

# Platforma inicijative KVIROVANJE CRNE GORE

KULTURA  
DOSTUPNO ZDRAVLJE  
DEPATOLOGIZACIJA POŠTOVANJE  
KOST RAVNOPRAVNOST RAD  
ZAŠTITA ZAJEDNICA STABILNOST  
PENZIJA MEDIJI POŠTOVANJE  
IČITOST PRINCIPI DOSTOJANSTVO  
OBRAZOVANJE DEMOKRATIJA  
DRUŠTVO PRAVDA P  
FEMINIZAM



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queer  
montenegro  
montenegrin LGBTQ association



queer  
montenegro  
crnogorska LGBTQ asocijacija

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Izdavač:  
*Kvir Montenegro*

Podgorica, 2016.

Inicijativa „Kvirovanje Crne Gore“ je pokrenuta 2014. godine u saradnji nekoliko osoba iz svijeta aktivizma i društvenih nauka. Naš cilj je bio da zajednički formulišemo ideje o tome kako se boriti protiv homofobije i transfobije u Crnoj Gori, potpuno svjesni karakteristika crnogorskog društvenog i kulturnog konteksta u kome živimo i radimo.

Mi vjerujemo da je pretpostavka kako Crna Gora „kaska“ za zemljama Zapadne Evrope problematična, te da je treba napustiti. Rad na popravljanju pozicije LGBTIQ osoba ne treba da se zasniva na ideji kako Crna Gora treba da „dostigne“ Evropu, već da se fokusira na to kako specifičnosti političkog i društvenog života u Crnoj Gori stvaraju svakodnevene režime isključivanja i diskriminacije LGBTIQ osoba.

Inicijativa je održavana kroz niz sastanaka na kojima je preko petnaest osoba diskutovalo o raznim pitanjima vezanim za seksualnost, ljudska prava, rad, patrijarhat i Crnu Goru. Članice i članovi inicijative su razvili nekoliko novih, originalnih ideja o tome kako se suprotstaviti homofobiji i transfobiji na način koji je smislen i efikasan u crnogorskom kontekstu.

U toku 2016. godine, konsenzualno smo definisali političku platformu inicijative „Kvirovanje Crne Gore“. Platforma nudi uvid u probleme koji ne mogu biti obuhvaćeni diskursom ljudskih prava, niti politikom prepoznavanja specifičnih LGBTIQ identiteta u Crnoj Gori i drugim ex-YU zemljama. Cilj platforme jeste da ponudi naš, privremen odgovor na pitanje: „u kakvom društvu želimo da živimo?“

Platforma je izuzetno važna danas, kao primjer vizije budućnosti kojoj težimo. Nastala je u trenutku kada mračne vizije budućnosti cirkulišu na globalnom nivou. Čini se da je daleko lakše zamisliti distopijsku budućnost, nego njene alternative. Rast nacionalizma, rasizma, pobjede desničarskih i fašističkih partija, raspad postojećih političkih saveza, sukobi oko granica, gubitak poslova i nestanak penzija – sve se ovo čini vjerovatnijim od izgradnje društva socijalne pravde na globalnom nivou. Mi smatramo da je to problem. Nudimo platformu kao skicu alternative i kao materijal za dalji rad, te se nadamo da će podstaći diskusiju o vizijama budućnosti za koje se vrijedi boriti, u Crnoj Gori, regionu i šire.

## **Platforma inicijative KVIROVANJE CRNE GORE**

Mi vjerujemo da su sva ljudska bića rođena jednaka, da treba da imaju ravnopravne uslove da ostvare ispunjene živote, te da je politika sredstvo za dostizanje tog cilja. Mi se zalažemo za društvo u kome vladaju direktna demokratija i socijalna pravda.

### ***Na šta pod tim mislimo?***

#### **Direktna demokratija:**

Smatramo da svi članovi i članice jedne zajednice treba da upravljaju tom zajednicom, na način koji svima omogućava da prate svoje vizije kvalitetnog života. Reprezentativna demokratija nije jedini, niti najbolji politički okvir za dostizanje i održavanje suštinski demokratskog društva u kome vlada socijalna pravda. Politika se ne smije svesti na političke partije i njihovu međusobnu borbu za moć u parlamentu i cijelom društvu. Mi želimo društvo koje ima mehanizme za političko učešće svih zainteresovanih aktera i akterki, na svim nivoima. Želimo društvo u kome postoji razmjena i saradnja između političkih partija i društvenih pokreta.

Smatramo da su sve LGBTIQ osobe u Crnoj Gori izložene strukturnoj, sistemskoj diskriminaciji, ali i da su međusobno vrlo različite. LGBTIQ osobe dijele mnoga iskustva sa cis-rodnom i heteroseksualnim osobama, dok su neka iskustva LGBTIQ osoba specifična. Mi se zalažemo za društvo socijalne pravde kao okvir koji pruža najviše mogućnosti da svi građani i građanke Crne Gore – uključujući LGBTIQ osobe – ispune svoje potrebe i prate svoje vizije kvalitetnog života.

#### **Socijalna pravda:**

Smatramo da se u temelju društva socijalne pravde nalaze:

- dostupno i kvalitetno osnovno, srednje i visoko javno obrazovanje besplatno za korisnike i korisnice;
- dostupna i kvalitetna javna zdravstvena zaštita, besplatna za korisnike i korisnice;
- dostupna i kvalitetna javna socijalna zaštita, besplatna za korisnike i korisnice;
- osiguravanje visokog nivoa zaštite i poštovanja radničkih prava;
- poštovanje prava na različitost, uključujući prava LGBTIQ osoba;
- poštovanje feminističkih principa.

Samo u društvu u kome se poštuju ovakvi principi i sistemi zaštite, ljudi mogu da žive dostojanstveno i bez straha. Mi se zalažemo za društvo u kome neće biti kapitalističkih odnosa, nacionalizma, fašizma, klasizma, rasizma, patrijahata, homofobije, transfobije, lezbofobije, bifobije, interfobije, ksenofobije, mizoginije. Smatramo da niko ne smije biti izložen ugnjetavanju zbog toga koga voli, sa kime spava, kojim poslom se bavi, kakvog je zdravstvenog stanja i tjelesnih sposobnosti, koliko godina ima, koje je rase, vjere, pola ili roda.

### **Pol, rod i seksualnost:**

Smatramo da svaka žena treba sama da odlučuje o svom seksualnom životu, bez stida i sramote. Svaka žena treba sama da odlučuje o tome da li želi da rađa djecu ili ne. Ukoliko žena odluči da ima djecu, mora imati stabilnost i punu podršku na radnom mjestu, uključujući pravnu i suštinsku zaštitu od otkaza nakon što zatrudni, nadoknadu u toku roditeljskog odsustva, kao i isto ili bolje radno mjesto nakon roditeljskog odsustva. Smatramo da očevi moraju zakonski uzeti barem četvrtinu od ukupnog roditeljskog odsustva, kako bi bili uz dijete. Mi se borimo protiv osude, sažaljevanja i diskriminacije kojima su često izložene žene koje nemaju djecu. Takođe, smatramo da abortus mora biti potpuno dostupan i bezbjedan.

Zalažemo se za to da seksualne radnice i radnici budu zaštićeni od ekonomske, tjelesne i drugih vrsta eksploatacije, da su im svi servisi koje pruža država dostupni bez diskriminacije, uključujući punu javnu, dostupnu i kvalitetnu zdravstvenu zaštitu, besplatnu za korisnike i korisnice.

Zalažemo se za depatologizaciju trans i interseksualnih osoba. Zalažemo se za to da sve osobe imaju pravo da slobodno donose odluke o svom tijelu, bez obzira na svoj rod ili odsustvo istog, na to kako se rodno izražavaju ili kakve su im tjelesne karakteristike. Smatramo da rod svake osobe zavisi isključivo od sopstvenog doživljaja, te da ne smije biti ograničen konvencionalnim rodnim normama, kulturološkim, socijalnim ili nekim drugim kontekstom.

Posebno se zalažemo za zaštitu tjelesnog integriteta interseksualnih osoba i djece. Tražimo zabranu prakse korektivnih zahvata u cilju "normalizacije" interseksualne djece. Smatramo da ovakvi zahvati narušavaju pravo na tjelesni integritet, te dodatno stigmatizuju interseksualne osobe.

### **Zdravlje:**

Tražimo potpuno javni, dostupan i kvalitetan zdravstveni sistem, osjetljiv na specifične potrebe LGBTIQ i drugih osoba, besplatan za korisnike i korisnice. Posebno tražimo da abortus bude dostupan i bezbjedan.

Tražimo dostupne zdravstvene usluge specifično namijenjene trans osobama, uključujući operativne zahvate; slobodan izbor vrste operativnih zahvata; potpuno pokrivanje troškova procesa prilagođavanja pola iz sredstava Fonda za zdravstveno osiguranje; kao i puno poštovanje ličnog integriteta osoba prilikom ovog procesa.

### **Obrazovanje:**

Zalažemo se za potpuno javno, dostupno i kvalitetno osnovno, srednje i visoko obrazovanje, besplatno za korisnike i korisnice. Posebno smatramo značajnim uvođenje obrazovanja o seksualnosti, polu i rodu u osnovnim i srednjim školama.

### **Socijalna zaštita:**

Tražimo da država osigura postojanje javnog, stabilnog penzionog fonda i u narednim decenijama. Tražimo da javni penzioni sistem distribuira penzije barem u onoj visini koja omogućava svima da imaju dostojanstven život nakon završetka radnog vijeka. Tražimo da centri za socijalni rad preuzmu aktivnu ulogu u zaštiti LGBTIQ osoba od nasilja u porodici.

### **Rad:**

Borimo se za društvo bez prekarnih radnih odnosa, zato što oni istovremeno znače drastični gubitak sigurnosti, smanjivanje radnih prava i mogućnosti ostvarivanja punih potencijala osobe i društva u cjelini. Svaki radnik i radnica moraju biti u poziciji da planiraju i koriste svoj godišnji odmor i roditeljsko odsustvo bez prijetnje od otkaza. Zahtijevamo da sve osobe imaju jednake plate za isti posao, bez obzira na njihov pol, rodni identitet, rodno izražavanje, seksualnu orijentaciju ili tjelesne karakteristike, naročito uzimajući u obzir tradicionalnu razliku u zaradama muškaraca i žena. Posebno se zalažemo za to da LGBTIQ osobe imaju pristup tržištu rada bez straha i opasnosti od fizičkog i psihičkog maltretiranja i otkaza. Tražimo da trans i interseksualne osobe ne budu diskriminirane na osnovu svog rodnog identiteta, rodnog izražavanja, seksualne orijentacije i/ili tjelesnih karakteristika prilikom zapošljavanja.

### **Kultura/Umjetnost:**

Naša je namjera da djelujemo subverzivno na heteronormativnu umjetnost. Mi smo za društvo bez konvencionalnih i elitističkih načina umjetničkog izražavanja. Tražimo da LGBTIQ osobe budu više uključene u kulturnu produkciju i da se poveća vidljivost LGBTIQ tema.

Tražimo da država u potpunosti, a ne parcijalno, podrži vrijedne kulturne projekte svojim budžetom. Tražimo da država pruži kontinuiranu podršku alternativnim i eksperimentalnim kolektivima, ansamblima, trupama, grupama u svim oblastima umjetničkog i kulturnog izražavanja. Parcijalna podrška pojedinačnih proizvoda kulture (festivala, predstava, filmova, koncerata, knjiga, izložbi isl) onemogućava važan proces istraživanja, te sprečava da osobe, kolektivi i društvo u cjelini ostvare svoje umjetničke potencijale.

### **Mediji:**

Želimo dostupan javni prostor u medijima. Tražimo da medijski prostor bude oslobođen govora mržnje, lažne reprezentacije LGBTIQ osoba, kao i dezinformacija. Mi radimo na obezbjeđivanju uslova da LGBTIQ zajednica bude potpuno vidljiva i prihvaćena u svim sferama društvenog života.

### **Pravo:**

Mi smatramo da društvena promjena zahtijeva kako promjenu zakona, tako i promjenu načina ponašanja i mišljenja. Smatramo da društvo socijalne pravde uključuje jasan pravni okvir koji štiti LGBTIQ osobe. Međutim, mi takođe smatramo da pravni okvir sam po sebi nije dovoljan. Lično je političko, te se mi zalažemo za sistematsku primjenu pravnih regulativa u svakodnevnom životu.

Konkretno, zalažemo se za usvajanje novog Zakona o braku i registrovanom partnerstvu, kao i Zakona o rodnom identitetu. Iako je brak institucija koja služi društvenoj reprodukciji i kao takva uglavnom nema veze sa „ljubavlju”, smatramo da je važno da sve osobe imaju jednake mogućnosti pred zakonom, kako bi mogle da kao politički subjekti punopravno utiču na promjenu tih zakona u cilju potpuno emancipovanog društva.

### **Politike saradnje:**

Vjerujemo da su u društvu socijalne pravde LGBTIQ osobe udružene, zaštićene i uključene u politički život zajednice kao ravnopravni članovi i članice. Mi saradujemo sa drugim manjinama i marginalizovanim grupama u postizanju društva socijalne pravde, te želimo da tu saradnju ojačamo. Naš cilj je da pravimo široke alijanse sa eksploatisanima i onima kojima su radnička prava ugrožena, ili sa onima koji nemaju mogućnost da ih ostvare. Osnova našeg rada je politička solidarnost sa diskriminisanima ali i eksploatisanima. Smatramo da saradnja ne zahtijeva da svi uvijek mislimo isto. Naprotiv, saradnja zahtijeva spremnost da jedni druge saslušamo, da pokušamo da dođemo do kompromisa, te da zajednički djelujemo kad je to moguće.

Ne prihvatamo nasilje, eksploataciju i diskriminaciju ni u kom obliku i ni pod kojim okolnostima!

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The initiative “Queering Montenegro” was launched in 2014 as a collaboration between several people from an activist and/or social science background. Our aim was to collectively draft ideas on how to fight homophobia and transphobia in Montenegro, from a perspective demonstrating a strong awareness of the various aspects of the Montenegrin social and cultural context in which we mostly live and work.

We consider the assumption that Montenegro is “lagging behind” Western European countries problematic, and this assumption ought to be dropped. Efforts to improve the position of LGBTIQ people should not be based on the idea that Montenegro ought to “catch up” with Europe, but should rather focus on how the specificities of political and social life in Montenegro create everyday regimes of exclusion and discrimination directed at LGBTIQ people.

The initiative has been organised through a series of meetings at which over fifteen people have discussed various questions relating to sexuality, human rights, patriarchy and Montenegro. Members of the initiative have developed several new, original ideas about how to oppose homophobia and transphobia in a way that is both meaningful and effective in the Montenegrin context.

Over the course of 2016, using consensus based methods, we defined a political platform for the initiative “Queering Montenegro”. The platform offers insights into problems which are left uncovered by human rights discourse, or by a politics based on recognising specific LGBTIQ identities in Montenegro and the other ex-YU countries. The aim of the platform is to offer our provisional reply to the question: “what kind of society do we want to live in?”

Defining a platform is of great importance at present, as a platform offers an example of a vision of the kind of future to which we aspire. It was developed in a moment when dark visions of the future were circulating the world over. It seems to be far easier at present to imagine a dystopic future, rather than appealing alternatives. The growth of nationalism, racism, electoral victories by right-wing and fascist parties, the disintegration of existing political alliances, border conflicts, dwindling employment and disappearing pensions – all this presently seems to be a more likely future than the global building of a society based on social justice. We consider this to be a problem. We offer this platform as a sketch of an alternative, and as material for further work on these issues. Our hope is to initiate a discussion about visions of the future that are worth fighting for in Montenegro, the post-Yugoslav region, and beyond.

## **Platform for the Initiative QUEERING MONTENEGRO**

We believe that all people are born equally, that they deserve to live in equal conditions through which they can attain fulfilling lives, and that politics is the means by which to achieve this goal. We advocate for a society organised along direct democratic lines in which principles of social justice rule throughout.

### *What do we mean by this?*

#### **Direct Democracy:**

We believe that all members of a given community should manage that community in a way which enables everyone to follow their visions of what constitutes the good life. Representative democracy is neither the only nor the best political framework through which to attain and maintain a truly democratic society in which social justice reigns. Politics should not be permitted to be reduced to the activities of political parties and their fighting among themselves to gain power in parliament, and over society as a whole. We want to live in a society which includes mechanisms for the political participation of all interested actors, on all levels. We want to live in a society in which exchange and collaboration exists between political parties and social movements.

We consider all LGBTIQ individuals in Montenegro as being exposed to structural, systematic discrimination, while those people are also very diverse among themselves. LGBTIQ people share many experiences with cis-gender and heterosexual people, while some of the experiences of LGBTIQ people are specific. We advocate a socially just society as a framework which offers the largest number of possibilities to all citizens of Montenegro – including LGBTIQ people – so they can satisfy their needs and follow their visions of the good life.

#### **Social Justice:**

We consider a socially just society to be based on the following:

- Accessible and high-quality primary, secondary and higher publically funded education, free for all users;
- Accessible and high-quality healthcare, free for all users;
- Accessible and high-quality social protection, free for all users;
- Ensuring a high level of protection and respect for workers' rights;
- Respecting the right to diversity, including the rights of LGBTIQ individuals;
- Respect for feminist principles.

Only in a society in which these principles are respected and systems of protection are in place, can people live with dignity and without fear. In pursuing these goals, we continue to fight for a society in which there will be no capitalist relations, nationalism, fascism, classism, racism, patriarchy, homophobia, transphobia, lesbophobia, biphobia, interphobia, xenophobia, and misogyny. We believe that no-one should be oppressed because of who they love, with whom they sleep, what kind of work they do, their health, their physical capabilities, their age, their race, faith, gender or sex.

### **Sex, Gender and Sexuality:**

We believe that every woman should be able to make decisions alone about her sex life, without shame or embarrassment. Every woman should be able to decide alone whether she wishes to have children or not. If a woman chooses to have children, she must receive complete support and stability regarding her position from her employer, including legal and essential protection from being dismissed after she becomes pregnant, paid parental leave, and the same or a better position offered to her after taking parental leave. We believe that fathers must be legally required to take at least a quarter of the total parental leave offered, so as to spend time with their child. We fight against the expression of condemnation, pity and discrimination to which women who do not have children are often exposed. We also believe that abortion must be completely available and safe.

We advocate for the protection of sex workers against economic, bodily and other forms of exploitation, demanding that state offered services be made available without discrimination. This should include completely public, available and quality health protection, free for users.

We advocate for the depathologisation of trans and intersexual persons. We advocate all persons having the right to make free decisions about their body, irrespective of their gender or the lack thereof, of how they express themselves in a gendered way (or not), and their bodily characteristics. We consider each person's gender to exclusively depend on how that person experiences it, and people shouldn't be limited by conventional gender norms, cultural, social or other contexts.

We especially advocate for the protection of the bodily integrity of intersexual people and children. We demand that the practice of corrective surgery with the aim of supposedly "normalizing" intersexual children be banned. We consider such surgery to violate the right to bodily integrity, while additionally stigmatizing intersexual persons.

### **Health:**

We demand a completely publically funded, available and quality health system, sensitive to the specific needs of LGBTIQ and other persons, free for all users. We especially demand that abortion be made available and safe.

We demand health services specifically intended for trans-people be made available, including surgery; freedom of choice regarding kinds of available surgery; the complete covering of the costs of the sex change process by the health budget; complete respect for the personal integrity of individuals during this process.

### **Education:**

We advocate for completely publically funded, available and high quality primary, secondary and higher education, free for all users. We consider education regarding sexuality, sex and gender in primary and secondary schools to be of special importance.

### **Social Protection:**

We demand that the state ensures the existence of a public, stable pension fund during the coming decades. We demand that the public pensions system distributes pensions at least to the minimum level required to enable a dignified life for all in old age. We demand that centres for social work assume an active role in the protection of LGBTIQ people against violence in the family.

### **Work:**

We will fight for a society in which there are no precarious working conditions. This is because precarity entails a drastic loss of security, a reduction of workers' rights and of possibilities for individuals and society as a whole to realise their full potential. Every worker must be in the position of being able to plan and use their annual leave and parental leave without the threat of being dismissed. We demand that all persons receive the same wage for the same job, irrespective of their sex, gender identity, gender expression, sexual orientation or bodily characteristics. This should especially take into consideration traditional differences in men's and women's incomes. We particularly advocate for LGBTIQ individuals to have access to the job market without the fear and danger of physical and/or psychological maltreatment, or dismissal. We demand that trans and intersexual people are not discriminated against on the basis of their gender identity, gender expression, sexual orientation and/or their bodily characteristics when seeking and gaining employment.

### **Culture/the Arts:**

Our intention is to act subversively on the heteronormative arts. We wish for a society free of conventional and elitist means of cultural expression. We demand that LGBTIQ persons are included in cultural production to a greater degree, and also desire an increase in the visibility of LGBTIQ themes.

We demand that the state wholly (rather than partially) support valuable cultural projects through its budget. We demand that the state offer continual support to alternative and experimental collectives, ensembles, troupes, groups in all fields of artistic and cultural expression. The offering of partial support for individual products of culture (festivals, shows, films, concerts, books, exhibitions etc.) disables the valuable research process, and prevents individuals, collectives and society as a whole from realising their artistic potential.

### **Media:**

We desire an available public space in the media. We demand that the media space be freed from hate speech, false representations of LGBTIQ individuals, and misinformation. We are working on securing conditions for the LGBTIQ community to be completely visible and accepted in all spheres of social life.

### **Legal Rights:**

We believe that social change requires legal change, and a change in behaviour and thinking. We consider a society based on social justice to include a clear legal framework that protects LGBTIQ individuals. However, we also believe that a legal framework by itself is not enough. The personal is political, and we advocate for systematic changes to legal regulations in everyday life.

Specifically, we advocate for the adoption of a new Law on Marriage and Registered Partnerships, and a Law on Gender Identity. We take the position that marriage is an institution which serves social reproduction and that as such has little to do with “love”. We consider it important that all individuals be equal before the law, in order that political subjects fully influence changes to these laws with the aim of completely emancipating society.

### **Political Collaboration:**

We believe in a society based on social justice with LGBTIQ people organised, protected and included in the political life of the community as equal members. We currently collaborate with other minorities and marginalised groups in order to reach the goal of a society based on social justice, and we would like to strengthen these collaborations in the future. Our goal is to forge a wide alliance with the exploited and with those whose workers’ rights are threatened, and with those who don’t have the possibility of gaining them. Our work is based on demonstrating political solidarity with those who are discriminated against, as well as with the exploited. We don’t consider such a collaboration as entailing that we all think about things in the same way. On the contrary, such a collaboration requires a readiness to listen to one another, to try and reach a compromise, and to act collectively when possible.

We do not accept violence, exploitation nor discrimination in any form or under any circumstances!

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