izjava?

Slučaj 2 – Društvene mreže

Poslanik objavljuje fotografiju maloljetnika koji je učestvovao u incidentu.

Pitanja

- Da li su ugrožena prava djeteta?
- Da li je narušena privatnost?
- Kako bi trebalo postupiti?

Slučaj 3 – Manjinske zajednice

U raspravi se koristi formulacija:

„Oni ne žele da se integrišu.“

Pitanja

- Da li je riječ o stereotipu?
- Kako drugačije govoriti o problemu?

Prilog 11. Simulacija parlamentarne rasprave

Tema: „Kako unaprijediti zaštitu djece od govora mržnje u digitalnom okruženju?“

Učesnici kroz simulaciju preuzimaju različite društvene i političke uloge i učestvuju u raspravi o mogućim mjerama za prevenciju govora mržnje, zaštitu djece na internetu i unapređenje odgovorne komunikacije u digitalnom prostoru. Cilj je da se kroz argumentovanu debatu sagledaju različite perspektive i zajednički identifikuju moguća rješenja.

Učesnici mogu improvizovati govore, ali bez korišćenja uvredljivih riječi.

Uloge

Učesnici se raspoređuju u grupe koje predstavljaju različite aktere uključene u proces donošenja odluka:

- predsjedavajući;
- predstavnici vlasti;
- predstavnici opozicije;
- predstavnici mladih;
- predstavnici civilnog društva;
- mediji.

Cilj: Cilj simulacije je da učesnici kroz praktičan rad unaprijede razumijevanje značaja odgovorne političke komunikacije, razviju vještine argumentovanog zastupanja stavova i uvježbaju vođenje dijaloga o osjetljivim društvenim temama koje se odnose na prava i dobrobit djece.

Simulacija omogućava učesnicima da sagledaju kako različiti akteri doprinose kreiranju politika, kako se donose odluke u demokratskim procesima i na koji način se mogu graditi zajednička rješenja u najboljem interesu djeteta.

Uvježbavanje:

- argumentovane debate;
- kulture dijaloga;
- komunikacije bez vrijeđanja;
- uvažavanja različitih mišljenja.

Tok aktivnosti

1. Predsjedavajući otvara sjednicu i predstavlja temu rasprave.
2. Svaka grupa dobija nekoliko minuta za pripremu svojih stavova i prijedloga.
3. Predstavnici grupa iznose uvodna obraćanja.
4. Otvara se rasprava tokom koje učesnici postavljaju pitanja, daju komentare i predlažu rješenja.
5. Na kraju rasprave učesnici zajednički formulišu preporuke za unapređenje zaštite djece od govora mržnje u digitalnom okruženju.
6. Trener vodi završnu refleksiju o iskustvima iz simulacije i ključnim naučenim lekcijama.

Na kraju igre svi učesnici izlaze iz uloga

Pitanja za refleksiju nakon simulacije

- Kako ste se osjećali u ulozi koju ste predstavljali?
- Da li je bilo lako zastupati različite stavove bez konflikta?
- Šta je doprinijelo kvalitetu dijaloga?
- Koje komunikacijske vještine su bile najvažnije tokom rasprave?
- Na koji način se naučene lekcije mogu primijeniti u stvarnim parlamentarnim raspravama i javnoj komunikaciji?

Prilog 12. Alat za samoprocjenu

Ocijenite tvrdnje od 1 do 5.

Tvrdnja	Ocjena
Koristim provjerene informacije	_____
Izbjegavam stereotipe	_____
Vodim računa o uticaju svojih riječi na djecu	_____
Promovišem kulturu dijaloga	_____
Ne koristim uvredljive izraze	_____
Podstičem participaciju mladih	_____
Odgovorno koristim društvene mreže	_____

Prilog 13. Kontrolna lista prije javnog nastupa

Prije intervjua, parlamentarne rasprave ili objave na društvenim mrežama postavite sebi sljedeća pitanja:

- ✓ Da li je informacija tačna?
- ✓ Da li je provjerena?
- ✓ Da li poštuje dostojanstvo drugih?
- ✓ Da li sadrži stereotipe?
- ✓ Da li može negativno uticati na djecu?
- ✓ Da li doprinosi dijalogu?
- ✓ Da li promoviše društvenu koheziju?
- ✓ Da li bih istu poruku smatrao prihvatljivom kada bi bila upućena meni?

Prilog 14. CHECK LISTA: PARLAMENT PO MJERI DJETETA

Ova lista može poslužiti za samoprocjenu parlamenta ili lokalne skupštine.

Učešće djece i mladih

☐ Postoje mehanizmi za konsultovanje djece i mladih.

☐ Djeca i mladi imaju mogućnost da izraze mišljenje o pitanjima koja ih se tiču.

☐ Mišljenje i stavovi djece i mladih se uvažavaju i uzimaju u obzir u procesu donošenja odluka

☐ Organizuju se susreti između mladih i donosilaca odluka.

Prava djeteta u radu parlamenta

☐ Parlament redovno razmatra pitanja od značaja za djecu.

☐ Postoje radna tijela ili mehanizmi koji se bave pravima djeteta.

☐ Prilikom donošenja odluka razmatraju se mišljenja i stavovi djece, kao i njihov uticaj na djecu.

Komunikacija

☐ Parlament promoviše kulturu dijaloga.

☐ U radu parlamenta ne toleriše se govor mržnje.

☐ Komunikacija je zasnovana na poštovanju ljudskog dostojanstva.

Saradnja

☐ Parlament sarađuje sa školama, omladinskim organizacijama i organizacijama koje se bave pravima djeteta.

☐ Podstiče se participacija djece i mladih u javnom životu.

Transparentnost

☐ Informacije o radu parlamenta dostupne su građanima.

☐ Djeci i mladima prilagođeni su određeni sadržaji o radu parlamenta.

Prilog 15. KLJUČNE PREPORUKE ZA ODGOVORNU POLITIČKU KOMUNIKACIJU I DRUŠTVO PO MJERI DJETETA

1. Preporuke za političke aktere

1. U svim javnim nastupima koristiti tačne, provjerene i argumentovane informacije.
2. Promovisati kulturu dijaloga, međusobnog poštovanja i konstruktivne rasprave.
3. Uvažavati različita mišljenja i podsticati demokratsku razmjenu stavova bez vrijeđanja i omalovažavanja.
4. Voditi računa da političke poruke ne podstiču podjele, netrpeljivost ili diskriminaciju.
5. Posebno cijeniti i štititi dostojanstvo djece i mladih u javnom prostoru.
6. Aktivno uključivati djecu i mlade u procese donošenja odluka koje se odnose na njih.
7. Podržavati razvoj mehanizama za participaciju djece na lokalnom i nacionalnom nivou.
8. Uvažavati mišljenja djece kao relevantan doprinos kreiranju javnih politika.
9. Promovisati rodnu ravnopravnost i jednake mogućnosti za sve građane.
10. Biti primjer odgovornog ponašanja i komunikacije u javnom prostoru i na društvenim mrežama.

2. Preporuke za parlamentarna tijela i lokalne skupštine

11. Redovno razmatrati pitanja koja se odnose na prava i dobrobit djece.
12. Obezbijediti mogućnosti da djeca i mladi izraze svoje stavove pred radnim tijelima i skupštinama.
13. Jačati saradnju sa školama, omladinskim organizacijama i organizacijama civilnog društva.
14. Podržavati inicijative koje doprinose socijalnoj inkluziji, zaštiti djece i razvoju lokalne zajednice.
15. Razvijati mehanizme za praćenje uticaja lokalnih politika na djecu i mlade.
16. Podsticati donošenje odluka zasnovanih na dokazima i analizama.

3. Preporuke za javnu komunikaciju

17. Koristiti jezik koji promoviše poštovanje, jednakost i uključivanje.
18. Pravovremeno reagovati na pojave govora mržnje, diskriminacije i nasilja u javnom prostoru.
19. Posebnu pažnju posvetiti zaštiti privatnosti djece u medijima i na internetu.
20. Promovisati pozitivne primjere saradnje, solidarnosti i društvene odgovornosti.
21. Podržavati medijsku i digitalnu pismenost djece, mladih i odraslih.
22. Podsticati odgovorno korišćenje društvenih mreža.

4. Šta treba izbjegavati

23. Govor mržnje, uvrede i ponižavanje pojedinaca ili grupa.
24. Širenje stereotipa, predrasuda i stigmatizacije.
25. Korišćenje djece u političke svrhe ili političke sukobe.
26. Objavljivanje neprovjerenih informacija i dezinformacija.
27. Otkrivanje identiteta djece u situacijama koje mogu ugroziti njihovu privatnost ili bezbjednost.
28. Normalizaciju nasilja, diskriminacije i isključivanja.
29. Agresivnu političku retoriku koja produbljuje društvene podjele.
30. Svaki oblik komunikacije koji nije u skladu sa najboljim interesom djeteta.

Stvaranje društva po mjeri djeteta nije odgovornost samo jedne institucije ili pojedinca. To je zajednički zadatak političkih aktera, institucija, medija, porodice, obrazovnog sistema i cijele zajednice. Kroz odgovornu komunikaciju, uvažavanje različitosti i dosljednu zaštitu prava djeteta moguće je graditi demokratsko, inkluzivno i solidarno društvo u kojem svako dijete ima priliku da bude saslušano, zaštićeno i uključeno u skladu sa međunarodnim standardima zaštite prava djeteta i osnovnim principima socijalne kohezije.

Prilog 16. Širi pregled definicija društvene kohezije

Ovaj prilog zadržava širi pregled definicija iz izvornog autorskog teksta. U glavnom dijelu Priručnika ostavljen je sažet izbor radi prilagođavanja ciljnoj grupi i lakše praktične upotrebe.

Definicija	Izvor
Stepen povjerenja u vladu i unutar društva, kao i spremnost da se kolektivno učestvuje ka zajedničkoj viziji održivog mira i zajedničkih razvojnih ciljeva.	UNDP (2020)[94]
Društvena kohezija podrazumijeva elemente koji okupljaju i povezuju ljude u društvu. U društvu sa snažnom kohezijom, svi pojedinci i grupe imaju osjećaj pripadnosti, učešća, uključenosti, priznanja i legitimnosti. Kohezivno društvo podrazumijeva društvo u kojem su ljudi zaštićeni od rizika po život, vjeruju svojim susjedima i državnim institucijama i mogu raditi na stvaranju bolje budućnosti za sebe i svoje porodice. Podsticanje društvene kohezije odnosi se na težnju ka većoj inkluzivnosti, većem građanskom učešću i stvaranju mogućnosti za napredovanje na društvenoj ljestvici. To je 'lijepak' koji drži društvo na okupu.	UNDESA (2007)[95] (2012)[96]
UNICEF ne pruža jednu univerzalnu definiciju društvene kohezije, ali je opisuje kroz svoje programe i pristupe kao ključni element u izgradnji mira i zaštiti djece u konfliktima. Prema UNICEF-u, društvena kohezija podrazumijeva stanje u kojem svako dijete može živjeti i doprinositi društvu, a odnosi između državnih i društvenih grupa karakterišu povjerenje, inkluzija, zaštita i učešće.	UNICEF[97] (2025)
UNESCO ne pruža jedinstvenu, formalnu definiciju društvene kohezije, ali u svojim dokumentima i inicijativama ističe značaj kulture kao ključnog faktora za jačanje društvene kohezije i održivog razvoja. Kultura pokreće i podstiče održivi razvoj, jer doprinosi inkluziji, pomirenju i jačanju osjećaja zajedništva među različitim zajednicama. U kontekstu obrazovanja i tehničkog i strukovnog obrazovanja (TVET), UNESCO-UNEVOC koristi definiciju društvene kohezije kao "stepen do kojeg različite grupe u društvu mogu živjeti zajedno i dijeliti zajedničke vrijednosti".[98] Ove perspektive naglašavaju važnost kulture i obrazovanja u izgradnji društvene kohezije, promovišući zajedničke vrijednosti, identitet i osjećaj pripadnosti unutar zajednica.	UNESCO[99] (2025)

94 UNDP (2020). *Strengthening Social Cohesion: Conceptual Framing and Programming Implications*. New York: UNDP. Stranica publikacije: https://www.undp.org/publications/strengthening-social-cohesion-conceptual-framing-and-programming-implications

95 UN DESA (2007). *Creating an Inclusive Society: Practical Strategies to Promote Social Integration*, Expert Group Meeting, Pariz, septembar 2007 (radna definicija društvene kohezije). Dostupno na: https://www.un.org/esa/socdev/sib/inclusive_society/social%20cohesion.html

96 UN DESA (2012). *Perspectives on social cohesion – the glue that holds society together*, 30. januar 2012. Dostupno na: https://www.un.org/en/development/desa/news/policy/perspectives-on-social-cohesion.html

97 UNICEF (2025). *Safety, equity and social cohesion: UNICEF's approach to peacebuilding* (Peacebuilding: Protecting Children in Conflict Zones). UNICEF USA. Dostupno na: https://www.unicefusa.org/what-unicef-does/childrens-protection/peacebuilding

98 UNESCO-UNEVOC International Centre for TVET. *Social cohesion*, TVETipedia Glossary. Dostupno na: https://connect.unevoc.unesco.org/home/TVETipedia+Glossary

99 UNESCO. *Culture as source of sustainable development and social cohesion*. Dostupno na: https://www.unesco.org/en/articles/culture-source-sustainable-development-and-social-cohesion

Definicija	Izvor
OECD analizira društvenu koheziju kroz tri različite, podjednako važne, perspektive: Društvena uključenost: mjeri se aspektima socijalne isključenosti kao što su siromaštvo, nejednakost i društvena polarizacija. Društveni kapital: kombinuje mjere povjerenja (međuljudskog i društvenog) s različitim oblicima građanskog angažmana. Društvena mobilnost: mjeri stepen u kojem ljudi mogu ili vjeruju da mogu promijeniti svoj položaj u društvu.	OECD (2011)[100]
Sposobnost društva da osigura dobrobit svih svojih članova, minimizirajući razlike i izbjegavajući polarizaciju. Kohezivno društvo je međusobno podržavajuća zajednica slobodnih pojedinaca koji teže ovim zajedničkim ciljevima demokratskim sredstvima.	Council of Europe (2005)[101]
IOM glosar o migracijama iz 2019 definiše društvenu koheziju kao „kapacitet društva ili zajednice zasnovan na zajedničkoj viziji i osjećaju pripadnosti gdje se različita porijekla ljudi (uključujući migrantska) i okolnosti međusobno cijene i pozitivno vrednuju".	IOM (2019) / EC DG Migration and Home Affairs[102]
Koheziona politika EU doprinosi jačanju ekonomske, društvene i teritorijalne kohezije u Evropskoj uniji. Cilj joj je ispraviti neravnoteže između zemalja i regija. Ona ostvaruje političke prioritete Unije, posebno zelenu i digitalnu tranziciju. Član 174. Ugovora o funkcionisanju Evropske unije (UFEU) propisuje da će Unija, kako bi ojačala svoju ekonomsku, društvenu i teritorijalnu koheziju, nastojati smanjiti razlike između nivoa razvoja različitih regija i zaostalost najzapostavljenijih regija koje su u nepovoljnom položaju.	EC DG Regio (2025)[103] i Ugovor o funkcionisanju EU (2007)
Veze i odnosi između društvenih jedinica kao što su pojedinci, grupe (i) udruženja [...]; to je 'ljepilo' koje drži zajednice zajedno. Kohezija se stvara iz veza zasnovanih na zajedničkom osjećaju pripadnosti i vezanosti, sličnim vrijednostima, povjerenju i osjećaju 'društvene solidarnosti'.	Australian Institute of Health and Welfare (2005)[104]
Društvena kohezija se zasniva na spremnosti pojedinaca da sarađuju i rade zajedno na svim nivoima društva kako bi postigli kolektivne ciljeve.	Department of Canadian Heritage (Jeannote et al., 2002)[105]
Društvena kohezija uključuje izgradnju zajedničkih vrijednosti i zajednica koje ih predstavljaju, smanjenje razlika u bogatstvu i prihodima i, generalno, omogućavanje ljudima da imaju osjećaj da su uključeni u zajednički poduhvat, da se suočavaju sa zajedničkim izazovima i da su članovi iste zajednice.	Canadian Policy Research Networks (Maxwell, 1996)[106]

100 OECD (2011). *Perspectives on Global Development 2012: Social Cohesion in a Shifting World*. Paris: OECD Publishing. DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/persp_glob_dev-2012-en
Stranica izdanja: https://www.oecd.org/en/publications/perspectives-on-global-development-2012_persp_glob_dev-2012-en.html

101 Council of Europe. (2005). *Concerted development of social cohesion indicators: Methodological guide*. Council of Europe, Strasbourg. https://www.coe.int/t/dg3/socialpolicies/socialcohesiondev/source/GUIDE_en.pdf

102 https://home-affairs.ec.europa.eu/networks/european-migration-network-emn/emn-asylum-and-migration-glossary/glossary/social-cohesion_en

103 Directorate-General for EU regional and urban policy, (https://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/2021-2027_en);

104 Australian Institute of Health and Welfare. (2005). *Australia's welfare 2005: The seventh biennial welfare report of the Australian Institute of Health and Welfare*. Australian Institute of Health and Welfare, Canberra. https://www.aihw.gov.au/getmedia/425737a8-4c09-40d8-bdf3-e8b1052e742c/aw05.pdf

105 Jeannotte, S. M., Stanley, D., Pendakur, R., Jamieson, B., Williams, M., and Aizlewood, A. (2002). *Buying in or dropping out: The public policy implications of social cohesion*. Department of Canadian Heritage, Ottawa.

106 Maxwell, J. (1996). *Social dimensions of economic growth*. Department of Economics, University of Alberta.

Definicija	Izvor
Integriše društvenu koheziju u komponente kvalitete života i razlikuje dvije bitne dimenzije ciljeva svojstvene konceptu: dimenziju nejednakosti i dimenziju društvenog kapitala. Prva dimenzija (nejednakost) uključuje ciljeve smanjenja razlika, promovisanja jednakih mogućnosti i borbe protiv društvene isključenosti, dok se druga dimenzija (društveni kapital) bavi svim aspektima usmjerenim na jačanje društvenih odnosa, interakcija i veza.	Berger Smith (2002)[107]
Društvena kohezija je stanje stvari koje se odnosi na vertikalne i na horizontalne interakcije među članovima društva, a karakteriše je skup stavova i normi koji uključuju povjerenje, osjećaj pripadnosti i spremnost na participaciju (sudjelovanje) i pomoć, kao i njihove manifestacije u ponašanju.	Chan, To and Chan (2006)[108]
Društvena kohezija se u osnovi odnosi na prisustvo strukturnih i stavovnih mehanizama solidarnosti, saradnje i razmjene između građana u društvu. Ove konstitutivne mreže mogu biti materijalne ili strukturne (razmjena dobara, ekonomske interakcije) ili nematerijalne (neformalni odnosi, zajednički identiteti).	Botterman, Hooghe and Reeskens (2012)[109]
Društvena kohezija je „kontinuirani proces razvoja blagostanja, osjećaja pripadnosti i dobrovoljnog društvenog učešća članova društva, uz istovremeno razvijanje zajednica koje tolerišu i promovišu mnoštvo vrijednosti i kultura, a istovremeno garantuju jednaka prava i mogućnosti u društvu“. Analizirajući aspekte društvene kohezije, predstavljaju „trougao“ relacija, koji uključuje: individuu, zajednice i institucije, koji su međusobno povezani.	Fonseca, Lukosh and Brasier (2019)[110]
Društvena kohezija odnosi se na vertikalne i horizontalne odnose među članovima društva i države koji drže društvo na okupu. Društvenu koheziju karakteriše skup stavova i manifestacija ponašanja koji uključuju povjerenje, inkluzivan identitet i saradnju za opšte dobro.	German Institute of Development and Sustainability (IDOS)[111] i Leininger et al. (2021)[112]

107 Berger-Schmitt, R. (2002). Considering Social Cohesion in Quality of Life Assessments: Concept and Measurement. In: Hagerty, M.R., Vogel, J., Møller, V. (eds) Assessing Quality of Life and Living Conditions to Guide National Policy. Social Indicators Research Series, vol 11. Springer, Dordrecht. https://doi.org/10.1007/0-306-47513-8_18

108 Chan, J., To, HP. & Chan, E. (2006). Reconsidering Social Cohesion: Developing a Definition and Analytical Framework for Empirical Research. *Soc Indic Res* 75, 273–302. https://www.socialcohesion.info/fileadmin/user_upload/Chan2006_Article_ReconsideringSocialCohesionDev.pdf

109 Botterman, S., Hooghe, M., and Reeskens, T. (2012). “One size fits all”? An empirical study into the multidimensionality of social cohesion indicators in Belgian local communities. *Urban Studies*, 49(1), 185-202. http://doi.org/10.1177/0042098010397397

110 Fonseca, X., Lukosch, S., & Brazier, F. (2019). Social cohesion revisited: a new definition and how to characterize it. *Innovation: The European Journal of Social Science Research*, 32(2), 231-253. https://doi.org/10.1080/13511610.2018.1497480

111 German Institute of Development and Sustainablity, IDOS – naziv koji institut koristi od 2022. godine.; www.idos-research.de

112 Leininger J. et al. (2021). Social cohesion: a new definition and a proposala for its measurement in Africa, Discussion paper 31/2021, German Development Institute / Deutsches Institut für Entwicklungspolitik (DIE), p.3;

https://www.idos-research.de/discussion-paper/article/social-cohesion-a-new-definition-and-a-proposal-for-its-measurement-in-africa/

Definicija	Izvor
Društvena kohezija se može posmatrati i kao proces i kao cilj. Društvena kohezija treba da se razmatra na različitim geografskim nivoima. Društvena kohezija može predstavljati pozitivan cilj sama po sebi. Diskusija o društvenoj koheziji često je reaktivna, tj. javlja se kao odgovor na određene okolnosti. Nejasnoće u razumijevanju pojma društvene kohezije mogu biti korisne, ali i izazvati poteškoće.	British Academy (2019)[113]
Izvor: Prošireno polazeći od UNECE (2023). Social Cohesion: Concept and Measurement;	

[113] British Academy (2019) 'Cohesive societies: scoping concepts and priorities – discussions at a British Academy seminar on 30 January 2019' https://www.thebritishacademy.ac.uk/publications/cohesive-societies-scoping-concepts-priorities/

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HANDBOOK FOR MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT

A CHILD-FRIENDLY PARLIAMENT

Social Cohesion and the Responsible Conduct of Parliamentarians

HANDBOOK FOR MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT

A Child-Friendly Parliament

Social Cohesion and the Responsible Conduct of Parliamentarians

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Foreword

In democratic societies, the quality of public speech is not merely a matter of political culture – it is a measure of the maturity of institutions and of their accountability to citizens, and especially to children and young people, for whom adults and public office holders should set an example.

The Centre for Democracy and Human Rights (CEDEM) has for years monitored and analysed the state of democratic processes in Montenegro, with particular attention to the culture of dialogue, respect for human rights and citizen participation. This handbook was developed in cooperation with UNICEF Montenegro in response to the need to provide MPs, local councillors and other public office holders with concrete knowledge and tools for responsible political communication that is sensitive to children and young people.

Available research and monitoring of public discourse point to the presence of hate speech and of discriminatory and stigmatising narratives in political and wider public discourse. Children and young people are exposed to such content both directly and indirectly, which is why political actors must be aware of the power, reach and responsibility of their words.

This handbook is not merely a collection of legal norms and academic analyses. It is a practical guide offering guidelines, examples of good practice, exercises and tools for communication that respects the rights of the child and enables the meaningful participation of children and young people in the processes that concern them.

We are convinced that responsible political communication is not a restriction of freedom of speech – on the contrary, it is its most mature expression. Freedom of speech has its true value only when it is used to strengthen the dignity of every person, and especially of every child.

We thank all the authors and contributors who helped to create this handbook, as well as UNICEF for its partnership and support.

CEDEM – Centre for Democracy and Human Rights

Glossary

Child
Every human being below the age of eighteen years.

Best interests of the child
One of the fundamental principles of the Convention on the Rights of the Child, according to which, in all actions concerning children, primary consideration must be given to their well-being, safety, development and the realisation of their rights.

Social cohesion
The degree of connectedness, trust and solidarity among members of a society, based on a sense of belonging, equality and shared responsibility.

Hate speech
Forms of expression that spread, incite, promote or justify hatred towards a person or group on the basis of a personal characteristic and which, depending on their content and context, may require a criminal, misdemeanour, civil, ethical or disciplinary response. Hate speech should be distinguished from discriminatory, stigmatising or risky speech, which is not always unlawful but may have serious harmful consequences for children, young people and social cohesion.

Discrimination
Unjustified differentiation, unequal treatment or placing an individual or group at a disadvantage because of their personal characteristics.

Child participation
The right of children to express their views on matters that concern them and to have those views taken into account in accordance with their age and maturity.

Inclusive communication
Communication that respects diversity, promotes equality and enables all individuals and groups to feel accepted and respected.

Digital violence
Any form of violence committed via the internet, social media, mobile phones or other digital technologies.

Political communication
The process of publicly conveying political positions, decisions, ideas and values with the aim of informing and persuading citizens and involving them in democratic processes.

Child-friendly parliament
A parliament that, in its work, consistently promotes the rights of the child, encourages the participation of children and young people and takes the best interests of the child into account in its legislative and other activities.

Recommended Reading

International documents

- Convention on the Rights of the Child
- UN Committee on the Rights of the Child, General Comment No. 25 (2021) on children's rights in relation to the digital environment
- Recommendation CM/Rec(2022)16 on combating hate speech
- ECRI, General Policy Recommendation No. 15 on Combating Hate Speech (2015)
- Council of Europe Strategy for the Rights of the Child 2022–2027

UNICEF publications

- Child Friendly Governance Handbook
- UNICEF (2017), Towards a Child-led Definition of Social Cohesion
- UNICEF, Child Participation Framework

Council of Europe

- Bookmarks – A manual for combating hate speech online through human rights education
- Compass – Manual for human rights education with young people
- Council of Europe, Reference Framework of Competences for Democratic Culture

Introduction

This handbook was developed as part of the cooperation between CEDEM and UNICEF Montenegro, with the aim of strengthening the capacity of MPs, local councillors and other public office holders for political communication that is sensitive to children, free of hate speech, discrimination and stigmatising narratives, and grounded in respect for the rights of the child.

Children are not merely recipients of protection, nor are they "future citizens". They are rights holders and citizens of the present. They have the right to be informed, heard and involved in decisions that concern them, in line with the evolving capacities of the child. A child-friendly parliament is therefore an institution that, in its legislative, oversight and communication work, consistently considers the best interests of the child, protects the child's dignity and creates safe and meaningful mechanisms for participation.

Applying the principle of the best interests of the child in political communication means that children are not viewed as objects of protection or as means to political ends, but as rights holders whose dignity, needs and perspectives must be respected. Political actors have a responsibility, in their public appearances, to promote an understanding of children's needs, to avoid speech that could lead to their stigmatisation and to help create an environment in which every child can fulfil their potential.

The right of the child to express their views freely in all matters affecting them is one of the fundamental rights guaranteed by the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child. This right entails not only the opportunity for the child to speak, but also the obligation of adults to listen to those views and give them due consideration in accordance with the child's age and maturity.

Social cohesion is an important framework for understanding responsibility. Trust, solidarity, a sense of belonging, acceptance of diversity and the opportunity to take part in shared life strengthen the resilience of a democratic society. Conversely, hate speech, discrimination, disinformation, polarising narratives and exclusion deepen mistrust and division. Children and young people are particularly exposed to these influences because they are growing up in an environment in which public messages spread rapidly through the media and digital platforms.

Trust is at once a personal and a social value. Societies with a high level of trust among citizens, and between citizens and institutions, are more resilient to polarisation, manipulation, hate speech and various forms of violence. Building trust is therefore not only a matter of political culture, but also a matter of social stability, the protection of children and young people and the preservation of social cohesion as a whole.

Peer violence, challenges to mental health, online safety and exposure to hate speech are just some of the problems children and young people face today. At the same time, their voices are not heard enough, their perspective is not recognised as relevant, and mechanisms for their participation in the social and broadest political sense are not provided to the extent needed. Preserving and strengthening social cohesion in the new technological and digital era undoubtedly requires recognising the importance of this part of the population, as well as the specific circumstances they face as they grow up and are socialised. It also depends on how successful we are in raising informed, critically minded and literate citizens – a task that requires the engagement of the entire community.

Achieving social cohesion is considered one of the key preconditions for the successful socialisation of children and young people into responsible citizens and members of the political and social community.

Children and young people therefore hold a special place in the context of strengthening social cohesion at the local level. The local level is where this part of the population directly experiences the challenges and problems affecting their everyday lives. The

much smaller scale of the local community compared with the wider political community, and the expectedly shorter distance between political decision-makers and citizens at this level, create an environment with greater potential for the direct and active participation of children and young people. Social cohesion at this level, and more broadly, entails connecting children and young people with institutions and political actors at the local level. This connection involves at least two elements: first, recognising and respecting the needs of this part of the population and successfully resolving the challenges and problems that affect them; and second, drawing on their authentic experience in designing high-quality local policies that will improve their position and quality of life.

In addition, the education system, as a very important agent of socialisation, should provide an appropriate foundation in terms of quality education and the development of critical thinking. The role of non-formal education is also very important in this respect.

Contemporary challenges cannot be overcome through division and conflict, but through cooperation, inclusiveness and joint action for the common good. Societies that develop trust, solidarity and active civic participation are more resilient to crises and better able to respond to the challenges of the present age. An important part of the responsibility of parliamentarians also concerns designing policies that foster social cohesion and the inclusion of citizens. This means supporting policies that reduce inequalities, advance human rights, strengthen the participation of children and young people and protect vulnerable social groups. A parliament that nurtures a culture of respect, reasoned debate and inclusive communication sends children and young people the message that institutions belong to all citizens, including them.

The participation of children and young people should be an integral, not a declarative, part of democratic processes. It contributes to better decisions, to the development of trust in institutions and to a sense of belonging to the community. The active participation of children and young people contributes not only to their personal development, but also to strengthening social cohesion and democratic culture as a whole. To be meaningful, it must be voluntary, safe, inclusive and age-appropriate, with clear information and feedback to children on whether and how their views have been considered. Children should be protected from party competition, political pressure and public labelling, as well as from any obligation to share personal experiences that could jeopardise their safety or well-being.

The participation of children and young people in democratic processes contributes to several important goals. It strengthens a sense of belonging to the community, encourages the development of responsibility, builds democratic values and enables children and young people to gain experience that will help them become active citizens in the future.

At the same time, the participation of children and young people contributes to better decision-making. Children and young people often have a unique perspective on issues that directly affect them, such as education, safety, leisure time, the digital environment, mental health and protection from violence. Their experiences and proposals can help institutions better understand problems and develop more effective solutions.

Parliament has a particularly important role in promoting the participation of children and young people. As the highest representative body, parliament can help create an institutional framework that encourages the active involvement of children and young people in democratic processes and affirms their right to be heard and to have their views respected and considered, especially when decisions that concern them are being made.

It is important to emphasise that participation should be inclusive. Particular attention must be paid to including children and young people from vulnerable groups, including children with developmental disabilities, children from minority communities, children living in rural areas, children in social need and other children who may face obstacles in exercising their rights.

Parliament also has an important educational function. Children and young people often form their first ideas about democracy, political life and public dialogue precisely by following the work of parliament. The way parliamentary sessions are conducted, how members communicate with those who hold different views and how disagreements are resolved send powerful messages to future generations about what democracy is and how it should work.

For this reason, a culture of dialogue in parliament is not a matter of political etiquette, but a matter of democratic responsibility. A parliament that nurtures mutual respect, reasoned debate and a willingness to cooperate contributes to the development of democratic values and the strengthening of social cohesion.

In this context, the role of public office holders takes on particular importance. As young people grow up in an environment shaped by the education system and the local community, but also by public discourse, the way children and young people are spoken about in the political arena is directly reflected in the level of trust, inclusion and sense of belonging they develop.

Political communication is therefore not neutral with regard to children. The way public office holders speak about individuals and groups, how they portray diversity, how they respond to violence and crises, and whether they respect the voices of children all influence political culture, social cohesion and trust in institutions. Criticism of policies and decisions is an integral part of democracy, but it must not turn into humiliation, stigmatisation or threats to the dignity and safety of others.

On the other hand, positive and responsible political discourse can play a very important role in developing democratic culture among children and young people. Communication based on respect, arguments and appreciation of diversity contributes to the development of tolerance, empathy and a sense of togetherness. When political leaders show a willingness to engage in dialogue and to resolve conflicts non-violently, children and young people gain a positive model of social behaviour.

It is especially important that political actors demonstrate through their conduct that disagreement is legitimate, but that it must not lead to the humiliation, discrimination or exclusion of others. Such a model of communication contributes to the development of a democratic political culture among children and young people and encourages them to take part in dialogue themselves in a responsible and constructive way. In this sense, parliament plays an important role not only in making decisions, but also in raising generations of children and young people who see institutions as open, safe and accessible spaces for participation and civic engagement.

Parliamentary bodies and committees dealing with the protection of children's rights represent a particularly significant practice. Some countries have dedicated working bodies that monitor the realisation of children's rights, analyse the impact of legislation on children and consider issues relevant to their position. Such mechanisms increase the visibility of children's rights in political processes and encourage the development of policies based on the best interests of the child.

The handbook is structured in three interconnected parts, each with a distinct authorial voice. The first part, by Prof. Danijela Vuković Ćalasan, PhD, examines social cohesion with a particular focus on children and young people, trust, belonging and participation. The second part, by Prof. Aneta Spaić, PhD, presents the international, regional and national legal framework of political speech and the protection of children's rights. The third part, by Branka Bošnjak, PhD, and Vesna Pavićević, translates these principles into practical guidelines for responsible political communication and parliamentary action.

01 Social Cohesion



Photo: Helena Jankovičová Kováčová / Pexels

1.1. Social Cohesion – Meaning, Relevance and Importance

There are many important questions that contemporary democratic societies must answer concerning their functioning in the very specific circumstances created by globalisation and major technological change. This group undoubtedly includes two questions relating to social cohesion: first, how can social cohesion be achieved and strengthened in contemporary circumstances? And second, how can new risks and challenges in its various dimensions be successfully addressed, and how can their potentially negative effects, which may erode social cohesion in its most important dimensions, be minimised? Both questions are equally relevant and inseparable, and reflecting on optimal solutions requires mobilising all of a society's potential, from political actors to various social, individual and collective actors. **In contexts such as Montenegro's, where an authoritarian political culture still prevails, a very significant part of the population – children and young people – is often left out of this process**. Before considering some of the challenges in achieving social cohesion, with particular emphasis on this population, it is necessary to explain the concept of social cohesion itself and its most important characteristics.

Social cohesion is most often described as both a precondition for and a goal of social development.[1] Contemporary, accelerated globalisation since the second half of the 20th century has become an era of new global risks that affect our societies in practically every dimension. These are socially produced risks, even when they manifest themselves, for example, in the environmental dimension. Environmental risks, climate change, health risks linked to increasing environmental degradation and food safety, global security risks, risks associated with the use of technology and others have the potential to erode social cohesion by bringing to the fore categories such as trust, solidarity, the antagonism between the general and the particular interest, and so on. The environment of globally present risks that contribute to a culture of fear and uncertainty may be further complicated by the specific features of individual societies and may have an additional impact on children and young people.

Mistrust in the vertical and horizontal dimensions, hate speech, rising ethno-nationalism and an increase in various forms of violence, human rights violations and the presence of fake news characterise societies in the Balkans, but also across the wider European space. Such an environment has a negative impact on children and young people who, in the era of social media, digital media and new technologies, are exposed to content that creates a very unfavourable environment for their growing up and compounds the challenges they must face.

In conditions of growing polarisation and globally present insecurity, social and political actors in contemporary democratic states focus on the resilience of communities and on categories such as trust and solidarity.[2]

1 Without a sufficient degree of social cohesion, the survival of a society may be threatened. At the same time, democratic societies that manage to strengthen and consolidate social cohesion are more stable and more resilient to existing as well as potentially new challenges emerging in the era of globalisation.

2 How can the resilience of communities be increased in conditions of marked polarisation, and how can their capacity for solidarity and connection oriented towards the common good be raised? Social cohesion is a matter of striking a successful balance between legitimate particular political, ethnic, national and other interests and goals and what falls within the sphere of interest or good of general/public importance in a political and social community.

There are many different definitions of social cohesion, and its multiple meanings are one of its most important characteristics. Furthermore, the question of defining social cohesion and its most important dimensions is inseparable from context. The concept of social cohesion, and its definition in terms of its most important elements and dimensions, must be adapted to the concrete circumstances of individual social and political communities, which differ from one another in their demographic, cultural, economic, political, historical and other specific features.[3]

1.2. Definitions of Social Cohesion

Table 1. Selected definitions of social cohesion[4]

Definition	Source
The extent of trust in government and within society and the willingness to participate collectively towards a shared vision of sustainable peace and common development goals.	UNDP (2020)
Social cohesion refers to the elements that bring people together and connect them within society. In a strongly cohesive society, all individuals and groups have a sense of belonging, participation, inclusion, recognition and legitimacy. A cohesive society is one in which people are protected from life risks, trust their neighbours and state institutions, and can work towards a better future for themselves and their families. Fostering social cohesion means striving for greater inclusiveness, greater civic participation and creating opportunities for upward social mobility. It is the 'glue' that holds society together.	UNDESA (2007)[5] (2012)[6]
According to UNICEF, social cohesion is a state in which every child can live in and contribute to society, and in which relations between state and social groups are characterised by trust, inclusion, protection and participation.	UNICEF[7] (2025)

3 Taking these specific features into account is necessary for understanding the most important weak points of social cohesion in a given context, as well as the ways in which it could be strengthened. Social cohesion, therefore, cannot be taken for granted. On the contrary, whether it erodes or is strengthened depends, among other things, on the decisions and activities of political and social actors. Social cohesion is most often discussed at the level of a society or state. Other relevant levels of social and political organisation, such as the local level, must also be taken into account. Local communities of different sizes, from neighbourhood communities to local self-government units, may be cohesive to a lesser or greater degree. They may also be more or less successful in recognising the most important challenges threatening social cohesion in a specific local context, as well as the potential that could help strengthen it.

A democratic society that strives for the highest possible degree of social cohesion must ensure respect for the human rights and freedoms of individuals and for the rule of law, relying on their expressed will to be members of the particular social and political community. It is important to bear in mind that the survival of a society depends, among other things, on what connects its members being stronger than the disintegrating forces coming from outside or within. A sufficient degree of social cohesion is therefore a precondition, and strengthening it on the basis of these principles is the goal of every contemporary society.

4 The table was prepared by Prof. Gordana Đurović, PhD, for the following publication: Đurović, Gordana; Vuković-Ćalasan, Danijela. 2025. Izvještaj o procjeni: međuzavisnost društvene kohezije i procesa evropskih integracija Crne Gore (Assessment Report: the intersection between social cohesion and European integration of Montenegro) (unpublished). Further relevant definitions of social cohesion can be found in the table in the annex to the Handbook.

5 UNDESA (2007). The UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs adopts the definition of social cohesion given by Jenson in 1998. Available at: https://www.un.org/esa/socdev/sib/inclusive_society/social%20cohesion.html);

6 UNDESA (2012). "Perspectives on social cohesion - the glue that holds society together". Available at: https://www.un.org/en/development/desa/news/policy/perspectives-on-social-cohesion.html

7 UNICEF, originally the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund, officially United Nations Children's Fund since 1953. Available at: https://www.unicefusa.org/what-unicef-does/childrens-protection/peacebuilding

Definition	Source
The capacity of a society to ensure the well-being of all its members, minimising disparities and avoiding polarisation. A cohesive society is a mutually supportive community of free individuals pursuing these common goals by democratic means.	Council of Europe (2005)[8]

Source: Expanded from UNECE (2023). Social Cohesion: Concept and Measurement

The table above makes clear that the concept of social cohesion is characterised by multiple meanings, that is, by the absence of a single, generally accepted definition. Nevertheless, if social cohesion is considered from the perspective of a specific socio-economic and legal-political context, two definitions deserve attention. Both have significant potential for designing high-quality public policy solutions, including those concerning children and young people, in line with a given community's needs for strengthening social cohesion and minimising the risks that could weaken it. These are the definitions of social cohesion developed within the Council of Europe and the United Nations, specifically UNDP.

Basing its definition of social cohesion on the principles of the rule of law and human rights, and on the importance of social cohesion for the democratisation of contemporary societies, the Council of Europe defines social cohesion as "the capacity of a society to ensure the well-being of all its members – minimising disparities and avoiding marginalisation – to manage differences and divisions and to ensure the means of achieving welfare for all its members".[9] It clearly emphasises that social cohesion is a precondition for achieving social justice, democratic security and sustainable development.[10] According to this definition, achieving social cohesion is inseparable from the successful management of ethno-cultural pluralism based on respect for human rights, democracy and the rule of law, which are the three key values promoted by the Council of Europe.[11] It is important to mention the Report of the second meeting of this body, held in Strasbourg in 2017. The Report stresses the importance of further developing the concept of social cohesion on the principles of the European Social Charter and social rights, and encourages societies to find new and innovative ways of strengthening social cohesion[12] .

What is particularly significant for our topic is the suggestion that priority areas for achieving social cohesion in contemporary circumstances should include children and young people, the protection and integration of immigrant communities and refugees, and an analysis of the impact of the economic crisis on health and health care, with a particular focus on poverty, social exclusion and the various forms of

8 Council of Europe. (2005). Concerted development of social cohesion indicators: Methodological guide. Council of Europe, Strasbourg. https://www.coe.int/t/dg3/socialpolicies/socialcohesiondev/source/GUIDE_en.pdf

9 Ministry of Demography, Family, Youth and Social Policy [Croatia]. "Vijeće Europe – aktivnosti vezane za jačanje socijalne kohezije" (Council of Europe – activities related to strengthening social cohesion). n.d./ http://www.mzss.hr/layout/set/print/medunarodna_suradnja/socijalna_skrb/vijece_europe_aktivnosti_vezane_za_jacanje_socijalne_kohezije (01.04.2026).

10 New Strategy and Action Plan, 2010: 2.

11 With regard to the approach developed within the Council of Europe, mention should be made of the European Social Cohesion Platform, an ad hoc committee formed precisely as a result of recognising the importance of social cohesion in contemporary circumstances.

The areas this body deals with in particular include child poverty, digitalisation and the development of the IT sector, the protection and integration of immigrants and refugees, social and health protection, and combating the exclusion of groups that may lead to radicalisation, etc. See: https://www.coe.int/en/web/european-social-charter/european-social-cohesion-platform-about (7. 4. 2021)

12 https://www.coe.int/en/web/european-social-charter/european-social-cohesion-platform-news/-/asset_publisher/cB4RDxm7Cl4z/content/second-meeting-of-the-european-social-cohesion-platform?inheritRedirect=false (7. 4. 2021). In considering good practice and potentially innovative approaches to achieving social cohesion that could be applied in different national contexts, the following is particularly emphasised: social cohesion must be linked to guaranteeing and successfully implementing social and economic rights, including the right to social protection, in line with the principles accepted in the European Social Charter and other documents relevant to this field. It is clearly pointed out that "effectiveness in realising these rights is key to social cohesion."

radicalisation that result from them.[13] **The Council of Europe thus recognises the importance of children and young people as parts of the population that require attention when it comes to achieving social cohesion.**

The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) describes this concept as trust among people, citizens' trust in institutions, and the willingness of all social actors to work together for the common good, thereby contributing to sustainable development and lasting peace. In other words, it is the extent of trust in institutions and within society, and the willingness to participate collectively in achieving a shared vision of sustainable peace and common development goals.[14] Within this definition of social cohesion, the emphasis is placed on the period of post-conflict society-building, where a violent conflict in the narrow sense has taken place. Even where no such conflict has occurred, this definition of social cohesion is very important because it highlights the significance of identity conflicts and of social relations marked by tension and conflict, which are the circumstances in which contemporary societies exist.

In this sense, particular emphasis is placed on the presence of hate speech which, as a form of discrimination, has significant potential to undermine social cohesion in a given context. Relevant research shows that hate speech in Montenegro is particularly present in the discourse of political actors, in the media and in the school environment, and that it is directed most of all at Roma.[15] The most recent research, from February 2026, offers several key findings. First, hate speech has become normalised: it is ubiquitous and very often not perceived as problematic at all. This particularly affects Roma, towards whom there is already a high level of social acceptance of anti-Romani sentiment, whose manifestations are the norm rather than the exception. Second, this report also finds that Roma are one of the groups most exposed to hate speech in the Montenegrin context, most often in the form of insults, exclusion and delegitimisation.[16] **In considering social cohesion and the presence of hate speech and its disintegrating potential, it is clear that particular attention must be paid precisely to children and young people. Exposure to the discourse and messages of political actors, which very often amount to an abuse of freedom of expression, and the presence of hate speech in the media and in the school environment particularly affect children and young people. In the era of globalisation, the media are becoming very powerful agents of socialisation that directly influence the values, behaviour and worldview of children and young people in contemporary societies, including Montenegro. Through the programme "My Values and Virtues", children in primary and secondary schools learn more about empathy, tolerance, communication and teamwork. However, there is currently no continuous and comprehensive education of children and young people that would enable a better understanding of hate speech, its elements and the effects it produces. This is a challenge to which the competent educational institutions, and social actors as a whole, must provide an adequate response as soon as possible. In this respect, particular attention is drawn to children and young people from the Roma and Egyptian communities, who are already in a particularly difficult position of exclusion, non-acceptance and significant obstacles to their inclusion in the education system. The 2025 survey on the socio-economic position of Roma provides a more than illustrative figure in the field of education that confirms the above: "the percentage of children of the relevant age who do not attend kindergarten/school at all has more than doubled, with a corresponding fall in the number of children**

[13] Sargsyan Arman, Report on good practices and innovative approaches (updated version), p. 3, available at: https://rm.coe.int/pecs-report-on-good-practices-and-innovative-approaches/16807809f3 (8. 4. 2021)

[14] UNDP (2020). Strengthening social cohesion: Conceptual framing and programming implications, 10; (https://www.undp.org/arab-states/publications/strengthening-social-cohesion-conceptual-framing-and-programming-implications)

[15] Bešić, Miloš, CEDEM (2022). Obrasci diskriminacije u Crnoj Gori (Patterns of Discrimination in Montenegro). Podgorica: CEDEM, p. 52.

[16] CEDEM (2026). Mapping Hate Speech in Montenegro. Podgorica: CEDEM.

attending between 2023 and 2025, which points to an institutional failure to include Roma children in the education system… A very worrying percentage increase in school-age children not attending school has been recorded, with a corresponding percentage decrease in children of that age who do attend school".[17]

It is therefore important to bear in mind that children and young people in Montenegro are not homogeneous categories; rather, there is marked heterogeneity within this population in ethno-cultural, territorial and other terms. Different parts of this population are exposed to poverty, exclusion and inadequate living conditions to differing degrees, and have differing degrees of access to education and adequate health and social protection. This heterogeneity must be taken into account when designing public policies and appropriate legal and political solutions.

1.3. Dimensions of Social Cohesion

When it comes to social cohesion, it is also important to address the question of its most important dimensions. As with its definition, there is no consensus on which dimensions of social cohesion are the most significant. The least contested and most widely accepted conceptualisation of social cohesion in terms of its key dimensions distinguishes between a vertical and a horizontal dimension. The vertical dimension concerns the relationship between the state and society, and vice versa. From the "direction" of society, it refers to the degree of trust in political decision-makers, in the most important institutions of a state and in various organisations. It also concerns trust in the most important processes through which political decisions are made. The question of trust in the vertical dimension is very important from the perspective of children and young people as well. It is very important that children and young people trust the adults who hold authority and power in the family, school, university, institutions, organisations and politics in the broadest sense. Building trust in this sense is a precondition for creating a safe environment for children and young people, but also for achieving social cohesion. In the horizontal dimension, trust refers to other individuals and groups with whom the same social and political space is shared and who may differ in ethno-cultural, religious or other terms. In a cohesive society there is trust in those who differ from us and who are perceived as "others". Trust that transcends group affiliation, and that is not reserved exclusively for those we perceive as part of our own group, is a precondition for activating social capital at the level of the wider political community, which is a very important element of a cohesive society.

Nevertheless, when it comes to the most important dimensions of social cohesion, the classification most often used is the one provided by the Bertelsmann Foundation (Bertelsmann Stiftung) in 2015. It identifies the following three most important domains of social cohesion: social relations, connectedness and focus on the common good. Within each domain, three key dimensions of social cohesion are identified.[18] Social relations comprise three key dimensions of social cohesion: social networks, trust in people and acceptance of diversity. In a cohesive society, ties between social actors are strong, whether individual or collective actors are concerned. Furthermore, there is a high level of trust among people and a high level of acceptance of diversity in society.

Connectedness, the second key domain identified by the Bertelsmann Foundation, comprises trust in institutions, identification and perception of fairness. A cohesive society implies trust in institutions and in those who make political decisions. This applies to both the national and the local level. A lack of trust in the vertical dimension at the local level may be caused by local authorities' neglectful and unfair treatment of certain parts of the local community. These are parts of the population that may differ in ethnic, national, religious or other terms, including age. They

[17] Bešić, Miloš, CEDEM (2025). Socio-ekonomski položaj Roma u Crnoj Gori. Empirijsko istraživanje (The Socio-Economic Position of Roma in Montenegro: An Empirical Study). Podgorica: CEDEM, pp. 3, 14, 34.

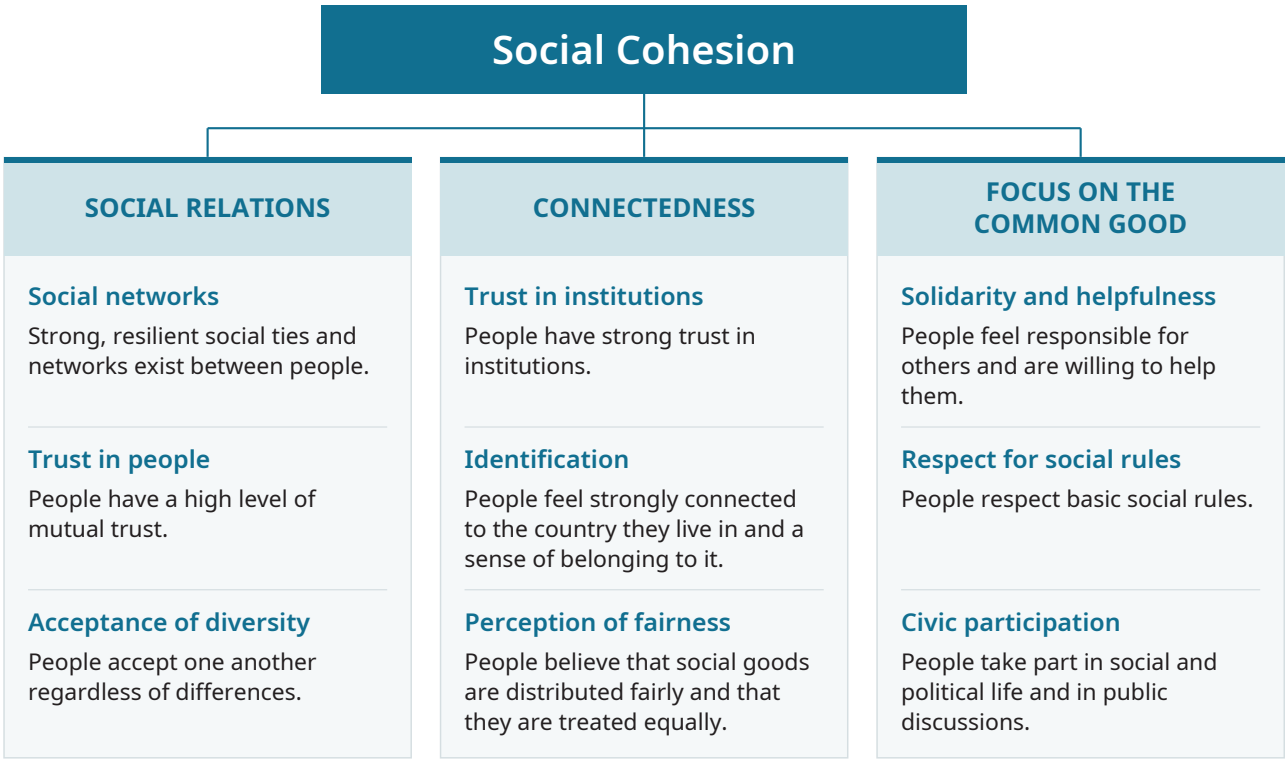
[18] Bertelsmann Stiftung (2015) "Measuring Common Ground: Social Cohesion in Africa" www.bertelsmann-stiftung.de (https://www.bertelsmann-stiftung.de/en/our-projects/germany-and-asia/news/social-cohesion-preview/)

may also be members of the local community concentrated in rural areas, and so on. Where local authorities treat different parts of the population in this way, it produces a sense of injustice and exclusion. Moreover, individuals may be excluded on several different grounds. For example, children and young people who live in a rural area without adequate infrastructure and who are also members of minority ethno-cultural communities towards which local authorities are neglectful or discriminatory will be particularly affected by mistrust and a sense of unfair treatment. In that case, it is very difficult to develop a sense of identification, connectedness and belonging to the community, at both the local and the national level. In this way, social cohesion may be threatened.

The third domain is called focus on the common good and comprises the following dimensions: solidarity and helpfulness, respect for social rules and civic participation. This is a very important domain when social cohesion is considered from the perspective of children and young people. A crisis of solidarity and empathy affects contemporary societies under pressure from the current form of globalisation and major technological change. Challenges related to young people's mental health and rising anxiety and depression characterise our societies and affect the resilience of individuals and communities. Institutions and social actors must find ways and appropriate models to create an environment in which these risks to young people and children are minimised. Cohesive societies are those in which there is solidarity, in the sense that people feel responsible for others and want to help them. Moreover, this sense of responsibility and the wish to help are not reserved exclusively for those we perceive as members of our particular group. The aim is to generate a sense of solidarity towards members of the political community in the broadest sense, and this is a characteristic of a cohesive society. Building capacity for solidarity and empathy among children and young people is a very important aspect of social cohesion. Respect for social rules and civic participation are the remaining two dimensions identified within this domain. In a cohesive society, citizens respect social rules and participate actively in social and political life. The political participation of young people is one of the most important issues for achieving social cohesion in the Montenegrin context as well. Young people must be actively involved in political decision-making processes at both the national and the local level. It is the responsibility of institutional and political actors to provide mechanisms for achieving this goal.

From the above, it is clear that the question of social cohesion is inseparable from what happens at all relevant levels of social reality. More precisely, the issue of social cohesion cannot be reduced to the level of the nation-state and the social context; it must also encompass the level of individual social actors and the level of socially relevant collective and group identities.[19] This fact makes it harder not only to define social cohesion but also to design comprehensive measures and mechanisms to strengthen it in a particular democratic context.

[19] Ritzen, Jo, Woolcock, Michael (2001). Social Cohesion, Public Policy and Economic Growth: Implications for Countries in Transition. (Conference Governance, Equity and Global Markets; Conference Development Thinking at the Millennium). Paris: Documentation Française. p. 8.



Source: Bertelsmann Stiftung, www.bertelsmann-stiftung.de

Although social cohesion is a concept with multiple meanings and dimensions, the definitions and key dimensions set out above can be applied, to a greater or lesser extent, to different social and political communities. However, when it comes to identifying the most important "weak" points of social cohesion and ways of strengthening it, the specific features of each individual context must be taken into account. This applies both to the most general – social or state – context and to other contexts in which social cohesion can be discussed, such as the local one. Although Montenegro is a small state in terms of territory and population, it is characterised by pronounced diversity and heterogeneity in ethno-cultural, religious and territorial terms. Local self-government units in Montenegro differ considerably in terms of geographical factors, their ethno-cultural and other demographic situation, historical specificities, level of economic development, the nature and character of the risks affecting the local community, and so on. These differences are relevant to achieving social cohesion at both the local and the national level

1.4. Children and Young People from the Perspective of Achieving Social Cohesion

For children and young people to be able to successfully take on responsibility for the development of the community in the future, a safe and harmonious environment must be ensured during their socialisation. The essence of achieving social cohesion lies, among other things, precisely in successfully minimising risks and creating a safe environment, in tackling inequality and unfair and discriminatory treatment, and in successfully addressing challenges such as poverty and inadequate housing, developing capacity for solidarity and empathy, ensuring quality education and the like. On the other hand, those who are currently children and young people will be the political decision-makers of the future, and the achievement of social cohesion will depend on how well equipped they are to understand the most important challenges facing contemporary societies. In this sense, it is entirely justified to describe young people as "the drivers of building social cohesion".[20]

There have not been many attempts to define social cohesion and its key elements from the perspective of children and young people as a specific part of the population. It is important to highlight UNICEF's efforts to develop a definition of social cohesion, or of its achievement, from the perspective of children as a very significant part of the population. Bearing in mind the specific nature of this population, UNICEF conceptualises social cohesion by identifying the most important indicators of its presence, to a greater or lesser extent, in a given context. According to this definition, social cohesion, from the perspective of the interests and goals concerning children, is achieved when children:

1. Feel consulted, respected and understood by adults;
2. Have good relationships with adults;
3. Are treated equally;
4. Have friends around them;
5. Have trust, in both the vertical and the horizontal dimension;
6. Have access to well-developed and clear structures providing different kinds of support, and understand them;
7. Enjoy freedom of expression and participation;
8. Are included in activities in such a way that no one is left out;
9. Are not exposed to violence and abuse, in either the vertical or the horizontal sense.[21]

This definition, developed on the basis of empirical data,[22] differs from the prevailing definitions of social cohesion found in various types of literature and, in that sense, contributes to a comprehensive understanding of it. In this case, six of the nine most important elements of social cohesion relate to belonging and inclusion (points 1 to 6), two elements (points 7 and 8) are linked to participation and involvement, while one (point 9) relates to tolerance.[23] This highly relevant UNICEF definition of social cohesion shows the specific nature of children and young people as a part of the population that "feels safest when it has a sense of belonging to a group" but is also at risk of radicalisation and violence when that sense of belonging is absent.[24] The definition also shows how important certain dimensions identified in the previous figure are for achieving social cohesion from the perspective of children and young people. If we, as a social and political community, fail to strengthen children's capacity for empathy, connection and solidarity, it will be very difficult to strengthen social cohesion. A lack of trust, as well as of institutional and other support for the inclusion and participation of

20 UNDP, Capital City of Podgorica, Government of Montenegro, PEACEBUILDING FUND. 2025. Povelja o društvenoj koheziji Glavnog grada Podgorice (Social Cohesion Charter of the Capital City of Podgorica). Podgorica. p. 5. Available at: https://share.google/gX6VNqeTmiPyW6Nn6 (05.05.2026).
21 UNICEF. 2017. Towards a Child-led Definition of Social Cohesion. p. 8.
22 The definition developed by UNICEF is based, among other things, on the perceptions of 287 children/young people aged 10 to 24 of the elements important for achieving social cohesion.
23 UNICEF. 2017. Towards a Child-led Definition of Social Cohesion. p. 9.
24 UNICEF. 2017. Towards a Child-led Definition of Social Cohesion. p. 9.

children and young people, makes it harder to build strong and resilient social networks, which are one of the key characteristics of a cohesive society. As early as 2014, UNICEF devoted considerable attention to achieving social cohesion from the perspective of children and young people and, using the example of Jordan, established that it is very important to include a behavioural component when this part of the population is concerned.

The most important recommendations identified on that occasion are also relevant to other individual contexts. First, institutional and social actors need education and awareness-raising about the specific features of peer and other violence and ways of minimising it. Clear support structures are needed, but it is also very important to "increase the level of trust and sense of belonging (in the vertical and horizontal dimensions), the level of equality and inclusion" in order to achieve child- and youth-friendly social cohesion.[25] Second, it is necessary to raise awareness among children and young people of peer and other forms of violence and of ways to minimise them. At the same time, work is needed to improve understanding of the mechanisms available to children for reporting the violence to which they are exposed. Third, when designing measures and mechanisms to combat various forms of violence, the participation of children and young people must be ensured and their experience taken into account. The participation of children and young people in this respect should be ensured at all relevant stages, including the implementation, monitoring and evaluation of the solutions applied.[26] Given the rise in peer violence, the increasing exposure of children and young people to hate speech and the fact that, in citizens' perception, hate speech is most present in the discourse of political actors, in the media and in the school environment, these recommendations are also relevant to the Montenegrin context.[27]

In general, when it comes to achieving social cohesion in a democratic context, the active participation of children and young people must be ensured.[28]

It should be borne in mind that children are an important part of the population with the potential to take an active part in shaping the community they belong to and its social cohesion. A good example in this respect is the effort of the European Union, which recognises the importance of children's participation in social life and the need for their comprehensive inclusion. The EU Strategy on the Rights of the Child, adopted in 2021, identifies six key objectives concerning this part of the population. These objectives are highly relevant to achieving social cohesion and including children as relevant and important members of society. It specifies that, with regard to children, the European Union wishes to ensure the following: "1. That all children can express their views; 2. That all children have access to quality education and health care, as well as sufficient financial resources to enable families to meet children's needs; 3. That children are safe; 4. That police, lawyers and judges treat children fairly, respect their views and respond to their needs; 5. That all children have access to the digital dimension and are safe within it; and 6. That all children can exercise their rights".[29] The way in which the European Commission formulated and adopted these objectives is an example of including children and respecting their views when designing policies that concern them. The document was adopted, among other things, on the basis of the views of 10,000 children and is, in a broader sense, part of the EU Children's Participation Platform established in 2022.

The Platform is a very good example of using the digital space to increase the participation of children and adolescents and to give them the opportunity to have their voices heard and their perspectives and needs respected in public

25 UNICEF. 2017. Towards a Child-led Definition of Social Cohesion. p. 10.
26 UNICEF. 2017. Towards a Child-led Definition of Social Cohesion. p. 10.
27 See: Bešić, Miloš (CEDEM) 2022. Obrasci i stepen diskriminacije u Crnoj Gori (Patterns and Extent of Discrimination in Montenegro). p. 52.
28 See: https://eu-for-children.europa.eu/about/plans-strategies_en (05.08.2026).
29 European Commission. 2021. EU Strategy on the Rights of the Child. Available at: https://op.europa.eu/en/publication-detail/-/publication/ (05.08.2026).

policymaking. The Platform consists of members (children and organisations working on children's rights), an advisory board (children and adults from EU organisations), a children's panel (a smaller group of children who analyse plans and contribute ideas about their needs and wishes) and a secretariat.[30] At the heart of the Platform is the creation of a safe online space in which children can express their views and share their thoughts and ideas in a fairly simple way. As a result of consulting and involving a large number of children, very important documents have been adopted on various areas of importance to them, and each has a child-friendly version available on the Platform. This version is adapted so that very complex topics such as mental health, climate change, the quality of education and the like are addressed and presented in a way that is clear and understandable to children and adolescents.[31] Reports on consultation activities with children are also published regularly, with precise data on how many children were consulted and how. Thus, the most recent report on the digital space, from July 2026, is based on consultations with more than 4,000 children aged 12 to 17.[32] In addition to consultations on improving online safety, children have been consulted before solutions were designed concerning their safety in physical space, participation in democratic processes, ending online violence and combating poverty. **The EU plan for 2025–2026 singles out certain areas and challenges as particularly important for children, which are also of key importance for social cohesion. The topics were selected by the children themselves after a series of online consultations as well as panels and meetings: equal opportunities and social inclusion (access to education, health care and housing), online safety with an emphasis on children's digital rights, safeguarding children's mental health and well-being, and involving children as active participants in the design and implementation of climate policies.**[33] **The topics and challenges that children from EU countries identified as the most important fully coincide with some of the most important challenges for achieving and strengthening social cohesion at the level of individual states. It is noticeable that increasing importance is being given precisely to risks such as climate change and to children as active participants in minimising them, as discussed in the first part of this chapter. The way the EU Children's Participation Platform works, and its tools and structure, can also inspire individual states, above all their legislative bodies, to recognise children as active members of society and encourage their participation. This applies to both the national and the local level of political decision-making on matters of importance to children and young people.**

It should be borne in mind that the socio-economic and, in the broadest sense, the democratic and political exclusion of children and young people are closely linked, as is also recognised in the current EU Youth Strategy 2019–2027: "Young people with fewer opportunities tend to be less active citizens and have less trust in institutions".[34] Improving socio-economic status, ensuring access to education and eliminating all forms of discrimination and exclusion are preconditions for the effective participation of children and young people in the broadest sense. At the same time, ensuring young people's participation in political decision-making and their involvement in designing public policies of importance to children and young people, and to the wider community, is a way of helping to change their disadvantaged

30 EU Children's Participation Platform. Platform Information Sheet. 2022. Available at: https://eu-for-children.europa.eu/documents_en#work-plan-25-26 (05.08.2026).
31 See: https://europa.eu/eu-for-children/work-plan-2025-2026/en/ (05.08.2026).
32 EU Children's Participation Platform Findings from the consultation with children on The Digital Fairness Act (DFA). 2026. Available at: https://eu-for-children.europa.eu/documents_en#work-plan-25-26 (05.08.2026).
33 EU Children's Participation Platform. Work Plan 2025-2026. Available at: https://eu-for-children.europa.eu/documents_en#work-plan-25-26 (05.08.2026).
34 Council of the European Union. Resolution of the Council of the European Union and the Representatives of the Governments of the Member States meeting within the Council on a framework for European cooperation in the youth field: The European Union Youth Strategy 2019–2027. Official Journal of the European Union. (2018/C 456/01). p. 1. Available at: https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=CELEX:42018Y1218(01)

socio-economic position and exclusion. The authentic representation and advocacy of the interests of children and young people, in appropriate forms and at different levels of political decision-making, is a very important element in achieving social cohesion in contemporary democratic societies.

As a result of an open, public and inclusive dialogue between EU decision-makers, researchers and young people from across Europe, 11 European Youth Goals were formulated. These goals form the core of the Strategy and at the same time represent the European Union's key priorities for this part of the population.

Some of these goals are very important for children and young people and are at the same time of direct relevance to social cohesion:[35] 1. *Connecting EU with Youth.* Achieving this goal entails the active participation of young people in decision-making and the existence of trust in institutions. Montenegro's expected membership of the European Union makes this goal relevant in our context as well; 2. *Equality of All Genders*, which will be achieved if there are equal rights and opportunities without discrimination or exclusion on grounds of gender; 3. *Inclusive Societies*. This goal emphasises the importance of including everyone and points to the heterogeneity within the youth community, many of whom are exposed to marginalisation and multiple discrimination on various grounds, as also highlighted in the first chapter. This is fully relevant to children as well; 4. *Information & Constructive Dialogue*. Achieving this goal entails access to reliable information, digital literacy, and strengthening and building critical thinking among young people and children alike; 5. *Mental Health & Wellbeing*. Preserving and improving the mental health of children and young people is one of the more significant challenges at the individual level in achieving social cohesion. Adequate mental health support, ensuring well-being and minimising all forms of stigmatisation are part of achieving this goal; 6. *Moving Rural Youth Forward.* Young people and children living in rural areas need a greater degree of support from institutional actors and the community as a whole. Better conditions must be created for young people to live and work in rural areas, which is very relevant in the Montenegrin context as well. Children and young people in rural areas have, among other things, limited access to cultural content, poorer infrastructure and limited access to social and health care. Balanced development of society and the state in this sense is very important for achieving social cohesion; 7. *Quality Learning.* The quality of education is a very important factor in preparing children and young people for future involvement in the socio-economic and political life of a given community. The education system must encourage creativity, but also build critical thinking; 9. *Space and Participation for All*. Although territorial, or physical, space remains very relevant, the age of globalisation and major technological change has brought growing importance to the digital space in various dimensions of individual and community life: from the economic and political to the identity dimension. Young people and children are particularly attached to this new type of space, in different ways and forms. The content present in the digital, online space shapes and socialises them to a significant extent. At the same time, the digital space is also important for achieving social cohesion, as shown by the increasingly prominent debate on the achievement and potential strengthening of social cohesion, but also on the dangers to it that come from the online dimension.

Content in this dimension can deepen existing divisions in society, erode social ties and give greater visibility and influence to radical and extremist views, which is very important when it comes to children and young people and their resilience to various forms of violence. The impact of fake news, the presence of hate speech and algorithms that reproduce stereotypical and stigmatising content are increasingly being considered in terms of their effect on social cohesion. The question of so-called digitally-mediated social inclusion is also becoming highly relevant: "It can be argued that pervasive 24/7 digital connectivity is actively reshaping the dynamics of human sociality... While social energy is increasingly

[35] https://youth.europa.eu/strategy/european-youth-goals_hr

redirected from physical to digital space, opening the possibility for entirely new forms of social cohesion to emerge, recent research in communication neuroscience suggests that asynchronous, digitally mediated connection may undermine social learning, empathy and emotional fluency...".[36] It is clear that the digital dimension is becoming increasingly important and that its various aspects, such as its content and the effects it produces, must be taken into account, especially where children and young people are concerned. These circumstances are further complicated by the new era of artificial intelligence, which raises significant and numerous questions both for social cohesion and for the position of children and young people in relation to its use. The digital space, like the physical one, must be a safe place for children and young people, and its potential should be harnessed for their social and political participation.

The importance of the digital and online dimension for strengthening and/or weakening social cohesion, and for its positive or negative impact on children and young people, is not sufficiently recognised by political actors. It is entirely legitimate to represent and promote particular political and party interests online. **What must be unacceptable, however, is the spread of content that generates intolerance and mistrust, destroys social networks and relationships and emphasises differences to the point of exclusivity, especially in a society as ethno-culturally heterogeneous as Montenegro. Although social cohesion is the responsibility of all social actors and depends on each of us individually, political decision-makers and institutional actors must be aware that they bear primary responsibility for strengthening or weakening it. The content and manner of their political communication have a direct impact on children and young people, and the previously mentioned finding that, in citizens' perception, hate speech is most present precisely in the speeches and statements of politicians is a matter of concern**.

The tenth European Youth Goal, which is also relevant to the interests of children, is Sustainable Green Europe. The age of globalisation is, among other things, an age of new, global risks. Risks associated with the environmental dimension of our social reality are becoming increasingly relevant. Successful management of risks and hazards is becoming an important part of social cohesion. It is very important that no community within a state ends up accumulating risks or being marginalised or discriminated against in the application of risk-reduction measures and mechanisms. This is particularly significant when we consider parts of the population that are already in a vulnerable position, such as children. They must not accumulate new environmental risks and hazards, and the state must make additional efforts to provide adequate protection. Achieving this goal also entails fostering environmental awareness among children and sustainable development; the last, eleventh goal is Youth Organisations & European Programmes. Cooperation and networking, experiences of diversity and getting to know other cultures are of great importance for the socialisation of children and young people in conditions of growing ethno-cultural plurality brought about by globalisation. In this sense, it would be good to give not only young people but also children access to various mobility programmes. A very important dimension of social cohesion concerns the acceptance of diversity and trust on the horizontal plane, especially towards those from whom we differ in ethnic, national, religious and other terms. Exchange programmes can help strengthen social cohesion precisely in these dimensions. This also applies to the very important experiences of diversity that children could gain within Montenegro, which would enable them to be socialised towards a better understanding of differences and greater connection. In this way, a foundation is laid for strengthening trust in the horizontal dimension and for strengthening social cohesion.

Unlike the definition of social cohesion from the perspective of children, which

[36] Berggruen Institute, East-West Center (2025). AI, Privacy, and Social Cohesion: A Collaborative Futures Symposium, p. 2. Available at: https://www.eastwestcenter.org/ (05.05.2026).

emphasises feelings of safety, belonging and acceptance, direct political and social participation is much more characteristic of young people. The ability to influence political and social processes relevant to social cohesion directly is more pronounced among young people. Given this difference, when it comes to children as a more vulnerable and more impressionable part of the population, it is particularly important to pay attention to the content they are exposed to and that socialises them. As already stressed, various forms of violence and hate speech are becoming increasingly present in the school environment, in the media and in the digital dimension in the most general sense.

1.5. Social Cohesion at the Local Community Level. Involving Children and Young People

Different levels of social and political organisation are interconnected and do not exist as completely separate entities. Decisions made at the national level are reflected in the local social and political context, and vice versa. Social cohesion is mostly discussed at the national level, while the local context is neglected to a greater or lesser extent. From the perspective of achieving and strengthening social cohesion, especially with regard to children and young people, the local level is very significant and its potential remains largely untapped. This is particularly pronounced with regard to identification, as well as the participation and inclusion of this part of the population.

Local contexts in Montenegro have their own specific features, and the differences between them can be quite pronounced: from geographical location and the size of the municipality, through the infrastructural and other challenges associated with them, to the demographic picture, the degree of ethno-cultural heterogeneity and economic strength. In addition, some local self-government units, or the population living in their territory, concentrate health-related risks to a greater degree than other municipalities. With regard to the local context, it should be stressed that there are significant differences both in the weak points of social cohesion at this level and in the ways and means of strengthening it. If political decision-makers at the local level pay insufficient attention to the most important dimensions of social cohesion, it may erode, weakening the resilience of the local community. Unequal treatment of different parts of the population by local institutions, the exclusion of certain categories of the population such as children and young people, the loss of trust in the horizontal and vertical dimensions, the deepening of divisions and the emphasis on ethno-cultural differences to the point of exclusivity weaken, among other things, social cohesion at the local level. Under such conditions, activating the social capital of the local community becomes rather difficult.

The importance of achieving social cohesion at the local level has recently been recognised in the Montenegrin context as well. At the end of 2025, the Social Cohesion Charter of the Capital City of Podgorica was adopted. Among other things, it sets out key objectives that will "guide" the activities of the most important institutional and social actors in this context, establishing the achievement of social cohesion as the key criterion. The seventeen main objectives of the Social Cohesion Charter of the Capital City of Podgorica include, among others, those concerning young people in the narrow sense, which are also relevant to children: the inclusion of vulnerable groups; strengthening intergenerational solidarity between young and older members of the community (to their mutual benefit and the benefit of the community as a whole); using the potential of sport and sporting events to connect people and strengthen social ties and relationships; and the active participation of young people, who are described as "key actors of social cohesion" and who must be guaranteed not only participation in decision-making processes but also higher employment and better access to the labour market. The proclaimed objectives also include greater efforts to ensure the safety and security of citizens, with particular emphasis on the most vulnerable parts of the population such as children, and strengthening social cohesion through the successful prevention of various

forms of violence, especially peer violence. Very significant items formulated as objectives concern connecting the local community with the education system at all levels, as well as combating "harmful media narratives", disinformation and hate speech, which is of enormous importance for children and young people and for strengthening social cohesion. Improving the quality of life and sustainable development in terms of environmental protection is also one of the proclaimed objectives of direct relevance to children and young people.[37] Children and young people therefore hold a special place in the context of strengthening social cohesion at the local level. The local level is where this part of the population directly experiences the challenges and problems affecting their everyday lives. The principle of contextuality should prevail in this case too. Some local self-governments face major demographic changes resulting from external and/or internal migration. This creates a kind of pressure on the existing infrastructural and other capacities of the local community, and the trends and changes taking place in this respect must be analysed very carefully in all dimensions of importance to children and young people. For example, how and to what extent do educational institutions integrate the children of new immigrant communities, and is some form of segregation in education taking place in practice? In local self-governments facing similar challenges, institutional capacity must be ensured for quality monitoring, both in assessing the situation and in designing appropriate solutions. In some other local contexts there are challenges relating to the isolation and exclusion of children and young people from rural areas or, for example, the previously mentioned challenges of segregation of children and young people from the Roma community. Solving these problems requires a different approach and different measures and mechanisms. When it comes to achieving social cohesion from the perspective of children and young people, there are therefore no universal solutions in terms of appropriate measures and mechanisms for strengthening it. There are, however, clear indicators of social cohesion, which were discussed in the first chapter.

There are many different mechanisms and tools for the inclusion and participation of children and young people in the most important dimensions of the socio-economic and political life of the local community. Some of these mechanisms have already been recognised as very important in the aforementioned Social Cohesion Charter of the Capital City of Podgorica, both for children and young people and for achieving social cohesion: establishing local councils, organising public debates and forum sessions, and using the potential of the online space in the form of various digital platforms that would allow initiatives, ideas and proposals to be submitted easily and the extent and pace of their implementation to be tracked.[38] Regardless of which specific public policy tools or mechanisms are chosen, it is important to stress that each of them must be safe, voluntary, inclusive and age-appropriate. Children must not be exposed to political pressure and political instrumentalisation, party competition, public labelling or an obligation to speak about personal experiences of violence, discrimination or poverty. After consultations, the institution should give children and young people feedback on whether their proposals have been considered and whether and how they will be taken into account. Given the dominant subject-participant type of political culture in Montenegro[39], the preconditions for the active participation of children and young people include increasing their motivation to engage in the social and political life of the community at all levels.

37 UNDP, Capital City of Podgorica, Government of Montenegro, PEACEBUILDING FUND. 2025. Povelja o društvenoj koheziji Glavnog grada Podgorice (Social Cohesion Charter of the Capital City of Podgorica). Podgorica. pp. 4-7. Available at: https://share.google/gX6VNqeTmiPyW6Nn6 (11.05.2026).

38 UNDP, Capital City of Podgorica, Government of Montenegro, PEACEBUILDING FUND. 2025. Povelja o društvenoj koheziji Glavnog grada Podgorice (Social Cohesion Charter of the Capital City of Podgorica). Podgorica. p. 5. Available at: https://share.google/gX6VNqeTmiPyW6Nn6 (11.05.2026).

39 Komar, Olivera. Politička kultura u Crnoj Gori: Političko odlučivanje građana (Political Culture in Montenegro: Citizens' Political Decision-Making). In: Tomović-Šundić, Sonja (ed.). Crna Gora u XXI stoljeću - u eri kompetitivnosti (Montenegro in the 21st Century – in the Era of Competitiveness). Podgorica: CANU.

02 The legal framework of political speech and child protection



Parliament of Montenegro, Podgorica (2012). Photo: Rasho992 / Wikimedia Commons, CC BY-SA 3.0; cropped

2.1 International and Regional Legal Instruments for the Protection of the Dignity, Safety and Development of Children and Their Participation in Civic and Political Processes

The legal framework governing public speech, including political speech, is based on a complex system of international and national norms that guarantee freedom of expression while at the same time setting limits on it in order to protect the rights of others, and especially of children. The normative system in this area comprises instruments of the United Nations and the Council of Europe, relevant national legislation and the relevant case law of the European Court of Human Rights. This regulatory framework lays the foundation for understanding the limits of public and political speech by defining rules for balancing freedom of expression against the need to protect the dignity, safety and development of children.

The legal regimes of the UN, the Council of Europe and the European Court of Human Rights afford MPs a high level of protection, particularly with regard to political speech and speech in parliament. However, this protection is not absolute: when speech becomes hate speech, stigmatisation, incitement to intolerance, discrimination or violence, or when it endangers the rights and well-being of children, the state has not only the right but also a positive obligation to prevent the harmful effects of such content through educational, legislative and institutional measures.[40]

The rights of the child in today's digital and democratic environment need to be viewed through the lens of effective child protection and safe participation. Children require special protection from hate speech, discriminatory and harmful narratives, disinformation, violence and other content that may threaten their dignity, privacy, safety and development. In this context, the quality of public and political discourse is particularly important, since the way political actors, the media and other public figures communicate about children and issues that concern them can help create a safe and inclusive social environment, but can also encourage stigmatisation, discrimination and the spread of harmful narratives.

Effective child protection must not lead to children's exclusion from the public space; on the contrary, it entails their active participation. The UN Convention on the Rights of the Child affirms the child as an independent rights holder, including the right to express their views freely on matters that concern them and to have those views given due weight in accordance with their age and maturity. It is therefore correct to say that the rights of the child also encompass the creation of a safe environment and conditions for children's informed, active and, most importantly, safe participation, including their participation in the digital space and in public debates.

2.2. Normative Framework

2.2.1. International Legal Framework

2.2.2. The UN Legal Framework on Freedom of Expression

In United Nations international law, freedom of expression is a fundamental right that includes the freedom to receive and impart information and ideas without interference by public authority, subject to restrictions that must be prescribed by law, pursue a legitimate aim and be necessary and proportionate. The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights provides that freedom of expression may be subject to certain restrictions, which must be provided by law and are necessary for respect of the rights or reputations of others and for the protection of national security, public order, public health or morals. The Covenant also provides that any propaganda for war shall be prohibited by law, and that "any advocacy of national, racial or religious hatred that constitutes incitement to discrimination, hostility or violence" shall be prohibited by law.

[40] Guide for children and young people – Council of Europe Strategy for the Rights of the Child (2022–2027), available at: https://rm.coe.int/guide-for-children-and-young-people-to-the-coe-strategy-for-the-rights/1680a8bf13; Guide to the Rights of the Child, available at: https://www.ombudsman.co.me/img-publications/3/vodic-o-pravima-djeteta.pdf

The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights clearly prohibits speech that incites hatred, discrimination or violence, thereby drawing a line between protected speech and hate speech; freedom of expression includes offensive or shocking views, but not expression that denies the rights of others or undermines their dignity. The UN Rabat Plan of Action further sets out a six-part test for assessing whether a given statement reaches the threshold of punishable incitement: context, the speaker's status, intent, content and form, the extent of the speech and the likelihood of harm.[41]

2.2.3. The Council of Europe Legal Framework on Freedom of Expression

The Council of Europe's normative approach is based on carefully weighing the balance between the rights and freedoms guaranteed by the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms (the European Convention). The Convention guarantees every individual's right to hold their own opinions as a foundation of a democratic society. However, freedom of expression and the extent of its exercise must be reconciled with the right to respect for private and family life, which includes protecting the dignity, identity and psychological integrity of the individual, including children as a particularly vulnerable category. In extreme situations, where freedom of expression is used to negate the fundamental values of the Convention or to incite hatred and intolerance, Article 17 of the European Convention, which prohibits the abuse of rights, is triggered, excluding such speech from Convention protection. Within the European Convention on Human Rights, freedom of expression must be interpreted in relation to other Convention rights, in particular the right to respect for private and family life. The Convention prohibits discrimination on any ground, thereby establishing a normative framework for restricting expression that threatens the rights of others. In this context, the European Court of Human Rights applies a proportionality test, according to which any restriction on freedom of expression must be prescribed by law, pursue a legitimate aim and be necessary in a democratic society. Any restriction of the rights guaranteed by the Convention must correspond to a "pressing social need" and be proportionate to the aim pursued; this is examined as a quaestio facti, that is, a question decided in each specific case in which rights are balanced. The normative basis for restrictions stems from the Convention, which allows restrictions on freedom of expression when they are "prescribed by law" and "necessary in a democratic society" for the protection of, among other things, the reputation and rights of others, which includes children as a specially protected category. In this context, international and Council of Europe standards on the best interests of the child, the protection of the child's honour and reputation and protection from mental violence must be taken into account.

This approach was also taken first in Recommendation No. R (97) 20 and then in Recommendation CM/Rec(2022)16 on combating hate speech, which emphasises the obligation of states to strike an effective balance between protecting freedom of expression and the need to combat hate speech, with particular regard to protecting the dignity and rights of vulnerable groups, both online and offline. Within this framework, the legal standard requires a proportionate assessment in each specific case, taking into account the context, the impact of the speech and the speaker's status, which further affirms the responsibility of public actors in the public space.

41 International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, available at: https://www.ohchr.org/en/instruments-mechanisms/instruments/international-covenant-civil-and-political-rights

2.2.4. Recommendation CM/Rec(2022)16 on Combating Hate Speech

Council of Europe, Recommendation CM/Rec(2022)16 of the Committee of Ministers to member States on combating hate speech.

Recommendation CM/Rec (2022)16[42] on combating hate speech is the Council of Europe's central normative framework for combating hate speech, explicitly covering both offline and online spaces. Public officials, especially those in leadership positions, should, given their influential position, avoid engaging in, endorsing or disseminating hate speech. The Recommendation insists on publicly promoting a culture of human rights and condemning hate speech, while respecting freedom of expression and information, including criticism and information that may offend, shock or disturb the state or any sector of the population. In this sense, the Recommendation states that "parliaments, other elected bodies and political parties should be encouraged to put in place **specific policies to address and combat hate speech, especially in the context of electoral campaigns and in debates of representative assemblies**." To this end, they **should adopt a code of conduct that provides for an internal complaints procedure and sanctions**. They should also avoid any expression that may foster intolerance and should openly condemn hate speech.[43] The normative value of this Recommendation lies precisely in its comprehensive approach, which does not view the problem of hate speech solely through the prism of criminal sanctions, but contextualises it more broadly as a matter of democratic political culture and institutional accountability. Since hate speech covers a range of hateful expression that varies in its severity, the harm it causes and its impact on members of particular groups in different contexts, member states should ensure that a range of properly calibrated measures is in place to effectively prevent and combat hate speech. Such a comprehensive approach should be fully in line with the European Convention on Human Rights and the relevant case law of the European Court of Human Rights. The Recommendation insists on distinguishing between: hate speech that is prohibited under criminal law; hate speech that does not reach the level of severity required for criminal liability but is nevertheless subject to civil or administrative law; and offensive or harmful types of expression that are not sufficiently serious to be legitimately restricted under the European Convention on Human Rights but nevertheless call for alternative responses, such as counter-speech and other countermeasures, measures fostering intercultural dialogue and understanding, including via the media and social media, and relevant educational, information-sharing and awareness-raising activities.[44] Member states should also establish and strengthen educational initiatives and programmes for children and young people, parents and carers, and educators working with children, enabling them to understand and deal with hate speech.[45]

42 Recommendation CM/Rec(2022)16 on combating hate speech, available at: https://search.coe.int/cm#{%22CoEIdentifier%22:[%220900001680a67955%22],%22sort%22:[%22CoEValidationDate%20Descending%22]}

43 Paras. 28-29 of Recommendation CM/Rec(2022)16 on combating hate speech, available at: https://search.coe.int/cm#{%22CoEIdentifier%22:[%220900001680a67955%22],%22sort%22:[%22CoEValidationDate%20Descending%22]}

44 Para. 3 of the Appendix to Recommendation CM/Rec(2022)16, available at: https://search.coe.int/cm#{%22CoEIdentifier%22:[%220900001680a67955%22],%22sort%22:[%22CoEValidationDate%20Descending%22]}

45 Para. 99, ECRI General Policy Recommendation No. 15 on Combating Hate Speech, available at: https://rm.coe.int/ecri-general-policy-recommendation-no-15-on-hate-speech-bosnian-transl/1680a0bb2d

2.2.5. ECRI General Policy Recommendation No. 15 on Combating Hate Speech

ECRI General Policy Recommendation No. 15 on Combating Hate Speech[46] covers normative, ethical, educational and protective mechanisms, including parliamentary codes, public condemnation, education and the protection of vulnerable groups, among them children. The ECRI Recommendation establishes a comprehensive regulatory framework for understanding and combating hate speech, defining it broadly as any form of advocacy, promotion or incitement of the denigration, hatred or vilification of, stigmatisation or negative stereotyping of, or insults or threats directed at, a person or group on the basis of protected characteristics. ECRI insists on a decisive institutional response, given that politicians and others in public life bear a particularly important responsibility because of their social influence. Within this approach, ECRI places particular emphasis on the responsibility of public figures, setting out the need for them to react swiftly to hate speech. Council of Europe member states are called upon to adopt measures that expose the falsity and unacceptability of hate speech and to encourage "a robust reaction by politicians, religious and community leaders condemning such speech".[47] The Recommendation calls for support in combating the use of hate speech, and in this context member states shall: "a. encourage the adoption of appropriate codes of conduct that provide for suspension and other sanctions for breaches of their provisions, as well as effective reporting channels; b. encourage political parties to sign the Charter of European Political Parties for a Non-Racist Society; c. promote the monitoring of misinformation, negative stereotyping and stigmatisation; d. encourage the unequivocal condemnation of breaches of these codes; e. support appropriate training on the meaning and negative consequences of hate speech, as well as on ways in which its use can be challenged; and f. promote and assist the establishment of complaint mechanisms."[48] In the case of children and young people, this matters not only because their age makes them particularly susceptible to the influence of hate speech, but also because it enables the education system to more easily free them from the prejudices that underpin the use of hate speech.[49]

2.3. The Legal Framework of Children's Rights – Fundamental Standards

The UN Convention on the Rights of the Child is a universal and legally binding international instrument that establishes minimum standards for the protection of children's rights, based on the principle of the child's holistic development, dignity and participation in society. The Convention establishes the principle of the "best interests of the child", whose application obliges states to systematically integrate this principle into all relevant policies and practices in the legislative, administrative and judicial spheres.[50] The Convention guarantees the child's right to express their views freely, thereby affirming the participatory dimension of children's rights.[51] The child is also protected from arbitrary or unlawful interference with their privacy, family, home or correspondence, and from unlawful attacks on their honour and reputation, which establishes a clear link with the protection of privacy and reputation in the media and online; states are obliged to encourage the development of media that contribute to the child's well-being, including their social, moral and mental development, and to develop appropriate guidelines and

46 ECRI General Policy Recommendation No. 15 on Combating Hate Speech, available at: https://rm.coe.int/ecri-general-policy-recommendation-no-15-on-hate-speech-bosnian-transl/1680a0bb2d

47 Preamble 4 (g), ECRI General Policy Recommendation No. 15 on Combating Hate Speech, available at: https://rm.coe.int/ecri-general-policy-recommendation-no-15-on-hate-speech-bosnian-transl/1680a0bb2d

48 Preamble 6, ECRI General Policy Recommendation No. 15 on Combating Hate Speech, available at: https://rm.coe.int/ecri-general-policy-recommendation-no-15-on-hate-speech-bosnian-transl/1680a0bb2d

49 Para. 99, ECRI General Policy Recommendation No. 15 on Combating Hate Speech, available at: https://rm.coe.int/ecri-general-policy-recommendation-no-15-on-hate-speech-bosnian-transl/1680a0bb2d

50 Article 3 of the Convention on the Rights of the Child

51 Articles 12 and 13 of the Convention on the Rights of the Child

mechanisms to protect children from harmful information and content.[52] The Convention defines the aims of education, highlighting the development of the child's personality, talents and mental and physical abilities to their fullest potential, which also implies an obligation to create a safe and stimulating information environment.[53] Furthermore, it sets out the state's obligation to take legislative, administrative, social and educational measures to protect children from all forms of physical or mental violence, including abuse in the digital environment.[54]

In the practice of international law and human rights protection systems, the interpretation of the Convention's provisions is entrusted to the Committee on the Rights of the Child, which, through its General Comments, provides key guidance on applying the Convention. Although they do not formally have the binding legal force of the Convention itself, they have exceptionally significant interpretative value, as they elaborate the content and scope of individual rights, define the obligations of states and establish standards for their implementation in contemporary social circumstances. They are used by international organisations, national courts and other bodies in applying and developing standards for the protection of children's rights. In this sense, four general comments stand out in particular. General Comment No. 13 (2011) of the UN Committee on the Rights of the Child on the right of the child to freedom from all forms of violence insists on preventing all forms of violence and establishing integrated child protection systems. This is very important for the speech of public officials: public speech that normalises humiliation can be part of an environment that produces psychological harm and secondary victimisation. General Comment No. 14 (2013) of the UN Committee on the Rights of the Child emphasises that the best interests of the child are not a rhetorical but an interpretative principle and a rule of procedure ensuring that any departure from it requires justification. This is important for parliament, as it means that public policies, narratives and institutional responses concerning children must demonstrate that the child's interest is a primary interest of the community. Through General Comment No. 16 (2013), the UN Committee on the Rights of the Child introduced the concept of a wider social and institutional environment that affects the realisation of children's rights. Although primarily focused on the business sector, this Comment establishes the important principle that children's rights can also be undermined through indirect influences which, even when not directly aimed at children, can shape values with consequences for their development and well-being. In response to the challenges of the new era, in 2021 the UN Committee on the Rights of the Child issued a specific interpretation of children's rights in the digital space and stressed that states must adopt legislative, policy and other measures to fully protect children's rights in the digital environment. General Comment No. 25 (2021) of the UN Committee on the Rights of the Child on children's rights in relation to the digital environment also covers social media, including the public profiles of politicians and MPs, when their speech or digital communication reaches or affects children.

52 Articles 16 and 17 of the Convention on the Rights of the Child

53 Article 29 of the Convention. Convention on the Rights of the Child, adopted by UN Resolution, 1989, available at: https://www.ohchr.org/en/instruments-mechanisms/instruments/convention-rights-child. Also available at: https://www.unicef.org/montenegro/media/9106/file/MNE-media-MNEpublication502.pdf, https://www.ombudsman.co.me/img-page/40/konvencija%20o%20pravima%20djeteta%20crc.pdf

54 Article 19 of the Convention on the Rights of the Child.

2.3.1. Council of Europe Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence against Women and Domestic Violence and on the Protection of Children against Sexual Exploitation and Sexual Abuse

The Council of Europe Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence against Women and Domestic Violence (Istanbul Convention) protects children by requiring states to prevent and sanction all forms of violence, including psychological violence. Protecting children from violence entails raising awareness of the different forms of violence and their consequences, as well as ensuring the availability of information on prevention and protection measures. The Convention also sets out the need for effective cooperation between all institutions and organisations in order to provide timely protection and support to children as victims and witnesses, while preventing secondary victimisation and taking into account their specific needs.[55] The Council of Europe Convention on the Protection of Children against Sexual Exploitation and Sexual Abuse (Lanzarote Convention)[56] deals with the protection of children, including protection from harmful content and communication.[57]

[55] Istanbul Convention, 2011, Articles 13, 18, available at: https://rm.coe.int/168008482e, https://rm.coe.int/1680464e6e

[56] Lanzarote Convention, 2010, available at: https://www.coe.int/en/web/conventions/full-list?module=treaty-detail&treatynum=201, https://www.coe.int/en/web/children/lanzarote-convention

[57] Article 6 emphasises the obligation of states to ensure that children are educated about the risks of sexual exploitation, including through the media and the internet, while Article 9 provides for measures to raise awareness and inform the public, including children, about the dangers of harmful content.

2.3.2. Council of Europe Strategy for the Rights of the Child 2022–2027

The Council of Europe Strategy for the Rights of the Child 2022–2027 is an important political and legal framework that places particular emphasis on the child's right to protection from all forms of violence, discrimination and stigmatisation, as well as from harmful patterns of communication in the public and digital space.[58] The Strategy sets out the obligation of Council of Europe member states to develops specific mechanisms to protect children from harmful influences.[59] It also provides for the obligation of member states to create a safe digital environment for children.[60]

2.3.3. Council of Europe Recommendation CM/Rec(2018)7 on Guidelines to Respect, Protect and Fulfil the Rights of the Child in the Digital Environment

Council of Europe Recommendation CM/Rec(2018)7 on Guidelines to Respect, Protect and Fulfil the Rights of the Child in the Digital Environment recognises the importance of the digital environment for the child's development. It provides that every child can exercise their rights online just as offline, and that states should regulate the digital space so as to protect children's well-being and rights. The document emphasises the need for quality information, but also the obligation of states to ensure an environment for children that does not undermine their rights, dignity and development.

2.4. National Legal Framework

The normative framework in Montenegro reveals the absence of a single norm regulating harmful and unlawful speech by public officials towards children, but the combination of constitutional provisions, anti-discrimination norms, media protection standards and rules of parliamentary conduct makes it possible to establish a broader standard of responsible public speech in relation to children. This standard covers not only protection from hate speech, but also from any other speech that may normalise discrimination, stereotypes or other patterns of behaviour harmful to children's development.

The national legal framework further confirms the need for broader protection of children. Norms prohibiting harassment, discrimination and harmful media content, as well as rules on protecting the best interests of the child, make it possible to recognise public speech that is not explicitly unlawful as potentially harmful. The standard for protecting children in public discourse should entail protecting children not only from speech that directly incites hatred or violence, but also from any speech that may contribute to normalising discrimination, creating a hostile environment or undermining children's psychological and social well-being. This approach emphasises the preventive function of law, aimed at creating a safe and stimulating social environment for children.

2.4.1. Constitutional Framework: Child Protection as a Limitation on Freedom of Expression

The Constitution of Montenegro guarantees freedom of expression, but at the same time lays the basis for restricting it when other constitutional and Convention values are called into question. Thus, the Constitution guarantees freedom of expression while also prohibiting speech that incites hatred or intolerance. The Constitution explicitly prohibits causing or inciting hatred or intolerance, as well as any direct or indirect discrimination. On the other hand, the Constitution guarantees special protection for the child, which includes protection from content that may endanger the child's physical, mental and moral development.

58 Guide for children and young people to the Council of Europe Strategy for the Rights of the Child, available at: https://rm.coe.int/council-of-europe-strategy-for-the-rights-of-the-child-2022-2027-child/1680a5ef27, https://rm.coe.int/coe-child-friendly-version-of-the-strategy/1680a9097d, pp. 18-21.

59 Guide for children and young people to the Council of Europe Strategy for the Rights of the Child, available at: https://rm.coe.int/council-of-europe-strategy-for-the-rights-of-the-child-2022-2027-child/1680a5ef27, available at: https://rm.coe.int/coe-child-friendly-version-of-the-strategy/1680a9097d

60 Ibidem. pp. 25-28.

2.4.2. Anti-Discrimination Framework: Harmful Speech as Harassment and Degradation of Dignity

At the centre of Montenegro's anti-discrimination legislation is the Law on Protection of Equality and Prohibition of Discrimination. It defines harassment as any unwanted conduct, including harassment through audio and video surveillance, mobile devices, social media and the internet, that aims at or results in violating personal dignity, causing fear or a feeling of humiliation or offence, or creating a hostile, degrading or offensive environment. Furthermore, this legislation specifies that any form of expression of ideas, claims, information and opinions that spreads, stirs up, incites or justifies discrimination, hatred or violence against a person or group of persons because of their personal characteristic, xenophobia, racial hatred, antisemitism or other forms of hatred based on intolerance, including intolerance expressed in the form of nationalism, discrimination and hostility against minorities, constitutes hate speech. It follows that the normative framework presupposes responsibility also for forms of public speech that are not explicitly "hate speech", such as stereotyping, stigmatisation and the normalisation of violence, which may have direct or indirect harmful effects on vulnerable groups, particularly children.

2.4.3. Criminal Law Framework: Protecting Children from Harmful and Dangerous Content

The Criminal Code of Montenegro[61] provides a minimum threshold of protection by criminalising the most serious forms of harmful speech and content. The Code penalises incitement to hatred, but other articles that protect minors from content that may adversely affect their development are also important for the broader concept of unlawful and harmful speech.[62] The criminalisation of child pornography in the Criminal Code is an expression of enhanced criminal-law protection of children from content and forms of communication that may threaten their dignity, integrity and development, including harmful digital and media narratives.[63] Although political speech rarely gives rise to criminal liability, these standards set the boundaries of socially unacceptable discourse.

2.4.4. Media and Audiovisual Framework: Protecting the Development of Minors

Montenegro's Law on Media and Law on Electronic Media are of particular importance for understanding the (in)direct impact of public narratives on children. These laws prohibit content that incites hatred, but also, more broadly, content that may harm the physical, mental or moral development of minors. Of particular importance are the provisions on protecting minors in programme content, which entail restrictions on broadcasting violent, vulgar or degrading content. Since parliamentary speech is transmitted through the media, these norms make it possible to assess its wider social effect.

61 Criminal Code of Montenegro, available at: https://www.gov.me/dokumenta/c4dcee51-ee88-430f-a8db-de91f38eadc4
62 Article 370 of the Criminal Code of Montenegro, available at: https://www.gov.me/dokumenta/c4dcee51-ee88-430f-a8db-de91f38eadc4
63 Article 211a of the Criminal Code of Montenegro, available at: https://www.gov.me/dokumenta/c4dcee51-ee88-430f-a8db-de91f38eadc4

2.4.5. Child Protection Framework: Best Interests and Protection from Psychological Influence

The Family Law of Montenegro[64] establishes the principle of the best interests of the child as the overarching principle that runs through the entire text of the law. Furthermore, the Law on Social and Child Protection[65] emphasises the state's obligation to protect the child from all forms of neglect and harmful influence, while the Law on Protection from Domestic Violence[66] recognises, among other forms, psychological violence. This framework makes it possible to analyse harmful speech – even when it is not directly addressed to children – as a factor affecting their safety, identity and development.

2.4.6. Educational and Social Context

The General Law on Education[67] provides that the education system must ensure the development of the child's personality in line with democratic values, tolerance and non-violence. In this context, public speech that promotes intolerance, aggression or degradation may run counter to the aims of education and have a negative impact on children as part of the wider social environment.

2.4.7. Political and Institutional Framework: Accountability for Public Speech

The Law on the Election of Councillors and MPs[68] defines the status and responsibilities of elected representatives. Although they do not directly regulate the content of speech, these laws are important because they concern the legitimacy and public office of MPs and their conduct in the context of a democratic society.

2.4.8. Parliamentary and Ethical Framework: Standards of Acceptable Speech

The Rules of Procedure of the Parliament of Montenegro[69] allow inappropriate speech to be sanctioned through measures for maintaining order, while the Code of Ethics for Members of the Parliament of Montenegro[70] sets out the ethical principles, standards of conduct and professional obligations that MPs must observe in performing their parliamentary duties. It establishes the obligation to respect human rights and freedoms, to protect dignity, to refrain from offensive and inappropriate expression, and to take responsibility for one's public statements.

2.5. The Responsibility of MPs in Public Speech

The position that an MP, as a public official, enjoys a broad but not unlimited scope of freedom of expression, coupled with heightened responsibility for what they say, is grounded in a combination of international standards on freedom of expression and the protection of other rights, especially the rights of children.

64 Family Law of Montenegro, available at: https://wapi.gov.me/download-preview/6ffd2ae9-25a5-44ff-8f24-3d8645107d92?version=1.0

65 Law on Social and Child Protection, "Official Gazette of Montenegro", Nos. 27/13, 1/15, 42/15, 47/15, 56/16, 66/16, 1/17, 31/17, 42/17, 50/17, 59/21, 145/21, 3/23, 48/24, 84/24, 33/25, 122/25, 160/25 and 33/26. Available at: https://www.zzzcg.me/wp-content/uploads/2025/08/Zakon-o-socijalnoj-i-djecjoj-zastiti-2.pdf

66 Law on Protection from Domestic Violence, available at: Law on Protection from Domestic Violence

67 General Law on Education, available at: https://www.sluzbenilist.me/propisi/2B8F99BE-BAE5-42CF-A57E-ED92373E8A8E

68 Law on the Election of Councillors and MPs ("Official Gazette of the RMNE", Nos. 4/98, 5/98, 17/98, 14/00 and 18/00, "Official Gazette of the FRY", Nos. 73/00, 9/01, 41/02, 46/02, 45/04, 48/06 and 56/06, and "Official Gazette of Montenegro", Nos. 46/11, 14/14, 47/14, 12/16, 60/17, 10/18, 109/20 and 81/25). Consolidated text available at: https://mail.dik.co.me/images/DIK-media/legislativa/zakoni/Zakon_o_izboru_odbornika_i_poslanika.pdf

69 "Rules of Procedure of the Parliament of Montenegro, available at: https://www.skupstina.me/me/poslovnik-o-radu".

70 Code of Ethics for MPs, available at: Parliament of Montenegro

Thus, the Venice Commission states in its opinion that the freedom of expression of parliamentarians, as an essential part of democracy, must be broadly protected, including when they speak outside parliament. Restrictions on the freedom of expression of MPs "should apply only, if at all, to statements of a particularly serious nature, and must always be weighed against the overriding requirement of ensuring free political debate in parliament."

In legal-theoretical terms, these sources give rise to a clearly differentiated standard: the greater the speaker's public influence and institutional power, the higher the threshold of their responsibility. An MP, as a public office holder and a participant in shaping public opinion, has a legitimate right to enhanced protection of freedom of expression. Because of the reach of their words, that is, their potential to produce wide social consequences, including negative effects on children, public officials are obliged to exercise their freedom with heightened responsibility, especially when speaking on issues that may affect the dignity, development and psychological integrity of children. From a legal perspective, the freedom of expression of MPs is functionally broader in order to protect democratic debate, but it is at the same time normatively limited by international and national norms protecting the rights of others, especially children. This establishes a system of increased responsibility of public officials for the content and consequences of their public statements.

In today's conditions of a digitalised public sphere, the role of public officials, and particularly MPs, in the political education of young people has been significantly transformed and expanded. While in previous decades communication with young people was mediated by traditional media (television, the press, news programmes), today it is characterised by immediacy, interactivity and continuous availability via social media. Research by the European Union, the European Parliament and the Commission shows that as many as 65% of young people aged 15 to 24 cite social media as their primary source of information on political and social issues. The results of a 2025 survey point to a combination of active and passive consumption of social and political information on social media, with many users both deliberately seeking out content (66%) and coming across it unexpectedly while browsing (76%). Respondents most often engage with social and political content on social media by reading or viewing it in their feeds (38%) or by liking and reacting to posts (36%). Research from 2022 also shows that between 25% and 35% of young people actively share political content online, confirming the two-way nature of contemporary political communication and the transformation of young people from passive consumers into active participants.

This transformation places increased responsibility on public officials, because their online activity is no longer merely a matter of marketing, but also a matter of public accountability and democratic education. Unlike in the past, when access to MPs' statements was limited by the editorial policies of the media, the digital age allows continuous and unregulated presence in the public space, which increases the risk of disinformation but also the potential for quality political education of children and young people. In this sense, it is important to understand that the standard of responsible and democratic conduct requires MPs to use digital platforms in a way that contributes to informing children and young people, building their political literacy and actively involving them in democratic processes.

2.5.1. ECtHR – Key Lines of Case Law: Speech by MPs

Speech in Parliament Enjoys Enhanced Protection

Article 10 of the European Convention on Human Rights guarantees freedom of expression, and the European Court of Human Rights has consistently emphasised in its case law that political speech, especially the speech of elected representatives, enjoys the highest level of protection because it is essential to democratic debate. MPs have broad freedom of political speech, especially in parliament. This approach was confirmed,

among others, in Castells v. Spain, 1992, in which the Court stressed that politicians must have particularly wide scope for expression, including harsh criticism of the government. Of particular importance is also Karácsony and Others v. Hungary, 2016, in which the Court further emphasised that parliament is the central forum for democratic debate and that restrictions on MPs' freedom of expression must be interpreted narrowly, even where provocative or disruptive behaviour in a parliamentary context is concerned. In this case, the Court stressed that speech in parliament enjoys an elevated level of protection, which is linked to parliamentary autonomy and immunity. This means that the state must be very cautious when it seeks to sanction MPs' speech within parliament.

2.5.2. Politicians Must Not Spread Intolerance

The protection of political speech is not absolute. The speaker's status is particularly important: the greater the speaker's role and importance in society, the greater the legitimising and mobilising power of their speech. Statements by public officials or MPs that may cause fear, insecurity or a sense of exclusion among children pose a potential risk to their well-being, even when they are not directly aimed at children and even when they are not formally unlawful. Thus, if an MP speaks in a way that directly or indirectly stigmatises children, exposes them to stereotypes, causes fear, encourages contempt or normalises verbal violence towards children, this is not merely a matter of "robust political debate", but also a matter of violating the child's rights to dignity, protection, development and non-discrimination.[71]

In Erbakan v. Turkey, 2006[72] the Court stated that it is of crucial importance that politicians avoid, in their speeches, comments that may foster intolerance. This case further emphasises that politicians must avoid statements that may deepen social divisions and foster intolerance.

[71] Convention on the Rights of the Child, adopted by UN Resolution, 1989, available at: https://www.ohchr.org/en/instruments-mechanisms/instruments/convention-rights-child

[72] Erbakan v. Turkey, available at: https://hudoc.echr.coe.int/eng#{%22itemid%22:[%22001-76232%22]}, https://hudoc.echr.coe.int/eng-press#{%22itemid%22:[%22003-1728198-1812055%22]}

In Féret v. Belgium, 2009[73] the Court emphasised that politicians, precisely because of their influence and the reach of their public words, have special duties and responsibilities, in particular an obligation to refrain from speech that may incite intolerance, discrimination or harm towards vulnerable groups. The Court stresses that politicians must not spread views that incite intolerance in public discourse, especially because such speech has a strong social resonance.

In Vejdeland and Others v. Sweden, 2012[74] the Court accepted the sanctioning of the distribution of leaflets to pupils at a secondary school containing seriously offensive and prejudiced allegations about homosexuals, even though there was no direct call to violence. This is important because speech about children or groups of children, or speech that reaches them even when it does not directly concern them, can be significant not only when it openly "calls for an attack" but also when it produces stigma, humiliation and a hostile social environment. A call to violence is therefore not necessary for speech to be considered harmful and unlawful and to be sanctioned. A similar approach was confirmed in Le Pen v. France, 2010[75] in which the Court accepted a restriction of political speech because of statements that incited intolerance, stressing that freedom of expression does not protect speech contrary to the fundamental values of the Convention.

The Court also regularly recalls in its hate speech case law that expressions attacking the fundamental values of the Convention may be restricted under Article 10(2) and, in extreme cases, excluded from protection under Article 17.[76] Thus, in Norwood v. the United Kingdom, 2004[77] the Court examined the case of a political activist who displayed a poster with the message "Islam out of Britain" alongside an image of the Twin Towers in flames. The Court concluded that such a message amounted to a general attack on a religious group and was incompatible with the values of tolerance and non-discrimination. Relying on Article 17, the Court excluded the protection of Article 10 and declared the application inadmissible.

2.5.3. Social Media: The Heightened Responsibility of Politicians

The indirect influence of political and public speech via social media poses a particular challenge. In this digital forum, children are not passive observers, but active participants in a digital system in which they spend a significant part of their time. Political discourse, although primarily aimed at the adult public, shapes social norms, values and patterns of behaviour which, in the new information age, affect children more directly, so that the line between "speech about politics" and "speech that affects children" is becoming less and less visible. In the digital environment, this influence is further amplified – on social media and online platforms, where political messages spread quickly and become normalised. Such exposure increases the risk of "normalising" negative stereotypes, intolerance and aggressive patterns of communication, which can have long-term consequences for children's development and social integration.

73 Féret v. Belgium, available at: https://hudoc.echr.coe.int/eng#{%22itemid%22:[%22001-114399%22]}, https://hudoc.echr.coe.int/eng#{%22itemid%22:[%22002-1407%22]}

74 Vejdeland and Others v. Sweden, available at: https://hudoc.echr.coe.int/fre#{%22itemid%22:[%22001-109046%22]}, https://hudoc.echr.coe.int/fre#{%22itemid%22:[%22002-116%22]}

75 Le Pen v. France, available at: https://hudoc.echr.coe.int/eng#{%22itemid%22:[%22001-98489%22]}, https://hudoc.echr.coe.int/eng-press#{%22itemid%22:[%22003-3117124-3455760%22]}

76 Hate speech factsheet. Available at: https://www.echr.coe.int/documents/d/echr/fs_hate_speech_eng

77 Norwood v. U.K., available at: https://hudoc.echr.coe.int/eng#{%22itemid%22:[%22001-67632%22]}, https://hudoc.echr.coe.int/eng#{%22itemid%22:[%22002-4154%22]}.

In Sanchez v. France, 2021[78] the Court confirmed the liability of a politician for unlawful hateful comments posted by third parties on his public Facebook profile during an election campaign. The Court stressed that his status as a politician required him to be particularly "vigilant and cautious" with regard to the activities of third parties on his profile, establishing that an MP cannot treat their public social media profile as a "private outlet" if they use it as a public political space. In this case, the Grand Chamber of the Court delivered one of its most important and most controversial judgments, holding that politicians may be held liable for hate speech disseminated through their social media accounts, which further underlines the heightened responsibility of public actors in the digital space as well.

When an MP's conduct may lead to stigmatisation, humiliation, discrimination, dehumanisation or incitement to intolerance, the state is obliged to protect children through the standard of the best interests of the child, protection from mental violence and protection of honour and reputation, and must ensure effective measures against hate speech and harmful public narratives, including in the digital space.

[78] Sanchez v. France, available at: https://hudoc.echr.coe.int/eng#{%22itemid%22:[%22001-224928%22]}, https://hudoc.echr.coe.int/eng#{%22itemid%22:[%22002-14074%22]}. This is one of the most important cases establishing a politician's liability for third-party comments posted on his public Facebook page that contained hate speech directed at migrants. The Court stressed that, although the comments were not directly authored by the applicant, the fact that he managed the page and was able to control its content imposed a special duty to monitor and respond. Given his status as a public figure and political actor, the Court pointed out that he was expected to show a higher degree of responsibility in preventing the spread of unlawful and harmful speech. His failure to remove such comments within a reasonable time was a sufficient basis for establishing his liability, and the Court concluded that the sanction imposed did not violate freedom of expression, but was a legitimate measure to protect the rights of others and preserve a democratic society.

03 Responsible political communication and the role of parliament



Photo: Pavel Danilyuk / Pexels

3.1. Political Discourse and the Culture of Democratic Dialogue

In contemporary democratic societies, political discourse is not only a means of communication among political actors, but also an important social model that influences the formation of citizens' values, attitudes and behaviour. Children and young people are particularly sensitive, as they are in the process of developing their identity, being socialised and adopting norms of behaviour.

When the political space is marked by insults, labelling, hate speech, aggressive rhetoric and divisive narratives, this model of communication becomes normalised and is carried over into everyday life, the school environment and the digital space. Children and young people adopt the patterns of behaviour they see in adults and authority figures. If the public space is filled with hostile speech, the humiliation of those who think differently and conflict, it becomes more likely that communication among young people will also become confrontational, intolerant and violent. In this way, political discourse ceases to be merely a matter of politics and becomes a matter of social responsibility and the protection of children and young people.

A particular problem is that children and young people today are simultaneously exposed to traditional media, social media and digital platforms that allow polarising and sensationalist content to spread rapidly. The algorithms of digital networks often favour conflict, emotionally charged messages and divisive content, because these generate greater visibility and interaction. In such an environment, young people come into daily contact with hate speech, stereotypes, discrimination and political manipulation. In the long term, this can lead to weakened empathy, growing mistrust, the normalisation of violence and a reduced sense of belonging to the community.

Research increasingly warns that the quality of public and political speech has a direct impact on social cohesion, young people's mental health and their readiness for democratic participation. Societies dominated by divisions and antagonisms find it harder to build trust among citizens, while children and young people grow up in an atmosphere of insecurity and conflict. In contrast, political communication based on a culture of dialogue, respect for diversity and reasoned debate contributes to a more tolerant and resilient society.

A culture of dialogue means the ability to express disagreement without insulting or humiliating others. It does not mean the absence of political differences, but a willingness to respect different opinions and to resolve conflicts by democratic means.

3.2. Impact on Society

Political discourse has a powerful impact on overall social relations, the quality of democracy and the level of social cohesion. The way political actors communicate in the public space shapes the atmosphere in society and affects citizens' mutual trust, their attitude towards institutions and their perception of diversity. Political speech is not only a means of presenting political positions and programmes, but also an important factor of socialisation that influences values, norms and patterns of behaviour in the community.

In societies dominated by a culture of dialogue, reasoned debate and respect for different opinions, a higher level of trust among citizens develops and the sense of belonging to the community grows stronger. In contrast, political discourse based on division, labelling, insults and the creation of enemies deepens social conflicts and weakens social cohesion. When political actors use aggressive rhetoric and "us versus them" narratives, differences between citizens begin to be perceived as a threat rather than as a legitimate part of a democratic society.

Such communication can lead to the normalisation of intolerance, hate speech and various forms of discrimination. It is particularly dangerous when political differences are presented through the prism of national, religious, ethnic or other affiliation, as this fosters divisions that can threaten the stability of society in the long term. In an environment of constant conflict and polarisation, citizens become less willing to cooperate, engage in

dialogue and act together for the common good.

One of the most important consequences of negative political discourse is the loss of trust in institutions. When the public space is marked by insults, conflicts and irresponsible communication, citizens begin to perceive institutions as arenas of conflict and score-settling rather than as a mechanism for solving social problems. This can result in political apathy, reduced civic participation and a sense that the individual has no way of influencing social processes.

Political discourse also affects the quality of the media space. The media often adopt the dominant patterns of political communication, further amplifying conflict, sensationalism and polarisation. In the digital space, such content becomes even more visible, because social media algorithms favour emotionally charged and confrontational posts. This further deepens divisions and makes social dialogue more difficult.

On the other hand, responsible political communication can have a positive impact on society. Political leaders who promote a culture of dialogue, tolerance and mutual respect help to strengthen trust and the stability of the community. Constructive political speech can encourage civic participation, develop a sense of togetherness and strengthen society's resilience to manipulation, disinformation and extremism.

The ability of political actors to communicate responsibly and with solidarity in crisis situations is particularly important. In times of social, economic or security challenges, the way political leaders communicate can reduce tensions and increase the sense of security or, conversely, further heighten fear, mistrust and conflict. Political discourse is therefore one of the key factors affecting the stability, resilience, social cohesion and democratic development of contemporary societies.

Social cohesion, trust among citizens and democratic culture are not built solely through laws and institutions, but also through the everyday way we communicate in the public space. Political actors have a special responsibility because their words shape the social atmosphere and influence whether a society develops a culture of dialogue and cooperation or an atmosphere of division and conflict.

Social cohesion cannot be built solely through formal institutions and legal mechanisms. It is shaped every day by the way we speak about one another, how we present diversity and how we communicate disagreement. This is precisely why political discourse has a powerful impact on children and young people and is one of the key issues facing contemporary democratic societies.

3.3. The Particular Impact of Political Discourse on Children and Young People

Children and young people are one of the most sensitive social groups when it comes to the impact of political discourse. While growing up and forming their identity, young people adopt the patterns of behaviour, values and ways of communicating they observe in the family, at school, in the media and in the public space. For this reason, the way political actors speak, communicate disagreement and portray other people has a strong influence on their understanding of society, democracy and interpersonal relationships.

When the political space is marked by insults, labelling, aggressive rhetoric and hate speech, children and young people may begin to see such patterns as an acceptable way of communicating. The normalisation of conflict and intolerance in the public space increases the risk that similar models of behaviour will be transferred to schools, peer relationships and digital communication. In this way, political discourse can indirectly contribute to peer violence, digital violence and weakened empathy among young people.

A particular problem is that children and young people today are exposed every day to a large amount of content via social media and digital media. Political messages, conflicts and divisions very quickly become part of their online environment. In the digital space, negative narratives are often further amplified

through comments, content sharing and algorithms that favour confrontational and emotionally charged posts. Young people are thus exposed to disinformation, stereotypes, discrimination and hate speech far more often than previous generations.

Such an environment can produce feelings of insecurity, mistrust and frustration. Prolonged exposure to aggressive communication and social divisions also affects the mental health of children and young people, increasing feelings of anxiety, fear and helplessness. Children and young people from minority or marginalised groups are particularly vulnerable, as political discourse that emphasises divisions can further heighten their sense of exclusion and non-acceptance.

Political discourse also affects young people's attitude towards institutions and democracy. If young people predominantly see conflict, insults and mistrust in the public space, they may come to feel that politics is not a space for dialogue and joint action, but a space of conflict and division. This can result in political apathy, a loss of trust in institutions and a reduced willingness among young people to take part in the social and political life of the community.

It is particularly important to involve children and young people in decision-making processes and to create a space in which their voices are respected. Children and young people who feel heard develop greater trust in the community and in institutions.

The role of political actors in this process is extremely significant. Public office holders are responsible not only for the content of the policies they implement, but also for the way they communicate with citizens and political opponents. Their words have an amplified social impact because they shape the public space and influence social norms. Especially in small and ethno-culturally heterogeneous communities, political communication can either contribute to connection and trust or further deepen existing divisions.

It is important to develop public policies and educational programmes that strengthen and develop critical thinking and build capacity for non-violent communication among children and young people. It is equally important to involve young people in decision-making processes and to create a space in which their voices are respected.

3.4. Characteristics of Constructive Discourse

Constructive discourse is a way of communicating that contributes to understanding, cooperation and finding solutions, even when there are different opinions and political positions. In a democratic society, disagreements are natural and expected, but the way they are expressed determines whether communication will strengthen trust and social cohesion or deepen divisions and conflicts. Constructive discourse does not mean the absence of criticism, but the ability to voice criticism in a reasoned and responsible way and with respect for one's interlocutor.

One of the basic characteristics of constructive discourse is respect for diversity. This means accepting the fact that people may hold different political, ideological, religious, national or other beliefs, without belittling or stigmatising them. In constructive communication, the focus is on ideas and arguments, not on insulting and discrediting individuals or groups. Such an approach helps create an atmosphere of safety and mutual respect.

Another important characteristic of constructive discourse is responsibility in public communication. Responsible communication means being aware of the possible consequences of words spoken in public and being willing to help ease tensions rather than deepen them.

Constructive discourse is also based on reasoned debate. Instead of manipulation, disinformation and emotional provocation, the emphasis is on facts, dialogue and the exchange of views. Reasoned communication develops a culture of democratic dialogue and enables citizens to think critically about social processes. It fosters trust in institutions and contributes to better decision-making.

Empathy and active listening are also important elements of constructive discourse.

The ability to understand another person's perspective, even when we disagree with it, helps reduce conflicts and strengthen mutual trust. Active listening means being willing to let the other side express their view without interrupting, ridiculing or belittling them. In this way, communication becomes a space for cooperation rather than competition and conflict.

Constructive discourse also implies a focus on the common good. In societies facing polarisation and division, it is particularly important to develop communication that brings people together around shared interests and values. Instead of emphasising differences to the point of exclusivity, a constructive approach stresses the need for cooperation and for jointly solving problems of general importance.

In today's digital environment, a culture of constructive discourse takes on additional importance. Social media and online platforms allow content to spread rapidly, but at the same time increase the risk of hate speech, disinformation and aggressive communication. It is therefore important to develop digital literacy, critical thinking and responsible behaviour online, especially among children and young people.

Constructive discourse is an important precondition for social cohesion, democratic culture and trust among citizens. Societies dominated by dialogue, respect and reasoned communication are more resilient to conflict, manipulation and extremism. Developing a culture of constructive dialogue is therefore the responsibility of all social actors – institutions, political leaders, the media, the education system and citizens as a whole.

3.5. Challenges of Contemporary Society

Globalisation, rapid technological development, digitalisation and social change have brought new opportunities for development and for connecting people, but at the same time new risks, insecurities and divisions. In such circumstances, societies face the challenge of preserving trust, solidarity and a sense of togetherness among citizens.

One of the most pronounced challenges is the growth of social polarisation. Many societies are experiencing a deepening of political, ideological, ethnic and other divisions that make dialogue and cooperation more difficult. "Us versus them" narratives, hate speech and aggressive communication are increasingly becoming part of the public space and contribute to the erosion of social trust. Polarisation affects not only political relations, but also citizens' everyday lives, creating an atmosphere of mistrust and conflict.

Contemporary society also faces challenges brought by the digital era. Social media and online platforms have enabled the rapid exchange of information and greater connectedness among people, but have at the same time opened space for the spread of disinformation, manipulation and hate speech. Algorithms often favour confrontational and sensationalist content, which further amplifies divisions and hinders the development of constructive dialogue. Children and young people are particularly vulnerable, as they spend a great deal of time in the digital space and are exposed to various forms of digital violence and negative content.

Mental health problems, especially among young people, are another important challenge. Increased exposure to stress, insecurity, violence and the pressures of modern life contributes to rising anxiety, depression and feelings of isolation. A crisis of empathy and the weakening of interpersonal relationships further hinder the community's ability to support individuals in crisis situations.

Economic inequality and poverty also pose a serious challenge to social cohesion. Differences in access to education, health

care, employment and other basic rights can lead to a sense of injustice, exclusion and marginalisation among certain groups of the population. Young people, residents of rural areas and members of vulnerable and minority communities are particularly affected. Societies that fail to reduce inequalities face a greater risk of social tensions and mistrust in institutions.

Contemporary societies are also increasingly affected by global risks such as climate change, environmental problems and health crises. The consequences of these challenges affect citizens' everyday lives and require joint action by institutions, local communities and individuals. In crisis situations, the importance of solidarity, responsible communication and trust in institutions becomes particularly evident.

A further challenge is the erosion of trust in democratic institutions and processes. When citizens feel that their needs are not recognised or that they cannot influence decision-making, political apathy grows and civic participation declines. A lack of trust can weaken society's resilience and hinder joint action to solve problems of general interest.

In such circumstances, the role of education, the media, institutions and political actors in strengthening a culture of dialogue, tolerance and social responsibility is particularly important.

3.6. The Role of Parliamentarians

Parliamentarians play an extremely important role in shaping the social atmosphere, strengthening democratic culture and preserving social cohesion. As public office holders and representatives of citizens, they influence not only the adoption of laws and policies, but also the way society communicates, resolves conflicts and understands diversity. Their public speech, conduct and manner of conducting political dialogue represent a model of communication that citizens, and especially children and young people, observe every day and often adopt.

One of the basic roles of parliamentarians is to represent citizens' interests through democratic and reasoned dialogue. Parliament should be a space in which different opinions and political positions are expressed with mutual respect, regard for procedure and a focus on the common good. When parliamentary communication remains within the bounds of constructive dialogue, it helps strengthen citizens' trust in institutions and democratic processes.

Parliamentarians have a special responsibility in shaping public discourse. Their words have a powerful social impact because they are transmitted through the media and social media and reach a large number of citizens. It is therefore important that political communication be free of hate speech, insults, stereotypes and incitement to division. Responsible political speech can help ease tensions, strengthen tolerance and create an atmosphere of trust and security in society.

The role of parliamentarians in protecting children and young people from the negative effects of aggressive political discourse is particularly significant. Children and young people often adopt the patterns of behaviour they see in adults and authority figures. When the public space is marked by conflict, humiliation and intolerance, the risk increases that such patterns will become normalised among children and young people too. Conversely, parliamentarians who promote a culture of dialogue, empathy and respect for diversity contribute to the development of healthier social relations and democratic values among younger generations.[79]

Through legislation and public policies, parliamentarians can help create a society in which all citizens feel included, equal and safe.

Their role in encouraging the participation of children and young people is especially important. Young people should have the opportunity to take part in decision-making processes that concern them, at both the national and the local level. Parliamentarians can contribute to this by supporting youth initiatives, involving children and young people in public debates, cooperating with schools, youth organisations and councils, and promoting policies that encourage active citizenship.

In the age of digital media and social networks, the responsibility of parliamentarians is even greater. Their statements and messages now spread very quickly and can have a strong positive or negative impact on the public. It is therefore important that political actors use the digital space responsibly, promoting accurate information, a culture of dialogue and non-violent communication.

Parliamentarians play an important role in strengthening society's resilience to disinformation, extremism and manipulation. Through transparent work, open communication and respect for democratic procedures, they can help strengthen citizens' trust in institutions and the democratic system. Societies in which there is trust between citizens and institutions are more resilient to division, conflict and various forms of radicalisation.

For all these reasons, the role of parliamentarians cannot be viewed solely in terms of formally adopting decisions and laws. They are important social actors who, through their words, conduct and manner of communication, directly influence the quality of the public space, the development of democratic culture and the level of social cohesion. Their responsibility is particularly great when it comes to creating a safe, inclusive and stimulating social environment for children and young people.

79 Bushman, B.J., & Huesmann, L.R. (2012). Effects of violent media on aggression. In D.G. Singer & J.L. Singer (Eds.), Handbook of children and the media (2nd ed., pp. 231–248). Sage. See also: Bandura, A. (1986). Social foundations of thought and action: A social cognitive theory. Prentice-Hall. Research on social learning theory consistently shows that children and young people adopt patterns of behaviour by observing authority figures, including public figures and holders of political power.

04 The Importance and Standards of Responsible Political Communication



Photo: cottonbro studio / Pexels

Communication is one of the most important foundations of any society, as it enables the exchange of views, the expression of needs, the resolution of conflicts and the building of relationships. Through communication, people shape how they understand themselves, others and the society in which they live. The quality of communication directly affects the quality of interpersonal relationships, the level of trust in the community and society's ability to face challenges in a democratic and non-violent way.

In contemporary society, the importance of communication has increased further with the development of the media and digital technologies. Information is now transmitted very quickly and becomes available to a large number of people within a short time. These circumstances allow greater connectedness and exchange of knowledge, but at the same time increase the responsibility of all social actors for the way they communicate. Words and messages have a strong influence on public opinion, social relations and citizens' sense of security and belonging.

Communication plays a particularly important role in the socialisation of children and young people. Children adopt patterns of behaviour through the communication they observe in the family, at school, in the media and in the public space. The way adults communicate influences the development of empathy and tolerance and young people's ability to resolve conflicts non-violently. If children and young people are exposed every day to insults, humiliation and aggressive rhetoric, there is a risk that they will come to regard such patterns as acceptable.

To make these differences easier to recognise in public speech, it is useful to distinguish between three levels:

- Hate speech – speech that, depending on its content and context, may meet the conditions for legal or other formal liability.
- Risky, discriminatory or stigmatising speech – not always unlawful, but it may humiliate, spread stereotypes, deepen divisions and harm children and social cohesion.
- Strong but legitimate political criticism – sharp criticism of a policy, decision or action that does not attack the dignity of a person or group and does not incite hatred or discrimination.

In the political and public space, communication carries additional weight because it shapes the social atmosphere and affects citizens' trust in institutions. Responsible political communication can help ease tensions, strengthen democratic culture and encourage civic participation. On the other hand, communication based on division, manipulation and conflict can deepen polarisation and weaken social resilience.

The importance of communication becomes especially apparent in crisis situations. In times of social, economic or security challenges, citizens expect accurate, clear and responsible information. Good communication in such circumstances can increase the sense of security, reduce fear and encourage solidarity among people. A lack of transparent and responsible communication, however, can heighten insecurity, disinformation and mistrust.

The digital space has further changed the way we communicate. Social media have enabled greater citizen participation and a faster exchange of information, but have at the same time opened space for the spread of hate speech, disinformation and manipulation. Media and digital literacy have therefore become an important part of contemporary education and of developing democratic culture. Citizens, and especially children and young people, should develop the ability to think critically about the content they are exposed to and to behave responsibly online.

The quality of communication reflects the quality of relationships in a society. Societies that nurture dialogue, mutual respect and responsible communication are more resilient to conflict, division and extremism. Developing a culture of constructive communication is therefore an important precondition for strengthening social cohesion, trust among citizens and the democratic development of the community.

Standards of Responsible Political Communication

- Criticise policies, decisions and actions, not the dignity of persons or groups.
- Do not publish information that could identify a child in a sensitive situation.
- Check the facts before making a public statement, especially in crisis situations.
- Clearly distance yourself from hate speech, discrimination and stigmatisation.
- In debates about children, speak about rights, support and systemic solutions, not about blame or shame.

4.1. Hate Speech

Hate speech is any form of expression that incites, spreads or justifies hatred, discrimination, intolerance or violence towards an individual or group because of their personal or social characteristics. These characteristics may include national, ethnic, religious, racial, gender or political affiliation, language, disability, sexual orientation or any other ground on which someone differs from the majority or another social group.

In contemporary societies, hate speech poses a serious challenge to democracy, human rights and social cohesion. Its danger lies not only in offensive words, but in the fact that it can contribute to an atmosphere of fear, mistrust and division. When certain groups are continuously portrayed as less valuable, dangerous or unwanted, the risk of discrimination, social exclusion and various forms of violence increases.

It is particularly worrying that hate speech now circulates very quickly through social media and digital platforms. The online space allows content to spread rapidly, often without accountability or fact-checking. Social media algorithms further increase the visibility of confrontational and aggressive content, which is why hate speech can become normalised and widespread in everyday communication. In such an environment, children and young people, who spend a great deal of their time precisely in the digital space, are particularly at risk.

Hate speech has a strong negative impact on children and young people. Prolonged exposure to aggressive and discriminatory communication can lead to the development of intolerance, weakened empathy and the acceptance of violent patterns of behaviour. Children and young people who are targets of hate speech often face feelings of fear, insecurity, isolation and non-acceptance, which can seriously affect their mental health, self-confidence and sense of belonging to the community.

The normalisation of hate speech in the public space is particularly dangerous. When aggressive communication becomes an everyday occurrence in politics, the media or on social media, there is a risk that citizens will begin to perceive it as an acceptable and normal way of expressing themselves. In this way, the line between freedom of expression and speech that incites hatred becomes blurred. It is important to stress that freedom of speech does not entail a right to humiliate, discriminate against or incite violence towards others.

Hate speech has a particularly negative effect on social cohesion because it weakens trust among citizens and deepens social divisions. Societies dominated by intolerance and antagonism find it harder to develop a sense of togetherness, solidarity and mutual respect. Instead of cooperation and dialogue, mistrust and conflict grow stronger, which can threaten democratic stability and social resilience.

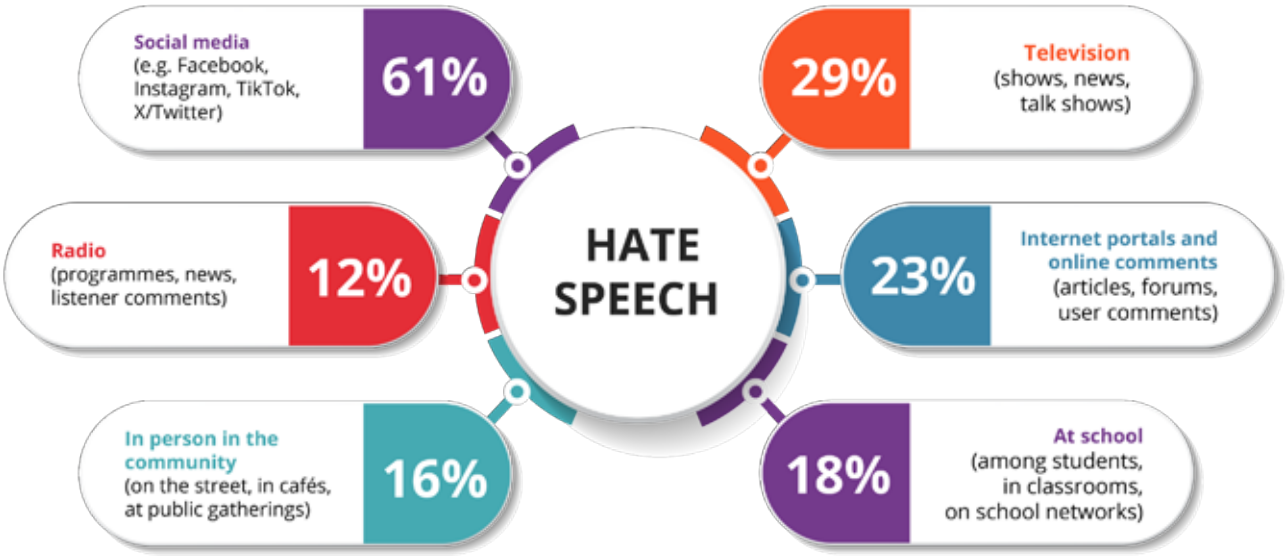
The role of political and social actors in combating hate speech is very important. Public figures, the media and institutions have a responsibility to promote a culture of dialogue, tolerance and respect for human rights. It is particularly important that political speech be free of rhetoric that fosters division and hostility, as such messages have a strong impact on society, and especially on younger generations.

Combating hate speech involves not only sanctioning inappropriate content, but also developing education, media and digital literacy, critical thinking and empathy. Children and young people should be empowered to recognise hate speech, understand its consequences and develop the ability to communicate non-violently and responsibly. It

is important to create a social environment in which diversity is seen as a value rather than as a reason for division and discrimination.

Places Where Children Most Often See Hate Speech

According to the survey results (UNICEF - U-Report, Western Balkans and Türkiye, 2023), children and young people reported that hate speech most often appears in the following places:



Data represent the percentage of children and young people (aged 14-24) who said that hate speech appears often or very often in these places.

Source: UNICEF - U-Report, "Our Views, Our Europe: Children and Young People's Perspectives on Diversity and Social Cohesion in the Western Balkans and Türkiye", 2023.

4.2. Divisive Narratives

Contemporary societies are characterised by increasingly pronounced political, social and identity divisions, which are increasingly being carried over into the digital space. In such an environment, so-called divisive narratives occupy a special place: patterns of communication that present society in terms of opposing groups, most often through the logic of "us" and "them". Such narratives involve not merely the existence of different opinions, which is legitimate and desirable in a democratic society, but the deepening of mistrust, antagonism and a sense of threat between different social groups.

Divisive narratives may be based on political, national, ethnic, religious, regional, generational or other differences. They often manifest themselves through stereotypes, generalisations, labelling, delegitimisation and portraying "others" as a threat to the community, its identity or its values. A particular challenge is that such content now spreads very quickly through social media, online media and digital platforms, where confrontational and emotionally charged content enjoys greater visibility and reach.

In societies with a high level of polarisation, children and young people are particularly sensitive to the presence of divisive narratives. As they grow up and are socialised, they

shape their attitudes, values and patterns of behaviour by observing the communication of adults, political actors, the media and the digital environment. If the dominant patterns of communication are based on insults, exclusion, hate speech and mistrust of "others", there is a risk that these patterns will become normalised and accepted as socially desirable models of behaviour.

Divisive narratives can have numerous negative consequences for children and young people. They heighten feelings of insecurity, anxiety and mistrust, weaken empathy and solidarity, encourage stereotypes and discrimination, and also contribute to peer violence and digital violence. It is particularly worrying that social divisions from the public and political space are often carried over into schools, peer groups and online communication among children and young people. In such circumstances, children can become both victims and transmitters of divisive narratives.

The digital space further complicates these challenges. Social media algorithms often favour content that provokes strong emotional reactions, conflict and polarisation, which is why content based on insults, mockery and division achieves greater visibility. Children and young people, as the most active users of digital platforms, are exposed every day to a large amount of content that may contribute to normalising aggressive communication and reducing tolerance of diversity. Anonymity and the sense of distance in the online space are a particular problem, as they often make it easier for hate speech and digital violence to spread.

Research by international organisations indicates that continuous exposure to hate speech, stereotypes and confrontational communication can negatively affect the mental health of children and young people, their sense of belonging to the community and their trust in institutions and other people. At the same time, the presence of polarising content can reduce young people's willingness to engage in dialogue, cooperation and civic participation, which weakens social cohesion in the long term.

From the perspective of social cohesion, it is particularly important to develop a culture of dialogue, empathy, critical thinking and digital literacy among children and young people. Educational institutions, local communities, the media, political actors and the family bear significant responsibility for creating a safe and stimulating environment in which diversity is seen as a value rather than a threat. Strengthening the resilience of children and young people to hate speech, manipulation and polarising content is one of the important preconditions for preserving social cohesion in today's digital society.

4.3. Recognising Risky Communication

Red Flags of Risky Communication

Risky communication is a way of expressing oneself that may fuel conflict, spread intolerance, create a sense of insecurity or contribute to discrimination and violence. Such communication need not always be openly aggressive or directly threatening. It often appears in the form of stereotypes, humiliation, manipulation, fear-mongering, disinformation or speech that deepens divisions between people and groups. It is therefore very important to develop the ability to recognise risky patterns of communication, especially in the political, media and digital space.

One of the basic characteristics of risky communication is the division of people into "us" and "them". Such narratives present certain groups as a threat, as less valuable or as responsible for social problems. In this way, existing divisions are deepened and an atmosphere of mistrust and antagonism is created. When diversity is presented as a danger, the risk of discrimination, exclusion and conflict increases.

Risky communication often uses stereotypes and generalisations. Individuals or entire groups are portrayed through negative labels and simplified images that ignore individual differences. Such patterns of communication can contribute to the stigmatisation of certain communities and reinforce prejudice in

society. It is particularly problematic when stereotypes become part of political speech or media content, because they then gain greater visibility and influence.

An important indicator of risky communication is the presence of hate speech, insults and humiliation. Communication that incites intolerance towards individuals or groups because of their national, religious, political, gender or other affiliation poses a serious risk to social cohesion and community safety.

Prolonged exposure to such content can lead to the normalisation of aggressive behaviour and reduced empathy among people.

Emotional manipulation is also a common element of risky communication. Spreading fear, panic, hatred or a sense of threat is used to influence citizens' attitudes and behaviour. In such situations, facts are often replaced by sensationalism, half-truths or disinformation designed to provoke strong emotional reactions. Children and young people are particularly vulnerable, as they are still developing the ability to think critically about the content they are exposed to.

The digital space further increases the risk of harmful communication spreading. Social media allow content to spread quickly and on a mass scale, often without fact-checking and without a sense of responsibility. The anonymity of the online space can encourage more aggressive behaviour, insults and the spread of hate speech. Social media algorithms often favour confrontational and emotionally charged content, which contributes to its greater visibility and influence.

It is particularly important to recognise covert forms of risky communication. It does not always manifest itself through open threats or insults. It often appears in the form of mockery, belittling, ironic comments, spreading rumours or excluding certain groups from social dialogue. Such forms of communication may seem less dangerous, but in the long term they have a strong negative impact on interpersonal relationships and on the sense of security and belonging.

To make risky patterns easier to recognise in everyday communication, it is useful to highlight several warning signs:

- Generalisations such as "all of them", "always" and "never".
- Associating an entire group with crime, backwardness or undesirability.
- Using an individual incident as proof of the character of an entire group.
- Using children to illustrate political failure without protecting their dignity.
- Publishing a photograph, location or details that could identify a child.

Recognising risky communication is important for preserving a culture of dialogue and democratic values. Citizens, and especially children and young people, should develop media and digital literacy, the capacity for critical thinking and an understanding of the consequences that words can have for individuals and the community. It is equally important to develop empathy, responsible communication and the ability to resolve conflicts non-violently.

Societies that successfully recognise and counter risky patterns of communication are more resilient to division, manipulation and extremism. Responsibility for developing a safe and constructive public space therefore lies with institutions, the media, the education system, political actors and citizens as a whole.

4.4. The Digital Space: Opportunities, Risks and the Protection of Children and Young People

Digital platforms are an important space for information, political communication and civic participation. They can make institutions more accessible and enable children and young people to inform themselves and express their views, but at the same time they accelerate the spread of disinformation, hate speech, stigmatisation and aggressive communication.

Children and young people are particularly vulnerable to digital violence, public humiliation, harassment, the sharing of private content and other forms of harm that can spread quickly and remain permanently available. The protection of the child's privacy, dignity and identity must therefore take precedence over political or media interests.

The gender dimension of digital violence requires particular attention: girls and young women may be exposed to sexualised insults, threats and gender-based harassment, while children belonging to minority and other vulnerable groups may be exposed to multiple stigmatisation.

Responsible political communication online means checking facts, avoiding sensationalism and generalisations, protecting children's identities, clearly distancing oneself from hate speech and being willing to correct or remove harmful content. Political actors should bear in mind that their posts may become a model of communication that children and young people observe and imitate.

A safe digital environment is not the responsibility of the individual alone. Institutions, the education system, the media, technology platforms, parents and political actors share a responsibility to strengthen digital and media literacy and accessible reporting and support mechanisms, and to involve children meaningfully in decisions that concern their digital lives.

4.5. Improving Digital Communication

Improving digital communication is an important task for contemporary society, because the digital space now has a strong influence on information, education, interpersonal relationships and democratic processes. Social media and online platforms have enabled a faster exchange of information and greater connectedness among people, but have at the same time opened space for the spread of disinformation, hate speech, manipulation and various forms of digital violence. It is therefore necessary to develop better, safer and more responsible digital communication that contributes to dialogue, trust and social cohesion.

One of the key steps in improving digital communication is developing media and digital literacy. Citizens, and especially children and young people, should develop the ability to critically assess the content they are exposed to online. It is important to learn how to recognise disinformation, manipulative content, hate speech and unreliable sources of information. Digital literacy means not only the technical use of technology, but also an understanding of the social and ethical consequences of communication online.[80]

Improving digital communication also means developing a culture of dialogue and responsible behaviour online. The online space should be a place for exchanging ideas, cooperation and mutual respect, not a space of conflict and humiliation. It is important to encourage communication based on arguments, tolerance and empathy, while clearly rejecting hate speech, discrimination and violence. It is particularly important to raise awareness that words and content published online can have real consequences for other people.

[80] Council of Europe / European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI) (2025). Annual Report 2025. Strasbourg: Council of Europe. The report stresses that digital literacy and critical thinking are key tools in combating hate speech and disinformation, especially for children and young people, who are the primary users of digital platforms. Available at: https://www.coe.int/en/web/portal/-/hate-speech-levels-across-europe-alarming-stronger-action-needed

Educational institutions play a major role in improving digital communication. Schools and universities should develop programmes to help children and young people use digital technologies safely and responsibly. The education system should encourage the development of critical thinking, non-violent communication and the ability to participate constructively in the digital space. It is equally important to empower teachers and parents so that they can support young people in facing the challenges of the online environment.[81]

The media and digital platforms also bear significant responsibility. Online platforms should develop more effective mechanisms to protect users from violent and harmful content, especially where children and young people are concerned. It is necessary to encourage transparency of algorithms, more responsible content moderation and a faster response to hate speech and digital violence. The media, for their part, have an important role in promoting accurate information, a culture of dialogue and professional reporting.

It is also important to develop mechanisms to support and protect users in the digital space. Children and young people should know to whom they can report digital violence and how they can protect their privacy and safety online. The support of the family, the school and institutions is of great importance for creating a sense of security and trust among young internet users.

Improving digital communication is also linked to strengthening social cohesion. The digital space can be a place that connects people of different cultures, experiences and opinions, but only if a culture of respect, responsibility and willingness to engage in dialogue is developed. Societies that successfully develop safe and constructive digital communication are more resilient to manipulation, violence and polarisation and create better conditions for democratic development and active civic participation.

Contemporary society cannot avoid the influence of digital technologies, but it can develop ways of using them responsibly and ethically. That is precisely why improving digital communication is an important part of protecting children and young people, developing democratic culture and building a safer and more connected society.

4.6. Parliament as a Role Model

Parliament, as the highest representative body of citizens, is not only a place where decisions are made, but also an important social space in which patterns of communication, political culture and public conduct are shaped. The way local councillors and MPs speak, debate, express disagreement and treat political opponents sends powerful messages to citizens, and especially to children and young people, who adopt patterns of social behaviour by observing political life. In this sense, parliament has a significant educational and social role: it can be a space of democratic dialogue, mutual respect and responsibility, but also a place where divisions and intolerance deepen and violent communication becomes normalised.

In democratic societies, parliament should be a model of a culture of dialogue and an example of how differences can be expressed and reconciled in a peaceful, reasoned and inclusive way. The essence of parliamentary democracy is not the absence of conflicting opinions, but the ability to resolve disagreements through dialogue, respect for procedure and regard for the dignity of all participants. This is precisely why the political discourse that prevails in parliament has a direct impact on social cohesion, citizens' trust in institutions and the quality of the public space. When insults, hate speech, labelling or divisive narratives become normalised in parliamentary speech, such patterns very quickly appear in the media, the digital space, the school environment and citizens' everyday communication.

[81] UNESCO (2023). Global Education Monitoring Report 2023: Technology in Education – A Tool on Whose Terms? Paris: UNESCO. The report emphasises the key role of educational institutions in developing children's and young people's digital literacy and media education. Available at: https://www.unesco.org/en/gem-report/2023. See also: Vuorinen, M. et al. (2023). Teaching digital literacy in schools: a systematic review. Computers in Education, 12(1), 14–28.

Children and young people are particularly sensitive to messages that come from the political space. While forming their identity and values, they develop an idea of what is acceptable behaviour in society through the conduct of adults, and especially of those who hold political power and authority. If they are exposed to aggressive political speech, humiliation, mockery and intolerance, there is a risk that they will see such patterns as legitimate and desirable. Conversely, a parliament that nurtures a culture of dialogue, tolerance, empathy and respect for diversity can contribute to the development of democratic values, a sense of security and social responsibility among younger generations.[82]

Parliament as a role model also entails responsibility for creating a space in which the voices of children and young people are heard. A democracy that aims to be inclusive must enable children and young people to take part in decision-making processes, to express their views and to be respected as equal members of the community. Involving children and young people in public debates, children's and youth parliaments, councils for children and young people and other participation mechanisms helps strengthen trust in institutions and the sense of belonging to the community. In this way, parliament becomes not only a place of political decision-making, but also a space for learning about democracy, responsibility and joint action for the common good.

In the context of social cohesion, parliament has a special role in building trust among citizens and between citizens and institutions. A culture of dialogue, respect for diversity, responsible communication and the rejection of hate speech are not only political issues, but also issues of protecting children, safeguarding young people's mental health and creating a safe social environment. Parliament must therefore set an example of conduct that unites rather than divides; that encourages reasoned debate rather than conflict; and that affirms the values of democracy, solidarity and mutual respect.

4.7. Impact on the Participation of Children and Young People

The way parliament and political actors communicate also directly affects the willingness of children and young people to take part in the social and political life of the community. Children and young people much more readily recognise institutions as open, accessible and legitimate when they feel that their voices are respected and considered, that there is space for dialogue and that political actors are willing to listen to, respect and take into account different opinions in decision-making.

In contrast, political discourse marked by insults, conflict, hate speech and exclusivity can create among young people a sense of mistrust and distance and a conviction that institutions are not a place where they can have influence or be accepted. Prolonged exposure to such an environment leads to political apathy, reduced interest in democratic processes and the withdrawal of children and young people from public life. Children and young people then see institutions not as a space for cooperation and joint action, but as a closed space of conflict and division.

The openness of institutions towards children and young people means not only formal mechanisms for participation, but also a manner of communication that shows respect for their views and needs. When parliament organises consultations with children and young people, makes children's and youth parliaments possible, involves children and young people in public debates or supports initiatives that come from them, a sense of belonging to the community and trust in democratic processes develop. Children and young people who have the experience of being heard and respected are much more likely to develop a sense of responsibility

[82] Kwak, J., Tomescu-Dubrow, I., Slomczynski, K.M., & Dubrow, J.K. (2020). Youth, Institutional Trust, and Democratic Backsliding. American Behavioral Scientist, 64(9), 1366–1385. https://doi.org/10.1177/0002764220941222. The study shows that young people's trust in institutions, including parliament, is a key factor in democratic stability, and that the level of aggressiveness and intolerance in parliamentary speech correlates directly with a decline in young people's trust in institutions.

towards the community and a willingness to take an active part in its development.

4.8. Building Trust

Building trust is one of the key preconditions for social cohesion and the democratic development of the community. Trust develops not only through the formal authority of institutions, but primarily through the way institutions and public office holders communicate with citizens and respond to their needs, views and rights. In this sense, parliament and political actors have a special responsibility, because their conduct directly affects citizens' perception of whether institutions are fair, open and focused on the common good.

Trust is particularly important for children and young people, because it is while growing up that their attitude towards authority, the community and democratic processes takes shape. When young people see that the rules of dialogue are respected in parliament, that there is willingness to cooperate despite differences and that decisions are made responsibly and transparently, a sense of security develops, along with the conviction that institutions work in the interest of citizens. Such an experience encourages children and young people to trust institutions, to become more actively involved in social life and to develop a sense of belonging to the community.

Trust is also built through consistency between what political actors say and what they do. If politicians publicly advocate tolerance, respect and the protection of the rights of children and young people while at the same time using hate speech, insults or discriminatory communication, trust is weakened and citizens, especially children and young people, feel disappointed. In contrast, responsible and ethical political communication helps strengthen trust both in the individuals who hold public office and in institutions as a whole.[83]

Building trust also means creating a space in which citizens feel heard and respected. Young people develop trust in institutions much more readily when they have the opportunity to take part in decision-making, to express their opinions and to see that their initiatives can bring about concrete change. Involving children and young people in consultation processes, children's and youth parliaments, public debates and local initiatives contributes to a sense of belonging and strengthens the bond between young people and the community.

[83] Chevalier, T. (2019). Political trust, young people and institutions in Europe: A multilevel analysis. International Journal of Social Welfare, 28(4), 418–430. https://doi.org/10.1111/ijsw.12380. See also: Eurostat (2024). Being Young in Europe Today – 2024 edition. Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union. The report documents the link between the quality of public communication and the building of young people's trust in democratic institutions. Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/web/products-statistical-books/-/ks-05-22-001

05 Communication focused on protecting children and strengthening democratic culture



Photo: Arthur Krijgsman / Pexels

5.1. The Best Interests of the Child as a Standard of Political Communication

One of the fundamental principles of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child is the principle of the best interests of the child. This principle is not only a legal standard binding on institutions when they make decisions concerning children, but also a framework of values that should guide public and political communication.

In a democratic society, political communication has a much broader significance than merely conveying political messages. It shapes public opinion, influences social norms and values and contributes to creating the environment in which children grow up. For this reason, the way political actors speak about children, young people and the issues that concern them can have long-term consequences for their development, their sense of belonging to the community and their perception of their own place in society.

It is particularly important to bear in mind that children and young people form a significant part of their attitudes towards society, politics and institutions by observing the behaviour of adults. In this sense, the public speech of political representatives also has an important educational function. When political leaders show respect for others, use arguments instead of insults and promote a culture of dialogue, they also send younger generations a message about the values on which a democratic society should rest.

On the other hand, the use of speech that fosters division, discrimination or intolerance can negatively affect the socialisation of children and young people and contribute to the normalisation of patterns of behaviour that are inconsistent with the principles of human rights and democratic culture.

In today's media environment, in which political messages very quickly reach a large number of people, including children and young people, responsibility for one's public statements becomes even more pronounced. Political actors should therefore pay attention not only to the content of their messages, but also to the possible consequences those messages may have for the youngest members of society.

Respecting the best interests of the child does not relate only to the adoption of laws and public policies. It also means responsible political communication that helps protect the dignity, rights and well-being of every child.

5.2. Speech That Includes Rather Than Excludes

One of the most important tasks of contemporary democratic societies is to build a social environment in which every individual feels accepted, respected and equal. Political communication plays a particularly significant role in this process. The words used by political leaders affect not only political processes, but also shape social relations, the perception of diversity and the level of mutual trust among citizens.

Political communication can help bring people together and strengthen a sense of togetherness, but it can also be a factor that deepens divisions, mistrust and social conflict. It is therefore important that the public speech of political actors be based on the principles of respect for human dignity, equality and respect for diversity.

In a democratic society, diversity is a value, not an obstacle. Citizens differ on national, ethnic, religious, cultural, linguistic, political and other grounds. It is precisely a society's ability to accept these differences and turn them into a source of mutual enrichment that is one of the indicators of its democratic maturity.

Responsible political communication means using language that includes rather than excludes. Such speech does not deny that there are differences between people, but contributes to mutual understanding. Instead of dividing people into "us" and "them", inclusive communication promotes the idea of shared responsibility for the development of society and the pursuit of the common good.

It is particularly important to avoid stereotypes and generalisations. Stereotypes

simplify complex social reality and often lead to prejudice against particular groups. When stereotypes are used in political speech, they can further reinforce existing social divisions and hinder dialogue and cooperation.

Children and young people are especially sensitive to messages that come from the public space. As they grow up, they shape their attitudes towards different social groups by observing the behaviour of adults and listening to messages from political leaders, the media and other public authorities. For this reason, political communication that promotes respect, solidarity and appreciation of diversity can have a significant positive impact on the development of democratic values among younger generations.

On the other hand, communication that fosters intolerance or stigmatises certain social groups can contribute to the normalisation of discrimination and exclusion. Particularly worrying consequences can arise when the targets of negative stereotypes are children and young people from minority communities, children with developmental disabilities, children living in poverty or other vulnerable groups.

Responsible political communication does not mean avoiding debate on sensitive social issues. On the contrary, it means open dialogue about the challenges society faces, but in a way that does not undermine the dignity of individuals and groups. Democratic debate can be vigorous and substantive while also being based on mutual respect and arguments.

In this sense, it is important to distinguish legitimate political criticism from speech that leads to stigmatisation or exclusion. Criticism of policies, decisions and actions is an integral part of the democratic process. However, challenging the rights, dignity or equal status of individuals and groups is inconsistent with the principles of a democratic society and human rights.

Inclusive communication helps strengthen social cohesion, trust among citizens and the community's resilience to various forms of polarisation. At the same time, it sends the message that every member of society matters and has the right to be heard and respected.

Political communication that includes rather than excludes helps strengthen social cohesion, develop democratic culture and create an environment in which every child and every citizen can feel accepted, safe and equal.

5.3. Communicating Responsibly about Children and Young People

Children and young people are a significant part of every society and its most important potential for development. The way they are spoken about in the public space affects not only the perception of their position and needs, but also society's attitudes towards their rights, opportunities and role in the community. Communicating responsibly about children and young people is therefore an important part of responsible political communication.

Political actors often speak about issues concerning education, health, social protection, safety, participation and other areas of direct importance to children and young people. In such situations, it is particularly important that public speech be based on facts, respect for human rights and an understanding of the specific needs of children and young people.

Children and young people are not a homogeneous group. Their experiences, needs and opportunities differ depending on age, sex, place of residence, socio-economic status, health, membership of minority communities and numerous other circumstances. Responsible communication means recognising this diversity and avoiding simplified images that can lead to stereotypes and prejudice.

Particular attention should be paid to avoiding stigmatising language. Expressions that portray children and young people as a problem, a threat or a burden on society can negatively affect their sense of belonging to the community and their self-confidence. Such speech often ignores the wider social circumstances that affect the position of children and young people and shifts responsibility onto the individuals themselves.

Responsible political communication means seeing children and young people as rights holders and active members of the community. Instead of focusing solely on problems, it is important to also highlight their potential, achievements, creativity and contribution to society. Such an approach helps create a positive image of younger generations and encourages their active involvement in social life.

Public speech about children who are victims of violence, neglect, poverty or other forms of vulnerability is a particularly sensitive issue. In such cases, care must be taken to protect the child's privacy and dignity. Disclosing private details that could lead to the identification of the child or their family can have long-term consequences for the child's development and well-being.

In addition, political actors should be aware that public statements about individual cases of violence or other serious events can affect how children and young people as a whole are perceived. Generalisations and simplified conclusions often create a false picture and can lead to further stigmatisation of certain groups.

The difference between a harmful and a responsible approach is best illustrated by concrete examples:

DON'T: "Children today don't have a good value system."
DO: "This incident requires a serious, calm and systemic response. We must protect the children's privacy, establish the facts and strengthen support for children, families and schools."

DON'T: "It's the family's / the school's / the system's fault."
DO: "The competent institutions need to establish the facts, and our task is to ensure better prevention, support and coordination."

DON'T: "This shows what today's children are like."
DO: "An individual case must not be grounds for generalising about children and young people. The focus should be on protection, prevention and support."

Communicating responsibly about children and young people also means actively involving them in conversations about issues that concern them. In line with the principles of the Convention on the Rights of the Child, children have the right to express their views and to have them taken into account in accordance with their age and maturity. Political actors can help realise this right by supporting various forms of participation of children and young people in social and political life.

The way political leaders respond to phenomena such as peer violence, discrimination, hate speech and other challenges faced by young people is particularly important. Their messages can help ease tensions, strengthen solidarity and find constructive solutions, but they can also deepen existing divisions if they are not carefully crafted.

In an era of intense digital communication, children and young people are exposed every day to a large number of messages and information coming from the public space. The responsibility of political actors is therefore greater today than ever before. Every public word can help create an environment that fosters understanding, respect and inclusion or, on the other hand, intolerance, mistrust and exclusion.

Communicating responsibly about children and young people means not only avoiding harmful messages. It means actively promoting values that help protect children's rights, develop democratic culture and build a society in which every child has the opportunity to grow, develop and fulfil their potential.

The way political actors speak about children and young people shapes social attitudes, affects the realisation of their rights and helps create an environment in which young people feel accepted, respected and encouraged to take an active part in community life.

5.4. Political Communication and the Prevention of Social Polarisation

Contemporary democratic societies face numerous challenges that affect the quality of social relations, trust in institutions and the community's ability to respond to complex social problems. Among these challenges, social polarisation – the process of deepening divisions between different social groups, political options and identity communities – occupies a special place.

A certain degree of political disagreement is natural and desirable in any democratic society. The democratic process presupposes the existence of different opinions, ideas and interests that are reconciled through dialogue and institutional mechanisms and turned into public policies. However, the problem arises when political differences grow into deep social divisions that hinder cooperation, reduce trust among citizens and threaten social cohesion.

Political communication can play a significant role in both the emergence and the prevention of social polarisation. The way political leaders present social problems, speak about political opponents and communicate with citizens affects the overall social climate and shapes relations between different groups in society.

Communication based on division often uses confrontational rhetoric, creating the impression that society consists of irreconcilable groups with mutually exclusive interests. Such an approach may bring political gains in the short term, but in the long term it weakens social trust, hinders dialogue and reduces society's ability to respond jointly to challenges of general interest.

Situations in which political messages are based on stoking fear, mistrust or negative emotions towards certain groups are particularly sensitive. Such messages can reinforce prejudice, stereotypes and intolerance, further deepening existing social divisions.

In contrast, responsible political communication helps build bridges between different social groups. It does not deny the existence of differences, but promotes dialogue, mutual understanding and the search for shared solutions to problems that affect citizens regardless of their political, national, religious or other affiliation.

In this context, the role of parliament as the central democratic institution is particularly important. Parliament is a space where different political opinions and interests meet, but it is also the place where decisions of public importance are reached through dialogue and democratic procedures. The way parliamentary debates are conducted can significantly affect the quality of public discourse and relations in society.

When parliamentary debate rests on arguments, mutual respect and respect for procedure, it sends the message that social differences can be resolved through dialogue and democratic institutions. In contrast, debates marked by insults, labelling and personal attacks can contribute to the normalisation of confrontational behaviour and further erode citizens' trust in institutions.

Children and young people are particularly sensitive to messages that come from the political space. As they are socialised, they develop attitudes towards democracy, institutions and social relations by observing the behaviour of adults and public authorities. If they are exposed to communication that promotes conflict, intolerance and exclusivity, there is a risk that they will accept such patterns of behaviour as socially acceptable.

On the other hand, political communication that encourages cooperation, understanding and respect for diversity can contribute to the development of democratic culture and strengthen the sense of belonging to the community. Such messages are particularly significant for children and young people, as they shape their understanding of social values and relations between people.

Preventing social polarisation does not mean avoiding political differences or abandoning political debate. On the contrary, it means being able to discuss even the most sensitive issues in a way that respects the dignity of all participants and leaves room for dialogue and cooperation.

5.5. Communication in Crises and Sensitive Situations Involving Children

Crisis situations pose a particular challenge for political communication. Tragic events, cases of peer violence, violence against children, family tragedies, incidents in schools, digital violence, cases of discrimination and other events involving children provoke strong emotions among the public and require a responsible approach from all social actors.

In such circumstances, the public expects timely information, clearly expressed concern and a willingness on the part of institutions to take appropriate measures. At the same time, it is precisely in crisis situations that there is a heightened risk of disinformation, sensationalism, the politicisation of individual cases and further violations of children's rights.

Responsible political communication in crisis situations must be based on facts, empathy and respect for the dignity of all persons involved. Particular attention must be paid to protecting the rights and interests of children, regardless of the circumstances of the specific case.

One of the basic principles is to avoid premature conclusions and public assessments before the competent institutions have established the relevant facts. When public interest is heightened, there is often pressure to immediately offer answers and interpretations of events. However, speed must not take precedence over accuracy and responsibility.

Political actors should be aware that their statements have a significant impact on the public. Unverified information, speculation or emotionally charged characterisations can further alarm citizens, hinder the work of the competent institutions and create false impressions of the event itself.

Particular attention must be paid to protecting children's privacy. In cases of violence, neglect, family tragedies or other sensitive situations, publishing information that could lead to the identification of a child can have serious consequences for the child's development, psychological state and future life. Responsible communication means full respect for the child's right to privacy and to protection from further victimisation.

In crisis situations, it is important to avoid speech that contributes to the stigmatisation of individuals or groups. Individual cases must not be grounds for generalisations about entire communities, educational institutions, families or groups of children and young people. Such an approach does not contribute to understanding the problem or finding solutions, but can lead to further divisions and prejudice.

Cases of peer violence pose a particular challenge. Such events rightly cause public concern, but it is important to bear in mind that simplified explanations can rarely capture the complexity of the causes of violent behaviour. Responsible political communication should promote an understanding of the problem, strengthen prevention mechanisms and develop systems of support for children, parents and educational institutions.

In situations involving digital violence and online hate speech, political actors can play a significant role in promoting responsible behaviour in the digital space. Clear messages condemning violence, harassment and discrimination help create a safer environment for children and young people.

Empathy is one of the most important elements of communication in crisis situations. Public messages should show understanding for the suffering and concern of the people and communities affected. However, expressing empathy must not turn into exploiting a tragedy for political ends or to attract media attention.

Responsible political communication should be solution-oriented. Citizens expect their representatives to put forward initiatives, support the work of institutions and help strengthen child protection systems. A focus on prevention, support and improving institutional mechanisms is often more important than the political polemics conducted immediately after crisis events.

Parliament, as the highest representative body, has a special responsibility to promote calm, solidarity and an institutional approach

to problem-solving in crisis situations. The quality of public debate on sensitive issues can significantly affect citizens' trust in institutions and their willingness to support measures that help protect children.

Children and young people closely follow how adults react during crisis events. The way political leaders communicate in such situations sends powerful messages about society's values, its attitude towards human dignity and the importance of mutual solidarity. This is precisely why responsibility for one's public statements becomes even more pronounced in crisis circumstances.

Crisis situations can test democratic culture, but they are also an opportunity for society to demonstrate its ability to act together, to show mutual respect and to protect the most vulnerable members of the community. Responsible political communication plays an important role in achieving this goal.

In crises and sensitive situations involving children, political communication must be based on facts, empathy, the protection of privacy and the best interests of the child. Responsible words help ease tensions, strengthen trust and find solutions, while irresponsible communication can further endanger the rights and well-being of children.

5.6. The Role of Parliament in Promoting a Culture of Dialogue

The role of parliament in promoting a culture of dialogue becomes particularly evident in periods of social crisis, political tension and polarisation. In such circumstances, citizens follow the public appearances of political representatives with particular attention and expect institutions to demonstrate responsibility, seriousness and a willingness to cooperate on matters of general interest.

Political actors have a strong influence on shaping public opinion because their messages are present in the media, on social media and in the everyday public space. When political communication rests on arguments, respect for diversity and constructive dialogue, it helps strengthen democratic culture and trust in institutions. In contrast, aggressive rhetoric, hate speech, labelling and incitement to division can deepen social conflicts and weaken social cohesion.

The responsibility of political actors towards children and young people is particularly important. Children and young people often adopt the patterns of behaviour they see in adults and public figures. When political leaders resort to insults, humiliation or hate speech, there is a risk that such models of communication will become normalised among young people too. On the other hand, political actors who promote a culture of dialogue, tolerance and mutual respect can have a positive influence on the development of democratic values and non-violent communication among younger generations.

The role of political actors is particularly important in times of social crisis and polarisation. When social tensions run high, the way political leaders communicate can help ease conflicts and strengthen the sense of security or, conversely, further fuel mistrust, fear and division. Responsible political communication in crisis situations means accurate information, easing tensions and a focus on shared interests and the common good.[84]

Political actors also play a significant role in creating a safe digital space. Social media are now an important channel of political communication, but at the same time they increase the risk of spreading disinformation, hate speech and manipulative content. The way politicians use digital platforms affects the quality of online communication and the social atmosphere as a whole. Promoting responsible and non-violent communication in the digital space is an important part of their social responsibility.

In addition to communication, political actors play a key role in designing public policies

[84] UNICEF (2023). Children and the COVID-19 Pandemic: A Special Report. New York: UNICEF. See also: Save the Children (2022). Protect a Generation: The Impact of COVID-19 on Children's Lives. London: Save the Children International. Both reports emphasise that in times of crisis, responsible communication by institutions and public leaders directly affects children's and young people's sense of security and community cohesion. Available at: https://www.unicef.org/reports/children-and-covid-19-pandemic

that affect social cohesion and the position of children and young people. Through laws, strategies and institutional mechanisms, they can help reduce inequalities, protect human rights, develop education, support mental health and strengthen the participation of children and young people in social and political processes. It is particularly important to ensure mechanisms that enable children and young people to express their views and take part in decisions that concern them.

The responsibility of political actors is also reflected in their ability to recognise and condemn hate speech, discrimination and violence. Their reactions to negative social phenomena have strong symbolic significance and influence social norms and the perception of what constitutes acceptable behaviour. Clear and consistent advocacy for human rights, tolerance and non-violence helps strengthen trust among citizens and society's resilience to extremism and division.

In a democratic society, political actors should not be merely representatives of political interests, but also important bearers of social responsibility. Their communication and actions can help bring people together, build trust and strengthen a sense of togetherness or, conversely, create conflict and mistrust. The quality of political action and public communication therefore has a direct impact on democratic development, social stability and citizens' quality of life, especially that of children and young people.

In contemporary societies, dialogue takes on additional significance because of the rapid spread of information and the increasingly prominent presence of social media. Individual statements made in parliament often become available to a large number of citizens within a very short time and can significantly influence public discourse. This further increases the responsibility of political actors for the way they communicate.

Promoting a culture of dialogue also means being willing to recognise shared interests that transcend political differences. Protecting children and young people, improving education, combating violence, strengthening social protection and protecting human rights are areas in which cooperation among political actors is of particular importance for society as a whole.

Parliament can also contribute to developing a culture of dialogue through cooperation with civil society, the academic community, the media, children and young people. Openness towards different social actors strengthens the transparency of institutions and enables wider citizen participation in democratic processes.

A culture of dialogue does not mean giving up political convictions or downplaying the importance of political competition. On the contrary, it means conducting political struggle in a way that respects democratic rules, the dignity of all participants and the interest of society as a whole.

A parliament that successfully promotes a culture of dialogue helps strengthen citizens' trust, reduce social divisions and develop a democratic political culture based on mutual respect and responsibility.

Parliament is not only a place where decisions are made, but also a space in which standards of public communication are shaped. A culture of dialogue in parliament helps strengthen democracy, citizens' trust and social cohesion.

Good practice: In democratically developed societies, the quality of parliamentary debate is considered one of the indicators of the democratic maturity of institutions. Successful parliaments are measured not only by the number of laws they adopt, but also by their ability to build citizens' trust and help solve social problems through dialogue, mutual respect and reasoned debate.

Civic Education and Social and Emotional Competences

The development of democratic culture does not depend solely on formal institutions. Civic education and social and emotional learning programmes can help children develop empathy, critical thinking, non-violent communication, an understanding of diversity and participation skills. Parliamentarians can help ensure that such content has a stable place in the education system and

is developed in cooperation with children, schools and the professional community.

5.7. Participation of Children and Young People in Democratic Processes

Despite the importance of participation, numerous studies indicate that children and young people often feel that their views are not sufficiently respected. Many young people believe that institutions rarely ask for their opinion or that it is not taken seriously when decisions are made. Such a perception can lead to a sense of distance from institutions and reduced trust in democratic processes.

It is therefore important to develop mechanisms that enable the meaningful and continuous participation of children and young people in public life. Participation should not be an occasional activity or a formality, but an integral part of decision-making processes at the local and national level.

For children's participation to be meaningful rather than tokenistic, several key elements must be in place:

- A safe space in which the child can express their views freely.
- Information and materials adapted to the age and abilities of children.
- Trained institutions and adults who are ready to listen to and seriously consider children's views.
- Feedback to children on how their suggestions were taken into account and what the outcome of the process was.

In practice, there are various models for the participation of children and young people. Children's parliaments, youth parliaments, youth councils, councils for the rights of the child, consultative forums and various forms of public debate are important mechanisms that enable young people to put forward their views and proposals.

Initiatives that enable direct dialogue between children, young people and decision-makers are of particular value. Such encounters contribute to mutual understanding, strengthen trust and create a sense that institutions respect the voices of children and young people.

Digital technologies have opened up new opportunities for the participation of children and young people. Online platforms, digital consultations and various forms of e-participation allow the voices of a larger number of children and young people to be heard and respected. However, care must be taken that digital participation does not replace direct dialogue, but complements and enhances it.

For the development of democratic culture, it is particularly important that children and young people see the concrete results of their participation. When children and young people recognise that their ideas have been heard and respected and that they can contribute to change in the community, their trust in institutions and their willingness to take an active part in social life grow.

The participation of children and young people is not only a right deriving from international standards. It is an investment in the future of a democratic society. Young people who have the opportunity to take part in decision-making processes develop a sense of responsibility, an understanding of democratic procedures and a willingness to contribute actively to the development of the community.

At a time of complex social challenges, strengthening the participation of children and young people is one of the most important steps towards building a society based on trust, inclusion and mutual respect.

Children and young people are not only future citizens – they are citizens of the present. Their right to be heard and involved in decision-making processes is an important precondition for developing democratic culture, strengthening social cohesion and building institutions that citizens trust.

Example of good practice: The Municipal Assembly of Bijelo Polje was the first in Montenegro to adopt a decision establishing a Council for the Rights of the Child as a standing working body of the Assembly, thereby creating an institutional mech-

anism for children's direct participation in decision-making processes concerning their rights, needs and interests. The establishment of this Council has enabled children to actively express their views and make proposals on matters that concern them, in line with the principles of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child. At the same time, the Council helps strengthen a culture of dialogue, mutual respect and shared responsibility, creating the conditions for a democratic community in which children's voices are recognised and respected as an important part of decision-making.

In this way, Bijelo Polje is making a concrete contribution to UNICEF's vision of a child-friendly society, based on respect for children's rights, the active participation of children and the creation of an environment in which every child has the opportunity to be heard and involved in decisions that concern them.

5.8. Examples of Good Parliamentary Practice in Promoting Responsible Political Communication and Children's Rights

Responsible political communication and the protection of children's rights cannot be achieved solely through legal norms. Their successful application depends on political culture, institutional commitment and the willingness of public office holders to promote the values of democracy, respect for human rights and social responsibility through their actions.

In recent decades, many parliaments have developed mechanisms to improve the quality of public discourse, strengthen the participation of children and young people and promote a culture of dialogue. Although institutional arrangements differ from country to country, what these initiatives have in common is the effort to have parliament recognised not only as a legislative body, but also as a promoter of democratic values.

One of the most widespread models is children's and youth parliaments. Through such mechanisms, children and young people have the opportunity to learn about how institutions work, develop public speaking skills and take an active part in debates on issues that directly concern them. At the same time, parliaments gain the opportunity to hear the views of children and young people directly and to better understand their needs and expectations.

A growing number of parliamentary institutions are also developing specific guidelines for their members' public communication. These guidelines most often stress the importance of respecting human dignity, taking responsibility for one's public statements, avoiding hate speech and promoting a culture of dialogue. Their aim is not to restrict political debate, but to improve the quality of public discourse and strengthen citizens' trust in institutions.

Good practice shows that parliaments can play an important role in raising awareness of children's rights and the challenges children face. Organising thematic sessions, public debates and consultations with children and young people, as well as marking international days dedicated to children's rights, are significant mechanisms for drawing greater public attention to these issues.

An important element of good parliamentary practice is cooperation with institutions, international organisations, the academic community and civil society organisations working on child protection.

Such cooperation allows the exchange of experience, the improvement of knowledge and the development of better policies based on evidence and the needs of children.

When it comes to the participation of children and young people, initiatives that enable continuous dialogue between children, young people and decision-makers are particularly valuable examples. Such models help develop trust, strengthen the sense of belonging to the community and improve institutions' understanding of young people's needs.

At the local level, councils for the rights of the child, youth councils, children's parliaments and other consultative bodies that enable children and young people to be actively

involved in decision-making can make a significant contribution. Such models of participation help realise the child's right to be heard and are an important step towards building child-friendly communities.

Good practice shows that the quality of democratic institutions depends not only on their formal powers, but also on their ability to be open, accessible and accountable to citizens. A parliament that promotes dialogue, respects diversity and actively involves children and young people in its work helps strengthen democratic culture and social cohesion.

It is particularly important to stress that examples of good practice are not universal models that can be mechanically applied in every society. Their value lies primarily in showing that there are different ways of improving political communication, protecting children's rights and strengthening young people's participation in democratic processes.

Parliamentary institutions that successfully develop such approaches send an important message: democracy is not only a system for making decisions, but also a space in which trust, dialogue, responsibility and respect for human dignity are developed.

Good parliamentary practice shows that responsible political communication, the active involvement of children and young people and the consistent promotion of human rights are important preconditions for the development of a democratic society and for strengthening citizens' trust in institutions.

5.9. Recommendations for Child-Sensitive Political Communication Free of Hate Speech

Responsible political communication is not merely a matter of the personal style or political culture of an individual public official. It is an integral part of democratic accountability and one of the important mechanisms for protecting human rights, strengthening social cohesion and preserving citizens' trust in institutions.

In today's society, marked by intense media and digital communication, political messages have far greater reach and influence than before. The statements of political actors are transmitted through traditional media, social media and digital platforms and become available to a large number of citizens, including children and young people. Responsibility for one's public statements therefore requires constant reflection on the content of messages, their possible impact and the consequences they may produce in society.

With a view to improving political communication that is sensitive to children and consistent with human rights principles, it is useful to be guided by the following recommendations.

Respect the dignity of every individual

Regardless of political differences, public communication should be based on respect for human dignity. Criticism of political positions, decisions and actions is a legitimate part of the democratic process, but it must not turn into insults, humiliation or a denial of the dignity of others.

Respect for dignity is the foundation of a culture of dialogue and a precondition for building a society based on mutual respect.

Keep the best interests of the child in mind

When speaking publicly on matters concerning children and young people, it is necessary to consider whether the content of the message contributes to protecting their rights and well-being.

The best interests of the child should be one of the basic criteria when shaping political messages on education, health, social protection, safety, the digital environment and other issues of importance to children.

Avoid stereotypes and generalisations

Stereotypes simplify complex social reality and often form the basis for the development of prejudice and discrimination.

It is particularly important to avoid generalisations about children, young people, minority communities, persons with disabilities, migrants or other social groups. Individual cases must not be used to create negative images of entire groups of people.

Use verified information

The accuracy and reliability of information are the foundation of responsible political communication.

Before making claims that may influence the public, it is necessary to check their accuracy and the reliability of their sources. Spreading inaccurate or unverified information can cause mistrust, insecurity and further social divisions.

Particular attention should be paid to information concerning children and young people, bearing in mind their vulnerability and the potential consequences that inaccurate information may have.

Do not use hate speech or incite intolerance

Hate speech undermines human dignity, deepens social divisions and can incite discrimination and violence.

Political representatives are expected to use their public appearances to help create an environment in which human rights, diversity and democratic values are respected. This means clearly rejecting all forms of hate speech, discrimination and intolerance.

Promote a culture of dialogue

Political communication should encourage the exchange of views and reasoned debate.

A culture of dialogue does not mean the absence of disagreement, but the ability to put forward and consider different views with mutual respect. Such an approach helps strengthen democratic institutions and citizens' trust.

Encourage the participation of children and young people

Children and young people have the right to be heard on matters that concern them.

Political actors can help realise this right by supporting various participation mechanisms, including children's parliaments, youth councils, councils for the rights of the child, consultative processes and other forms of involving young people in decision-making.

To make these recommendations easier to apply in practice, a brief overview of common phrasings to avoid, with suggestions for more responsible alternatives, is also useful:

- DON'T: "Young people are uninterested."
- DO: "Young people often don't get involved because they don't see enough room to influence decisions. It is our duty to be more accessible and to provide better mechanisms for participation."
- DON'T: "Problem children."
- DO: "Children who are facing problems or risks and who need support, protection and appropriate services."
- DON'T: "They are different from us."
- DO: "Diversity is part of our society, and every child has an equal right to dignity, protection and participation."

Annexes

ANNEX 1: Legal Protection (of Children) from Harmful Public Discourse – ECtHR Standards – Workshops

The protection of children in the context of public and political discourse does not relate exclusively to prohibiting the most serious form of hate speech in the narrow sense, but covers a wider range of public expression that may negatively affect their development, dignity and safety. In this sense, the relevant standard is not only the lawfulness of speech, but also its actual social and psychological effect – that is, how harmful the speech is to children's development. The protection of children in public discourse is not only about prohibiting hate speech, but about preventing any speech that may negatively affect their development, dignity and safety, especially when that speech comes from a public official. From a children's rights perspective, harmful speech includes any public narrative that directly or indirectly exposes children to stigmatisation, stereotypes, humiliation or the normalisation of violence, and that produces a hostile, degrading or unsafe social environment for children. In this context, the principle of the best interests of the child requires that all public speech also be assessed in terms of its impact on children's development. This means that, alongside freedom of expression, society's most important interest must also be taken into account: the need to protect the psychological integrity, dignity and identity of children.

The following are summaries of relevant judgments of the European Court of Human Rights mentioned in the overview of the standards of Council of Europe member states.[85] They are included in this handbook so that workshop participants, by analysing specific judgments of the European Court of Human Rights, can gain and deepen their understanding of the standards governing the freedom of expression of public officials and MPs, as well as its limits in the context of protecting the rights of children and young people.

Castells v. Spain, 1992[86]

Case summary and outcome

The European Court of Human Rights found that criminal defamation proceedings and a prison sentence imposed on a member of the Spanish Senate who had criticised government policy violated the right to freedom of expression. The senator had criticised the authorities for failing to ensure the safety of citizens in the Basque Country and accused state officials of involvement in the murders of political dissidents, after which he was sentenced to one year and one day in prison. The Court stressed that any interference with the freedom of expression of an elected representative, especially an opposition politician, calls for the closest scrutiny. It also concluded that the domestic courts' refusal to allow evidence of the truth of his allegations meant that the criminal proceedings amounted to an unjustified restriction of freedom of speech.

Facts

Castells was a lawyer from San Sebastián, Spain, and a senator elected on the list of the political group Herri Batasuna, which supported Basque independence. In June 1979 he published an article in the weekly Punto y Hora de Euskalherria about the situation in the Basque Country. In it he stated that the authorities were unwilling to identify and prosecute those responsible for terrorist attacks in which many people had been killed. He went on to suggest that the government was implicated in those killings, claiming

[85] The format for presenting the judgments of the European Court of Human Rights has been taken verbatim and translated from Global Freedom of Expression, Columbia University.

[86] The format for presenting and interpreting the judgment in Castells v. Spain, 1992, has been taken from: Global Freedom of Expression | Castells v. Spain - Global Freedom of Expression

that behind these acts "there can only be the Government, the party of the Government and their personnel", and that it would use "the ruthless hunting down of Basque dissidents and their physical elimination" as a political instrument. Shortly afterwards, criminal proceedings were brought against him for insulting the government. After his parliamentary immunity was lifted, the Supreme Court sentenced him to prison, finding that he had exceeded the limits of permissible political criticism and had damaged the honour of the government. In his appeal, Castells argued that his right to the presumption of innocence had been violated because he had not been allowed to prove the truth of his allegations. He also invoked his right to take part in political life as a senator. The Constitutional Court dismissed his appeal. He then applied to the European Commission of Human Rights, claiming that his right to freedom of expression under Article 10 of the Convention had been violated.

The Court's decision

The Court first found that the criminal proceedings and the prison sentence undoubtedly constituted an interference with freedom of expression. It then examined whether that interference:

- was prescribed by law,
- pursued a legitimate aim,
- was "necessary in a democratic society".

The Court accepted that the interference was based on law and pursued a legitimate aim (the prevention of disorder and the protection of the reputation of others), given the security situation in Spain at the time. However, the key part of the analysis concerned the question of necessity. The Court stressed that:

- freedom of expression also protects ideas that offend, shock or disturb;
- political speech, especially that of opposition members of parliament, enjoys enhanced protection;
- the limits of permissible criticism are wider with regard to the government than with regard to private individuals;
- the authorities must show restraint in resorting to criminal sanctions.

In this specific case, the Court emphasised that Castells had not been allowed to present evidence of the truth of his allegations, which was crucial to his defence. The Court concluded that the interference was not "necessary in a democratic society" and found a violation of Article 10 of the European Convention on Human Rights.

Karácsony and Others v. Hungary, 2016[87]

Case summary and outcome

The Grand Chamber of the European Court of Human Rights found that MPs may be required to comply with rules of parliamentary conduct, but that imposing fines for breaching those rules without a hearing violated their rights. The case arose after seven members of the Hungarian Parliament showed their opposition to new laws on tobacco and on the transfer of agricultural and forestry land by shouting slogans, waving banners and placards, and bringing a wheelbarrow full of soil into the chamber. Each of them was fined without first being given the opportunity to defend their conduct.

Facts

The case arose from the imposition of fines on several members of the Hungarian Parliament who had decided to express their opposition to various new laws in ways other than the usual parliamentary speeches and submissions. First, at the plenary session on 30 April 2013, while the Minister of State for National Economy was delivering a speech on behalf of the government on the reorganisation of the tobacco market, opposition MPs Gergely Karácsony and Péter Szilágyi brought a large placard into the middle of the chamber. The placard named the ruling party and read: "You steal, cheat and lie." They then placed the placard next to the Minister of State's seat. According to the minutes of the session, after a brief interruption, the Speaker ordered that the placard be removed from the chamber. Two weeks later, Parliament adopted the Speaker's proposal to fine Karácsony EUR

87 The format for presenting and interpreting the judgment in Karácsony and Others v. Hungary, 2016, has been taken from: Global Freedom of Expression | Karácsony and Others v. Hungary - Global Freedom of Expression

170 and Szilágyi EUR 600 for their conduct, which was found to be gravely offensive to parliamentary order under the 2012 Act on Parliament. On 21 May 2013, two other MPs, Dávid Dorosz and Rebeka Szabó, protested against a proposed amendment to the tobacco law by bringing into the chamber a large banner reading: "The national tobacco mafia operates here." As in the previous incident, the Speaker ordered the banner to be removed, and Parliament subsequently adopted a proposal to fine Dorosz and Szabó EUR 240 each for their conduct. Finally, on 21 June 2013, when Parliament was sitting to vote on a controversial law on the transfer of agricultural and forestry land, Bernadett Szél placed a small golden wheelbarrow filled with soil on the table in front of the Prime Minister, while Ágnes Osztolykán and Szilvia Lengyel displayed a banner reading "Distribution of land instead of land theft". Lengyel also used a megaphone during the interruption. A few days later, Parliament adopted a proposal to fine these three MPs, as the incident had occurred during the vote and their conduct was found to be gravely offensive to parliamentary order. The MPs lodged two separate applications with the European Court of Human Rights, and in September 2014 a Chamber of the Court delivered a judgment unanimously finding that the decisions to impose fines had violated their right to freedom of expression and their right to an effective remedy. The Hungarian Government requested that the case be referred to the Grand Chamber.

Overview of the decision

The Grand Chamber of the Court delivered its judgment unanimously. The applicants argued that the ruling coalition, which at the time had a two-thirds majority, had taken a number of measures to reduce the participation of opposition parties in Parliament. For example, urgent procedures were used to pass laws within an extremely short time, and the rules of parliamentary disciplinary procedure had been tightened, all to the detriment of the opposition. They argued that, since they had been systematically deprived of the usual means of expressing their views in Parliament, they should be allowed to express their views through symbolic speech, such as displaying placards.

The Hungarian Government argued that the rules of parliamentary discipline were in line with similar rules elsewhere, such as those of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe and the European Parliament. It also stated that the conduct of the MPs concerned had caused serious disruption to the work of Parliament and expressed concern that similar conduct could recur and negatively affect the quality of parliamentary debate. The Governments of the Czech Republic and the United Kingdom intervened in the case and stated that parliaments should have the right to regulate their own conduct. The UK Government pointed out that similar conduct in the House of Commons would be considered seriously disruptive and inappropriate, and that MPs who persisted in such conduct could be temporarily suspended. The Grand Chamber focused on the question of whether the interference was "necessary in a democratic society", which is one of the three conditions for an interference with freedom of expression – such as the fines – to be justified. The Court stressed the importance of taking into account the fairness of the proceedings and the procedural safeguards afforded to those concerned in proceedings leading to the imposition of penalties, including the existence of adequate judicial review. The Court also emphasised the importance of freedom of expression for MPs and stated that speech in parliament enjoys "an elevated level of protection". In particular, it referred to its judgment in Castells v. Spain, in which it had held that interferences with the freedom of expression of an opposition MP call for the closest scrutiny on the part of the Court. The Court cautioned that the right to freedom of expression is not absolute and that states have a wider margin of appreciation in laying down disciplinary rules concerning the time, place and manner of expression in parliament, as opposed to the content of speech. At the same time, it stressed that "parliamentary autonomy should not be abused for the purpose of suppressing the freedom of expression of MPs, which lies at the very heart of political debate in a democracy". Applying these principles to the specific case, the Court focused on the procedural safeguards in place

to prevent abuse in parliamentary proceedings and stated that it saw no need to decide whether the sanctions were "necessary", given the state's wide margin of appreciation. The Court emphasised that the fines had been imposed because of the manner in which the MPs had expressed themselves, not because of the content of their statements. Their conduct had disrupted the work of Parliament and breached the rules of parliamentary conduct. The Court concluded that imposing sanctions to regulate parliamentary conduct fell within the Hungarian Parliament's margin of appreciation; displaying placards and banners and using a megaphone during sessions had disrupted parliamentary order.

However, the Court examined in detail the fairness of the proceedings that led to the imposition of the fines. Unlike immediate sanctions, such as withdrawing the right to speak or exclusion from a sitting, the fines in this case were ex post facto disciplinary measures. In the Court's view, the procedural safeguards in such cases must, as a minimum, include the MP's right to be heard before a sanction is imposed. The Court further stated that any such decision must contain the basic reasons, so that the MP can understand the justification for the measure and so that a degree of public scrutiny is possible. The Court observed that the Act on Parliament under which the MPs had been fined made no provision for their participation in the proceedings, in particular the right to be heard. The absence of this key procedural safeguard amounted to a violation of the right to freedom of expression guaranteed by Article 10 of the European Convention on Human Rights.

Erbakan v. Turkey, 2006[88]

Case summary and outcome

The European Court of Human Rights found, by six votes to one, that the applicant's rights under Article 10 (freedom of expression) of the European Convention on Human Rights had been violated.

The applicant, a politician, had been charged with inciting violence and hatred because of an election campaign speech in which he made disparaging comments about other religions, races and regions.

The Court stated that combating all forms of intolerance is an integral part of human rights protection and that it is crucial for politicians to avoid statements that may foster such intolerance. However, given the fundamental importance of free political debate in a democratic society, the Court had to assess whether there were compelling reasons justifying the imposition of a severe penalty for political speech.

In this regard, the Court noted in particular that the authorities had not sought to establish the content of the disputed speech until four years after the rally, and then solely on the basis of a video recording whose authenticity was disputed.

Facts

The applicant, Necmettin Erbakan, was a politician and Prime Minister of Turkey for one year between 1996 and 1997. At the relevant time, he was chairman of the Refah Partisi (Welfare Party), which was dissolved in 1998 for activities contrary to the principles of secularism. In 1994, during a local election campaign, the applicant gave a public speech in south-eastern Turkey. There was no official recording of the speech. More than four years later, criminal proceedings were brought against Erbakan on the grounds that his 1994 speech had incited people to hatred or hostility through his comments on differences between religions, races and regions. For example, he described all political parties other than his own as parties of injustice, supporters of unbelievers and defenders of a system allegedly based on self-interest, and

[88] The format for presenting and interpreting the judgment in Erbakan v. Turkey, 2006, has been taken from: Global Freedom of Expression | Erbakan v. Turkey - Global Freedom of Expression

argued that "these parties have declared war, according to the Koran, on Allah."

Overview of the decision

The Court had to consider the legal test applicable to assessing a possible violation of Article 10, examining its lawfulness, necessity and proportionality. In doing so, and in assessing whether the proceedings brought against the applicant corresponded to a pressing social need and were proportionate to the legitimate aims pursued, the Court had to look at the impugned measure "in the light of the case as a whole, including the content of the remarks held against the applicant and the context in which he made them". It also had to take into account "the severity of the penalties imposed... when assessing the proportionality of the interference". The Court stressed that "there can be no doubt that concrete expressions constituting hate speech... which may be insulting to particular individuals or groups, are not protected by Article 10 of the Convention". In its analysis, it referred to key judgments such as Handyside v. the United Kingdom, Wingrove v. the United Kingdom and Gündüz v. Turkey.

Taking into account the circumstances of the case, the Court considered that it was particularly difficult to hold the applicant responsible for all the allegations in the indictment. Moreover, at the time the proceedings were brought, it had not been established whether the disputed speech had caused, or was likely to cause, a "current risk" and an "imminent danger". Finally, the Court took into account the extremely severe penalty imposed on such a well-known politician and pointed to the "chilling effect" of imprisoning politicians.

The Court therefore concluded that criminal proceedings brought against a politician four years and five months after the disputed statements were not reasonably proportionate to the legitimate aims pursued, having regard to the interests of a democratic society in ensuring and maintaining freedom of political debate. The Court also stated that, in the light of the circumstances of the case, it had not been established that, at the time the proceedings were brought, the disputed speech posed a "current risk" and an "imminent danger" to society, or that it was likely to do so. In a partly dissenting opinion, Judge Steiner considered that the applicant's statements amounted to "hate speech, justification of violence or incitement to violence" and therefore could not be regarded as compatible with the spirit of tolerance or with the fundamental values of justice and peace set out in the Preamble to the Convention. The Court found, by six votes to one, a violation of the applicant's rights under Article 10 (freedom of expression) of the European Convention on Human Rights.

Féret v. Belgium, 2009[89]

Case summary and outcome

The Court held, by four votes to three, that there had been no violation of Article 10 (freedom of expression) of the European Convention on Human Rights in connection with the conviction of the applicant, the chairman of the political party "Front National", for public incitement to discrimination or hatred following complaints about leaflets distributed by the party during election campaigns. As the initial complaint under Article 10 failed, the remainder of the application was declared inadmissible.

Facts

The applicant, Mr Daniel Féret, is a Belgian national, born in 1944, who lives in Brussels. He was editor-in-chief of the party's publications and, at the relevant time, a member of the Belgian House of Representatives. His parliamentary immunity was lifted at the request of the public prosecutor, and in November 2002 criminal proceedings were brought against him as author and editor-in-chief of the disputed leaflets.

Between July 1999 and October 2001, the distribution of leaflets and posters by the "Front National" led to complaints by individuals and associations of incitement to hatred, discrimination and violence, lodged under the Law of 30 July 1981 penalising certain acts inspired by racism or xenophobia. The leaflets and posters were also distributed online on the websites of Féret and the "Front National".

[89] The format for presenting and interpreting the judgment in Féret v. Belgium, 2009, has been taken from: Global Freedom of Expression | Féret v. Belgium - Global Freedom of Expression

Overview of the decision

While freedom of expression is an important element in a democratic society, it is particularly important for elected representatives of the people, as they represent their electorate and defend its interests. The Court therefore reiterated the importance of the responsibility of politicians when they speak in public, given that they have a greater ability to reach and influence a wider audience, which is why it is essential that they avoid statements that may foster intolerance.

In an electoral context, arguments naturally become more forceful, and the impact of racist and xenophobic speech is further amplified. In this case, there was a compelling need to protect the rights of minorities and the immigrant community. The Belgian courts acted correctly in seeking to prevent such speech.

Vejdeland and Others v. Sweden, 2012[90]

Case summary and outcome

The European Court of Human Rights upheld the decision of the Supreme Court of Sweden and found that the applicants' conviction for distributing leaflets containing homophobic propaganda did not violate Article 10 of the European Convention on Human Rights, which protects freedom of expression.

Facts

Four Swedish nationals were prosecuted for going to a secondary school and handing out leaflets containing statements against homosexuality. The applicants were charged with "agitation against a national or ethnic group".

The District Court sentenced them to fines and imprisonment. They appealed to the Court of Appeal, which overturned the judgment, finding that a conviction would violate the right to freedom of expression. The prosecutor then appealed to the Supreme Court, which reversed the Court of Appeal's decision and upheld that of the District Court, but reduced the sanctions to fines and suspended sentences. An application to the Court followed. INTERIGHTS, the International Centre for the Legal Protection of Human Rights, intervened in the proceedings.

Overview of the decision

The Court's decision was unanimous; the presiding judge was Dean Spielmann. The applicants first argued that the Supreme Court's decision violated Article 10 of the Convention. They also argued that the law was unclear and that their rights under Article 7 of the Convention had thereby been violated. The Court found that the conviction constituted an interference with freedom of expression and then examined whether that interference was prescribed by law and necessary in a democratic society. The Court found that the conviction was prescribed by law, since it was based on the relevant provisions of Swedish criminal law, and pursued a legitimate aim – the protection of the reputation and rights of others. The Court then examined whether the interference was necessary in a democratic society, that is, whether it was proportionate to the aim pursued. It found that the applicants had not been sentenced to imprisonment, although the maximum penalty for the offence was two years, and that they had distributed leaflets that came close to hate speech among young and impressionable pupils. On the basis of these circumstances, the Court concluded that, although it amounted to a restriction of freedom of expression, it was prescribed by law and necessary in a democratic society for the protection of the rights and reputation of others. The Court rejected the complaints under Article 7 as inadmissible.

Separate opinions

In a concurring opinion, Judge Spielmann stated that he would not have regarded the leaflets as hate speech, but as aimed at starting a debate. He also pointed out that Article 10 does not protect hate speech and therefore considered that a different analytical approach should have been taken. Judge Boštjan M. Zupančič compared this decision with practice in the United States and stated that the outcome there would probably have been different, as a higher standard of protection of free speech applies. He considered that the Court had gone too far in restricting freedom of expression.

In a separate opinion, Judge Yudkivska stated that she considered the leaflets to constitute hate speech, not protected under Article 10 of the Convention.

[90] The format for presenting and interpreting the judgment in Vejdeland and Others v. Sweden, 2012, has been taken from: Global Freedom of Expression | Case of Vejdeland and Others v. Sweden - Global Freedom of Expression

Le Pen v. France, 2010[91]

Case summary and outcome

The Fifth Section of the European Court of Human Rights unanimously found that there had been no violation of Article 10 of the European Convention on Human Rights in respect of the applicant.

In 2005, the applicant was fined EUR 10,000 for incitement to discrimination, hatred and violence because of statements he had made about Muslims in France in an interview with Le Monde. Among other things, he said that "the day there are no longer 5 million but 25 million Muslims in France, they will be in charge". In 2006, he was given a further fine of EUR 10,000 for further comments he made about the first fine. The European Court of Human Rights declared the application manifestly ill-founded, as the applicant's statements fostered rejection of and hostility towards the Muslim community and therefore could not be covered by the protection of freedom of expression under Article 10 of the Convention.

Facts

This case concerned Jean-Marie Le Pen, former leader of the French political party "National Front", who claimed that his right to freedom of expression under Article 10 had been violated following his conviction for statements made in an interview with Le Monde in 2005.

The first-instance court fined him EUR 10,000 for "incitement to discrimination, hatred and violence towards a group of people because of their origin or their membership or non-membership of a specific ethnic group, nation, race or religion". During the interview he said that "the day there are no longer 5 million but 25 million Muslims in France, they will be in charge". In 2006, the Paris Court of Appeal imposed a further fine of the same amount after he commented on the first fine in the weekly Rivarol, saying: "When I tell people that when we have 25 million Muslims in France we French will have to watch our step, they often reply: 'But Mr Le Pen, that's already the case now!' – and they are right."

Overview of the decision

The Fifth Section of the Court unanimously held that the application was manifestly ill-founded, because the nature of the applicant's statements fostered rejection of and hostility towards Muslims.

The main question before the Court was whether Le Pen's conviction for inciting hatred against Muslims violated Article 10 of the Convention. The applicant argued that his right to freedom of expression had been violated because he had been punished for statements made in Le Monde and Rivarol. He challenged the lawfulness, necessity and proportionality of the interference with his freedom of expression, stressing that his statements had been made in the context of a political debate on immigration and had not been directed against Muslims as a religious group. His conviction at the national level was based on provisions of the 1881 law on the freedom of the press, which penalise incitement to discrimination and hatred. The Court referred to its established case law and emphasised the importance of freedom of expression in a democratic society, citing Handyside v. the United Kingdom, Lingens v. Austria and Jersild v. Denmark. Although it considered the elements of the Article 10 test, the Court did not carry out a detailed analysis as in some other cases, because it considered that the applicant's statements fell outside the scope of Article 10 protection. The Court stated that Le Pen's statements were such as to create a negative and even worrying image of the Muslim community as a whole. It referred to the findings of the Court of Appeal, which had held that Le Pen had "instilled in the public the conviction that the security of the French people depended on the rejection of Muslims and that fear and concern would disappear if their number were reduced or if they disappeared". Although the Court did not explicitly address the special responsibility of politicians, it implicitly stressed the need to protect the rights of others and to combat racial discrimination.

In the light of all the above, the Court concluded that the applicant's statements fostered rejection of and hostility towards the Muslim community and therefore did not enjoy protection under Article 10, and declared the application manifestly ill-founded.

[91] The format for presenting and interpreting the judgment in Le Pen v. France, 2010, has been taken from: Global Freedom of Expression | Le Pen v. France - Global Freedom of Expression

Norwood v. the United Kingdom, 2004[92]

Case summary and outcome

The European Court of Human Rights found that a clear and vehement attack on a particular group may fall within the scope of Article 17 of the European Convention on Human Rights. Norwood, a member of a far-right political party, displayed a poster in the window of his flat calling for the removal of all Muslims from Britain. The police removed the poster, and proceedings were brought against him for an aggravated offence under the Public Order Act 1986.

The Court concluded that Article 10 (freedom of expression) cannot be invoked against Article 17, which provides that no one has the right to use their rights to destroy the rights and freedoms of others. Specifically, the poster amounted to a vehement attack on a religious group, implying that all Muslims were responsible for grave acts of terrorism, which is incompatible with the values of the Convention.

Facts

The applicant was a member of the British National Party, a far-right political party. Between November 2001 and 9 January 2002, he displayed in the window of his flat a large poster supplied by his party. The poster showed the Twin Towers in flames, the words "Islam out of Britain – Protect the British People" and a crescent and star symbol in a prohibition sign. Following a complaint from a member of the public, the police removed the poster. Although the applicant was invited for an interview, he refused to attend. Proceedings were brought against him for an aggravated offence under section 5 of the Public Order Act 1986 for displaying a message with content hostile to a racial or religious group. After his conviction, he appealed to the High Court, which dismissed the appeal and held that the poster was "a public expression of attack on all Muslims in this country", calling for their removal and presenting their presence as a threat to the British people.

The applicant then applied to the European Court of Human Rights, alleging a violation of Article 10 of the Convention.

Overview of the decision

The applicant argued that freedom of expression covers not only inoffensive statements, but also provocative, offensive and disturbing ones, provided they do not incite violence. He also stated that criticism of a religion should not be equated with an attack on its followers. The Court referred to Article 17 of the Convention, which provides that no provision of the Convention may be interpreted as implying any right to engage in activity aimed at the destruction of the rights and freedoms of others.

The general purpose of Article 17 is to prevent individuals or groups with totalitarian aims from abusing the rights set out in the Convention. The Court found that freedom of expression under Article 10 cannot be used in a manner contrary to Article 17. Applying this standard, the Court held that the disputed poster amounted to a general and vehement attack on Muslims as a religious group, implying their collective responsibility for terrorism. Such speech is incompatible with the values of the Convention, in particular tolerance, social peace and non-discrimination. The Court therefore concluded that such conduct fell within Article 17 and did not enjoy protection under Article 10 or Article 14 of the Convention.

[92] The format for presenting and interpreting the judgment in Norwood v. the United Kingdom, 2004, has been taken from: Global Freedom of Expression | Norwood v. United Kingdom - Global Freedom of Expression

Sanchez v. France, 2021[93]

Case summary and outcome

The Fifth Section of the European Court of Human Rights found that the conviction of a politician for failing to promptly remove unlawful comments by third parties posted on the public wall of his Facebook account did not violate Article 10 of the European Convention on Human Rights, even though he had not necessarily been aware of those comments.

The applicant, Julien Sanchez, a locally elected representative and candidate in parliamentary elections, was convicted of inciting hatred or violence against persons of the Islamic faith. The Court stressed the importance of freedom of expression in political debate, but found that the French courts' decision was based on relevant and sufficient reasons relating to his lack of vigilance and response in monitoring the comments on his page.

The Grand Chamber upheld this judgment in May 2023.

Facts

The applicant, Julien Sanchez, was a candidate in parliamentary elections in the Nîmes constituency for the Front National political party. One of his political opponents was a Member of the European Parliament and deputy mayor of Nîmes. On 24 October 2011, Sanchez posted a comment about this opponent on a publicly accessible Facebook profile that he managed. Another user, S.B., posted a comment stating, among other things, that the city of Nîmes had been turned into "Algiers", that "there isn't a street without a kebab shop and a mosque" and that "drug dealers and prostitutes reign", along with other offensive and discriminatory allegations about Muslims. A third user, L.R., added further comments directed against Muslims. After the political opponent's partner lodged a complaint, one of the authors removed his comment. However, Sanchez and the authors of the comments were summoned before the criminal court in Nîmes for inciting hatred or violence against a group of people on the grounds of their religion. On 28 February 2013, the court found Sanchez and the others guilty and fined each of them EUR 4,000, with an obligation to pay compensation for non-pecuniary damage. The court concluded that Sanchez, as the manager of the public page, had failed to remove the unlawful comments promptly and had thereby enabled their further dissemination. His appeal was dismissed, as was his subsequent appeal to the Court of Cassation. He then applied to the European Court of Human Rights, alleging a violation of Article 10 of the Convention.

[93] The format for presenting and interpreting the judgment in Sanchez v. France, 2021, has been taken from: Global Freedom of Expression | Sanchez v. France - Global Freedom of Expression

Overview of the decision

The Court found that there had been an interference with the right to freedom of expression, but that it had been prescribed by law and had pursued a legitimate aim.

With regard to whether the interference was necessary in a democratic society, the Court considered:

- the context of the comments
- the measures taken by the applicant to remove them
- the possibility of holding the authors of the comments liable
- the consequences of the proceedings for the applicant

The Court found that the comments were clearly unlawful and associated the Muslim community with crime and insecurity, which could arouse a strong feeling of rejection of or hostility towards that group. It stressed that freedom of political debate is not absolute and that in a democratic society it is necessary to sanction expressions that incite hatred and intolerance. The Court found that the applicant had not been sanctioned for his own political speech, but for his lack of vigilance and timely response. As a public figure and user of a publicly accessible profile, he had certain obligations with regard to monitoring content. The Court also stated that responsibility is shared between the account holder and the platform, but that it is legitimate to expect the owner of a public account to take action where clearly unlawful content is concerned. Although the authors of the comments had been identified, the applicant was held liable for his own conduct – that is, for failing to remove the comments within a reasonable time. Taking into account the relatively mild sanction and all the circumstances of the case, the Court concluded that the interference was proportionate and necessary in a democratic society. It therefore found no violation of Article 10 of the Convention.

Dissenting opinion

Judge Mourou-Vikström pointed out that Delfi AS v. Estonia drew a distinction between large commercial portals and individual users or administrators of social media accounts. She considered that the majority had not sufficiently explained why that standard had not been applied in this case and warned that such an approach could impose an excessive monitoring obligation on users, turning them into a kind of content censor.

Practical work forms

Annex 2. Model Training Programme for MPs, Local Councillors and Public Officials



The training model links social cohesion, children's rights, the legal framework of political speech, hate speech and risky narratives, digital communication, children's participation and the responsibility of parliament. The aim is for participants to translate theoretical and legal standards into concrete patterns of public speaking and institutional practice.

Training objective

Strengthening participants' capacity for responsible political communication based on respect for human rights, the protection of children's rights, the prevention of hate speech and the promotion of social cohesion.

The training is designed as a joint effort: short presentations, exchange of experience, exercises, workshops and parliamentary simulations.

Expected outcomes

Through exchange of experience, discussion and practical exercises, participants will have the opportunity to:

- recognise different forms of hate speech;
- distinguish legitimate political criticism from discriminatory speech;
- apply the principles of child-sensitive communication;
- improve communication in parliamentary debates;
- promote the responsible use of social media;
- advocate for the participation of children and young people in decision-making.

Annex 3. Proposed One-Day Training Programme

Time	Topic
09:00 – 09:30	Introduction and expectations
09:30 – 10:30	Social cohesion and the legal framework
10:30 – 11:30	The impact of political discourse on children
11:30 – 11:45	Break
11:45 – 12:45	Hate speech and divisive narratives
12:45 – 13:30	Lunch
13:30 – 14:30	Social media and responsible communication
14:30 – 15:30	A child-friendly parliament
15:30 – 16:15	Case studies
16:15 – 16:30	Conclusions and evaluation

Annex 4. EXERCISE: CLICK or STOP

Topic: Hate speech, digital violence and responsible communication

Duration: 10–15 minutes

AIM OF THE EXERCISE

- Recognise hate speech and violence
- Distinguish criticism from insult

WHAT YOU NEED (CLICK / STOP) – Participants raise their hands

HOW TO PLAY (for the trainer)

"I am going to read out different situations. Your task is to judge whether the behaviour is OK or not.

→ If you think it is OK – say CLICK
→ If you think it is not OK – say STOP

After each example, we will briefly discuss why you decided as you did. "IMPORTANT RULE – There are no right or wrong answers – what matters is that we explain why we think so."

Annex 5. SHORT GAME: Are Children Included?

Topic: children's participation in decision-making
Duration: 10 minutes

No standing up or moving around
Participants: local councillors, public officials and children

Game – Prepare statements on the given topic

Trainer's introduction

"Now let's see how far we agree on how much children should take part in decision-making."

The trainer reads out the statements. Participants answer:

- ✓ "YES"

or

- ✗ "NO"

They can simply give a thumbs up/down or hold up a YES/NO card

After the answers, the trainer briefly asks:

"Why?"
and gives the floor to one child and one adult.

At the end, the trainer says:

"Now one child will ask the councillors a question."

Examples:

"Why do adults sometimes not ask children?"

"Would you accept a child's idea if it was better?"

"What would you change first for children in the municipality?"

The councillors answer briefly.

The game is quick and everyone takes part; it works well as an energiser and opens up discussion. It is often interesting because of the variety of answers.

Closing message of the game:

"Children's participation does not mean that children decide on their own.
It means that their voice has a place where decisions that affect their lives are made."

Annex 6. WORKSHOP (60–70 min)

The Impact of Political Discourse on Children and Young People

(hate speech – digital violence – gender-based violence)

AIM OF THE WORKSHOP

- For participants to recognise how political speech affects children and young people
- For participants to connect the speech of adults (especially politicians and public figures) with children's behaviour
- For participants to develop a more responsible approach to communication

MATERIALS:

- flipchart paper (3+)
- markers
- adhesive tape

STRUCTURE

Stage	Duration
1. Introduction + warm-up	10 min
2. Forming groups and assigning the task	5 min
3. Group work (flipchart)	25 min
4. Presentations	20 min
5. Conclusion	10 min

1. INTRODUCTION – "WHERE DO CHILDREN LEARN?" (10 min)

Instructions for the trainer:

Ask the whole group:

"Who do children learn the most from about how to speak and how to behave?"

Take answers (parents, school, the internet...)

Then add:

"And how much do we teach children through our public speech – especially in politics?"

Mini warm-up (2–3 min)

Tell the participants:

"Think of one sentence you have heard in the public space (TV, parliament, social media) that could influence a child."

A few participants share.

Key point (for you to emphasise):

- Children don't only listen to what we say → but to how we say it
- Political discourse becomes a model of behaviour

2. DIVIDING INTO GROUPS AND ASSIGNING THE TASK (5 min)

Divide participants into **3 groups** (mixed: councillors + children).

Each group receives:

- a flipchart
- a marker
- its own topic

TOPICS BY GROUP:

GROUP 1 – Hate speech and divisive narratives

GROUP 2 – Digital violence

GROUP 3 – Gender-based violence

3. GROUP WORK (25 min)

TASK FOR ALL GROUPS (same framework):

Divide the flipchart sheet into 3 columns:

1. WHAT DO CHILDREN HEAR/SEE?
(specific sentences, behaviours, examples)

2. WHAT IS THE IMPACT ON CHILDREN?
(emotions, behaviour, relationships)

3. WHAT SHOULD WE AS ADULTS/POLITICIANS DO DIFFERENTLY?
(solutions, responsible behaviour)

ADDITIONAL GUIDANCE BY GROUP:

• GROUP 1 – Hate speech
Prompting questions:

- What does divisive speech look like?
- Do children repeat it?
- How does it affect peer relationships?

• GROUP 2 – Digital violence

- How does political speech end up on social media?
- How do children comment and imitate?
- Where is the limit of freedom of speech?

GROUP 3 – Gender-based violence

- What messages do children receive about women/men?
- How does speech affect girls?
- Are we normalising insults?

4. GROUP PRESENTATIONS (20 min)

Each group chooses **1 representative**.

◷ **Time per group: 5–6 min**

PRESENTATION OUTLINE:

The representative presents:

1. What children see/hear
2. What the impact is
3. What needs to change

5. CONCLUSION – JOINT REFLECTION (10 min)

Ask the whole group:

"If children are listening to us – what message are we sending them today?"

CLOSING MESSAGES:

- Political speech is not just politics → it is a pattern of behaviour
- Children do not distinguish between "public" and "private" communication
- Every word can become a model of violence or a model of respect

Annex 7. Workshop “The Power of Words”

Aim

Understanding the impact of political communication on citizens, and especially on children and young people.

Duration: 45 minutes

Materials

- Flipchart
- Markers
- Cards with statements

Task

Participants receive a series of political statements and sort them into three categories:

1. Communication that builds trust
2. Communication that deepens divisions
3. Communication that may constitute hate speech

Discussion

Why was a particular statement placed in a particular category?

What consequences might it have for:

- children;
- young people;
- citizens;
- social cohesion?

Annex 8. Workshop “How Would a Child Hear This?”

Aim

Developing empathy and an understanding of the impact of public speech on children.

Duration: 60 minutes

Task

Participants are given political statements.

Example:

“This generation of young people is uninterested in society.”

The groups analyse:

- How would a 12-year-old understand the statement?
- How would a secondary school student understand it?
- What feelings might the statement provoke?
- How could it be phrased differently?

Conclusion

Public words affect the self-confidence, sense of belonging and perception of self-worth of children and young people.

Annex 9. ROLE PLAY – Civic Education in Schools

"A Child-Friendly Parliament – Civic Education in Schools?"

Duration: 45–60 minutes
Participants: local councillors and children/young people

Aim of the workshop:

- understanding the importance of the participation of children and young people
- developing a culture of dialogue
- understanding different political views
- learning reasoned communication
- encouraging cooperation between councillors and children
- Civic education

SCENARIO – Parliamentary simulation

Parliament holds a special sitting to debate the following proposal:

"That Civic Education be introduced as a regular subject in primary and secondary schools, with more lessons and practical involvement of children in local decisions."

Participants:

- **councillors who support the proposal**
- **councillors who oppose it**
- **children and young people who want to take part**
- **the chair of the sitting**
- **media/observers**
- **the workshop trainer/moderator**

Seating arrangement

In the middle:

The chair's table is in the middle; on the left sits GROUP 1 – the councillors who initiated the sitting and support the proposal; on the right sits GROUP 2 – the councillors who reject the proposal

Opposite everyone sit the children/young people – GROUP 3. Behind everyone is GROUP 4 – journalists and observers

HOW THE GAME RUNS

The trainer says:

- "Only the person who has been given the floor speaks."
- "No insults."
- "We use arguments."
- "We respect the children and the other speakers."
- "We don't interrupt each other."
- "You can show emotion, but not aggression."

GROUP 1

COUNCILLORS WHO SUPPORT THE PROPOSAL

Behaviour:

- calm
- reasoned
- want change
- support children's voices
- talk about democracy and children's rights

What they do:

- ask for children to take part
- propose concrete measures
- respond to criticism

LINES SPOKEN BY GROUP 1

Card 1
"Children are not only the future – they are also the present of our society."

Card 2
"If we learn maths and languages, why shouldn't we also learn how society works?"

Card 3
"Civic education develops tolerance and a culture of dialogue."

Card 4
"Young people today want to be heard."

Card 5
"A child-friendly parliament means that children have the right to express their views."

GROUP 2

COUNCILLORS WHO REJECT THE PROPOSAL

Behaviour:

- sceptical

- conservative
- believe schools already have too many obligations
- downplay the importance of children's participation

Important:

Do not insult the children – express political disagreement only.

LINES THEY SPEAK:

Card 1
"Children should be focused on school, not on politics."

Card 2
"There are already too many subjects."

Card 3
"Young people don't have enough experience to decide on important issues."

Card 4
"Decisions should be made by adults."

Card 5
"This could put an extra burden on schools."

GROUP 3

CHILDREN AND YOUNG PEOPLE

Behaviour:

- interested
- emotional but reasoned
- want adults to hear them
- speak from experience

What they do:

- ask for a say
- explain young people's problems
- say how they feel when no one asks them

LINES:

Card 1
"Adults' decisions affect our lives, and no one asks for our opinion."

Card 2
"We want to learn how to be active citizens."

Card 3
"Young people know best what the problems among young people are."

Card 4
"If you don't teach us democracy now, how will we live it tomorrow?"

Card 5
"We're not asking to decide on our own – we're asking to take part."

GROUP 4

MEDIA AND OBSERVERS

What they do:

- follow the communication
- note down:
  - who listens to others
  - who interrupts
  - who uses arguments
  - how the children feel
  - who shows respect

Questions for the media…

- "Was the dialogue constructive?"
- "Were the children heard?"
- "Who used the best arguments?"
- "Was there any belittling?"
- "What did a child-friendly parliament look like?"

HOW THE GAME RUNS

STAGE 1

OPENING OF THE SITTING (5 min)

The chair says:
"I declare open this special sitting of the local parliament. The topic of today's debate is the proposal to introduce civic education and greater participation of children and young people in decision-making."

STAGE 2

PRESENTATION OF THE PROPOSAL (5 min)
The supporting group:

- presents the idea
- explains why it matters

The children:

- share their experiences

STAGE 3

DEBATE (15–20 min)

EXAMPLE OF HOW THE DEBATE MIGHT GO

Councillor:
"Young people don't have enough experience."

Child:
"How will we gain experience if no one gives us the chance?"

Councillor:
"Schools are already overloaded."

Another child:
"Civic education teaches us communication and respect."

Supporting councillor:
"Society needs young people who know how to talk and work together."

(ALL participants may improvise, but without insults)

STAGE 4

VOTE (5 min)
The chair:
"Who is in favour of the proposal?"

All groups vote.

STEPPING OUT OF ROLE (2–3 min)

This is very important.

The trainer asks everyone:

- to stand up
- to take a deep breath
- to smile

Reflection (10 min)

THE TRAINER ASKS

The children:

- "How did you feel?"
- "Did you feel that someone was listening to you?"
- "What would you like to tell the councillors?"

The councillors:

- "What did you learn today?"
- "Did you come to understand the children's perspective differently?"
- "How often do we really involve young people?"

The observers:

- "Who showed a culture of dialogue?"
- "Did anyone dominate?"
- "What does a child-friendly parliament look like?"

FINAL TASK – "OUR PARLIAMENT" (5–10 min)

On a large flipchart:

"A CHILD-FRIENDLY PARLIAMENT IS..."

Participants add words or short sentences.

Examples:

- **"a place where people listen"**
- **"a safe space"**
- **"cooperation"**
- **"respect"**
- **"participation"**
- **"children's voices"**
- **"dialogue without insults"**

SYMBOLIC VOTE (OPTIONAL)

On the wall:

- YES
- NO

Question:

"Should children and young people take an active part in decision-making?"

Participants put up stickers.

A change of opinion after the workshop is usually visible.

TRAINER'S MESSAGE:

"Democracy is not just voting. Democracy means listening to, respecting and including all citizens — including children and young people.

A child-friendly parliament is not a place where children make all the decisions, but a place where their voices are heard and respected."

Annex 10. Case Studies

Case 1 – Peer violence

After an incident at a school, a politician states publicly:

“These children have lost all their values.”

Questions

- Is this a generalisation?
- How might the statement affect other children?
- What would a responsible statement look like?

Case 2 – Social media

An MP posts a photograph of a minor who was involved in an incident.

Questions

- Have the child’s rights been violated?
- Has privacy been breached?
- What should have been done?

Case 3 – Minority communities

The following phrase is used in a debate:

“They don’t want to integrate.”

Questions

- Is this a stereotype?
- How else could the problem be discussed?

Annex 11. Simulation of a Parliamentary Debate

Topic: "How can we improve the protection of children from hate speech in the digital environment?"

Through the simulation, participants take on different social and political roles and take part in a debate on possible measures to prevent hate speech, protect children online and improve responsible communication in the digital space. The aim is to examine different perspectives through reasoned debate and to identify possible solutions together.

Participants may improvise speeches, but without using offensive language.

Roles

Participants are divided into groups representing the different actors involved in decision-making:

- chair;
- government representatives;
- opposition representatives;
- youth representatives;
- civil society representatives;
- media.

Aim: The aim of the simulation is for participants, through practical work, to improve their understanding of the importance of responsible political communication, develop skills in presenting reasoned arguments and practise conducting dialogue on sensitive social issues concerning the rights and well-being of children.

The simulation allows participants to see how different actors contribute to policymaking, how decisions are made in democratic processes and how shared solutions in the best interests of the child can be built.

Practising:

- reasoned debate;
- a culture of dialogue;
- communication without insults;
- respect for different opinions.

Course of the activity

1. The chair opens the sitting and introduces the topic of the debate.
2. Each group is given a few minutes to prepare its positions and proposals.
3. Group representatives deliver opening statements.
4. The debate is opened, during which participants ask questions, comment and propose solutions.
5. At the end of the debate, participants jointly formulate recommendations for improving the protection of children from hate speech in the digital environment.
6. The trainer leads a closing reflection on the experience of the simulation and the key lessons learned.

At the end of the game, all participants step out of their roles

Questions for reflection after the simulation

- How did you feel in the role you played?
- Was it easy to represent different positions without conflict?
- What contributed to the quality of the dialogue?
- Which communication skills were most important during the debate?
- How can the lessons learned be applied in real parliamentary debates and public communication?

Annex 12. Self-Assessment Tool

Rate the statements from 1 to 5.

Statement	Rating
I use verified information	_____
I avoid stereotypes	_____
I am mindful of the impact of my words on children	_____
I promote a culture of dialogue	_____
I do not use offensive language	_____
I encourage the participation of young people	_____
I use social media responsibly	_____

Annex 13. Checklist Before a Public Appearance

Before an interview, a parliamentary debate or a social media post, ask yourself the following questions:

- ✓ Is the information accurate?
- ✓ Has it been verified?
- ✓ Does it respect the dignity of others?
- ✓ Does it contain stereotypes?
- ✓ Could it have a negative impact on children?
- ✓ Does it contribute to dialogue?
- ✓ Does it promote social cohesion?
- ✓ Would I consider the same message acceptable if it were addressed to me?

Annex 14. CHECKLIST: A CHILD-FRIENDLY PARLIAMENT

This checklist can be used for the self-assessment of a parliament or a local assembly.

Participation of children and young people

- ☐ There are mechanisms for consulting children and young people.
- ☐ Children and young people have the opportunity to express their views on matters that concern them.
- ☐ The views and positions of children and young people are respected and taken into account in decision-making
- ☐ Meetings between young people and decision-makers are organised.

Children's rights in the work of parliament

- ☐ Parliament regularly considers issues of importance to children.
- ☐ There are working bodies or mechanisms dealing with children's rights.
- ☐ When decisions are made, the views and positions of children, as well as the impact of those decisions on children, are considered.

Communication

- ☐ Parliament promotes a culture of dialogue.
- ☐ Hate speech is not tolerated in the work of parliament.
- ☐ Communication is based on respect for human dignity.

Cooperation

- ☐ Parliament cooperates with schools, youth organisations and organisations working on children's rights.
- ☐ The participation of children and young people in public life is encouraged.

Transparency

- ☐ Information about the work of parliament is available to citizens.
- ☐ Certain content about the work of parliament is adapted for children and young people.

Annex 15. KEY RECOMMENDATIONS FOR RESPONSIBLE POLITICAL COMMUNICATION AND A CHILD-FRIENDLY SOCIETY

1. Recommendations for political actors

1. Use accurate, verified and well-reasoned information in all public appearances.
2. Promote a culture of dialogue, mutual respect and constructive debate.
3. Respect different opinions and encourage a democratic exchange of views without insults or belittling.
4. Make sure that political messages do not foster division, intolerance or discrimination.
5. Particularly value and protect the dignity of children and young people in the public space.
6. Actively involve children and young people in decision-making processes that concern them.
7. Support the development of mechanisms for children's participation at the local and national level.
8. Respect children's views as a relevant contribution to public policymaking.
9. Promote gender equality and equal opportunities for all citizens.
10. Set an example of responsible behaviour and communication in the public space and on social media.

2. Recommendations for parliamentary bodies and local assemblies

11. Regularly consider issues concerning the rights and well-being of children.
12. Provide opportunities for children and young people to express their views before working bodies and assemblies.
13. Strengthen cooperation with schools, youth organisations and civil society organisations.
14. Support initiatives that contribute to social inclusion, child protection and the development of the local community.
15. Develop mechanisms for monitoring the impact of local policies on children and young people.
16. Encourage evidence-based and analysis-based decision-making.

3. Recommendations for public communication

17. Use language that promotes respect, equality and inclusion.
18. Respond promptly to instances of hate speech, discrimination and violence in the public space.
19. Pay particular attention to protecting children's privacy in the media and online.
20. Promote positive examples of cooperation, solidarity and social responsibility.
21. Support the media and digital literacy of children, young people and adults.
22. Encourage the responsible use of social media.

4. What to avoid

23. Hate speech, insults and the humiliation of individuals or groups.
24. Spreading stereotypes, prejudice and stigmatisation.
25. Using children for political purposes or in political conflicts.
26. Publishing unverified information and disinformation.
27. Revealing the identity of children in situations that may endanger their privacy or safety.
28. Normalising violence, discrimination and exclusion.
29. Aggressive political rhetoric that deepens social divisions.
30. Any form of communication that is not in line with the best interests of the child.

Creating a child-friendly society is not the responsibility of a single institution or individual. It is a shared task of political actors, institutions, the media, the family, the education system and the whole community. Through responsible communication, respect for diversity and the consistent protection of children's rights, it is possible to build a democratic, inclusive and caring society in which every child has the opportunity to be heard, protected and included, in line with international standards for the protection of children's rights and the basic principles of social cohesion.

Annex 16. Extended Overview of Definitions of Social Cohesion

This annex contains the extended overview of definitions from the original authors' text. The main part of the Handbook contains a concise selection, adapted to the target group and for easier practical use.

Definition	Source
The extent of trust in government and within society and the willingness to participate collectively towards a shared vision of sustainable peace and common development goals.	UNDP (2020)[94]
Social cohesion refers to the elements that bring people together and connect them within society. In a strongly cohesive society, all individuals and groups have a sense of belonging, participation, inclusion, recognition and legitimacy. A cohesive society is one in which people are protected from life risks, trust their neighbours and state institutions, and can work towards a better future for themselves and their families. Fostering social cohesion means striving for greater inclusiveness, greater civic participation and creating opportunities for upward social mobility. It is the 'glue' that holds society together.	UNDESA (2007)[95] (2012)[96]
UNICEF does not provide a single universal definition of social cohesion, but describes it through its programmes and approaches as a key element in peacebuilding and the protection of children in conflict. According to UNICEF, social cohesion is a state in which every child can live in and contribute to society, and in which relations between state and social groups are characterised by trust, inclusion, protection and participation.	UNICEF[97] (2025)
UNESCO does not provide a single, formal definition of social cohesion, but in its documents and initiatives it highlights the importance of culture as a key factor in strengthening social cohesion and sustainable development. Culture drives and enables sustainable development, as it contributes to inclusion, reconciliation and a stronger sense of togetherness among different communities. In the context of education and technical and vocational education and training (TVET), UNESCO-UNEVOC uses a definition of social cohesion as "the extent to which different groups in society can live together and share common values".[98] These perspectives emphasise the importance of culture and education in building social cohesion by promoting shared values, identity and a sense of belonging within communities.	UNESCO[99] (2025)

94 UNDP (2020). Strengthening Social Cohesion: Conceptual Framing and Programming Implications. New York: UNDP. Publication page: https://www.undp.org/publications/strengthening-social-cohesion-conceptual-framing-and-programming-implications

95 UN DESA (2007). Creating an Inclusive Society: Practical Strategies to Promote Social Integration, Expert Group Meeting, Paris, September 2007 (working definition of social cohesion). Available at: https://www.un.org/esa/socdev/sib/inclusive_society/social%20cohesion.html

96 UN DESA (2012). Perspectives on social cohesion – the glue that holds society together, 30 January 2012. Available at: https://www.un.org/en/development/desa/news/policy/perspectives-on-social-cohesion.html

97 UNICEF (2025). Safety, equity and social cohesion: UNICEF's approach to peacebuilding (Peacebuilding: Protecting Children in Conflict Zones). UNICEF USA. Available at: https://www.unicefusa.org/what-unicef-does/childrens-protection/peacebuilding

98 UNESCO-UNEVOC International Centre for TVET. Social cohesion, TVETipedia Glossary. Available at: https://connect.unevoc.unesco.org/home/TVETipedia+Glossary

99 UNESCO. Culture as source of sustainable development and social cohesion. Available at: https://www.unesco.org/en/articles/culture-source-sustainable-development-and-social-cohesion

Definition	Source
The OECD analyses social cohesion from three distinct but equally important perspectives: Social inclusion: measured through aspects of social exclusion such as poverty, inequality and social polarisation. Social capital: combines measures of trust (interpersonal and societal) with different forms of civic engagement. Social mobility: measures the degree to which people can, or believe they can, change their position in society.	OECD (2011)[100]
The capacity of a society to ensure the well-being of all its members, minimising disparities and avoiding polarisation. A cohesive society is a mutually supportive community of free individuals pursuing these common goals by democratic means.	Council of Europe (2005)[101]
The 2019 IOM Glossary on Migration defines social cohesion as "the capacity of a society or community, based on a shared vision and sense of belonging, in which the diversity of people's backgrounds (including migrant backgrounds) and circumstances are appreciated and positively valued".	IOM (2019) / EC DG Migration and Home Affairs[102]
EU cohesion policy contributes to strengthening economic, social and territorial cohesion in the European Union. It aims to correct imbalances between countries and regions. It delivers on the Union's political priorities, especially the green and digital transition. Article 174 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU) provides that, in order to strengthen its economic, social and territorial cohesion, the Union shall aim at reducing disparities between the levels of development of the various regions and the backwardness of the least favoured regions.	EC DG Regio (2025)[103] and Treaty on the Functioning of the EU (2007)
The ties and relationships between social units such as individuals, groups (and) associations [...]; it is the 'glue' that holds communities together. Cohesion is created from ties based on a shared sense of belonging and attachment, similar values, trust and a sense of 'social solidarity'.	Australian Institute of Health and Welfare (2005)[104]
Social cohesion is based on the willingness of individuals to cooperate and work together at all levels of society to achieve collective goals.	Department of Canadian Heritage (Jeannotte et al., 2002)[105]
Social cohesion involves building shared values and communities of interpretation, reducing disparities in wealth and income, and generally enabling people to have a sense that they are engaged in a common enterprise, facing shared challenges, and that they are members of the same community.	Canadian Policy Research Networks (Maxwell, 1996)[106]

100 OECD (2011). Perspectives on Global Development 2012: Social Cohesion in a Shifting World. Paris: OECD Publishing. DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/persp_glob_dev-2012-en
Publication page: https://www.oecd.org/en/publications/perspectives-on-global-development-2012_persp_glob_dev-2012-en.html

101 Council of Europe. (2005). Concerted development of social cohesion indicators: Methodological guide. Council of Europe, Strasbourg. https://www.coe.int/t/dg3/socialpolicies/socialcohesiondev/source/GUIDE_en.pdf

102 https://home-affairs.ec.europa.eu/networks/european-migration-network-emn/emn-asylum-and-migration-glossary/glossary/social-cohesion_en

103 Directorate-General for EU regional and urban policy, (https://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/2021-2027_en);

104 Australian Institute of Health and Welfare. (2005). Australia's welfare 2005: The seventh biennial welfare report of the Australian Institute of Health and Welfare. Australian Institute of Health and Welfare, Canberra. https://www.aihw.gov.au/getmedia/425737a8-4c09-40d8-bdf3-e8b1052e742c/aw05.pdf

105 Jeannotte, S. M., Stanley, D., Pendakur, R., Jamieson, B., Williams, M., and Aizlewood, A. (2002). Buying in or dropping out: The public policy implications of social cohesion. Department of Canadian Heritage, Ottawa.

106 Maxwell, J. (1996). Social dimensions of economic growth. Department of Economics, University of Alberta.

Definition	Source
Integrates social cohesion into the components of quality of life and distinguishes two essential goal dimensions inherent in the concept: the inequality dimension and the social capital dimension. The first dimension (inequality) includes the goals of reducing disparities, promoting equal opportunities and combating social exclusion, while the second dimension (social capital) covers all aspects aimed at strengthening social relations, interactions and ties.	Berger-Schmitt (2002)[107]
Social cohesion is a state of affairs concerning both the vertical and the horizontal interactions among members of society, characterised by a set of attitudes and norms that includes trust, a sense of belonging and the willingness to participate and help, as well as their behavioural manifestations.	Chan, To and Chan (2006)[108]
Social cohesion essentially refers to the presence of structural and attitudinal mechanisms of solidarity, cooperation and exchange between citizens in a society. These constitutive networks can be material or structural (exchange of goods, economic interactions) or non-material (informal relationships, shared identities).	Botterman, Hooghe and Reeskens (2012)[109]
Social cohesion is "the ongoing process of developing well-being, sense of belonging, and voluntary social participation of the members of society, while developing communities that tolerate and promote a multiplicity of values and cultures, and granting at the same time equal rights and opportunities in society". In analysing aspects of social cohesion, the authors present a "triangle" of relations comprising the individual, communities and institutions, which are interconnected.	Fonseca, Lukosch and Brazier (2019)[110]
Social cohesion refers to the vertical and horizontal relations among members of society and the state that hold society together. Social cohesion is characterised by a set of attitudes and behavioural manifestations that includes trust, an inclusive identity and cooperation for the common good.	German Institute of Development and Sustainability (IDOS)[111] and Leininger et al. (2021)[112]
Social cohesion can be seen both as a process and as a goal. Social cohesion should be considered at different geographical levels. Social cohesion can be a positive goal in itself. Discussion of social cohesion is often reactive, i.e. it arises in response to particular circumstances. Ambiguity in the understanding of the concept of social cohesion can be useful, but can also cause difficulties.	British Academy (2019)[113]
Source: Expanded from UNECE (2023). Social Cohesion: Concept and Measurement;	

107 Berger-Schmitt, R. (2002). Considering Social Cohesion in Quality of Life Assessments: Concept and Measurement. In: Hagerty, M.R., Vogel, J., Møller, V. (eds) Assessing Quality of Life and Living Conditions to Guide National Policy. Social Indicators Research Series, vol 11. Springer, Dordrecht. https://doi.org/10.1007/0-306-47513-8_18

108 Chan, J., To, HP. & Chan, E. (2006). Reconsidering Social Cohesion: Developing a Definition and Analytical Framework for Empirical Research. Soc Indic Res 75, 273–302. https://www.socialcohesion.info/fileadmin/user_upload/Chan2006_Article_ReconsideringSocialCohesionDev.pdf

109 Botterman, S., Hooghe, M., and Reeskens, T. (2012). "One size fits all"? An empirical study into the multidimensionality of social cohesion indicators in Belgian local communities. Urban Studies, 49(1), 185-202. http://doi.org/10.1177/0042098010397397

110 Fonseca, X., Lukosch, S., & Brazier, F. (2019). Social cohesion revisited: a new definition and how to characterize it. Innovation: The European Journal of Social Science Research, 32(2), 231-253. https://doi.org/10.1080/13511610.2018.1497480

111 German Institute of Development and Sustainability, IDOS – the name the institute has used since 2022; www.idos-research.de

112 Leininger J. et al. (2021). Social cohesion: a new definition and a proposal for its measurement in Africa, Discussion paper 31/2021, German Development Institute / Deutsches Institut für Entwicklungspolitik (DIE), p.3;

https://www.idos-research.de/discussion-paper/article/social-cohesion-a-new-definition-and-a-proposal-for-its-measurement-in-africa/

113 British Academy (2019) 'Cohesive societies: scoping concepts and priorities – discussions at a British Academy seminar on 30 January 2019' https://www.thebritishacademy.ac.uk/publications/cohesive-societies-scoping-concepts-priorities/

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1. Social Cohesion

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https://www.pexels.com/photo/outdoor-community-gathering-in-park-setting-31874011/

https://www.pexels.com/license/

2. The legal framework of political speech and child protection

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3. Responsible political communication and the role of parliament

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5. Communication focused on protecting children and strengthening democratic culture

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