

Da se vide, da se čuju · Да се виде, да се чују · Be seen, be heard

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Women in BiH

“Be Seen, Be Heard” in 2004

Annual Report

Women in BiH

be Heard... 2004

Annual

Report

Helsinki Citizens Assembly Banja Luka
IKV (Interchurch Peace Council) - Holandija

Banja Luka
April 2005.

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The **in**vironment...

The Network "Be Seen, Be Heard" works in Bosnia and Herzegovina, a country that ten years after the tragic war is characterised by slow economic development, crime and corruption, general apathy, high competences of the international community in decision-making, which degrade the local institutions and processes, lack of responsibility among local political representatives. All this makes the elections senseless and turnout of voters decrease every year.

About 70% of population of Republika Srpska and 50% of population of Federation of BiH doesn't earn enough for living. Average monthly income of the four-member family is twice lower than their needs. The disappointment has been publicly expressed in numerous protests during the year: farmers blocked the roads and borders because unfair treatment in international trade with neighbouring countries, pensioners protested because pensions can not cover even one third of their monthly costs, workers of former economic giant factories asked for their late payments and benefits, opposition wanted new elections and students lower charges for education.

Most of the reforms are still undertaken by the international community, or under its pressure and control - particularly the reforms of defence and police structure. The state still doesn't deal with the war crimes issue. International pressure is getting stronger, while the local authorities use that for politisation of the issue. Besides this represents one of the main obstacles to reconciliation, this is a major obstacle to the European Union. However, the step forward is made by publishing the Report of the Commission for Srebrenica, which was adopted also by the Government of Republika Srpska, and which officially confirmed the war crimes and serious breach of international humanitarian law.

The Network "Be Seen, Be Heard" works on the territory of 15 municipalities in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Its activities focus on reaching gender equality and empowerment of women in public and particularly political life. 2004 was a year of local elections and most of the activities were directed to support and empowerment of women candidates

in election campaign. Participation of women in the decision making process was minor, although it is estimated that 60% of voters are women. After the first after war elections there were 2% women in parliaments. Percentage didn't increase until election rules were changed and obligatory quota was introduced of at least 30 % of less represented sex in candidate lists. Number of women in decision-making bodies suddenly increased in 1998, but it turned out that the change is just formal. Their influence in decision-making was minor in comparison to quantitative representation. Later the open election lists were introduced and citizens got the opportunity to vote for individuals on the lists. Voters do not vote for women and traditional and conservative beliefs cause the number of women to decrease to less than 20%.

	1996	RS 1997	1998	2000	2002	2004
Municipal Elections		5.39%		18%		18%
Federation of BiH		6.15%				
Republika Srpska		4,63%		15%		
General Elections						
House of Representatives of Parliamentary Assembly BiH	2,38%		26%	4,76%	14,3%	
House of Representatives of the Parliament of Federation of BiH	5%		15%	17,4%	20,4%	
National Assembly of Republika Srpska	2,4%	2,41%	22,9%	18,1%	16,86%	
Cantonal assemblies in Federation of Federation of BiH (10 cantons)	6,1%	18%	20%	22,2%		

Recent years showed that public interest for the elections is decreasing and in 2004 it was only 46,8%. We could hardly see something new in



the election campaigns. All were the same and spoke about general issues and "national interests".

However, we noticed some improvement in political process as well: now we can elect mayors directly and election results showed citizens are ready to elect mayor regardless of his political party (there were examples elected mayor was not a member of the winning party). Citizens use open lists and vote even for those candidates on lower positions on election lists. In many municipalities, opposition is stronger, which also shows voters do not vote by inert ion.

Netwo**rk** "Be Seen, Be Heard" wo**r**kS
In municipalities of . . .

Bratunac

Srebrenica

MILUĆI

Livno

TOMISLAVGRAD

Drvar

Bosansko Grahovo

Glamoč

MOSTAR

Ljubuški

NEVESINJE

Gacko

Višegrad

Banja Luka

SARAJEVO

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Activities

PREPARATION MEETINGS

At the end of March and beginning of April there were three working meetings where activists of the Network were informed on the following activities in 2004, terms and responsibilities were agreed.

At the end of March and beginning of April there were three working meetings (in Bratunac, Livno and Mostar) where activists of the Network were informed on the following activities in 2004. (Media monitoring, preparation of the newsletter, visibility campaigns before municipal elections, public discussions and presentations), terms and responsibilities were agreed as well. The members appointed one coordinator and one communication centre in each region, for which the Helsinki Citizens' Assembly Banja Luka and IKV provided funding: Valentina Gagić and "Sara" Srebrenica for the region of Bratunac, Srebrenica, Milići, Maida Selimhodžić (Steps of Hope, Mostar) and Miroslavka Muratović (Nevesinje) for region Mostar, Ljubuški, Nevesinje, Emira Hodžić and "Li Woman" for the Canton 10.

At these meetings, members of the Network addressed the letter to all political parties in municipalities where the Network works to respect gender equality in creation of candidate lists:

April 14th 2004

The Informal Women's Network "Be Seen, Be Heard" that gathers more than 100 members from nongovernmental organisations, political parties and institutions from 15 municipalities in Bosnia and Herzegovina invites you to join us in fight for gender equality.

Women in our country have won the right to vote and be elected a long time ago. However, they still haven't realised the right to be equal.

ly represented in the institutions and to share power with men. The Election Law of Bosnia and Herzegovina states the less represented sex must be represented in the ratio of one third of candidates on the election lists. Until now the less represented sex was always female and political parties just respected the quota and never selected more women on their lists.

Before this municipal elections, we would like to see more women members of your political party in the lists, for which we believe are respective experts. We hope your candidate lists will reflect equality.

The informal Women's Network "Be Seen, Be Heard", as well as its member organisations will provide women candidates of your political party education, presentation, help them in creating visibility campaigns and invite them to different seminars before and after the elections.

We would appreciate if you inform us when the lists are created and provide us the contacts with your candidates and our Network will publish information in our newsletters on those parties respecting gender equality in their lists.

We invite you to do as much as possible to support equality of women and men in the lists, and in the municipal institutions afterwards.

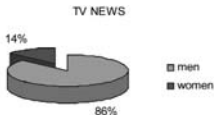
Only equal representation of women and men can bring the decisions that will ensure better future for all.



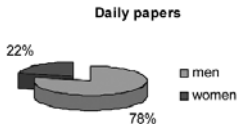
MEDIA MONITORING - MARCH

After seven days of media monitoring in Bosnia and Herzegovina we found women are underrepresented in the media in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Results of the seven days of media monitoring in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the last week of March showed women are underrepresented in the media in Bosnia and Herzegovina. When we converted numbers into percentage, we saw men are 82% of subjects and women only 18% of subject in the news. One of the journalists hCa Banja Luka engaged for the monitoring said he had been in journalism for 12 years and he couldn't even dream how few women appear in the papers or on TV. For a week, journalists monitored news broadcasts of BHTV1, Radio television of RS, Federal TV, Alternative television, NTV Hayat and Oskar C Mostar, and analysed domestic news in Nezavisne novine, Glas Srpske, Dnevni avaz, Oslobođenje, Dnevni list and Večernji list - BiH edition.



When it is about TV news from the total of 648 subjects in the news reports 88 were women and 560 were men.



CAMPAIGN PLANNING MEETINGS

In the working meetings in June we planned pre-election activities of the Network, and adopted the slogan for visibility campaign "Let's Vote and Make Change - Side by Side a Man and a Woman".

In June we organised three regional two-day meetings (in Ljubuški, Milići and Glamoč) where action plan was prepared for implementation of visibility election campaigns. 43 members of the Network participated. We agreed to support the candidates in political parties through organising public discussions and presentations in municipalities and present all the women candidates. We adopted suggestion to print leaflets that will present the slogan on one side and on the other list of women candidates of all political parties for each municipality. We adopted the slogan for visibility campaign "Let's Vote and Make Change - Side by Side a Man and a Woman".



PRESS CONFERENCES

During the pre-election period there were 5 press conferences organised and the Network activities presented.

In July and September the members of the Network organised 5 press conferences where they presented the activities of the Network and invited voters to vote for women. They expressed protest because under representation of women in the media, particularly in pre-election period. The members in Bratunac organised one additional press conference after the elections and commented the results that showed slight increase in representation of women in municipal assembly and criticised discrimination of women in election campaign. About 20 media reports were published and members in Livno and Milići participated in two special broadcasts dedicated to gender equality in political life and decision-making.



PUBLIC DISCUSSIONS IN THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN

In pre-election period the members of the Network organised five public discussions where they stressed the problem of discrimination of women in decision-making and election campaign.

Wishing to influence increase in participation of women in institutions of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Network "Be Seen, Be Heard" organised a series of public discussions before the local elections 2004 and educated participants on how to be more self-confident and aggressive in the election campaigns and reach their goals. During the campaign with the slogan "Let's Vote and Make Change - Side by Side a Man and a Woman", we found interesting however defeating data.

In the public discussion in Drvar on September 7th the participants concluded neither one of the parties had candidate more than the quota of 30% of women in the lists, which was obligatory according to the Election Law of BiH. All political parties considered quota as a limit and not as a start. The participants appealed to all to lobby other voters as well to vote for women because only with equality of women and men the municipality can start its development. On July 30th in Livno, participants concluded the Gender Equality Law was passed on the state level existed only as a paper and was still not implemented. They concluded women reached "paper" emancipation, but not a real equality. The information that out of 121 deputies in Canton 10 municipalities only 30 are women, supports this. The representation slightly increases since until now there were 26 women deputies in municipalities of this canton.

While presenting the candidates for elections in Nevesinje, held on September 10th the participants stated that the largest problem for more active participation of women in decision-making was in the fact that many institutions where women had major role are closing down such as General Hospital in Nevesinje and Land Registry Office. They concluded they have to start actions to stop this process.

Participants in the public discussion in Srebrenica held on September 10th appealed to women voters to vote for women in order to provide us all decent living. The basic message from this event was it is not

important to which party a woman belongs, but just to vote for women.



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POSTER CAMPAIGN

In the pre-election period we implemented a poster campaign with the slogan "Let's Vote and Make Change - Side by Side a Man and a Woman".

The members of the Network in all municipalities where the project is implemented placed 2250 posters with the slogan "Let's Vote and Make Change - Side by Side a Man and a Woman". The message of the poster was to point out discrimination against women in political life in previous years and the goal we put in front of us - women and men equally participate in decision making processes. Apart from that, members of the Network printed names of all women candidates from all political parties on 5000 leaflets as a part of visibility campaign. Many members of the Network stated thanks to this leaflet they educated voters on how to vote on the ballots.

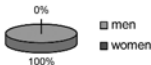


MEDIA MONITORING - SEPTEMBER

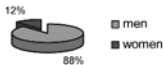
During seven days of September we monitored representation of women in the media in Bosnia and Herzegovina and found out that in the election campaign they were even less represented than in March of 2004.

September monitoring of TV stations was conducted a week before the elections in Bosnia and Herzegovina. We wished to see to what extent and how the media would present women candidates of political parties. Some TV stations didn't even cover pre-election activities, while the others had special broadcasts dedicated to the elections. In the special programme of Radio Television of Republika Srpska called "Election Debate" in which the parties presented their candidates there were not women candidates presented. At the same time in the programme "Alter media of the alternative TV Banja Luka there were five men in the studio. No women again.

RTRS - ELECTION DEBATE



OSLOBOĐENJE - POLITICAL PARTIES



The results of September monitoring of 42 TV newscasts were similar to those from March 2004. Women were mostly subjects in reports on health and culture (35,71%), education (28,57%), environmental (27, 27%) and social issues (23,65%).

Women appeared the least in the reports on judiciary, police and military issues (6,32%). They are not represented in the reports about state and entity institutions, commissions and agencies (9,10%), and when it is about economy, women rarely appear in the role of experts and analysts.



After monitoring of media in both periods we can conclude 15% of newspapers belongs to women, while the rest is reserved for men. The same is with photographs in newspapers - in average women is central in every tenth photograph in newspaper. When it is about electronic media and whom they select as interviewees, the situation is even worse. Out of total 663 reports during 7 days of March and 7 days of September women are central - as an expert or competent person - in 20 reports while men appeared more than 10 times more (231 report). In the reports where there are more subjects men dominate as well.

MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS IN BIH

In municipal elections in Bosnia and Herzegovina, that were held on October 2nd 2004, on the candidate lists there were 23 members of the Network, from which 7 were elected. The following table presents participation of women according the election results in municipal assemblies where Network works.

Municipality	Number of deputies 2000	Women deputies 2000	Women deputies in %	Number of deputies 2004	Women deputies 2004	Women deputies in %
Srebrenica ▲	23	2	8,7	23	5	21,7
Bratunac ▲	31	4	12,9	31	5	16,1
Milici ▼	17	4	23,5	17	2	11,7
Livno ▼	31	8	25,8	31	5	16,1
Tomislavgrad ▼	25	4	16	25	1	4
Drvar ▲	19	3	15,8	19	4	21
Bosansko Grahovo ●	15	1	6,7	15	1	6,7
Glamoc ▲	15	1	6,7	15	4	26,7
Kupres ●	17	2	11,8	17	2	11,8
Nevesinje ▼	21	6	28,6	21	2	9,5
Ljubuški ▲	19	2	10,5	19	4	21
Grad Mostar	different structure of local administration			35	9	25,7
Višegrad ▲	25	4	16	25	5	20
Gacko ●	21	1	4,8	21	1	4,8

In this table we compared only the statistics from election results 2000 and 2004 with intention to see popularity of candidates. In practice it usually happens that the participation of women change due to incompatibility of functions of elected deputies. In such cases the next best

candidate from the party list enters the assembly. When it is about the municipalities where Network works, several deputies left positions and we can see changes in: Livno (-1) - now there are 4 women deputies, Drvar (+2) - 6 women deputies, Glamoč (-1) - 3 women deputies, Tomislavgrad (+2) - 3 women deputies, Bratunac (+1) - 6 women deputies, Srebrenica (+2) - 7 women deputies, Milići (+3) - 5 women deputies, Mostar (+1) -10 women deputies.

of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Through these contacts numerous successful actions were implemented, members of the Network helped each other in solving different issues in everyday work. Furthermore, thanks to the members' engagement the Network became visible in the regions where the project has been implemented. The group concluded that in the next year we should: increase and continue the mutual cooperation and exchange of information, promote the work through the media, encourage more women from political parties and inform the institutions of power, inform women on their rights, provide financial support for the activities, share activities and responsibilities equally among all members of the Network.

2) Work in local community: Participants of this group recommended that each member involve two more women and inform them on the work of the Network and possibilities for future joint problem solving; to gather groups of women in municipal councils and link them with gender commissions on local level, as well as with gender centres and the Agency for Gender Equality of BiH, which will support the women's lobby in municipal councils and cooperation with nongovernmental organisations. At the local level we should promote achievements and success of the Network members and monitor the implementation of Gender Equality Law.

3) Structure of the Network: Members of this group concluded the Network currently has its membership and will to continue the work. There are competent and experienced members which became visible in their communities. However it is not organised well enough. We should improve exchange of information between members. Member organisations should share information and responsibilities for future work, fundraising activities and exchange information of available amounts and spending for the activities. To be more efficient, there should be teams on regional level that will share these responsibilities, select coordinators and persons for exchange of information between the regions.

4) Elections 2006: This working group concluded political parties showed they were not sensitive to problems of gender discrimination in political life and decision making, respecting only a legal minimum in number of women in candidate lists. Apart of that, women candidates

in the previous election campaign showed lack of creativity in their presentations, as well as lack of knowledge in political and public engagement, so they seemed more like servants to their political parties. Having the experience from the Network, members of this group concluded that in the election campaign we should organise more public discussions and meetings where candidates should get the opportunity to present themselves, print promotional materials which will appeal to voters to vote for women, mobilise institutions in registering the voters and introduce the obligation of registering as a precondition for e.g. IDs, educate voters on gender equality.

Reports

SUBMITTED AT THE ANNUAL CONFERENCE

LIDUA ŽIVANOMIĆ

GENDER ASPECTS OF 2004 LOCAL ELECTIONS

The elections are behind us. We will see during upcoming four years if we chose, or voted on October 2. Focus of this presentation are content and methodology of pre-election campaigns, as well as results of elections, predominantly from the aspect of women's role in election process, and later on, their participation in local governance. Local self-governance represents one of the very important sectors of political system. Women and men citizens are claiming their basic needs and accomplishing their basic interests on the level of local self-governance. Level of development in local self-governance shows largely the level of democracy in the entire system. Essentially, during the past period Bosnia and Herzegovina had characteristically undeveloped real local self-governance, huge administration that was available for realizing citizens' interests, high level of bureaucracy, etc. Looking from the general perspective, local self-governance functions only from the aspect of existing institutions, while citizens still cannot accomplish their fundamental interests in satisfactory manner. There are numerous reasons for it, and they will certainly be a theme for some other analysis. However,

so called "election statistic" can serve us to examine at least part of the conditions and possibilities for strengthening and development of local self-governance.

2004 Local Elections Presented in Figures

- Participation of 238 political subjects (68 political parties, 146 independent candidates, 18 coalitions, and 6 lists of independent candidates),
- 809 candidates for majors - 395 in Republika Srpska, 414 in Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (total number of women 32 - 3,95%), and 26618 candidates for local assemblies/councils (number of women 9554 - 35,9%),
- 3145 elected municipality representatives, and 139 municipality majors (61 in Republika Srpska and 78 in Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina), and 1 city major (Banja Luka)
- 4065 pooling places (1674 in Republika Srpska, 2302 in Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and 89 in Brcko District),
- Election observers accredited by the Election Commission: 11 political subjects (826 - 71 elections observers), 25 citizens' associations (434 election observers), 14 international organizations (321 election observers)
- Number of registered voters (including voters outside the country): 2 322687 (959437 in Republika Srpska, and 1310213 in Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina)
- Total number of voters that participated on elections - 1087893, or 46,8% (466637, or 48,6% in Republika Srpska, and 588963, or 45% in Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina).

For the first time after signing of the Dayton Peace Agreement, municipal elections in 2004 are organized in accordance with the Election Law and under authority of the Election Commission for Bosnia and Herzegovina, and these are domestic structures.

In the period before elections, new regulations about local self-governance simplified decision-making mechanisms. Even before, number of municipality representatives was reduced in local assemblies, and executive bodies acquired larger authorities, etc. Official authorities did



everything to bring themselves closer to the citizens, at least in normative sense. New legislative solutions accompanied these changes. Beside so called "open candidate lists", B&H authorities introduced direct election of municipality majors and city major of Banja Luka. This represents big step toward reaching the objective of making citizens not only voters, but also active participants in selecting of candidates. Furthermore, looking from the perspective of elected candidates responsibility, there are wider possibilities for their direct responsibility for their work to those who elected them. Yet, what I see as the most important is that work of elected representatives (either good or bad) will influence increase of voters' consciousness about personal responsibility for which people they give their vote.

Concerning the representation of women on candidate lists, there was implementation of the principle from the previous elections (obligatory percentage of one-third of other sex representatives, equally distributed among first ten places on candidate lists). Within previous note: Election Law of Bosnia and Herzegovina guaranteed equal representation in electronic media to all political parties and independent candidates. However, from the aspect of gender equality, there was no respect of provided possibility for equal representation in media. The representation of women in media is stunning. This is not only title of research organized and published by the Helsinki Citizens Assembly. This represents a depressing reality. There are almost no women in the programs about crucial economic and political topics, and the most important social decisions, as if only one sex has the monopoly on decision-making about crucial life issues, and media presentations. You can look for detailed information about mentioned research in the booklet "Women and Media".

This also applies for the pre-election campaigns. Leaderships of the political parties involved only few or even no women in media presentations. Women participated only sporadically in radio and TV programs where political parties organized presentations of their programs. Their media appearances were inconsistent with their representation on candidate lists. Women were just exceptions. Similar situation was visible in participation of women on pre-election public discussions in municipalities and local communities. We could also notice insufficient involve-

How and Who We Elected?

Looking from the general perspective, and in comparison with the previous election cycles, the municipal elections showed profiled balance between national political parties and social democratic political parties in political environment of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Even in some municipalities, such as Bihac, Trebinje, and others; we can notice visible expansion of social democratic political option, in terms of electing municipality majors as well as participation of political parties in the structure of local assemblies/councils. In other words, there is apparent consolidation of political scene in Bosnia and Herzegovina and its Entities - national political parties and social democratic political parties have their standard voters. Election census for entering in local assemblies/councils caused lack of participation of the so-called "small political parties".

Provisions of the Election Law in Bosnia and Herzegovina about direct elections for municipality majors and city major of Banja Luka brought important progress in democratisation of social relations. In 25 municipalities (Kozarska Dubica, Derventa, Bihac, Velika Kladusa, Jajce, Stari Grad Sarajevo and Novi Grad Sarajevo, Bratunac, and others) municipality majors acquired more votes than their political parties did. Additional situation is that some elected municipality majors are from the political parties that will not have majority in the local assembly/council, and practically will not have political power. This recognition of individual personalities by voters gives us hope in a future local self-governance that could be founded on free election will of people from the local communities. There were positive experiences with so-called "open lists" on these municipal elections, where voters could also choose individual candidates, not only for entire lists of certain political parties. There were also frequent examples that low positioned candidates of certain political parties acquired great number of personal votes, jumped on far higher places, and entered local assemblies/councils. For example, a woman candidate of Socialist Party in Banja Luka, won 2 terms, and jumped from 23rd place on candidate list on the place before bearer of the candidate list of this political party. This had further positive consequences, as it brought closer the election process to the citizens, as well as citizens to the election process. Among

other things, according to the reports of local election commissions and Election Commission of Bosnia and Herzegovina, it influenced significant decrease in number of manipulations, and stealing of votes, in comparison to the previous period. This exemplifies the more efficient work of official institutions that are involved in the election process, but also represent testimony about greater level of responsibility among those voters that participated in the elections.

Such evaluations of the local elections could have various interpretations, however, that should be a topic of other analysis, at other place, and in other occasions. Namely, we are interested here for gender aspect of the election statistics.

Generally, this picture is not homogenously consolidated in any sense, as one we could name as the reflection of political environment. Although all political parties and organizations that participated in elections respected the election rule about at least one-third of opposite sex on candidate lists, the election results show they are far away from something that should mean "gender equality".

The results are neither better nor worse than results of the local elections in 2000. Men are still dominating. Out of total number of elected representatives in local assemblies/councils, women again hold 18% of seats.

Indeed, there are municipalities with respectable number of women in these institutions. For example, Velika Kladusa (32,1%), Bosanski Brod (32%), Petrovac RS (45,5%), Banja Luka (35,5%), Visoko (32,0%), Sarajevo - Stari Grad (38,7%), Sarajevo - East (36,3%), and Novo Sarajevo (32,3%). I intentionally emphasized these results, since we know that only over 30% of women give them possibilities to start some changes.

It is important here to emphasize that crucial factor for women candidates was not an affiliation to certain political party. Therefore, we should not say that some political party has greater sensibility toward women than other political parties do.

However, on the other side, we have municipalities with no women representatives in local assemblies/councils (Olovo), or only one woman representative (Tomislavgrad, Doboj, Grahovo, Vlasenica, Šekovići, etc.). It is certainly difficult to give a simple answer on question why do we



have this situation. We can only assume strong influence of patriarchal inheritance. Woman is still economically dependant of a man in great number of cases, and there are various internal blockades in political parties, as well as media blockades. Nevertheless, we can assume with strong arguments, there are no rare situations when we women are not strong enough in efforts to create our personal public involvement, organize personal campaigns, and find mechanisms to take over public space that belongs to us. This applies for not only political parties, but also other institutions, and we have offered possibilities through non-governmental sector.

These objective and subjective reasons provide arguments for the elections results, and there is no more wonder why we have only 3 women (2,1%) municipality mayors (Drvar, Ostra Luka, and Stari Grad - East), out of 140 elected municipality mayors (1 city mayor). There were only 32 women (3,95%) candidates for municipality mayors, out of 809 candidates.

This seems to be very important. Namely, municipality major position is in the centre of political decision-making in a local community, in accordance with local self-governance legislative. This is the reason why we must continue even more energetically to fight for our role in political and public life, not only because we are women, but first of all because we bear internal qualities, capabilities, creativities, and energy, absolutely necessary to this society.

One deeper analysis of the election statistics would show many other things. However, this seems to be enough for me to take freedom and offer following conclusions:

First, our entire legislation is not gender sensitive - from the constitutions on various levels, down to laws and other legislative acts. I believe there is no need for further evaluation of this opinion;

Second, we women must be more active on real implementation of existing laws in the practice, first of all the Gender Equality Law in Bosnia and Herzegovina. We must do that through nongovernmental sector, but also through open communication with governmental institutions;

Third, the general elections in Bosnia and Herzegovina are in the front of us. We first need to obtain changes and amendments of the existing

EMIRA HODŽIĆ

REPORT ON ACTIVITIES IN CANTON 10 (Livno, Tomislavgrad, Glamoč, B.Grahovo, Drvar, Kupres)

1. Activities of the regional centre Livno related to the project

The association "Li Woman" from Livno was the regional centre for Canton 10. It covered six municipalities (Livno, Kupres, Drvar, Glamoč, Bosansko Grahovo and Tomislavgrad). Emira Hodžić, president of the association was a coordinator of the activities.

All the activities in Canton 10 were implemented in accordance to the plan presented by hCa Banja Luka and were organised in constant consultations, exchange of information and agreements.

Activities of the coordinator: We implemented the activities in contact and work group of the members from the region - I visited their municipalities and they visited Livno. Upon calls from other Network members I went to other municipalities as educator or logistic support. Together with members of my association I monitored implementation of activities, public discussions, round tables.

I sent written information about every implemented activity to hCa Banja Luka, as well as the monthly reports, describing all our activities. I distributed reports to all members in the Canton 10 as well as to the political parties, inviting them to encourage their women members. I distributed the newsletters and promotional material for women candidates visibility for these elections. This is how they got informed on the activities of the Network and cooperation with hCa Banja Luka.

Activities according to the project:

Two press conferences - Livno, July 2nd 2004, speakers: Željka Zubić from Glamoč, Milena Trninić from Drvar and Emira Hodžić from Livno. We presented the Network "Be Seen, Be Heard" as well as the activities we plan to implement on the level of Canton 10. The sec-

newsletters, posters and additional promotional material and appealed to all to get out and vote. 44 participants were present. In total we presented 14 women candidates from 7 political parties. Apart from presenting personal information and political programme, they spoke about motives for their political engagement, about their experiences as candidates during the election campaign.

3. Cooperation with members in the region and hCa Banja Luka

We kept everyday contact, discussing various issues, from organisation of press conferences to campaigning.

Members who were not involved in the activities received written reports from the coordinator. Upon their request I sent them video tapes with programmes and other materials from the press conferences (photographs of participants in round tables, press conferences, public discussions, leaflets, newsletters, booklets and other promotional material we produced our self). We informed the members of the Network about activities we participated in and invited them to support us. I kept contact with hCa Banja Luka during the all activities, often even several times during the day. All our suggestions and initiatives were supported.

4. Comment on the election results in Canton 10

We are not satisfied with the results in our region. For now we have fewer women deputies in the municipal assembly in all municipalities. Citizens didn't support women with their votes. However, we consider a great success that finally after years there is a women mayor elected in Drvar - Mrs. Ana Papak Dodig.

5. What was done well in the election campaign and what was supposed to be done differently

It is good that we could provide many women with opportunity to present themselves in radio programmes, press conferences, public discussions and roundtables. We educated them to start their own activities. For example with booklets to inform citizens about themselves as candidates. We should organise more round table discussions to invite our citizens to get out and vote.

REPORT ON ACTIVITIES IN MOSTAR, GACKO, NEVESINJE AND LJUBUŠKI

1. Activities of the regional contact centres Mostar and Nevesinje related to the project

In this region we fully implemented the activities of the project "Be Seen, Be Heard" as planned'.

- In the press conference on July 27th 2004 in Mostar we announced the beginning of campaign "Let's Vote and Make Change - Side by Side a Man and a Woman".
- We organised a public discussion in July in Mostar and in September in Nevesinje with topic: "Promotion and increase of women's visibility in political life before the local elections". Meanwhile, we distributed posters, leaflets and lists of women candidates of all political parties.
- After the elections in October we organised a press conference in Nevesinje.
- We established cooperation with political parties on the local level, nongovernmental organisations and the media.
- We kept regular communication and meetings with Network members from the region.
- We kept contact with hCa Barja Luka.

Plan of action of the Network was well designed and we think in realisation of this project in this region we reached the following goals:

1. We informed public in the region on Informal Network "Be Seen, Be Heard", its preelection activities and the slogan "Let's Vote and Make Change - Side by Side a Man and a Woman".

2. We equally presented all women candidates regardless of their political background.
3. We established contacts and cooperation between women candidates from different political parties, NGOs and other institutions in local community.
4. We contributed to awareness raising that the women do not want to fight men with the Gender Equality Law, but to equally work and make decisions with them on all issues relevant to life and work in local community.
5. We helped women candidates to be more visible in election campaign and to realise they have to be seen in public life and be ready to receive feedback for their work or work and not be discouraged in their future engagement.

2. Other activities where the Network was promoted - contribution of the regional centre

Along with these activities we informed political parties and public with the activities of the Network "Be Seen, Be Heard" with the goal to involve them in implementation of the Gender Equality Law. We organised meetings in two community centres in Mostar where we informed citizens about our activities. During the visit of international monitors to Election Commission Nevesinje (consisted of three women) we informed them on the Network activities and distributed promotional material, leaflet with women candidates lists and publications. All visitors to our NGO received promotional material and brought it to USA, Ireland, France.

3. Cooperation with members in the region and hCa Banja Luka

Cooperation of the Network members in implementation of activities was satisfactory, they have all been interested and participated in implementation of the project. As far as cooperation with hCa Banja Luka is concerned it was great and we think the project would be hardly realised without support and help that was given to us in every moment of the project realisation. Suggestions were precise, clear, understandable and not imposed, giving us freedom to organise some activities even independently. 17 political parties took part in

the elections, having 351 candidates in political lists, out of which 133 women. Only one political party had a woman as the first in the list - Narodna stranka "Radom za boljitak" (People's Party "Work for Better Future")

4. Comment on the election results in the region

This year with the new Statute for the City of Mostar, we got a different structure of local governance, so we can make partial comparison. In the last mandate the City Council consisted of 30 members where there were 8 women.

Now in the City Council of Mostar there are 35 deputies and mandates were decided by draw, representing all three constituent people. Participation of women is similar as in the previous mandate, now among 35 deputies there are 9 women. This means representation of women is 1% lower than in the previous mandate.

11 political parties participated in elections in municipality of Nevesinje. There were 224 candidates out of which 78 women. Defeating fact is that there were no women candidates for mayor. We can not be satisfied with results because only 2 women from one political party won enough votes and entered the Municipal assembly. Out of total of 21 deputy there will be 2 women, while there were 7 in the earlier mandate. We encouraged women candidates to lead their personal campaigns and to those without any political experience we explained importance of personal campaigns and ways of organising it. Being an expert is not enough, they have to lobby the voters to vote for them. Some candidates with political experience relied on earlier experience, hoping their position at the beginning of the candidate lists will bring the seat in the assembly. This didn't happen because voters decided to vote even for those candidate at the bottom of the list.

5. What was done well in election campaign and what was supposed to be done differently

We think election campaign was done well (leaflets with the women candidates' names, posters, public presentations). Women were more visible, because they think not only we presented them, but also the local political parties and media did the same.



What we were supposed to do:

- encourage candidates more to lead personal campaigns if they want to succeed,
- ask for women's solidarity among those who were put on the list just to meet the legal quota or for any other reasons, but not for their wish to participate in political decision making, so they could help other women from the lists to be elected

Recommendations

When our future work is concerned:

- Work like we worked before, because I think we succeeded in our activities and there are results,
- Increase membership in the Network "Be Seen, Be Heard" locally and regionally and involve women activists from all political parties, non-governmental organisations, institutions and other segments of society (health, judiciary, education),
- Establish cooperation with the media and impose themselves to the authorities (for example in communities where there are very few women deputies in institutions and along with that the weaker is their influence to decision making). We should at least once in three months analyse issues that the local institutions will have on the agenda and provide our own suggestions for solution of these problems and put them into procedure,
- Educate women who want to be in politics, particularly develop awareness on solidarity instead of rivalry among women.

elections. They even offered partnerships in future. In accordance to the plan of activities the second press conference was supposed to be held in September, but we concluded that it wouldn't be effective because of many political events and campaigns, so we rescheduled it for the period after the elections to evaluate the pre-election campaign of women candidates and NGO activities related to this issue. Stanojka Tešić, Mladenka Petković and Valentina Gagić spoke at the conference.

Engagement of local NGOs, Network members, such as "Women's Forum Bratunac", "Zora" Milići and "Želja" Skelani, was of great importance. Their cooperation and coordination was well organised. They distributed promotion material, organised promotional activities (in Bratunac and meetings in community centres), where women from different political parties participated.

2. Other activities where the Network was promoted - contribution of the regional centre

Apart from the planned activities we made our contribution assisting all women candidates providing them space and equipment for production of their promotion materials, meetings and communication. We also printed women candidates lists on leaflets; wrote and designed creative invitations to public events, lobbied and promoted women candidates, consulting them in election campaign, inviting citizens to vote for women, promoted Network, gathered new members, contacted media and attracted their attention.

3. Cooperation with other members in the region and hCa Banja Luka

The work of the regional centre was fully supported by the aforementioned NGOs. Sometimes it was impossible to get in touch with some of our members and provide their participation, but we tried to find solutions for such situations as well. Cooperation with hCa Banja Luka was very good, particularly regarding information and materials they provided us constantly. They also helped us in activities and with consultations and suggestions. hCa Banja Luka personnel proved their professionalism and supportiveness.

campaign and promotion, permanently monitor the influence of political marketing and support it where needed. It is important to continue work, education and awareness raising on what women can achieve as serious, responsible, competent and equal partners.

6. Recommendations for future work

- immediately start preparation of the next general elections, elections within political parties and community centres.
- use our work and results in reaching political goals,
- continue education of women through teamwork and Network "Be Seen, Be Heard"
- raise awareness on possibilities for building a better future through political work
- implement activities in the field
- organise round table discussions with selected target groups and topics
- encourage agreement, understanding and efficiency
- be persistent in transformation of public institutions to a citizens service at all levels
- recognise true interest and will for solving of community problems
- women have to be creative
- point our benefits of participation in political life
- organise promotion at municipal level, determine awards for successful women
- have ?our? media that will continuously cover our work
- make annual gatherings of women at local level a regular practice in order to promote them and encourage others to join politics
- more work, learning and advancement!!!

domestic violence in the Canton 10. They will ask for assistance from relevant municipal and cantonal institutions, lobby at international organisations and local businesspersons.

Trying to answer the question "Women, where are we today?" which is the title of the discussion in Srebrenica, participants came to discouraging conclusions that "Women are on the margins".

Among chairpersons of 15 institutions in Skelani and Srebrenica there are 11 men (73,3%) and 4 women (26,6%). Among deputies in Milići there are five women or 33%, in Srebrenica seven women or 26%, and in Bratunac six women or 19%.

One of the problems that could have caused bad results for women could be in the fact that in distant and rural areas women didn't have the right to vote, since they don't have personal documents, because they don't have money to pay taxes for issuing.

Participants agreed to create joint strategy for the general elections in 2006 and intensify cooperation with gender commissions of these three towns.

MEETING OF PUBLIC AND MEDIA ADVOCACY TRAINERS AND SERIAL OF LOCAL TRAININGS

At the end of February 2005 ten trainers of the Network participated in the meeting of trainers in Banja Luka, where they discussed their further activities and further developed training skills.

At the end of February 2005 ten trainers of the Network participated in the meeting of trainers in Banja Luka, where they discussed their further activities and further developed training skills. After the meeting they organised one public and media advocacy training in each region as a support to women members of political parties. In total 52 women participated.

PUBLICATION

During 2004/2005 we published three booklets: "Notes on Campaigning" in which 35 women from different parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina speak about personal experiences in election campaign, obstacles they faced and ways in which they overcame them; "Women in Media" with the results of two-week media monitoring in Bosnia and Herzegovina; "In Advocacy Actions" which presents examples from public advocacy of members of the Network. There were five issues of the Newsletter "Network" published to inform the public all over Bosnia and Herzegovina about activities of the Network and other events of importance for women's status in our country.

"NOTES ON CAMPAIGNING"

The goal of "Notes on Campaigning" is to present the role of women members of political parties in planning and implementation of election campaigns, show to what extent they are active and what the obstacles for their political engagement are. Our wish is to show you how women's initiatives are accepted and to what extent their colleagues acknowledge their work.

"I have kept distance from my political party lately. The reason was the president of municipal branch of my political party. He behaves like the party is his private property of a few leaders, where no one else participates in decision-making. They finish all decisions in the bar and it is over. Other women left as well. Now I see it was a mistake to leave. We should have stayed and insist on changes... In this elections I will turn the new page!", Cmiljka Miličević, a member of municipal branch of Party of Democratic Progress Nevesinje (PDP)

"There are no women leaders of political parties. This confirms politicians say one thing, and do another. Women have to encourage themselves and go public. Let them call you names and say bad words, but it is not important, because you know what your goal is and why you campaign.", Mladenka Petković, deputy in Municipal Council of Milići, Serb Democratic Party (SDS)

"If we are not in the position of power, in decision making institutions,

our struggle for equality will have no results. If we are not represented in commissions, assemblies, governments, decision-making bodies all our efforts will be in vain", Vesna Ivanović, deputy in Municipal Council of Bratunac, Democratic People's Alliance (DNS)

"I think the work of women's NGOs is one good experience we had. They have helped us change the perception of our role since the war. At the beginning women were lost and shy. However, visiting and participating in NGO activities, women started to relax, get self-confidence, openly tell what their problems and obstacles were and what they were not able to achieve", Fatima Bakalović, deputy in Municipal Council of Bratunac, Party for Bosnia and Herzegovina (SBiH)

"Since I wasn't satisfied with the organisation of election campaign and I wanted to leave the clich, I organized a small election headquarters of my own. My colleagues in the party didn't like the fact I made my personal poster, leaflet, slogan. Fortunately, there were people around me to support me. Additionally I had some money to cover the costs of my election campaign. Although there have been some troubles, I think it was worth it", Nada Tešanović, deputy in the People's Assembly of Republika Srpska and Banja Luka City Council, Alliance of Independent Social-democrats (SNSD)

"I remember a woman who read the set of workers' requests in a protests and later never appeared in public. I expected she will be more active both in the party and public life. When I asked her what will be her next steps, she told she doesn't like people speak about her as a "public person" negatively. I am sorry women think that way. We have to overcome patriarchal perception of a women who is publicly active as a bad mother or housewife", Milena Trninić, deputy in Municipal Council of Drvar, Alliance of Independent Social democrats (SNSD)

"A women has to strategically prepare everything in order to succeed. I have a family and a job, however despite small insinuations, I managed to prove to everyone I can cover everything. My attitudes cannot be changed easily", Nada Delalić, deputy in Municipal Council of Livno, Social democratic Party of BiH (SDP BiH)

"I don't like to work under other people's directives, particularly if it is not in favour of our citizens. Logically, if the citizens elected us, our policy should be in their favour and favour of our town, instead in favour



of our political interests", Paula Popovac, Social democratic Union (SDU)
"There were twenty eight of us on the election list. I was put on the eleventh place. I got elected, which convinced me people voted for an individual not a group", Slobodanka Grubor, deputy in Municipal Council of Drvar, Alliance of Independent Social democrats (SNSD)
"I think democracy in which men dominate is not a full democracy. There should be more women in power", Ankica Tomić, deputy in Municipal Council of Livno, Croat Democratic Union (HDZ)
"It's a pity men don't visit educational seminars. They are convinced they know everything, but they only know how to work when they have to do something for themselves. Unlike women, who learn for example how to behave while speaking publicly - whether to lean to one or other side or how to hold a pen etc, men think they don't need education. At the same time we can see these very men wearing the hell of a tie, bad dressed and sitting incorrectly", Milada Orman, deputy in Municipal Council of Ljubuški, Social democratic Party of BiH (SDP BiH)
"There is neither decent television here, nor a cinema. Women are unemployed. They stay home, waiting for their children and husbands all day. Those who work sometimes involve in some public activities. In order to get women out of their homes, we have to find them a job. Only that way you meet people, exchange information and finally earn something for life. Whatever the amount is, it is yours then", Zorica Nikolić, deputy in Municipal Council of Srebrenica, Socialist Party of Republika Srpska (SPRS)
"If we sleep, no one will vote for us. Men can hardly wait for that. In the last four years, since I have been a deputy, I saw my colleagues do not like women among them, they don't like women raise their voice. There are many experienced women and we have to support them. Politics is not only for men", Senada Kebo, deputy in Municipal Council of Mostar South East, Party of Democratic Action (SDA)
"In the meantime I have moved to another party, since my colleagues haven't support me. They didn't know how to benefit from the fact I am elected representative. They even started initiative for my replacement. There was no cooperation and I had to change the party.", Milka Rankić, vice-mayor of Srebrenica, Democratic People's Alliance (DNS)
"It seems women were only a quota in the last elections, only figures. In

sented in the media in general and in election period as well¹ and whether this might be the reason why voters do not vote for them. Although all political parties had 30% of women in candidate lists, there were almost no women candidates in the media. Reports about activities of political parties and specialised election talk shows showed only men candidates. For example, in seven days of "Election debate" in RTV of Republic of Srpska there was neither one women candidate presented as a guest. We didn't have intention to analyse why journalist select men for the interviewees.

Journalists monitored only reports from Bosnia and Herzegovina and related to its everyday life.

Music, sport, special editions in the daily papers, world news were not the subject of this monitoring. We also didn't monitor the number of women and men reporters and journalists moderating the program and newscasts.

In the booklet "Women in Media" we present the results of two weeks of monitoring of papers and TV stations, illustrated with graphics, which show women in the media are still underrepresented.

"IN ADVOCACY ACTION"

Wishing not to forget the examples of good practice when public advocacy is concerned we present you the booklet called "In advocacy action", which can also be a manual for future advocates. In this booklet you can see how to organise purchase of milk from producers in Bosansko Grahovo, small almost forgotten town in western BiH. Thanks to women's campaign for the first time after 12 years women in Grahovo open their accounts and received salaries.

You can see how youth in nine municipalities of Bosnia and Herzegovina managed to get municipal decisions and approval of free office space for their activities; how Bosniak returnees to Ljubuški got back jobs they lost at the beginning of war; how women manage to earn in Milići knitting and embroidering. We wished to share these experiences of NGOs and individuals, hoping they can be inspiring in organising activities in your community.

¹ Local election held on October 2nd 2004

Economically empowered women - Milići: Poverty, unemployment, patriarchal environment are great problems for women in Milići. The goal was to empower women to become self-confident and start their business. After conducting a research, we learned most women face these problems and at the same time they expressed they are skilled in knitting and embroidering, which showed us direction what to do next. We contacted organisation "Bosnian Handicrafts" and established cooperation. We organised additional education for women, promoted their work and started to sell the products. Currently about 70 women earn their salaries this way. (by Association "Zora" Milići)

NEWSLETTER "NETWORK"

In the quarterly newsletter "Network" we published information on activities of the members of "Be Seen, Be Heard" Network as well as the news of interest for women's activism and women's human rights in BiH and worldwide. Five editions of the "Network" were published and distributed countrywide.

Together with members of the Network from political parties and institutions, the following organisations implemented aforementioned activities and supported the work of the Network:

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Da se vide, da se čuju * Da se vide, da se čuju * Be seen, Be heard * Da se vide

