

ŽENA DANAS

10. CIKLUS

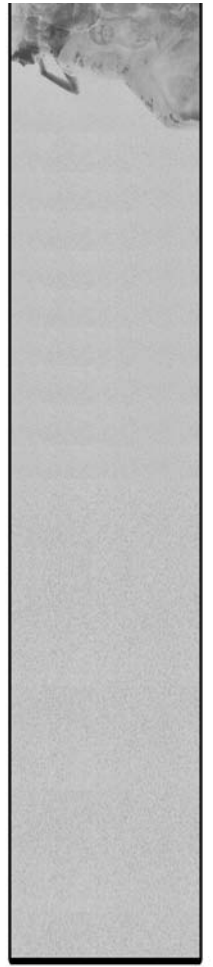


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Banja Luka, Januar 2007.



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UVOD

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Helsinški parlament građana Banja Luka i Udružene žene Banja Luka u 2006. godini radno su obilježili deset godina svog postojanja. Ova godina bila je i godina opštih izbora, pa nam aktivnosti usmjerene ka unapređenju položaja žene u javnom i političkom životu i povećanju zastupljenosti žena u institucijama vlasti nisu dale predah za velika slavlja. Ipak, bilo je mjesta i za radost, jer su mnoge naše saradnice iz političkih partija izabrane u institucije vlasti, a onima kojima to nije pošlo za rukom bar smo pomogle da lakše provedu svoje predizborne kampanje i budu vidljivije u očima birača.

Pred vama je još jedna publikacija "Žena danas" koja daje pregled svih prošlogodišnjih aktivnosti, sadržaje stručnih izlaganja koje su u toku njih podnijeli naši saradnici i saradnice, te utiske političarki koje su učestvovala u našim programima ove i prethodnih godina. Kroz njih se možete informisati o ulozi medija u promociji ravnopravnosti polova i predstavljanju žena u predizbornoj kampanji, položaju žena u institucijama vlasti nakon oktobarskih izbora, ustavnim promjenama i putu Bosne i Hercegovine ka evropskim integracijama, zaštiti od nasilja u porodici i drugim temama.

Projekat "Žena danas" koji već deset godina provodimo uz podršku Fondacija "Kvinna Till Kvinna" iz Švedske, naš je doprinos eliminaciji svih oblika diskriminacije žena i stvaranju okruženja u kojem će žene i muškarci imati iste mogućnosti.

*Nada Golubović
Lidija Živanović
Kordinatorice projekta*



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JAVNE TRIBINE

AKTUELNI TRENUTAK

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МИРА ЛОЛИЋ МОЧЕВИЋ

УЛОГА МЕДИЈА У ПРОМОЦИЈИ ЖЕНСКИХ ПРАВА

О женским правима се у задњих 20-ак година све чешће говори на нашим прос-торима, а у задњих пет, и медији их више третирају као тему дневних или пе-риодичних информација.

За све чешћу причу о женским правима избориле су се *невладине организаци-је*, онда су донесени закони који су наметнули и потребу да се о њима говори, потом је дошло и до оснивања владиних Агенција које се баве женским прави-ма, а стварност и изазовне женске судбине изнијеле су на видјело проблеме с којима се бори овај бројнији дио популације. Иако бројније у нашем окружењу, жене нису оствариле још увијек свој циљ, *једнаке могућности за све без обзира на пол*.

Медији су постали неизоставни дио живота, што је одредило и њихову врло значајну улогу у промоцији свих људских, па тако и женских права. Писани и електронски медији, комерцијални или јавни, пружили су могућност грађанима да брзо дођу до различитих садржаја.

Колико и да ли ће женска права бити третирана у медијима, одређено је изме-ђу осталог и слjedeћим:

- да ли постоји интерес јавности и његово прихватање женских права;
- да ли су медији професионални, уколико јесу, то они свеобухватније и ис-траживачки квалитетније прате било коју област, па тако и женска права;
- да ли је медиј комерцијални или јавни (за разлику од комерцијалних медија, јавни медији морају да задовоље потребе најшире структуре становништва и да се баве свим питањима од интереса за јавност - комерцијални медији ту обавезу немају);
- да ли је тема о којој се говори новинарски интересантна или не;
- да ли су они који су заинтересовани за рjeшење неког проблема у нашем случају промоцију женских права, спремни да се изборе, да користе медиј као средство за остваривање циљева и да користе различита средства и "притисак" на медије да промовишу женска права;
- да ли су и колико новинари едуковани и спремни да се баве женским пра-вима и њиховом промоцијом, односно колико је уредничко менаџерски дио неког медија спреман да промовише женска права.

Што је медиј сложенији то су и могућности за промоцију женских права вишес-траније. Најсложенији и најсавршенији медиј је **телевизија**, и она је данас најпо-пуларнија забава на свијету тврде многи теоретичари. Телевизијска порука го-вори ријечју и сликом, а како је један од најпознатијих теоретичара масовних комуникација Маршал Маклуан писао, 60-их година прошлог вијека, да су меди-ји продужеци људског тијела онда је телевизија продужетак и очију и ушију и човјековом централном нервном систему за кратко вријеме пружа огромну ко-личину информација.

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Често се каже, да оно што није било на *телевизији* није се ни десило, а неколико десетина вјекова стара је Кинеска пословица "боље је једном виђено него сто пута речено", те ћу се ја због тога и чињенице да радим на Телевизији Републике Српске базирати на ТВ новинарство.

Различити новинарски жанрови могу на различите начине доприносити креирању јавности и утицати на свијест читалаца, слушаца и гледалаца, али свака новинарска прича, свака новинарска вијест треба да одговори на пет основних новинарских питања:

КО, ШТА, ГДЈЕ, КАДА, И КАКО (зашто), те ћу ја овом логиком и Вас провести кроз улогу медија у промоцији женских права.

ШТА - Промоција женских права биће успјешна и прихваћена у јавности уколико је медији третирају и њом се баве. У овом тренутку није довољно нити квалитетно заступљена у комерцијалним медијима, а у јавним је дјелимично. Промоција било ког људског права требала би да полази од полазне основе *једнаке могућности за све*.

КО - Ко саопштава вијест у медију и ко је основа вијести је јако битно.

Ако је више жена на екрану, у етеру или се потписују као новинари, онда се и у свијести људи ствара слика о жени која је ту, која је изузетно битна, (све чешћим њеним појављивањем постаће сасвим нормално да баш жена саопштава информацију). Жена је основни вршилац радње, тема вијести, односно права које промовишемо и постаће сасвим нормално да је то право битно, да га треба промовисати, односно спроводити. (Мислим да још увијек сви медији не баратају - или не желе "да знају" да су законски регулисана права и обавезе везана за кршења или провођења женских права).

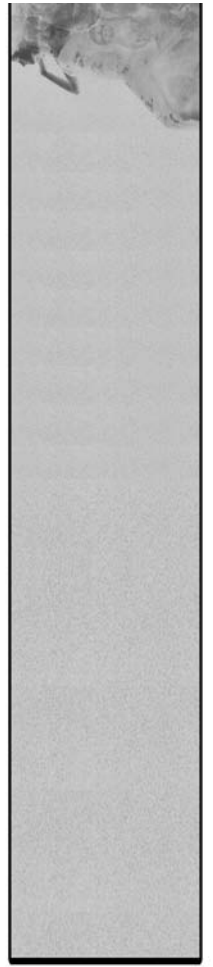
Али, код овог првог новинарског питања битно је нагласити да врло значајно мјесто у промоцији женских права, имају уредници и директори медија који могу на позитиван или негативан начин утицати на промоцију женских права, отварајући или затварајући медиј за ову промоцију. Још увијек у свијести управљачких структура у медијима не постоји сагласност о потреби промоције женских права, а понекад постоје и врло джендер несензитивни ставови који иду и до крајњих граница да је "превише промоције женских права у медијима". Овдје је свакако изузетно битно питање освјешћености и образованости новинарки, односно њиховог прихватања и жеље да промовишу женска права. Понекад се та жеља третира и као "позитивни или негативни феминизам".

У кући у којој ја радим, Радио телевизији Републике Српске у програмском сектору, жене су бројнији дио новинарског и уредничког тима, а све су чешћи актери информација које пласирамо јавности.

ГДЈЕ - Гдје се у медију промовише женско право и гдје се у стварности женско право остварује, (крши или дешава).

Мислим да је овдје битно нагласити на којој страни, или у којој емисији је третирано женско право које желимо промовисати. Ако га промовишемо кроз више различитих емисија чије су циљне групе различите, постићемо боље резултате, него ако то радимо у такозваним женским страницама, женским емисијама и слично.

Посебан проблем је чињеница да се на такозваним женским страницама пласирају слике са голишавим женама, информације које говоре о кухању, изгледу и слично, и не третирају озбиљније женске теме или проблеме, те се тиме не промовишу цјелокупне женске вриједности, и често такве стране имају назови-мо их "сексистички приступ".



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Нормално да је потребно производити и назовимо их женске емисије, али оне морају третирати различите области којима се жена бави или посматрати жену као универзално људско биће.

Увијек треба имати на уму да се могу постићи бољи резултати уколико више циљних група добије и прихвати информацију кроз различите емисије, (кроз цјелокупан програм или цјелокупне новине), тако ће на бржи начин постати уобичајено и сасвим нормално да се "новинарска прича" о женским правима не издваја као изузетак, него као нормална појава. Наши медији, али и наше друштво још увијек није у тој фази размишљања.

Када говоримо о одговору на новинарско питање "гдје", битно је нагласити да је промовисање женских права неопходно вршити кроз садржаје намијењене урбаном и руралном становништву (нека истраживања су показала да је већи степен кршења женских права на селу него у граду).

КАКО - Одговарајући на ово новинарско питање наглашавам:

Ако на *интересантан* начин, ненаметљиво (јер су наметљивост и доношење и изношење било чега, по принципу силе неприхватљиви за јавност), говоримо о неком угроженом женском праву, оно ће наћи бржи пут до гледалаца, а медиј ће у том случају само поспјешити његову промоцију.

Подразумијева се да је новинар на *професионалан* и *најквалитетнији* начин промовисао женско право, тај начин мора бити интересантан и што је интересантнији он ће гледаоцима прије постати прихватљивији. Ако је испричан из угла жене чије се право крши, он је тим постао још интересантнији и упечатљивији.

КАДА - И вријеме у ком саопштавамо неку информацију је јако битно, јер постоје термини када је већи број гледалаца пред малим екранима или слушалаца пред радио апаратима.

Најповољнији тренутак за промоцију женских права је када је цијела породица на окупу, јер тада сви могу да дођу до информација, да науче или да схвате питање о ком се говори, а ми дајемо значај теми о којој говоримо.

Изузетно је пожељно да женска права промовишемо кроз најгледаније емисије и у најударнијим терминима, јер они имају највећи број корисника, највиши степен повјерења, односно навику гледања и примања информација баш из те емисије, што отвара фантастичне могућности за промоцију женских права.

Некада је пожељније промовисати женска права у јутарњем термину када су жене у могућности да самостално прате емисију (ово издвајам због примједби неких гледатељки које су нам се јављале са жељом да управо у том термину гледају те емисије када кући нема њихових мужева који имају врло негативан став о женским правима - те то може бити добар термин за едукацију саме жене).

ЗАШТО - Одговором на ово пето или шесто питање сваке новинарске информације завршићу уводно излагање у вечерашњем разговору.

Зашто је битно да се женска права промовишу кроз медије, одговор лежи у цитату Стјуарта Хола из 1986 године. Он је записао:

"Медији посједују моћ да на одређене начине представе свијет. И баш зато што постоји толико много различитих и супротних начина на које се значење свијета може изградити, од суштинске је важности шта се и ко се изоставља и како се представљају ствари, људи, догађаји и односи."

Бања Лука, 7. март 2006.

UKRATKO O TRIBINI

Tema javne tribine „Uloga medija u promociji ženskih ljudskih prava” nije slučajno odabrana. „U godini izbora ključna stvar za žene jeste na koji način će ih mediji prikazati”, objasnila je uvodničarka tribine Mira Lolić Močević koja je iz svog novinarskog ugla govorila o ženama u medijima.

Ona je istakla da su u posljednjih pet godina, zahvaljujući prije svega angažmanu nevladinih organizacija, napravljeni značajni pomaci u medijskoj promociji žena, dodajući da je Radio televizija RS prva u BiH počela da potpisuje funkcije u ženskom rodu – urednica, lektorica, novinarka...

U raspravi koja je uslijedila čule su se kritike da se u medijima stalno pojavljuju jedne te iste žene. Reagovala je Lana Jajčević iz „Udruženih žena” pitajući se ko pita gledaoce i slušaoce da li su im dosadili Dodik, Čavić ili Krstan Simić koji se već deset godina vrte na malim ekranima. „Ako im oni za ovih deset godina nisu dosadili, zašto bismo im mi bile dosadne”, zapitala se Jajčevićeva.

Poslanica u Narodnoj skupštini RS Nada Tešanović se požalila da joj novinari uglavnom pri-
laze da je pitaju o ravnopravnosti polova, zaobilazeći aktuelne političke teme, a Milosava Jakovljević je primjetila da žena skoro da i nema u političko-informativnim emisijama RT RS kao što su „Oči u oči” ili „Crvena linija”. „Žene nisu oslobođene polaganja Ustavnog prava na Pravnom fakultetu, ali kada je riječ o ustavnim promjenama, onda se žene tu ništa ne pitaju”, primjetila je Jakovljevićeva.

Diskutujući o nastupima žena u medijima, zaključeno je da žene previše analiziraju šta će reći, kako će to reći i kako će izgledati. Mnogo je važnije da žena ima jasan stav, jasnu poruku i da tačno zna šta hoće da kaže i onda nema razloga za tremu ili strah od kamere, jedan je od zaključaka tribine održane 7. marta 2006. godine u Banjoj Luci na kojoj je bilo više od 43 građanki/na.

Demonstrirajući volju RT RS da nastavi sa politikom promocije ženskih ljudskih prava direktorica RT RS Mira Lolić Močević je pozvala sve učesnice tribine da pred kamerama u jednom minutu sažmu šta to one očekuju od medija. Emisija sa izjavama učesnica tribine je emitovana 8. aprila 2006.

Prikaz pripremila
Dragana Dardić



USTAVNE PROMJENE U BIH

UVODNIČARI: DRAGANA ČAVIĆ, MLADEN IVANIĆ I NIKOLA ŠPIRIĆ

Banja Luka, 19.april.2006.

UKRATKO O TRIBINI

Direktni i indirektni učesnici pregovora o promjenama Ustava BiH Dragan Čavić, Mladen Ivanić i Nikola Špirić pokušali su učesnicima javne tribine, koju su 19. aprila u Banjoj Luci organizovale Udružene žene i Helsinški parlament građana, objasniti koji dijelovi Ustava BiH će biti izmjenjeni i kako će se to reflektovati na Republiku Srpsku.

Građane je interesovalo koliko će ustavne promjene da koštaju BiH, koje entitetske nadležnosti će biti prenesene na državni nivo, zašto nije bilo javnih rasprava i zašto se o ustavnim promjenama razgovaralo na stranačkom, a ne na institucionalnom nivou.

Dragan Čavić je, istupajući kao predsjednik Srpske demokratske stranke, rekao da „nema pojma koliko će ustavne promjene da koštaju, ali da zna da su jeftinije od sukoba”.

„Princip koštanja nije ključni princip za organizaciju ove države”, istakao je Čavić dodajući da će ustavne promjene učiniti državu funkcionalnijom i da neće „ugroziti entitete”.

„U ovakvim političkim i globalnim okolnostima dobacili smo koliko smo mogli”, izjavio je Čavić pojašnjavajući da se ustavne promjene odnose na izbor i funkiconisanje članova Predsjedništva BiH, Savjeta ministara BiH, Parlamentarnu skupštinu i odnos nadležnosti entiteta i države.

Odgovarajući na pitanje da li je poredio svoje predizborne govore prije nekoliko godina i danas, Čavić je rekao: „Znam šta sam govorio na izborima 1998. godine, ali tada je stanje u društvu bilo drugačije nego danas. Promjene koje su prije 10 godina bile nemoguće, sada su realne”.

On je još dodao da je Srpska demokratska stranka „pukla kao lubenica” 1997. jer je vodila nerealnu politiku koja se svodila na „izdržati, izdržati, izdržati” i ignorisanje zahtjeva međunarodne zajednice. Čavić je naglasio da bi svima trebalo da bude jasno da RS nije država već entitet i da je „najlakše prodavati iluzije da bi to moglo biti drugačije”.

Mladen Ivanić, lider Partije demokratskog progresa, je dodao da ustavne promjene „nisu kraj svijeta”, te da je dugoročna politika Republike Srpske da svoje interese brani u zajedničkim institucijama.

Govoreći o transparentnosti cijelog procesa, Ivanić je posebno istakao da je tribina koju su organizovale „Udružene žene” i Helsinški parlament građana bila prva javna tribina na koju je pozvan da govori o ustavnim promjenama i da se bez dvoumljenja odazvao pozivu. On je još dodao da su lideri političkih stranaka svjesno na sebe preuzeli veliku odgovornost potpisujući ustavne amandmane, jer bi „štete bile veće da smo samo govorili ‘nećemo’, ‘nećemo’, a onda, na kraju, bili prinuđeni da pristanemo na nešto što nam drugi serviraju”. Predstavnik Saveza nezavisnih socijaldemokrata Nikola Špirić je istakao da promjene Ustava

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nisu kozmetičke, „kako to žele da predstave neke stranke u Federaciji”, te da je njihov cilj da „stvore odgovornost za vršenje vlasti na svim nivoima”.

Čedu Đukića, savjetnika predsjednika Narodne skupštine RS Igora Radojičića, je interesovalo da li će ustavnim promjenama biti ugrožene zakonodavne nadležnosti republičkog parlamenta, na šta mu je Čavić odgovorio da „nema razloga za brigu”.

„Jedino što ćemo u tom smislu preduzeti je smanjenje broja delegata u Vijeću naroda sa sadašnjih 28 na 12”, istakao je Čavić.

Sekretara Ustavnog suda RS Milu Dmičića je interesovalo zašto u proces pregovaranja o izmjenama Ustava nisu bili uključeni pravni eksperti i da li je moguće sagledati kakve će posljedice promjene Ustava BiH imati na Ustav RS. On je ocijenio da su procesu nedostajali demokratska javnost i legalitet institucija i da još uvijek nije jasno o kakvom mi to državnom uređenju govorimo, te da još nije precizirano da li su entiteti federalne jedinice ili nešto drugo.

Dragan Čavić mu je odgovorio da se na poziv stranačkih lidera, od stotinu raznih doktora odazvalo tek nekoliko pravnih eksperata „koji su imali hrabrosti da učestvuju u oblikovanju ustavnih amandmana”.

Prisutne na tribini interesovalo je i kako politički lideri misle da riješe pitanje siromaštva u zemlji i kako misle da poboljšaju položaj penzionera, ali na ova pitanja nije bilo konkretnih odgovora.

Inače, javna tribina „Ustavne promjene u BiH” na kojoj je bilo više od 70 građana i građanki Banje Luke, organizovana je u sklopu projekta „Žena danas” koji „Udružene žene” i Helsinški parlament građana realizuju već deset godina. Cilj tribine je bio suočiti političke lidere sa građanima, demistifikovati proces donošenja ustavnih amandmana, dati građanima priliku da pitaju šta ih interesuje i razjasniti nedoumice u vezi sa posljedicama koje će ustavne promjene imati na život običnih ljudi.

Prikaz pripremila
Dragana Dardić



EVROPSKE INTEGRACIJE – PROCES, GDJE SMO I KUDA NAS TO VODI

UVODNIČAR: ŠEF PREGOVARAČKOG TIMA BiH IGOR DAVIDOVIĆ

Banja Luka, 08. juni 2006.

UKRATKO O TRIBINI

Početak pregovora o stabilizaciji i pridruživanju Bosne i Hercegovine Evropskoj uniji označen je kao jedan od najvažnijih političkih događaja u proteklom periodu. Šef pregovaračkog tima BiH Igor Davidović pokušao je, na javnoj tribini organizovanoj 27. juna 2006. godine, da objasni građanima i građankama Banje Luke, koji je interes Bosne i Hercegovine da se pridruži zemljama članicama Evropske unije, šta joj to donosi dobro, a šta loše.

„Prešli smo pola puta. Dio pitanja je faktički usaglašen, a drugi dio smo ostavili za pregovore zakazane na jesen, izjavio je Davidović dodajući da bi „već u novembru mogli imati potpisan Sporazum o stabilizaciji i pridruživanju, što je prvi ozbiljan korak ka punopravnom članstvu u Evropskoj uniji“.

Davidović je, međutim, istakao da će proći najmanje šest godina dok BiH ne postane punopravna članica EU.

On je naglasio da je među nekim zemljama Evropske unije prisutan „zamor od proširenja“. „Čini mi se da će EU obustaviti prijem jednog broja zemalja u EU“, istakao je Davidović. Prema njegovim riječima Bosna i Hercegovina će se, nakon zaključivanja Sporazuma o stabilizaciji i pridruživanju, prvo suočiti sa problemima. To bi, kako je ocijenio Davidović, moglo potrajati tri godine. Prvi na udaru će se naći budžetski potrošači, jer će, po stupanju na snagu ugovora o slobodnoj trgovini između BiH i zemalja EU, doći do smanjenja budžetskih prihoda koji se ostvaruju po osnovu naplate carina na uvoz robe.

„Naše tržište će se otvoriti za slobodan uvoz evropskih proizvođača. Regresivno će se smanjivati carinske stope za određen broj proizvoda koji dolaze iz EU, što će uticati na smanjenje carinskih dadžbina koje idu u budžet. Ovaj odliv budžetskih sredstava neće biti amortizovan PDV–om“, objasnio je Davidović.

On je dodao da BiH treba da uradi još dosta toga, kao što je rad na izmjeni Zakona o svojinskim odnosima i informisanje domaćih preduzeća kako da patentiraju i zaštite svoje proizvode.

Davidović je još istakao da od šengenske vize još dugo neće biti ništa, odnosno da su priče o ukidanju viza za građane BiH nerealne.

Objašnjavajući šta Bosna i Hercegovina dobija ulaskom u EU, Davidović je istakao: „Bolje je biti u tom društvu. Kad-tad imaćemo slobodu kretanja i lakše ćemo dolaziti do investicija. Sad ne možemo računati ni na šta. Mi smo još u izolaciji“.



Građane je interesovalo kako mogu pristupiti fondovima EU, kako će biti tretirana mala i srednja preduzeća, a kako poljoprivredni proizvođači i kada bi u BiH konačno mogao biti urađen popis stanovništva kako bi se znalo kojim ljudskim resursima raspolaže država. Javnu tribinu na kojoj je bilo više od 40 građana/ki su organizovale „Udružene žene” i Helsinški parlament građana Banja Luka u sklopu projekta „Žena danas” koji finansira švedska fondacija Kvinna till Kvinna. Suorganizator tribine je bio predsjednik Narodne skupštine RS Igor Radojičić.

Prikaz pripremila
Dragana Dardić



SANELA PAŠIĆ DELAHMETOVIĆ

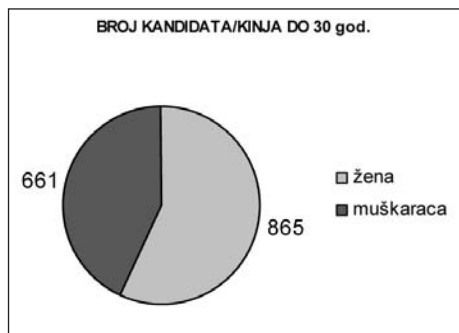
RODNI ASPEKT IZBORNE KAMPANJE

Rodni aspekt političkih procesa, biće sigurno tema i narednih godina, jer zadnja dešavanja i pomaci po ovom važnom pitanju, pokazuju da je potrebno raditi na podizanju svijesti, načinu razmišljanja i prihvatanju važnosti rodne analize u svim poljima djelovanja.

Zadnja izborna kampanja je pokazala da je potrebno još vremena i rada da bismo rodni aspekt prihvatili kao nešto o čemu treba voditi računa u predizbornom procesu, a ne da on bude samo paravan ili maska našminkanog političkog zagovaranja.

Zahvaljujući u prvom redu mukotrpnom i upornom radu nevladinih organizacija koje rade na pitanjima rodne jednakosti i ravnopravnosti, 1998. god. smo doživjeli pomak u prihvatanju zastupljenosti žena u politici. Te godine je na inicijativu ženskih NVO-a i OSCE-a u Izborni zakon BiH uvedeno da se 30% žena kandidatkinja mora naći na izornoj listi svake političke partije. Danas, 2006-te god. se ova odluka poštuje, ali nije vidljiva, bar ne u dijelu javnog nastupa i medijske prepoznatljivosti. Jedino mjesto gdje su žene kandidatkinje vidljive, su kandidatske liste političkih partija.

Prilog 1. – grafikon o učešću žena na izbornim listama



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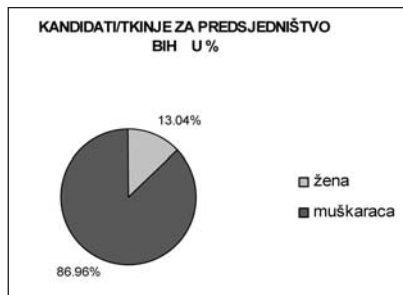
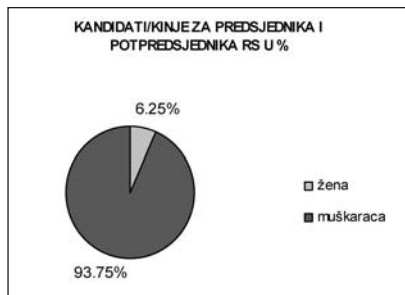
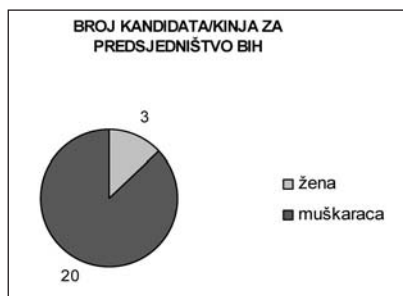
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Očito je da nije samo dovoljno mijenjati Izborne zakone, nego da se mora raditi i na rodnoj senzibilizaciji cjelokupnog društva. Prvenstveno bi trebalo o problematiki rodnog aspekta u društvu, edukovati one koji kreiraju na neki način javno mijenjanje, u prvom redu novinare bez obzira da li se radi o elektronskim ili pisanim medijima.

Samo sa novinarima koji će prepoznati, definisati i pravilno protumačiti pitanja koja se vežu i direktno utiču na rodne uloge, može se na adekvatan način približiti široj populaciji. Cilj je da se društvo u cjelini senzibilizira i edukuje po pitanjima roda, kako bismo prihvatili ravnopravnost i jednakopravnost u svim segmentima života i rada. Nedostatak odgovarajućeg poznavanja suštine pitanja roda kod novinara se mogao lako prepoznati i u predizbornom dijelu. Pažnja se poklanjala izjavama, fotografijama, natpisima i svim drugim medijskim prćenjima skoro isključivo muškaraca – političara koji su već izgradili svoju prepoznatljivost. Iako su žene političarke takođe bile u grupama koje su se javno predstavljale u borbi za osvajanjem biračkih glasova, o njima se nije pisalo, kao ni o njihovim govorima i njihovim obećanjima, za razliku od njihovih muških kolega iz političke partije.

Istina je i da u već ustaljenom patrijahalnom društvu, žena teško gradi nove pozicije koje se prepoznaju u sistemima moći i da je građenje novog identiteta uspješnih i snažnih žena sifov posao. Ta uloga traži jaku potporu čitave njene okoline i bezgranično razumjevanje njene porodice. Ipak, podrška kolega je jedna od onih presudnih, da bi se mogao ostvariti zapaženiji i odgovorniji položaj. Izgleda da je on za sada još uvijek pod budnim okom već prepoznatljivih muških političara.

To najbolje i pokazuje Prilog 2. – grafikon o kandidovanju žena na neku od najznačajnijih državnih funkcija





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Rodni aspekt učešća žena aktivnih u političkim partijama, je nešto što se potenciralo kroz rad nevladinih organizacija koja se bave rodним pitanjima. Nesumnjivo je da su kroz svoj rad uvidjeli da je jedan od načina da bi se došlo do društvene svijesti po pitanju rodne ravnopravnosti upravo preko žena političarki.

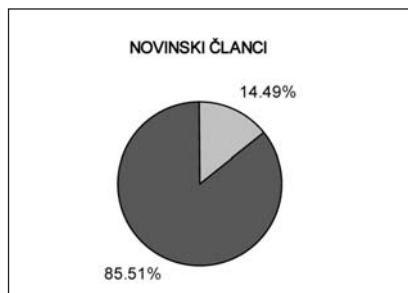
Predizborna kampanja je pokazala da sve organizovane konferencije, seminari, predavanja, radionice, sastanci, okrugli stolovi i javne tribine, ... sva ona zalaganja da bi se nešto uradilo i krenulo konačno ka promjeni društvenih vrijednosti koje bi bile u skladu sa demokratijom društva i dalje treba nastaviti, ali u te aktivnosti uključiti i muškarce. Dakle, promijeniti nešto u strategiji našeg budućeg djelovanja.

Sposobnih žena ima, ma šta pričali muški političari, one su se dokazale na svojim radnim mjestima, uvažavane su i cijenjene kao osobe i profesionalke, kao takve su i ušle u političke partije, a onda su marginalizovane. Na predizbornim kampanjama su se probijale zahvaljujući svojim vlastitim mini kampanjama, a stranke im nisu omogućile da javni i medijski prostor podijele sa muškim kolegama.

Najbolji primjer za ovu tvrdnju pokazao se kroz praćenje predizborne kampanje kada se u novinama koje su pratile izborne nastupe partija, promovisao govor i rad muških političara, a poneka žena političarka je bila samo spomenuta kao nositeljica liste ili je njeno predizborno obraćanje bilo utopljeno u navođenju i drugih izjava stranačkih kolega.

Kao najbolji primjer može poslužiti analiza jedne sedmice predizborne kampanje. Analizirani period je od 18.09.2006. – 24.09.2006. god. U tom periodu je u najtiražnijim dnevnim novinama "Glas Srpske" na stranicama posvećenim izborima i predizbornim nastupima stranaka, objavljeno ukupno 69 novinskih članaka.

Od tog broja u samo 10 članaka se spominju žene, ali ni u ovom slučaju nisu u ravnopravnoj poziciji sa ostalim kolegama, jer se od ovog ukupnog broja u samo 4 novinarska priloga mogla pročitati i konkretna izjava žene političarke koja je kandidatkinja svoje političke partije. Čak ni u ovim slučajevima, njihovo sagledavanje trenutnog stanja društva ili predizborno obraćanje nema dovoljno prostora. Prostor dijele sa ostalim kolegama, a njihov javni nastup je sažet u jednoj rečenici. Preostali broj članaka se odnosi na samo nabrojana imena kao kandidate za neku od funkcija u državnim tijelima BiH, ili u slučaju kada se promoviše žena koja ne učestvuje aktivno u izbornom procesu kao kandidatkinja. Konkretno, u ovom slučaju bi se moglo čak i reći da je u predizbornoj proceduri više bila zastupljena žena koja se nije nalazila na izbornim listama, nego sve ostale kandidatkinje zajedno. Stiče se utisak da se medijski prostor ostavljao ženi koja u predizbornoj proceduri nije konkurencija i prijetnja muškarcima.



Slična situacija se mogla primjetiti i u televizijskim emisijama, gdje se pojavljivanje žena kandidatkinja moglo prije nazvati izuzetkom, nego redovnom pojavom.



Tako naprimjer u periodu od 23.09. do 29.09.2006. god. Bel televizija je imala ukupno 4 emisije, a Alternativna televizija oko 17 emisija. U pitanju su izborne hronike i emisije posvećene predizbornim dešavanjima. Od ukupnog broja ovih emisija koje su posvećene izborima, u samo 4 emisije su osim muškaraca gosti bile i žene. Primjećeno je da, generalno gledajući, kada su u pitanju gostovanja u emisijama ili razne vrste debata, da se ženama kandidatkinjama ne postavljaju pitanja vezana za "visoku politiku", odnosno pitanja od krućijalne važnosti, kao što je npr. Pitanje ustavnih promjena i sl., već da se pitanja koja se njima upućuju vezana za pitanja porodice, ili samo iz oblasti njihove profesionalne stručnosti, npr. oblast zdravstva i sl.

Ni jedna televizija kao najuticajniji medij na širu populaciju, nije organizovala gostovanja ili neki vid debate između žena političarki, sve se svodilo na već poznate i moglo bi se reći izluzane kroz mnogobrojna pojavljivanja na malim ekranima, političara koji nisu nudili ništa novo ni rekli nešto novo.

Ovdje ne mislim reći da su iskusni političari samo muškarci, niti da su političarke manje sposobne da se obraćaju društvu kroz medijske nastupe. Jednostavno, ono što je primjećeno u predizbornom procesu političkih kampanja sa rodnog aspekta je da žene iako su na listama bile prisutne sa preko 30 posto, njihova vidljivost u samim kampanjama, preko medijskog praćenja stranačkih aktivnosti, nije se pokazala u zadovoljavajućoj mjeri, niti u skladu sa proporcionalnom zastupljenošću na kandidatskim listama.

Nijedna situacija, koliko god da nam se čini da je pogrešna, nije takva ako iz nje ne izvućemo pouku. Tako je i sa ovom zadnjom predizbornom kampanjom, koju moramo analizirati i pokušati da uočene greške, nedostatke ispravimo i da naredne predizborne kampanje učinimo još boljim i uspješnijim.

Zbog toga je i važno da jasno kažemo šta je problem, koji su razlozi uticali na lošu vidljivost žena u političkim kampanjama, ali i da zajedno dođemo do preporuka za dalji rad, koje ćemo primjenjivati prilagođavajući korake situaciji i okruženju.

Banja Luka, 26. oktobar 2006.



UKRATKO O TRIBINI

Cilj tribine koju su 26. oktobra u Banjoj Luci organizovale Udružene žene i Helsinški parlament građana bio je rodna analiza medijske vidljivosti žena kandidatkinja u predizbornoj kampanji.

Prema riječima uvodničarke tribine Sanele Pašić Delahmetović, koja je jednu sedmicu u septembru pratila pisanje dvoje dnevnih novina i izvještavanje dvije TV stanice, o ženama se skoro nije ni izvještavalo.

„Od 69 članaka u ‘Glasu Srpske’ posvećenih izborima, samo u 10 članaka su pomenute žene. Od tih 10 samo u četiri teksta se mogla pročitati i konkretna izjava političarke”, navela je Delahmetović dodajući da su i te rijetke citirane izjave kandidatkinja uglavnom bile svedene na jednu rečenicu.

Od 21 TV priloga posvećenih promociji političkih kandidata, samo u četiri su gosti bile i žene, navela je Delahmetović ističući da je u predizbornom periodu više bila medijski praćena Svetlana Cenić, koja nije bila na listi, nego sve ostale kandidatkinje zajedno.

Govoreći o svom iskustvu kandidatkinje Nada Golubović je navela da u novinama nije bila zabilježena nijedna njena izjava data u predizbornom periodu. „Moja retorika očito nije bila poželjna. Medijima se više dopadala retorika stranačkih lidera koja se svodila na parole da neće biti ukinuta RS”, navela je Golubovićeva dodajući da nacionalni strahovi koji se osjećaju u svakom od tri konstitutivna naroda omogućavaju takvu retoriku.

Azra Alijagić iz SDP BiH kaže da je bila ogorčena ponašanjem pojedinih medija koji su ignorisali žene kandidatkinje, čekajući da se pojavi „koji muškarac iz stranke kako bi od njega uzeli izjavu”. Ona je još dodala da je i ova predizborna kampanja pokazala da je nacija još uvijek „nacionalno bolesna, jer ih ne interesuju plate i bolji standard, već samo nacionalni problemi”.

Marija Rapo iz HDZ BiH je apelovala na javne servise da ubuduće više vode računa o terminima koje nude kandidatima za medijsko predstavljanje, navodeći da je njoj bio ponuđen termin za gostovanje u Novom Gradu, iako ona nije iz te izborne jedinice.

Nevenka Trifković iz PDP je rekla da ona „ni slučajno ne bi napadala medije, jer priznaje nezavisno novinarstvo”. Ona je istakla da je vidljivost žena u predizbornoj kampanji bila kontrolisana ne od medija, već od stranaka. „U politici ne trpe profesionalce ako je profesionalka, jer postaje opasna. I kod nas, osim nacionalnih strahova, postoji i mizoginija”, navela je Trifkovićeva ističući da su materijalnim sredstvima u kampanji raspolagali muškarci. „Iz načina kako je tekla kampanja ni rezultat nije mogao biti drugačiji”, kazala je Trifković dodajući da i dalje treba raditi na ispunjenju preporuka Odbora ministara Savjeta Evrope i u čitavu priču uključiti i muškarce.

Milosava Jakovljević, koja je na ovim izborima bila na listi Narodne stranke Radom za boljitak, je istakla da je za lošu prolaznost kandidata ove stranke u RS kriva riječ boljitak „koju su Srbi doživljavali kao hrvatsku riječ”. „Bolje biti sit na bilo kom jeziku, nego na srpskom gladan. Ja sam to ponavljala u kampanji, ali niko to nije zabilježio. Da je to rekao muškarac, bio bi slavljen kao svetac”, istakla je Jakovljević dodajući da narod ovdje nasjeda na prazne priče začinjene sa 10 dekagrama magle i pola kile dima.

Ulfeta Kobašić iz SDP BiH je istakla da su kampanju obilježila dva lidera – Milorad Dodik i Haris Silajdžić. „Mogli smo da budemo najpametniji, opet ne bismo bolje prošli”, naglasila je ona dodajući da se „u ovoj zemlji samo uzima, a ako ne može tako – onda se otme. I to je karakterna crta ovog sistema”.



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Novinarka RTRS Dragica Vukalo je primijetila da „muškarci olako izriču parole koje vrlo brzo zaborave, dok žene, kada izgovaraju krupne riječi, onda su one objektivne i realne.”

Lidija Živanović iz Helsinškog parlamenta građana je istakala da „u odnosu na kampanju rezultati i nisu tako loši”, navodeći podatak da u Narodnoj skupštini RS sada ima više žena nego u prošlom sazivu, da je u parlamentu Federacije ostao status quo, dok je u Parlamentarnoj skupštini BiH broj žena pao sa 6 na 5. Prema njenom mišljenju u narednom periodu žene bi se trebale fokusirati na izmjenu Zakona o političkim partijama kako bi se on uskladio sa Zakonom o ravnopravnosti polova.

Na tribini na kojoj je bilo 22 učesnica/ika je zaključeno da treba nastaviti sa edukacijom novinara koji bi se senzibilisali za pitanja rodne ravnopravnosti i rodno izblansiranog izvještavanja, te da u buduće aktivnosti treba uključiti i muškarce. Takođe je predloženo da se zvaničnim institucijama još jednom ukaže na postojanje Zakona o ravnopravnosti polova, kako bi u vidu imali i rodni aspekt kada budu formirali nove organe vlasti.

Prikaz pripremila
Dragana Dardić



Проф.др СНЕЖАНА САВИЋ

ДИСКРИМИНАЦИЈА И ЉУДСКА ПРАВА И СЛОБОДЕ

-локално и глобално-

"Недавно сам од једне кинеске колегинице сазнао како се у будистичко-конфуцијанској Кини прави разлика између Раја и Пакла. У Паклу, костури сједе за столом са најбољим јелима. Нажалост, позвани не могу да уживају у дивним јелима, јер увијек када почну да једу, штапићи за јело толико порасту да се више не могу користити. А како изгледа Рај? И тамо гости сједе за препуним столом. Али, они нису испијени, већ добро изгледају, иако и тамо штапићи почну да расту чим их узму у руке. Али, за разлику од становника Пакла, становници Раја се међусобно послужују јелима".

Ову алегорију је проф. Томас Флајнер узео за Предговор српском издању његове књиге *Људска права и људско достојанство*. Читајући ову књигу сматрала сам да нема бољег начина да се започне излагање о људским правима и дискриминацији.

Нема сумње да су заштита и остварење људских права и основних слобода темељ сваког модерног друштва и државе. Такође, нема сумње да су демократија, у најширем смислу ријечи, на једној страни, и остварење и заштита основних људских права и слобода, на другој, темељ правне државе, не само у њеном формалном, већ и у њеном материјалном и аксиолошком значењу. Демократија, као таква, дакле, не само као облик политичког режима, већ и као основни принцип модерне државе, уопште, подразумијева, тј. укључује ову заштиту. Због тога се често каже да су демократија и слобода двије сестре близнакиње.

Демократско друштво изграђује се, између осталог, или пак на првом мјесту, путем остварења и заштите људских права и основних слобода. Исто тако, остварење и заштита људских права и основних слобода представљају претпоставку за реализацију демократије као врховног принципа правне државе. У том смислу, ове двије правне категорије, али и два принципа, нераздвојни су. Ако владавина права, у садржајном смислу, подразумијева заштиту и остварење основних људских права и слобода, логично је да без ње не може ни бити ријечи о демократској држави. Потпуна заштита људских права и слобода, истовремено, представља забрану сваке врсте дискриминације међу људима, односно њихову једнакост пред законом, тј. у остваривању њихових права и слобода. Старо је правило да су људи начелно једнаки и да стога са њима треба једнако поступати, тако да људско право на правну једнакост чини основу сваког правног система и представља остварење правде, наравно у оној мјери у којој је то уопште могуће. То да са људима начелно треба једнако поступати спада свакако у најмање спорну ствар. Много је тежа, међутим, примјена овог начела у конкретном друштву. Жене и мушкарце, нпр. треба, без сум-

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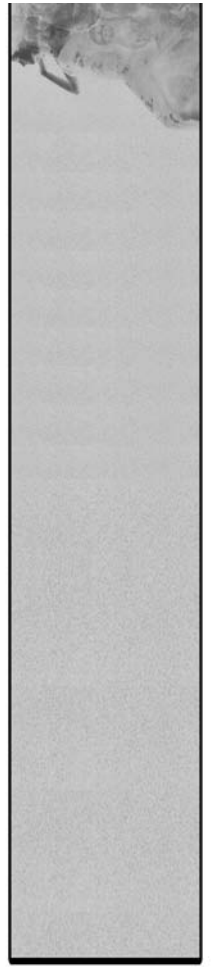


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ње, подједанако третирали. Да ли се онда женама смије мање плаћати зато што оне због материнства или породичних обавеза имају мањи радни учинак?, пита се проф. Флајнер. Нико неће приговорити томе што старији људи живе од социјалног осигурања и зато што не могу више да раде, иако је то још једно фаворизовање одређене категорије људи на основу критеријума старости, истиче он. (Флајнер). Дакле, види се да се у одређеним случајевима не смије правити разлика међу људима, а да се у неким случајевима таква разлика управо мора правити што представља једну посебну врсту дискриминације, тзв. позитивну дискриминацију. Можда овај термин није адекватан али је у области људских права већ уобичајен. Поставља се питање: Када је то исправно? Сматра се да и овдје важи начело да једнаке треба једнако, а неједнаке неједнако третирали. Међутим, чини се да ово уопштено начело више није довољно. Наиме, ако је стварно оправдано обезбједити да се одређене неједнакости неједнако третирају, онда држава мора да положи рачун пред неједнакостима. Неједнак третман је само онда оправдан када према општим друштвеним представама постоји неједнакост међу људима која оправдава неједнако поступање и у томе нема сумње.

Сама дискриминација је појам који данас има специфично значење неједнаког поступања у односу на лица међу којима постоје расне, националне, вјерске, полне или класно-сталешке разлике. Тако постоји расна, национална, вјерска, полна и друге дискриминације. Дискриминација може да буде чисто друштвена или, уз то, и правна. Данас је правна дискриминација доста ријетка и у правилу забрањена, али је зато још увијек честа фактичка, тј. друштвена дискриминација која се често врши не само у оној области која није правно регулисана него и у оној која је регулисана, па често и противно правним прописима. Постојање дискриминације представља тежак проблем у низу држава, а посебно постојање расне дискриминације, чији значај све више расте уколико све више долази до додира и мјешања раса и нација.

Забрана сваке дискриминације посебно расне и полне, тако је саставни дио заштите људских права и основних слобода те је постала принцип међународног права. Тако, према Повељи УН, чл.1.т.3, гдје се говори о циљевима УН стоји: "...остваривање међународне сарадње при рјешавању међународних проблема привредне, социјалне, културне или хуманитарне природе и при развијању и потицању поштивања права човјека и основних слобода за све без разлике расе, пола, језика или вјере". Универзална декларација о правима човјека у уводном дијелу садржи став "будући да су признавање урођеног достојанства и једнаких и неотуђивих права свих чланова људске породице темељ слободе, правде и мира у свијету", а у члану 1 да се "сва људска бића рађају слободна и једнака у достојанству и правима. Она су обдарена разумом и свијешћу и треба да једно према другоме поступају у духу братства", док у чл. 2 стоји "Свакоме су доступна сва права и слободе наведене у овој декларацији без разлике било које врсте, као што су раса, боја, пол, језик, вјера, политичко или друго мишљење, народносно или друштвено поријекло, имовина, рођење или други правни положај". Надаље, "не смије се чинити било каква разлика на основу политичког, правног или међународног положаја земље или подручја којима нека особа припада, било да је ово подручје независно, под старатељством, несамоуправно, или да се налази ма под којим другим ограничењима



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ма суверености". Члан 7. Декларације говори о томе да су сви пред законом једнаки и имају право, без икакве дискриминације, на једнаку заштиту закона. "Сви имају право на једнаку заштиту против било какве дискриминације којом се крши ова Декларација и против сваког подстицања на такву дискриминацију". Слична рјешења садржи и Међународни пакт о грађанским и политичким правима, почев од увода, члана 2 ст.1, и члана 26. Такође, слична рјешења садржи и Међународни пакт о економским, социјалним и културним правима, како стоји у уводу и ставу 2. члана 2. ове конвенције. Поред ових општих аката постоје и посебне конвенције које забрањују дискриминацију као што су Декларација о укидању свих облика несношљивости и дискриминације на основу вјере и увјерења, Међународна конвенција о укидању свих облика расне дискриминације (увод, члан 1.), Конвенција о елиминисању свих облика дискриминације жена (увод, члан 1 и члан 2), Конвенција МОР бр.11 о запошљавању и избору занимања као и Конвенција УНЕСКО-а против дискриминације у области образовања.

Посебно важан акт у циљу остваривања и заштите људских права и основних слобода, односно забрани било које врсте дискриминације јесте Европска конвенција о људским правима и основним слободама којом се, поред заштите читавог низа права и слобода, у члану 14. предвиђа да се "уживање права и слобода предвиђених овом конвенцијом осигурава без дискриминације по било којој основи, као што су пол, раса, боја коже, језик, вјероисповјест, политичко или друго мишљење, национално или социјално поријекло, веза са неком националном мањином, имовно стање, рођење или други статус".

Поред ове заштите, која се односи на уживање свих права и слобода гарантованих конвенцијом, Протоколом бр. 12 на конвенцију посебно се дефинише дискриминација. Тако се Протокол позива на основни принцип према којем су све особе једнаке пред законом и имају право на једнаку правну заштиту. Овом конвенцијом се и колективно јача општа забрана дискриминације. Чланом 1. Протокола се прописује да ће се "уживање свих права прописаних законом осигурати без дискриминације на било којој основи као што су пол, раса, боја коже, језик, вјера, политичко или друго мишљење, национално или социјално поријекло, припадност националној мањини, имовина, рођење или други статус".

У Општем оквирном споразуму за мир у Босни и Херцеговини - Дејтонском мировном споразуму, дато је посебно мјесто заштити људских права и основних слобода као и забрани дискриминације по свим основама. Тако се у самом Уставу Босне и Херцеговине - Анексу IV Дејтонског мировног споразума, почевши од преамбуле, у којој се његови потписници (доносиоци) позивају на Универзалну декларацију о људским правима и друге инструменте о заштити људских права, до посебног поглавља, члана II Устава Босне и Херцеговине, који најважнија људска права и основне слободе као и недискриминацију изричито наводи, и што је посебно значајно, даје *ipso iure* супрематију Европске конвенције о људским правима над домаћим законодавством, овим општим и правним вриједностима даје посебна важност. У том смислу се изградња стандарда људских права и основних слобода, као и забрана дискриминације, према већ успостављеним начелима у наведеним и другим међународним документима, јавља као нужна претпоставка развоја демократије и владавине права у Босни и Херцеговини.



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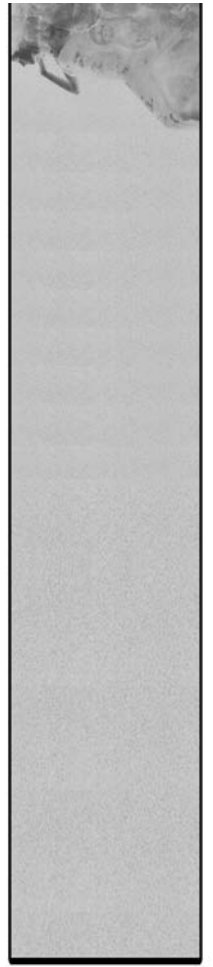
Уставом Босне и Херцеговине, на специфичан начин, гарантује се заштита људских права и основних слобода. Тако се, у члану II, који носи назив *Људска права и основне слободе* утврђује њихово остварење и заштита. У ставу 1. овог члана прописује се да ће "Босна и Херцеговина и оба ентитета обезбједити највиши ниво међународно признатих људских права и основних слобода". У ставу 2. истог члана, прописују се међународни стандарди и утврђује: "Права и слободе које одређује Европска конвенција за заштиту људских права и основних слобода и њени протоколи примјењују се директно у Босни и Херцеговини. Те ће одредбе имати приоритет над свим другим законима". У ставу 3. истог члана, под називом *Набрајање права* утврђује се да ће сва лица на територији Босне и Херцеговине уживати људска права и слободе из става 2, те да та права и слободе обухватају: право на живот, право да лица не буду подвргнута мучењу или нехуманим понижавајућим поступцима или казнама, право да лица не буду држана у ропству или потчињености или обављају принудни рад или обавезне радове, право на слободу и безбједност личности, право на поштено саслушање у грађанским и кривичним предметима, и дуга права у вези са кривичним поступком, право на приватан и породични живот, дом и кореспонденцију, слободу мисли, савјести и вјероисповјести, слободу изражавања, слободу мирног окупљања и слободу удруживања са другима, право на брак и заснивање породице, право на својину, право на образовање, право на слободу кретања и пребивалишта.

Став 4 истог члана посвећен је *Недискриминацији* и прописује да ће љубивање права и слобода које предвиђа овај члан или међународни споразуми набројани у Анексу 1 овог устава бити обезбијеђено за сва лица без дискриминације по било ком основу као што су пол, раса, боја, језик, вјерска, политичка или друга увјерења, национално и социјално поријекло, припадност националној мањини, имовина, рођење или други статуси.

Поред овога, у ставу 5 истог члана Устава, посебно се говори о праву избјеглица и расељених лица да се врате својим домовима, што подразумемијева и повраћај имовине које су били лишени током непријатељстава од 1991. године, као и о праву на накнаду за било коју имовину која им се не може вратити.

Став 6 истог члана говори о спровођењу и утврђује да ће Босна и Херцеговина и сви судови, установе, државни органи и институције којима управљају ентитети или се њима управља у ентитетима, примјењивати и поштовати људска права и основне слободе поменуте у тачки 2. овог члана. Надаље, у истом члану, став 7, прописано је да ће Босна и Херцеговина остати или постати чланица међународних споразума набројаних у Анексу 1 овог устава.

Анекс 1 на Устав Босне и Херцеговине прописује додатне споразуме о људским правима који ће се примјењивати у Босни и Херцеговини. То су: Конвенција о спречавању и кажњавању злочина геноцида из 1948. године, Женевска конвенција 1-4 из 1949, о заштити жртава рата и протоколи тој конвенцији 1 - 2, 1977, Конвенција из 1951. године о статусу избјеглица и Протокол тој конвенцији из 1966. године, Конвенција о држављанству удатих жена из 1957. године, Конвенција о смањењу броја лица без држављанства из 1961. године, Међународна конвенција о елиминацији свих облика расне дискриминације из 1965. године, Међународни споразум о грађанским и политичким правима из 1966. године, и Факултативни протоколи том споразуму из 1966. и 1989. Спо-



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разум о економским, социјалним и културним правима из 1966. године, Конвенција о елиминацији свих облика дискриминације према женама из 1979. године, Конвенција против мучења и других свирепих, нељудских или понижавајућих поступака и казни из 1984. године, Конвенција о правима дјетета из 1989. године, Међународна конвенција о заштити права свих радника имиграната и чланова њихових породица из 1990, Европска повеља за регионалне језике и језике мањина из 1992. године и Оквирна конвенција за заштиту националних мањина.

Поред овога, у ставу 8 истог члана Устава, прописано је да ће све надлежне власти у Босни и Херцеговини сарађивати и обезбиједити неограничен приступ свим међународним механизмима за праћење људских права основаним за Босну и Херцеговину, надзорним органима које установи било који међународни споразум наведен у Анексу 1 овог Устава, Међународном трибуналу за бившу Југославију или било којој другој организацији коју овласте УН са мандатом из области људских права и хуманитарног права.

Надаље, чланом X устава, којим се регулишу промјене устава, у ставу 2, прописује се да ниједан амандман на устав не може да елиминише или умањи било које од права и слобода поменутих у члану II устава, нити може да измени овај став.

Устав Републике Српске, већ у преамбули, позива се на остварење људских права и забрану дискриминације, што се понавља и у члану 1 гдје се констатује да конститутивни народи, остали и грађани, равноправно и без дискриминације учествују у вршењу власти у Републици Српској. Члан 5 Устава прописује да се уставно уређење Републике темељи на гарантовању и заштити људских слобода и права у складу са међународним стандардима. Члан 10 Устава децидно прописује да су грађани Републике Српске равноправни у слободама, правима и дужностима, једнаки пред законом и да уживају исту правну заштиту без обзира на расу, пол, језик, националну припадност, вјероисповјест, социјално поријекло, рођење, образовање, имовно стање, политичко и друго увјерење, друштвени положај или друго лично својство. Члан 16 Устава гарантује право на једнаку заштиту свих права у поступку пред судом и другим државним органом и организацијом. Поред заштите свих права предвиђених Уставом Босне и Херцеговине и релевантним међународним конвенцијама, Устав Републике Српске, у члану 40, став 3, прописује да омладина, жене и инвалиди имају посебну заштиту, што представља позитивну дискриминацију.

Уставом Републике Српске, посебно, у члану 48, прописује се да се права и слободе зајамчени овим Уставом не могу одузети ни ограничити, те да се у случају различитости у одредбама о правима и слободама између Устава Републике Српске и Устава Босне и Херцеговине, примјењују оне одредбе које су за појединца повољније.

Поред овога, у Босни и Херцеговини постоје и неки посебни закони којима се одређена људска права посебно и додатно штите и којима се забрањује свака врста дискриминације. Такав је нпр. Закон о равноправности полова у Босни Херцеговини (Сл.гласник БиХ, бр.16/2003). Овим законом се уређује, промовише и штити равноправност полова и гарантују једнаке могућности свим грађанима, како у јавној, тако и у приватној сфери друштва, те се спречава директна и индиректна дискриминација заснована на полу. (чл.1)



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Чланом 2 закона прописано је да су полови равноправни и да се пуна равноправност пола гарантује у свим сферама друштва, а нарочито у области образовања, економији, запошљавању и раду, социјалној и здравственој заштити, спорту, култури, јавном животу и медијима, без обзира на брачно и породично стање, те се децидно наводи да је дискриминација на основу пола и полне оријентације забрањена.

Чланом 3 овог закона дефинисана је дискриминација по основу пола и то као свако правно или фактичко, директно или индиректно разликовање, привилегирање, искључивање или ограничавање засновано на полу због којег се појединцима отежава или негира признање, уживање или остваривање људских права и слобода у политичком, образовном, економском, социјалном, културном, спортском, грађанском и сваком другом подручју јавног живота.

Закон, у истом члану дефинише директну и индиректну дискриминацију у том смислу што се под директном дискриминацијом подразумијева ситуација у којој је особа била третирана, третира се, или може бити третирана неповољније у односу на другу особу, у истој или сличној ситуацији, а на основу пола. С друге стране, индиректна дискриминација по основу пола постоји када привидно неутрална правна норма, критериј или пракса једнака за све доводе у неповољан положај особу једног пола у поређењу са особама другог пола.

Чланом 22. закона предвиђено је да надзор над провођењем овог закона обавља Министарство за људска права и избјеглице те да се ради праћења примјене овог закона формира Агенција за равноправност пола Босне и Херцеговине.

Слична рјешења садрже и Закон о заштити права припадника националних мањина (Сл.гласник БиХ 12/2003.) и Закон о слободи вјере и правном положају цркава и вјерских заједница у Босни и Херцеговини (Сл.гласник БиХ бр.5/2004).

Тако нпр. Закон о заштити права припаданика националних мањина у чл.1, 2, 4, 25 забрањује дискриминацију националних мањина у уживању њихових права и кажњава сваку радњу, подстицање, организовање и помагање дјелатности које би могле угрозити опстанак неке националне мањине, изазвати националну мржњу, довести до дискриминације или стављања припадника националне мањине у неравноправан положај.

Закон о слободи вјере и правном положају цркава и вјерских заједница у Босни и Херцеговини у чл. 1, 2 и 5 забрањује сваку дискриминацију засновану на вјери или увјерењу.

Како видимо, нормативно, у Босни и Херцеговини, односно Републици Српској, људска права и слободе су гарантовани свима, без било какве дискриминације. То практично значи да су сви људи, без обзира на различитости међу њима, једнаки пред законом и да имају иста права и слободе. Међутим, још увијек, остаје питање тзв. фактичке дискриминације. Наиме, формална, тј. правна недискриминација не гарантује увијек и фактичку недискриминацију. Наиме, сматра се да је веома тешко спровести начело правне једнакости, тј. уопште људска права, уз помоћ правних мјера. Тако се проф. Флајнер пита: како право, или суд, може да избјегне дискриминацију која је усидрена у култури, историји, традицији, свјетоназору и емоцијама неког друштва. Правним мјерама не може се спровести измјешаност у неком друштву ако је фактички не прихвата

и огромна већина становништва и не слиједи је својом вољом. Ово је, сматра он, уосталом видљиво и у случају тегобног спровођења равноправности између мушкарца и жене. Наиме, друштвено-традиционална дискриминација не може се од данас до сутра уклонити ни dobrим намјерама ни правним мјерама. Али, због тога судови, законодавац и држава не смију да капитулирају. Човјек, зацијело мора да буде свјестан чињенице да је потребно много година за ефикасно спровођење правне једнакости, као и за остварење једнаких шанси. Пође ли се исувише напријед, тада се мора рачунати са знатним противакцијама, као што се то показало педесетих и шездесетих година у случају јужних држава САД. Због тога свака држава мора одређеним мјерама, прије свега кроз образовање становништва, подизање нивоа свијести и политичке и правне културе становништва изграђивати његов однос према дискриминацији. То је дуготрајан и напоран посао али су резултати вриједни тога. Због тога Босни и Херцеговини и њеним ентитетима, посебно, без обзира на добра нормативна рјешења, тај посао тек предстоји. Улога невладиних организација је, без сумње у свему томе велика тако да је и организовање оваквих трибина, без сумње, допринос томе.

Смисао људских права и слобода, тј. њихово остварење и заштита налази се у једнакости људи пред законом односно у недискриминацији по било ком основу тако да су ова два појма у нераскидивој вези што сам, надам се, овим рефератом и показала.



ISKUSTVA U RADU SA SLUČAJEVIMA NASILJA U PORODICI

Nasilje u porodici predstavlja veliki problem u svim sredinama tako da i mi nismo pošteđeni ovog veoma opasnog društvenog problema. Do sada su preduzimani mnogi pokušaji da se ovoj devijaciji stane na kraj ali su ti pokušaji bili nedovoljno efikasni. Da bi nasilju u porodici sistemski i sveobuhvatno pristupili potrebno je uz dobru zakonsku regulativu stvoriti atmosferu u društvu koja će biti dobro senzibilizirana za prepoznavanje nasilja, te na odlučnu reakciju kada se nasilje pojavi. Kontekst u kojem trenutno živimo ne pretpostavlja niti jednu od ovih pretpostavki što znači da imamo konfuzna zakonska rješenja, a u društvu još uvijek preovladava mnoštvo predrasuda i stereotipa koji nam otežavaju senzibilizaciju zajednice za organizovanje i djelotvornije akcije.

Razvojem civilnog društva koje se manifestuje kroz djelovanje NVO sektora doprinijelo se senzibilizaciji zajednice za ovo veoma važno civilizacijsko pitanje, međutim bez usklađene zakonske regulative nije moguće doći do sistemskih rješenja kojima će se na adekvatan način reagovati na nasilje u porodici.

Zahvaljujući proaktivnom djelovanju NVO sektora još od 1997. godine, u 2000. godini se nasilje u porodici uspjelo nametnuti u Krivični zakon Republike Srpske, da bi se novim Krivičnim Zakonom RS članom 208. nasilje u porodici počelo sankcionisati kao krivično djelo koje se procesuiru po službenoj dužnosti (Sl. Glasnik RS br.49 od 5.juna 2003. godine). Uz KZ RS od 2003. godine imamo i Zakon o ravnopravnosti polova na nivou BiH koji u Poglavlju XI tretira nasilje u porodici (Sl. Glasnik BiH br.16/03). Sa željom da se problem nasilja u porodici još više aktualizira, a samim tim i društvo jasnije i odlučnije odredi prema ovom problemu, krajem 2005. godine je u Narodnoj Skupštini RS usvojen i Zakon o zaštiti od nasilja u porodici kao posebni zakon (Sl. Glasnik RS-a br.118 od 30. decembra 2005. godine). Pošto se ovdje radi o specijalnom zakonu smatram potrebnim da se detaljnije upoznamo sa njegovom koncepcijom i specifičnostima koje je ovaj Zakon trebao da obezbijedi.

ZAKON O ZAŠTITI OD NASILJA U PORODICI UREĐUJE

a. Krug lica koja se smatraju članovima porodice

Prvi put je ovim Zakonom jasno definisan krug lica koja se smatraju porodicom. Dosadašnja praksa, a posebno postupanja policije, stvarala su zbrku oko definisanja člana porodice. Neadekvatno definisanje ko čini porodicu dovodilo je u praksi do dodatnih nesporazuma kod prijava žrtava tako da je bilo neophodno zakonom definisati ko čini porodicu.

Po ovom zakonu porodicu čine:

- Supružnici u bračnoj ili vanbračnoj zajednici,
- Njihova djeca (zajednička ili iz ranijih brakova),



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- Bivši supružnici i njihova djeca,
- Usvojilac i usvojenik,
- Staralac i štićenik,
- Roditelji sadašnjih i bivših supružnika,
- Očuh i maćeha.

b. Pojam i radnje nasilja u porodici

Osim jasne definicije članova porodice, odnosno porodične zajednice zakonodavac ze smatrao potrebnim definisati pojam i radnje nasilja u porodici. Ovo je takođe važno da bi se pomoglo subjektima zaštite u procesuiranju krivičnog djela nasilja u porodici.

Pojam nasilja u porodici po ovom Zakonu podrazumijeva bilo koje djelo koje nanosi: fizičku, psihičku i seksualnu patnju ili ekonomsku štetu i prijetnje takvim djelima ili propuštanje činjenja dužne pažnje, što ozbiljno sputava članove porodice da uživaju u svojim pravima i slobodama na principu ravnopravnosti polova.

Radnje nasilja u porodici po ovom zakonu su:

- fizički napad na člana porodice,
- svaka primjena fizičke sile ili primjena prinude,
- ponašanje koje može prouzrokovati opasnost, fizičku ili psihičku patnju,
- prouzrokovanje osjećaja straha ucjenom ili prijetnjom,
- ozbiljni verbalni napadi, vrijeđanje, psovanje i sl,
- uhođenje i svi drugi načini uznemiravanja,
- oštećenje ili uništenje zajedničke imovine,
- propuštanje dužne pažnje i nadzora,
- izolacija i ograničavanje slobode
- nebriga u rješavanju osnovnih potreba.

c. Zaštita žrtva

Posebna specifičnost ovog zakona sastoji se u tome što su po prvi put zakonski definisane mjere zaštite žrtava porodičnog nasilja, te modeli tretmana počinitelaca nasilja u porodici. Ovo je najznačajniji doprinos kojim se nastojala jasno ostvariti društvena reakcija na pojavne oblike nasilja. Primarno se željelo ovom zaštitnim mjerama zaustaviti nasilničko ponašanje te zaštitu žrtava ali i pokušati uticati na promjenu nasilničkog ponašanja kroz modele rada sa nasilnicima. Zakonodavac je predvidio da nadležna Ministarstva u roku od 60 dana donesu podzakonske akte kojima se detaljno propisuju načini sprovođenja ovih mjera. Većina ovih Pravilnika nije donesena ni nakon 6 mjeseci. Nakon medijskog pritiska predstavnika civilnog društva Ministarstva su donijela većinu Pravilnika.

Vrste zaštitnih mjera:

- Udaljavanje iz stana ili kuće je prva zaštitna mjera koja se predviđa izricati kao primarna u paketu zaštitnih mjera. Ovo je značajna novina u okviru koje bi trebalo postići da osoba odgovorna za nasilje u porodici (nasilnik) na “vlastitoj koži” osjeti posljedice svog ponašanja. Pravilnik za sprovođenje ove mjere bilo je obavezno donijeti Ministarstvo unutrašnjih poslova u čijoj je i nadležnosti sprovođenje ove mjere.
- Zabrane približavanja žrtvi nasilja, je mjera koja se treba izricati uz mjeru udaljavanja iz stana ili kuće. I ova zaštitna mjera je u nadležnosti policije.
- Osiguranje zaštite žrtve nasilja – sigurna kuća, zaštitna mjera koja se treba izricati u krajnjoj nuždi ako nije moguće na drugačiji način zaštititi žrtvu nasilja. Zakonodavac je



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predvidio da se ova mjera izriče na što je moguće kraći vremenski period (dok se ne realizuje zaštitna mjera udaljšavanje nasilnika iz stana i zabrana približavanja žrtvi) i ne može trajati duže od 3 mjeseca. Pravilnik o uslovima za otvaranje i uslovima rada sigurne kuće propisuje Ministarstvo zdravlja i socijalne zaštite. Pravilnikom je predviđeno da usluge u okviru ove zaštitne mjere mogu pružati ustanove socijalne zaštite koje osniva Republika, nevladine organizacije ili pojedinci u okviru privatnog preduzetništva, odnosno porodičnog smještaja.

- Zabrane uznemiravanja ili uhođenja žrtve nasilja, ova mjera se u pravilu izriče u paketu se nekom od prethodnih mjera ali se može izreći i samostalno.
- Pravilnik za provođenje ove mjere propisuje i sprovodi takođe policija.
- Obaveza psihosocijalnog tretmana je novina u našoj zakonskoj regulativi. Prvi put se kroz zakonsku regulativu pokušalo suštinski uticati na promjenu nasilničkog ponašanja kroz socioedukativni rad sa nasilnikom. Mi se nadamo da će značajan broj nasilnika promijeniti svoje ponašanje nakon socioedukativnog tretmana a što će na najbolji način doprinijeti poboljšanju položaja i samih žrtava. Pravilnik za provođenje ove mjere propisuje Ministarstvo zdravlja i socijalne zaštite, a neposredno sprovođenje je u nadležnosti zdravstvenog sistema, odnosno Centara za mentalno zdravlje.
- Obaveza liječena od zavisnosti – zakonodavac je predvidio ovu zaštitnu mjeru jer je praksa pokazala da značajan broj nasilnika primarno ima problem sa ovisnošću od alkohola a u novije vrijeme o drogama. Da bi se postigla promjena u ponašanju a samim tim i u odnosima u porodici potrebno je uticati na osnovni problem a to je u ovim slučajevima zavisnost od alkohola ili droga. Provođenje ove mjere je već dobro razvijeno u okviru zdravstvenog sistema i u nadležnosti Centara za mentalno zdravlje.
- Rad u korist humanitarne organizacije je također jedna od novina u našem zakonodavstvu. Zakonodavac je predvidio da će se uvođenjem ove mjere doprinijeti razvoju zajednice kroz uključivanje u društvenokorisni rad. Osim osnovne ideje, kojom se pominje ova mjera, zakonom nisu definisani modeli organizacije i načini sprovođenja mjere.

Vrste i svrha prekršajnih sankcija

Specifičnost a ujedno i konfuzija ovim Zakonom se desila kada je propisano da se nasilje u porodici tretira kao prekršaj u okviru kojega se uz izricanje zaštitnih mjera mogu izreći samo novčane kazne.

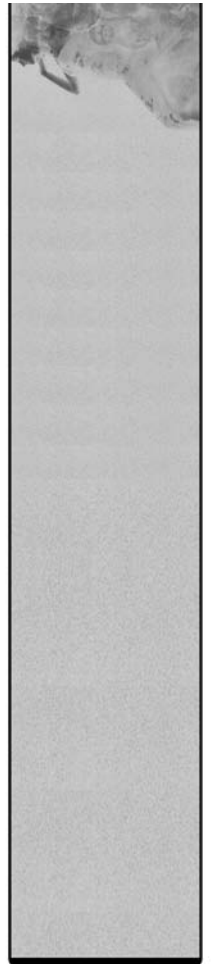
Daljnja specifičnost ovog Zakona je da su predviđene sramotno niske novčane kazne. Nadalje, još jedna nelogičnost u ovom Zakonu predviđa znatno strožije novčane kazne za odgovorno lice koje je obavezno prijaviti nasilje u porodici.

SUBJEKTI ZAŠTITE:

Pošto je nasilje u porodici izuzetno opasna aktivnost za koju je potrebna uvremenjena reakcija sa jasno definisanim aktivnostima pojedinih institucija, zakonodavac je jasno propisao subjekte zaštite njihove uloge u postupanju po saznanju, odnosno prijavu nasilja u porodici. Zakonom su predviđena četiri subjekta zaštite i to:

POLICIJA – Treba po prijemu prijave poduzeti hitne radnje u smislu zaštite žrtve nasilja u porodici te u roku od 24 sata dostaviti izvještaj tužilaštvu i Centru za socijalni rad.

TUŽILAŠTVO – Treba odmah procijeniti da li se radi o krivičnom djelu ili o prekršaju. Ukoliko se radi o krivičnom djelu predmet se upućuje sudiji koji je zadužen za krivični postupak a za izricanje zaštitnih mjera predmet treba uputiti sudij za prekršaje. Ako nema elemenata krivičnog djela, ne pokreće se krivični postupak već samo obavještava sudiju za prekr-



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šaje radi izricanja zaštitnih mjera i eventualno novčane kazne. preduzeti potrebne mjere i o tome obavjestiti sud.

ORGAN STARATELJSTVA – Preduzima potrebne radnje oko hitne zaštite žrtava porodičnog nasilja i priprema za sprovođenje zaštitnih mjera.

SUD – Najduže u roku od 3 dana treba izdati rješenje o zaštitnoj/im mjeri/ama.

POSEBNE SPECIFIČNOSTI OVOG ZAKONA:

A) *DOBRE STRANE:*

- Posebnim zakonom je na sveobuhvatan način regulisana zaštita žrtava nasilja u porodici,
- Zakon je predvidio „hitnost u postupanju”,
- Dobro definisane mjere zaštite.

B) *LOŠE STRANE:*

- Nasilje u porodici se ranije tretiralo kao krivično djelo. Zakonom o zaštiti od nasilja u porodici je devalviralo na nivo prekršaja.
- Novi Zakon o prekršajima isključuje mogućnost izricanja zaštitnih mjera u prekršajnom postupku a koje su propisane Zakonom o zaštiti od nasilja u porodici.
- Tužilaštvo i sudovi „sporo” reaguju na sve učestalije i sve složenije oblike nasilja u porodici.
- Nema adekvatne kaznene politike!

Banja Luka, 06. decembar 2006.

UKRATKO O TRIBINI

Povodom obilježavanja 16 dana aktivizma Udružene žene i Helsinški parlament građana organizovali su 6. decembra javnu tribinu da bi, kako je istakla Nada Golubović, „po ko zna koji put skrenuli pažnju na problem nasilja nad ženama”.

Profesorica Snježana Savić je sa normativnog aspekta govorila o problemu diskriminacije, objasnivši kako se pojam diskriminacije definiše na međunarodnom planu i u našem domaćem zakonodavstvu.

„Poenta je u tome da bez pomoći jednih drugima ne možemo sami da uživamo u onome što su nam dali priroda i društvo”, istakla je Savićka podsjećajući da je Bosna i Hercegovina ratifikovala brojne međunarodne konvencije i deklaracije koje svim ljudima garantuju uživanje prava i sloboda bez diskriminacije po bilo kojoj osnovi, kao što su pol, rasa, jezik, vjeroispovjest, nacionalno ili socijalno porijeklo.

Iako su, kako je istakla Savićka, u Bosni i Hercegovini ljudska prava i slobode garantovani svima, bez bilo kakve diskriminacije, to automatski ne znači i faktičku nediskriminaciju. Naime, kako je objasnila, diskriminacija je duboko ukorijenjena u kulturi, istoriji i tradiciji i ne može se tek tako ukloniti samo pravnim mjerama, pogotovo kada je riječ o ravnopravnosti polova.

„Svaka država mora, određenim mjerama, kroz obrazovanje stanovništva, podizanje nivoa svijesti i političke i pravne kulture stanovništva izgrađivati njegov odnos prema diskriminaciji. To je dugotrajan i naporan posao, ali su rezultati vrijedni toga. Bosni i Hercegovini i njenim entitetima, bez obzira na dobra normativna rješenja, taj posao tek predstoji”, zaključila je Savićka.



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Kada je riječ o učešću žena u zakonodavnim i izvršnim organima na svim nivoima u BiH, Savićka je sugerisala nevladinim orgnizacijama da svoje napore i inicijative usmjere na izmjenju Izbornog zakona u smislu „da se princip nediskriminacije mora poštovati prilikom konstituisanja vlasti”.

Za razliku od profesorice Savić, predstavnik Centra za socijalni rad Banja Luka Nikola Dorontić govorio je o iskustvima Centra u radu sa slučajevima nasilja u porodici. „I kraj tolike šume zakona mi i dalje ne možemo zaštititi žrtvu nasilja. Mislili smo da smo barem formalno, zakonski riješili nasilje u porodici, ali kada smo se probudili vidjeli smo da ne znamo šta ćemo sa tim zakonima, pogotovo sa Zakonom o zaštiti od nasilja u porodici”, istakao je Dorontić.

Ipak, prema njegovim riječima, „postoji svijetla tačka u ovom tunelu, a to je ono što mi u Banjoj Luci pokušavamo da uradimo. Dobili smo blagoslov i finansijsku podršku da krenemo sa aktivnim dežurstvima institucija koje rade sa nasiljem u porodici kao što su centar za socijalni rad, policija, tužilaštva, sudovi, bolnice i nevladine organizacije”. Prema ocijeni Dorontića kada se reaguje brzo i sa iskrenom namjerom da se nasilniku kaže da se nasilje ne smije više dešavati, on će se zaustaviti.

Učesnice/i tribine, njih oko 60, su sugerisali da se mora više raditi na izgradnji zdrave atmosfere u porodici, da se sa razvojem svijesti o ravnopravnosti polova mora početi još od vrtića, te da se u edukacije o ovom pitanju moraju početi uključivati i muškarci.

Prikaz pripremila
Dragana Dardić



MEDIJSKA PROMOCIJA

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Sa ciljem upoznavanja šire javnosti sa položajem žena u BiH društvu i šta se sve radi da bi se njihov položaj popravio, tokom 2006. godine organizovali smo niz medijskih promocija, uključujući gostovanja na javnom servisu Republike Srpske, emitovanje TV spota i konferencije za novinare.

S obzirom da je 2006. godina bila godina opštih izbora u BiH, većina medijskih predstavljanja bila je usmjerena na promociju žena na kandidatskim listama i apelovanje na biračko tijelo da povjerenje na izborima pokloni političarkama. Medijski nastupi iskorišteni su i da se skrene pažnja javnosti na stereotipno prikazivanje žena u medijima, na problem nasilja u porodici, kao i na neuključivanje žena u procese od vitalnog značaja za državu, kao što je pregovarači proces za priključivanje Bosne i Hercegovine Evropskoj uniji.

KONFERENCIJE ZA NOVINARE

BANJA LUKA – 7. MART 2006.

Uoči obilježavanja 8. marta – Međunarodnog dana žena organizovali smo konferenciju za novinare na kojoj smo se fokusirali na problem medijske zastupljenosti žena i njihove reprezentacije u medijima. Novinarima su predstavljeni rezultati globalnog monitoringa medija koji je održan 16. februara 2005. godine, a u kojem je učestvovalo hiljade volontera iz 76 zemalja svijeta. Rezultati su se odnosili na Bosnu i Hercegovinu u kojoj su 16. februara monitorisane vijesti tri TV stanice, tri radijske stanice i četvero dnevnih novina. Analiza medijskih sadržaja je pokazala da su se žene kao akterke, kompetentne sagovornice koje daju izjavu ili komentarišu neki događaj, pojavile u 18% televizijskih priloga, 16% radijskih i 13% novinskih članaka. Primat u svim oblastima života i dalje drže muškarci koji nedvosmisleno dominiraju medijskim sadržajima. Na konferenciji za novinare upućen je i apel svim medijskim kućama u BiH da 8. marta povjere uređivanje vijesti ženama i na taj način, bar tog dana, promijene stereotipnu medijsku sliku u BiH.



BANJA LUKA – 29. JUNI 2006.

Na ovoj konferenciji smo predstavili glavne nalaze "Studije o nasilju u porodici u BiH", inicijativu za izradu dugoročne Strategije za borbu protiv nasilja u porodici i preporuke CEDAW Komiteta za BiH. Novinarima je ponovo ukazano na neusklađenost zakona sa krovnim Zakonom o ravnopravnosti polova BiH, kao i na različito tretiranje nasilja u porodici što za posljedicu ima otežan rad sa žrtvama nasilja u porodici koje ne mogu biti adekvatno zaštićene.



BANJA LUKA – 25. NOVEMBAR 2006.

U sklopu obilježavanja 16 dana aktivizma Udružene žene i Helsinški parlament građana su i ove godine 25. novembra organizovali pres konferenciju kako bi novinare podsjetili šta zapravo znači 16 dana aktivizma koji se obilježavaju širom svijeta sa ciljem borbe protiv nasilja nad ženama, promocije ženskih ljudskih prava i smanjenja svih oblika diskriminacije nad ženama. Novinari su upoznati sa radom SOS linije i naporima da se u Banjoj Luci konačno otvori Sigurna kuća za žrtve nasilja u porodici. Nakon press konferencije su volonterke SOS–telefona uradile uličnu kampanju podjele pamfleta i poster kampanju, koju su zajedno sa njima uradile i predstavnice vlasti.

BANJA LUKA – 8 DECEMBAR 2006.

Konferencija je organizovana uoči obilježavanja Međunarodnog dana ljudskih prava i, u skladu sa tim, na konferenciji smo govorili o pravima nacionalnih manjina u BiH, o pravima mladih, posebno mladih žena u BiH, te o kršenjima ljudskih prava. Bilo je riječi i o mehanizmima u BiH koji bi trebalo da štite žene i njihova prava.



BANJA LUKA – 28. DECEMBAR 2006.

Na kraju godine predsjednica "Udruženih žena" Nada Golubović i izvršna direktorica Helsinškog parlamenta građana Lidija Živanović su još jednom željele ukazati na to da sredstva za financiranje Sigurne kuće, bez obzira na sva obećanja, još uvijek nisu stigla na račun Udruženih žena. Također su govorile o prioritetima djelovanja ove dvije organizacije, a to je stvaranje jednakih mogućnosti za oba pola u BiH.

Nada Golubović je najavila da će Udružene žene raditi na prevenciji trgovine ljudima i boljoj medijskoj promociji žena, a Lidija Živanović je rekla da će Helsinški parlament nastaviti raditi sa mladima, na jačanju lokalne samouprave i izgradnji održivog mira u BiH.



RADIO EMISIJE

Radio emisija "Rodna analiza predizborne kampanje 2006" je emitovana 1. novembra, a gošće u studiju su bile Lidija Živanović, izvršna direktorica HGP i koordinatorica projekta "Žena danas X" i Sanela Pašić Delahmetović, projekt koordinatorica u HGP. U emisiji se govorilo o neravnomjernom položaju žena kandidatkinja u predizbornom periodu kojima je bilo posvećeno veoma malo medijskih izvještaja. Gošće su se osvrnule na retoriku u predizbornom periodu gdje su stranački lideri ponovo otvorili nacionalno pitanje kao osnov svoje kampanje, bez stvarnih programa koji bi obećali bolji život građana. U radio emisiji je bilo puno poziva slušalaca koji su podržavali žene kao realnije ili poštenije, ali izborni rezultati pokazuju da glasači, ipak, više vjeruju muškarcima.



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Radio emisija **"Nasilje u porodici – zaštita, stvarno i pravno"** je emitovana 12. decembra 2006., u sklopu obilježavanja 16 dana aktivizma. Fokus emisije je bio na mogućnostima ostvarivanja zaštite žrtava nasilja, kao i na prepoznavanju nasilja u porodici kao javnog problema kojim treba da se pozabavi društvo u cijelini. Bilo je govora i o neusaglašenosti zakona i nemogućnosti da se sprovedu zaštitne mjere predviđene Zakonom o zaštiti od nasilja u porodici. Brojni slušaoci koji su se javili ukazivali su na delikatnost ovog problema, jer se dešava iza zatvorenih vrata i jer se još uvijek vjeruje da je nasilje u porodici privatna, a ne javna stvar.

TV EMISIJE

Prva TV emisija **"Žene u medijima"** emitovana je na Radio televiziji Republike Srpske 9. aprila 2006, a gošće su bile direktorica programa ove medijske kuće Mira Lolić Močević i Amela Bašić, predstavnica "Udruženih žena".

Mira Lolić Močević je govorila o poziciji žena u BiH medijima, sa osvrtom ne protekli period u kojem su žene bile nedovoljno zastupljene, posebno u uređivačkim strukturama medijskih kuća.

Prema njenim riječima RTRS je napravila značajan iskorak po tom pitanju uključivši žene u uređivanje programa i odlučivanje i posvećujući značajan dio svog programa upravo položaju i pravima žena u BiH. Amela Bašić je predstavila rezultate monitoringa 10 elektornskih i štampanih medija koji je sproveden 16. februara 2005. godinu u okviru globalnog monitoringa medija u koji je bilo uključeno 76 država širom svijeta.

Tokom emisije puštena su i dva priloga sa izjavama političarki u kojima su one iznijele svoja mišljenja o učešće žena u različitim oblastima života.

Druga TV emisija **"Evropske integracije i kud nas to vodi"** održana je 8. jula na RT RS. Cilj ove emisije je bio upoznati TV gledaoce sa procesom EU integracija i ukazati na to da su žene kao građanke zainteresovane za ovaj problem kao i muškarci. U emisiji su učestvovali Igor Davidović, šef pregovaračkog tima za ulazak Bosne i Hercegovine u EU i Nada Golubović, predsjednica udruženja "Udružene žene". Davidović je upoznao gledaoce u kojoj se fazi nalazi proces pregovaranja za ulazak BiH u EU. U svom izlaganju je istakao mane i prednosti ulaska u EU, naglašavajući da je bolje biti u EU zbog investicija i većih tržišnih mogućnosti i „da je najgore biti u izolaciji".

Jedan gledalac je „napao" Nadu Golubović što govori o integraciji BiH u EU. Na taj je način pokazan stereotip koji podržavaju muškarci, smatrajući da žene nemaju šta pričati o uređenju države, jer žene treba da se bave uređenjem svoje kuće i eventualno nekim humanitarnim poslom.

Treća TV emisija **"Žene u izborima"** održana je 19. avgusta 2006, a gošće su bile Nada Tešanović, u to vrijeme poslanica u Narodnoj skupštini RS, a sad potpredsjednica NSRS i Nada Golubović, koordinatorica projekta. U emisiji su gošće lobirale da glasači obrate pažnju na žene na izbornim listama ističući značaj participacije žena u politici. Ujedno su lobirale i da mediji posvete više pažnje ženama kandidatkinjama. Tokom emisije su emitovani i prilozi sa izjavama ženama političarki. Za većinu kandidatkinja to je bila jedina prilika u kojoj su se pojavile na televiziji.

TV Parlament "Žene i izbori" je održan 28. decembra 2006. a gošće su bile Nada Tešanović, potpredsjednica Narodne skupštine RS, Nada Lipovac, zamjenica ministra za porodicu,

omladinu i sport, Gordana Lihović, odbornica u skupštini Grada Banja Luka, Ljilja Radovanović, načelnica za društvene djelatnosti Adminastrativne službe Grada Banje Luke, Lidija Živanović, ispred Helsinškog parlamenta građana i Nada Golubović ispred Udruženih žena. Govorilo se o tome šta su to ženska pitanja gdje su se gošće složile da su sva pitanja u fokusu interesa i žena i muškaraca, ali da svakako postoje pitanja koja posebno interesuju žene, a marginalizovana su u društvu. To je, prije svega, nasilje u porodici koje je zahvaljujući aktivizmu žena postalo vidljivo u društvu. Zatim se govorilo o otvaranju Sigurne kuće i mogućnost financiranja iste. Bilo je puno i pitanja gledaoca, a većina ih je bila u vezi sa lošim socijalnim položajem svih u društvu.

TV SPOT KAMPANJA

Prijedlog za spot kampanju je došao nakon radionice Trening za trenere. TV spot je prikazivan na javnom servisu RTRS tokom septembra, u periodu stranačkog predstavljanja i bio je jedini spot koji je apelovao na glasačko tijelo da glasa za žene. Poruka spota je bila: **"Razmislite u ime svih nas, odlučite i ženi dajte glas".**



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OKRUGLI STO

”ŠTA SMO RADILE I KUDA DALJE?”

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Na oktobarskim opštim izborima 2006. godine političarke su osvojile oko 20% mandata u parlamentima države i entiteta. Ako se uzmu u obzir i rezultati na kantonalnom nivou, ukupno je u parlamente u BiH izabrano nešto više od 17% žena. Ovo je približno isti rezultat kao na prošlim opštim izborima 2002. godine. Ali ako se vratimo desetak godina u prošlost, npr. u Narodnoj skupštini 1996. godine sjedila je samo jedna žena, što je jedva više od 1%. Pomak u odnosu na taj period je ogroman.

Nevladine organizacije koje se bore za ravnopravnost polova ostaju nezadovoljne zastupljenošću žena u novoizabranim institucijama u Bosni i Hercegovini, jer ona ne odražava ravnopravnost. Zadovoljne su onim rezultatima koje su postigle kandidatkinje koje su učestvovala u njihovim programima za osnaživanje žena u politici. Postignuti rezultati su samo djelom ohrabrujući, pa je stav nevladinih organizacija da je pravo vrijeme da se sastanu sa političarkama i definišu međusobna očekivanja i strategiju za dalje djelovanje, kako bi buduće aktivnosti dale značajnije rezultate.

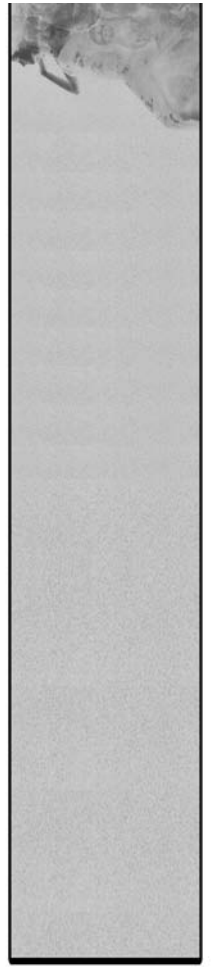
Ovo su osnovni zaključci okruglog stola "Šta smo radile i kuda dalje?", koji su Udružene žene i Helsinški parlament građana Banja Luka organizovali 7. decembra u Banjoj Luci. Okrugli sto je okupio 25 predstavnice nevladinih organizacija iz Bihaća, Sarajeva, Višegrada, Bratunca, Tomislavgrada i Banje Luke. Cilj koji su sebi postavile je da na osnovu analize svojih predizbornih aktivnosti i efekata koje su one imale na ciljane grupe aktivistkinja političkih partija i kandidatkinja na izborima, dođu do preporuka za dalji rad. Složile su se da je potrebno modifikovati pristup ovoj problematici.

Nevladine organizacije su izrazile nezadovoljstvo činjenicom da se Zakon o ravnopravnosti polova u BiH ne primjenjuje u dijelu o javnom i političkom životu, gdje predviđa da će procenat zastupljenosti polova u pravilu odražavati ravnopravnu zastupljenost polova. Dok one smatraju da bi to moralo značiti i približno podjednak broj žena i muškaraca u institucijama vlasti, Izborna komisija se ne slaže, tako da o tome šta znači "u pravilu" i kako to treba izgledati u praksi ne postoji konsenzus.

„Za ravnopravan položaj žene u društvu potrebno je puno više nego što je samo postojanje zakona o ravnopravnosti polova, jer političku kulturu ne čine političke činjenice, na primjer da ljudi izlaze na izbore, da na listama ima dovoljan broj žena, da postoje stranke“, rekla je Gordana Vidović, direktorica Udruženja „Budućnost“ iz Modriče u uvodnom izlaganju, analizirajući političku diskriminaciju žena. Ona je dodala da je za ravnopravnost potrebna zrela politička kultura koja se sastoji od vjerovanja ljudi u te činjenice i koja se u praksi manifestuje u povjeravanju glasova i ženama. Ako se uzmu u obzir riječi Ralfa Dahrendorfa nakon rušenja Berlinskog zida da je za razvoj civilnog društva i prave političke kulture i demokratije potrebno 60 godina, onda ne treba posustajati, i treba se radovati i malim pomacima koje primijetimo u svom radu, ali i raditi tako da budemo što efikasniji.

Tradicionalna patrijarhalna kultura i uljulkanost u pravnu jednakost žena i muškaraca u prošlom sistemu, čvrsto se opiru promjenama i svemu što su nevladne organizacije uradile na polju ravnopravnosti polova.

„Mnogi muškarci, a na žalost i žene misle da je politika muški posao i da ženama tu nije mjesto“, kaže Gordana Vidović, tako da ni žene nisu amnestirane od odgovornosti i moraju se i same više potruditi. S jedne strane nalaze se prepreke na koje nailaze one koje žele da izađu iz društveno zadanog okvira su: diskriminirajući odnos stranaka prema svojim članicama i kandidatkinjama, kao što je marginalizacija u kampanji na svim mjestima gdje bi mogle ostvariti kontakt ili uticati na veći broj birača, te manja ili nikakva ulaganja u kampanje političarki, nepostojanje želje stranaka da primijene Zakon o ravnopravnosti polova. Za ilustraciju marginalizacije može poslužiti i primjer, da je zastupljenost žena u javnim predstavljanim bila znatno manja od njihovog učešća od 36% na listama. Odnos muškaraca i žena na promotivnim materijalima bio otprilike 80%:20%, odnosno tek svaka peta predstav-



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ljena ličnost bila je žena, dok su u izbornim rubrikama dnevnih novina žene kao akterke izvještaja bile zastupljene tek 8%. S druge strane, veliki broj kandidatkinja i političarki još nije prepoznao važnost preuzimanja inicijative, organizovanja svog javnog predstavljanja i ličnog kontakta sa biračima.

„Rezultate, koje su postigle, žene su svjesno poklonile rezultatima stranke, čime su amortizovale vlastiti doprinos, jer je stranka na dobitku, a ne one lično, što je uticalo na to da ih birači manje vežu za te rezultate”, kaže Gordana Vidović.

Ona dodaje da su se neke od njih čak vodile “starom slavom” svojih političkih stranaka, pokorno slijedile svoje lidere, birači ih zaboravili i kao rezultat izgubile su pozicije koje su imale, a mi smo izgubile neke od naših saveznica na mjestima odlučivanja.

Dragana Dardić, koordinatorka projekata u Helsinškom parlamentu građana Banja Luka predstavila je rezultate analize razgovora sa učesnicama programa obuke koje je ova organizacija provela u saradnji sa Udruženim ženama Banja Luka. Nevladin sektor ne treba biti nezadovoljan onim što je učinio, s obzirom da su sve učesnice zadovoljne obukom i podrškom koja im je ponuđena, iako u većini slučajeva nisu ostvarile postavljeni cilj da budu izabrane u institucije vlasti. Posebno zadovoljstvo obukom iskazale su učesnice koje su se tek počele baviti politikom.

“Meni je radionica pomogla, mada nisam izabrana za poslanicu. Pomogla mi je da se oslobodim napetosti i stresa kada sam govorila na tribinama. I moje kolege i koleginice su primijetili da se sa mnom nešto dešava, da sam ‘nekako drugačija’.”, navela je jedna od anketiranih polaznica obuke. Neke od njih su odmah po završetku obuke prionule na posao i izradile lične plakate, šetale od vrata do vrata i razgovarale sa biračima, postale organizovanije i efikasnije u borbi za svoja prava unutar političkih partija: *“Da nije bilo onoga što sam od vas naučila, ne bih postigla nikakav rezultat. Ovak, uspjela sam se izboriti za drugo mjesto na listi i zahvaljujući radu i angažmanu u predizbornoj periodu i ličnoj kampanji koju sam organizovala dobila sam veliki broj glasova. I to je rezultat, bez obzira što nisam izabrana. Da nisam ništa radila bila bih negdje na dnu. O ulozi nevladinog sektora u podršci političarkama govori i izjava u medijima potpredsjednice Narodne skupštine Republike Srpske: “Moje političko osnaživanje kao žene potiče iz nevladinog sektora.”*

Polaznice programa obuke preporučuju da se ubuduće kao voditeljke češće uključe iskusnije političarke, kao i da se ciljne grupe odvoje i pripreme različiti sadržaji kada je riječ o iskusnijim i političarkama početnicama. Osim toga, naglašavaju, da u aktivnosti treba uključiti veći broj muškaraca kako bi oni u direktnom razgovoru sa svojim koleginicama mogli razumjeti probleme sa kojima se one suočavaju i sami pomoći postizanju ravnopravnosti unutar stranaka. Prema njihovim riječima, krug zainteresovanih za ovu temu se sporo širi, na javne skupove dolaze gotovo isti ljudi koje smo već pridobili za naše saveznike. Aktivnosti bi trebalo da budu češće, a organizatori da preduzmu aktivnosti da se u njih uključe i potpuno nove osobe.

U diskusiji nakon uvodnih izlaganja utvrđeno je da su se nevladine organizacije pred protekle izbore bavile sličnim aktivnostima ciljajući na birače i političare i političarke u svojim regijama, odnosno izbornim jedinicama. Aktivnosti su se sastojale od seminara za političarke, javnih tribina, poster kampanja i letaka za podršku kandidatkinjama, poziva u medijima i na javnim skupovima da se izađe na izbore, te posebno poziva ženama da podrže žene. Većina njih pokazala je određene rezultate i svaka organizacija mogla se pohvaliti sa od dvije do šest izabranih kandidatkinja koje su učestvovala u njihovim programima. Dilema ostaje oko pitanja da li su žene glasale za žene, o čemu se precizni podaci ne mogu dobiti, ali rezultati govore da su se u većini slučajeva vjerovatno i muškarci i žene na biračkim mjestima ponašali na isti način.

Zbog svega navedenog zaključeno je da je pravo vrijeme da se izradi nova strategija za



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unapređenje položaja žene u javnom i političkom životu, i to kroz zajednički sastanak nevladinih organizacija i političarki na kojem bi jedne drugima saopštile svoja očekivanja, razmišljanja, zadovoljstva i razočarenja. Neki od koraka koje bi trebalo uključiti u strategiju su: nastaviti pritisak prema Izornoj komisiji BiH za primjenu Zakona o ravnopravnosti polova i institucijama BiH za izmjenu Izbornog zakona, tražiti od institucija finansiranje aktivnosti koje promovišu ravnopravnost polova, podržavati međusobno inicijative nevladinih organizacija slanjem pisama iste sadržine instituciji na koju se apeluje, u buduće programe obuke kao voditeljke angažovati iskusne političarke, više raditi sa muškarcima u politici i među njima da se identifikuju saveznici za dalji rad, te naći efikasnije načine za vršenje pritiska na svim nivoima vlasti za primjenu konvencija, ustava i zakona.

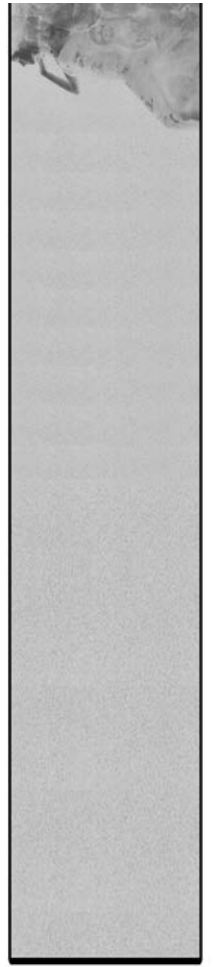
PREPORUKE OKRUGLOG STOLA "ŠTA SMO RADILE I KUDA DALJE?"

- Organizovati sastanak sa ženama političarkama/izabranim gdje će one reći šta one očekuju od nas, a mi njima šta mi očekujemo od njih, te napraviti zajedničku strategiju. Uskladiti očekivanja žena iz NVO-a i političarki,
- Identifikovati muške saveznike iz parlamenata i uključiti ih u pravljenje strateškog plana djelovanja,
- Koristiti resurse iskusnih političarki za edukaciju žena sa manjim političkim iskustvom,
- Vršiti pritiske na svim nivoima vlasti za direktnu primjenu konvencija/ustava, zakona koji tretiraju pitanja ravnopravnosti polova,
- Javno se oglasiti protestom zbog neravnopravnog odnosa žena i muškaraca u komisijama i drugim skupštinskim tijelima,
- Pružiti podršku inicijativi nevladinih organizacija, ali ne vraćanjem pisma organizaciji, već slanjem vlastitog pisma sa inicijativom u ime svoje organizacije medijima i instituciji na koju se ono odnosi,
- Zatražiti tumačenje Zakona o ravnopravnosti polova u dijelu javni i politički život od Izborne komisije BiH,
- Pokrenuti novu inicijativu za izmjenu Izbornog zakona kao zaključak sa javne tribine uz prilaganje potpisa učesnika/ca na tribini,
- Vršiti pritisak na sve nivoe vlasti da počnu da finansijski podržavaju aktivnosti nevladinih organizacija usmjerene na polje ravnopravnosti polova i da ih uvažavaju kao istinske partnere i kao korektore.

REZULTATI ISTRAŽIVANJA: PRISTUP I STVARNI UTICAJ ŽENA NA RAZVOJ MEDIJA U BOSNI I HERCEGOVINI

*Prezentacija: Nada Golubović, predsjednica,
Aleksandra Petrić, pravna savjetnica*

Dio okruglog stola posvećen je prezentaciji rezultata istraživanja koje su provele Udružene žene Banja Luka o uticaju žena na razvoj medija u Bosni i Hercegovini. Analizirano je 29 elektronskih i štampanih medija, uključujući javne i privatne medije. Zakon o ravnopravnosti polova Bosne i Hercegovine (maj 2003. godine) je po prvi put



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uveo zakonodavnu zaštitu jednakog pristupa medijima za oba pola, obezbjedio zabranu diskriminacije po osnovu pola u medijskim predstavljanjima i predvidio formalnu obavezu promocije ravnopravnosti polova putem medija. Ova zakonska odredba predstavlja konkretan argument i početnu tačku za razvoj javnog pritiska i aktivnosti javnog zalaganja za obezbjeđivanje ženama jednak pristup medijima, kao i bolju vidljivost žena u medijima, i obezbjeđivanje stvarnog uticaja žena na rodnu senzibilizaciju medija u Bosni i Hercegovini.

Rezultati istraživanja pokazuju da ukoliko posmatramo angažovani broj i broj zaposlenih u medijima, moglo bi se zaključiti da ne postoji izrazita diskriminacija žena ili muškaraca, u kvantitativnom smislu. Procenti angažovanih žena u medijima BiH se kreću u prosjeku od 42% u redakcijama dopisništva do 68% žena koje su angažovane na poslovima organizatorica. Međutim, primjetan je trend povećanja broja angažovanih žena u medijima na pozicijama koje su slabo plaćene, zahtijevaju veću odgovornost i angažman. Osim toga, rodni stereotipi u pogledu poslova na kojima se uobičajeno angažuju žene ili muškarci su vidljivi u BiH medijima. Kao primjer, može se navesti rezultat istraživanja po kome je samo 26% žena angažovano u produkciji u BiH medijima, što je zanimanje koje je vezano za tehniku koja se smatra tipično muškim poslom.

Žene su manje zastupljene u upravljačkim strukturama u medijima Bosne i Hercegovine, na što ukazuje podatak da samo 39% žena učestvuje u tijelima odlučivanja u medijima koji su bili predmet istraživanja. Vidljiv je trend većeg broja žena u onim upravljačkim strukturama koje, po pravilu imaju manje moći i uticaja, kao i u tijelima odlučivanja čije odluke nisu obavezujuće, kao što su savjetodavni odbori, u čijem radu učestvuje 47% žena.

Iako je većina anketiranih medija (73%) izjavila da vodi računa o ravnomjernoj zastupljenosti žena i muškaraca u procesu kreiranja uređivačke politike, iz obrazloženja koja prate ovu izjavu se može zaključiti da je opredijeljenost samo deklarativna, tj. da mediji nemaju jasne procedure i pravila koja bi omogućila primjenu ove politike u praksi. 54% medija nije obezbjedilo nikakva pojašnjenja načina na koji osiguravaju ravnomjernu zastupljenost muškaraca i žena u procesu kreiranja uređivačke politike, dok je samo 8% medija navelo da insistiraju na prijemu žena u sve strukture kreiranja programa. Osim toga, većina medija nema pisanih procedura i pravila, koje bi ukazale da ravnopravna zastupljenost muškaraca i žena predstavlja važan kriterijum.

Rezultati istraživanja ukazuju i da značajan procenat medija u BiH – 31% – nema nikakav stav po pitanju načina i aktivnosti koje bi unaprijedile pristup i uticaj žena na kreiranje uređivačkih i propagandnih politika u medijima u BiH. Interesantno je da 31% medija podržava stav da se žene u medijima moraju same angažovati na unaprijeđenju svog položaja i uticaja na rad medija. Ovo ukazuje na problem da je funkcionisanje medija u BiH opterećeno rodnim stereotipima, po kojima su žene isključivo odgovorne za svoj status u društvu i da se za pozitivne promjene moraju same izboriti.

Kao osnovne preporuke mogu se izdvojiti:

- unapređenje medijskih strategija i opredjeljenja prema pitanjima ravnopravnosti polova u medijima i aktivna promocija ravnopravnosti muškaraca i žena u pristupu i uticaju na razvoj medija,
- u saradnji sa zvaničnim institucijama i nevladinim organizacijama u BiH, mediji trebaju razviti modele i kontinuirano provoditi edukaciju o ravnopravnosti polova usmjerenu na podizanje svijesti žena i muškaraca angažovanih u medijima, što će pomoći osiguranju pozitivnog uticaja u smislu unapređenja ravnopravnosti polova unutar radnih i upravljačkih struktura i osiguranja rodno osjetljivog izvještavanja,
- U skladu sa Zakonom o ravnopravnosti polova BiH, mediji u BiH treba da uspostave



jasne pisane procedure, politike i aktivnosti usmjerene na postizanje ravnopravnosti muškaraca i žena u procesu kreiranja uređivačke politike i promovisanje većeg učešća žena u kreiranju programa, koje trebaju biti transparentne prema osobama angažovanim u medijima i javnosti,

- Zvanične institucije u BiH, koje u okviru svojih nadležnosti imaju aktivnosti usmjerene na kreiranje procedura i pravila rada medija u BiH, trebaju osigurati da su pravila i procedure usklađena sa Zakonom o ravnopravnosti polova BiH,

Istraživanje je provedeno u okviru trogodišnjeg projekta **"Ravnopravnost polova u BiH = Informisano javno mišljenje i rodno sensitivni mediji"**, a provođenje je pomoglo deset novinarki iz različitih medija širom BiH.

Prikaz pripremio
Aleksandar Živanović





RADIONICE

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Tokom 2006. godine u okviru projekta Žena Danas održano je šest radionica. U želji da podijelimo svoja iskustva, znanja i vještine iz oblasti javnog zalaganja, lobiranja i komunikacije sa medijima u februaru smo organizovale trening za trenerice. Učestvovalo je devetnaest aktivistica iz Bihaća, Mostara, Višegrada, Trebinja, Modriče, Sarajeva, Bratunca, Bijeljine, Zenice, Livna i Bosanskog Grahova.

U predizbornom periodu smo uz pomoć iskusnih političarki i parlamentarki Desanke Rađević (Gradiška), Nade Tešanović (Banja Luka), Snježane Rajilić (Novi Grad), Divne Aničić (Mrkonjić Grad) organizovale četiri radionice "Javno zalaganje" za žene iz različitih političkih partija iz izborne jedinice 1 i 2. Ciljevi radionica su bili:

- osnažiti i ohrabriti žene političarke da učestvuju u javnom i političkom životu
- naučiti ih vještinama javnog zagovaranja i lobiranja
- naučiti ih vještinama pristupanja glasačima
- naučiti ih da razviju strateški plan kampanje
- naučiti ih kako da se medijski predstave
- naučiti ih da komuniciraju sa medijima kroz saopštenje za javnost
- naučiti ih kako da održe press konferenciju

Željele smo da se učesnice seminara u izornoj godini nauče potrebnim vještinama kako bi bile ohrabrene da se bore za mjesto na listama svojih političkih partija, a zatim i da vode predizbornu kampanju služeći se naučenim vještinama i iskustvima koje su razmijenile.

Radionice su vodili treneri Natalija Patrić, Aleksandar Živanović, Dragana Dardić i Svetlana Pezer, a u njima su učestvovale 72 žene iz različitih političkih partija.

U septembru, na početku izborne kampanje organizovale smo u Neumu četvorodnevnu radionicu pod nazivom **„Moja pozicija na izborima i vođenje izborne kampanje“** koju su vodili Natalija Petrić i Aleksandar Živanović.

Učestvovalo je 18 političarki koje su se nalazile na izbornim listama svojih političkih partija sa područja opština Banja Luka, Prijedor, Kozarska Dubica i Gradiška.

Program je koncipiran u 5 velikih cjelina:

1. Formiranje kandidatskih lista
2. Plan stranke u kampanji
3. Moj plan u kampanji
4. Lične kampanje:
 - Kampanja od vrata do vrata
 - Predstavljanje na javnim skupovima
 - Medijsko predstavljanje i saopštenje za javnost
 - Konferencija za novinare
5. Analiza različitih metoda vođenja kampanje

Iskusne političarke su bile spremne da podijele svoja znanja i iskustvo sa kolegicama koje tek ulaze u svijet politike i na kandidatske liste, što je velika prednost ove radionice. Smatramo da je i ubuduće potrebno omogućiti da nam se u programima obuke kao edukatorice pridružuju i pozicionirane političarke iz naše sredine.

O tome šta su ove radionice značile za naše učesnice, koliko su naučile i kako su ta znanja kasnije iskoristile, govorile su u razgovoru sa Draganom Dardić. Tu su i sugestije koje će nam pomoći da naši programi u budućnosti budu još bolji.

OLGA MILOJICA, NARODNA STRANKA RADOM ZA BOLJITAK



Prijedor – kandidatkinja za Narodnu skupštinu RS

Da li vam je ono što ste prošli na radionicama koristilo i kako?

Svako druženje je korisno, upoznali smo dosta drugih žena, čuli njihova mišljenja, takva druženja su dobra i korisna.

Ja se nisam libila da to podijelim sa svojim kolegicama, ali uglavnom mladim, u smislu da treba da budu odlučne, hrabre, da iznose svoje ideje, jer niko drugi za njih to neće uraditi. Moraju same.

Kako biste ocijenili svoj angažman u javnom životu?

Nisam baš najbolje odradila predizbornu kampanju, inače bih bila izabrana. Bila je velika konkurencija, a ja pripadama mladoj političkoj opciji, neparlamentarnoj.

Dosta sam naučila na posljednjoj radionici u Neumu o ličnoj kampanji.

Sad vidim da nisam to dobro radila. Muškarci u mojoj, ali i u svim ostalim partijama, uzeli su sebi to muško pravo da se oni medijski prezentuju. Nama ženama je ostavljeno vrlo malo prostora za to, morale smo se gurati i nametati.

Koliko radionice mogu da pomognu ženama u sticanju vještina potrebnih za aktivnije učešće u javnom, političkom životu? Na čemu bi, po Vama, trebalo više raditi i da li biste Vi nešto mjenjali?

Nemam primjedbi na dosadašnje radionice. Možda bi trebalo da budu češće, žene treba bolje obučiti i pripremiti ih za lokalne izbore da to samouvjerenije rade.

LJERKA STANIĆ, SDP BiH



Izborna jedinica 1 – kandidatkinja za
Predstavnički dom Parlamenta BiH

Da li vam je ono što ste prošli na radionicama koristilo i kako?

Svaki put sam ugodno iznenađena pristupom i prijemom Helsinškog parlamenta građana i Udruženih žena. Meni su radionice ovih organizacija jako, jako, jako pomogle. Našla sam sebe i stekla samopouzdanje. Nada Tešanović i Nada Golubović su mi priskočile u pomoć na zadnjoj radionici i ukazale mi gdje i na šta da se baziram. Vidjele su da sam se rasula

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u mislima, da imam puno ideja, ali da ne znam kako da ih uobličim i pritračale su mi u pomoć. Vratile su me na pravi put i izvukla sam srž onoga što sam htjela da radim.

Do sada sam bila na desetak radionica i jako su mi pomogle u radu u mojoj partiji.

Kako biste ocijenili svoj angažman u javnom životu?

Što se tiče moje partije žene su bile zapostavljene. Nismo imale sredstava za medijsko predstavljanje i samo jedna žena iz stranke se jedanput predstavila putem medija.

Ali, ponovo, žene nisu birale žene. Više su muškarci glasali za žene. Izgleda da nismo dorasle da shvatimo jedna drugu. Ne znam da li je u pitanju ljubomora ili mislimo da žene nisu dorasle da budu u politici.

Koliko radionice mogu da pomognu ženama u sticanju vještina potrebnih za aktivnije učešće u javnom, političkom životu? Na čemu bi, po Vama, trebalo više raditi i da li biste Vi nešto mjenjali?

Sa organizovanjem radionica treba nastaviti. I te kako. I to još žešćim tempom. Žene se jako puno povlače. Nemaju podršku ni partije, ni porodice. Treba im više samopouzdanja, a to je nešto što izgrađuju na radionicama.

Šta bih mjenjala? Pa ja bih razdvojila žene iz vodećih partija i onih manjih, „južnijih“. Radionice bi trebalo prilagoditi i izvoditi prema toj podjeli, jer su žene iz vodećih partija educiranije, bolje informisane i imaju drugačiji pristup. Mi još nismo partijski sazrele da bi mogle ići u korak sa njima.

Svaka žena treba da ima svoju ličnu kampanju i mogućnost da se medijski predstavi.

Lične kampanje su obimne i teške, ali daju i rezultate. Ovako mi sada vodimo kampanje za naše stranačke kolege.

MARICA CAREVIĆ, DEPOS



Izborna jedinica 2 – Narodna skupština RS

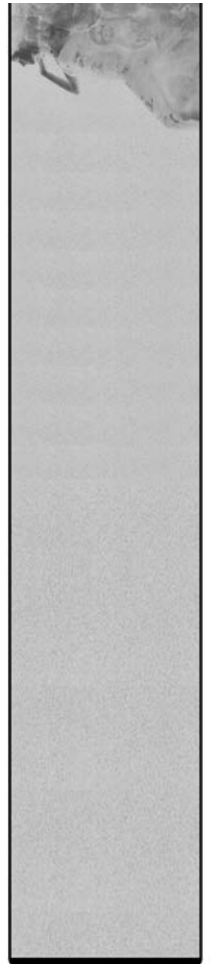
Da li vam je ono što ste prošli na radionicama koristilo i kako?

Bio je to dobar seminar i dobili smo jako dobru obuku. Bilo je puno različitih žena, različitog socijalnog satusa, porodičnog statusa, iz različitih političkih partija...i to je bilo dobro. Jer krećemo se u nekom svom okruženju i ne vidimo ništa izvan toga, tako da je dobro iskoračiti iz tog kruga i na stvari pogledati i iz nekog drugog ugla.

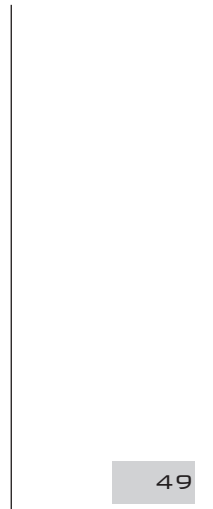
Meni je radionica pomogla, mada nisam izabrana za poslanicu. Pomogla mi je da se oslobodim napetosti i stresa kada sam govorila na tribinama. I moje kolege i kolegice su primijetili da se sa mnom nešto dešava, da sam nekako „drugačija“.

Kako biste ocijenili svoj angažman u javnom životu?

Lično sam zadovoljna. Ja sam timski igrač i nije mi stalo da se samo ja ističem i da se samo ja pojavljujem. Takvog sam mentalnog sklopa. Tako je bilo i u ovoj kampanji.



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Koliko radionice mogu da pomognu ženama u sticanju vještina potrebnih za aktivnije učešće u javnom, političkom životu? Da li biste Vi nešto mjenjali?

Trebalo bi više raditi na opštem prosvjećivanju žena. Politika je vrh. Ako niste zadovoljni svojim životom, ako ste u rasulu, teško ćete se moći baviti politikom. Mi smo mala i siromašna zemlja, a svi puno očekuju. Treba misliti pozitivnije, biti zadovoljan i malim stvarima koje se postignu. Kriterijumi su se promijenili, kao i sistem vrijednosti. Žene danas brinu o porodici, izražavaju i muževe i djecu, muškraci su se vratili rastureni iz rata. Prosto treba više raditi na opštem prosvjećivanju svih, a pogotovo žena.

SNJEŽANA RAJILIĆ, SNSD



Kandidatkinja za Parlamentarnu skupštinu BiH

Da li vam je ono što ste prošli na radionicama koristilo i kako?

Kad dođem na radionicu tu bude i žena koje se manje bave politikom i sa njima se prolazi sve od početka, tako da ne bude baš zanimljivo. Ja sam, u stvari, najviše koristi imala od vaših materijala. Tu sam mogla da nađem kako da se organizujem, kako da se ponašam i postavim i šta treba da kažem kada se pojavljujem u medijima. Kad mi nešto zatreba, ja konsultujem vaš materijal. Na ovim izborima pogotovo, dala sam izbornom štabu vaš materijal i to se koristilo.

Lični angažman u javnom životu?

U Narodnoj skupštini nisam dovoljno radila. Kao da je došlo do nekog zasićenja, a bila sam opterećena i brojnim obavezama u opštinskom odboru. Ali sam zato na lokalnom nivou svoj angažman povećala za 200%. Mnogo sam više radila u mjesnim odborima, pojavljivala sam se na izložbama, kulturnim događajima Dugo se bavim ovim poslom. Iza mene su dva mandata u Narodnoj skupštini RS, a sada mi je povjeren i treći poslanički mandat u Parlamentarnoj skupštini BiH. Oni koji se odluče baviti politikom moraju biti dobro obavješteni. U tom smislu bih predložila da se materijalima doda i set zakona u RS i BiH. Poslanici u Narodnoj skupštini RS, npr. prije sjednice u materijalima dobiju prijedlog izmjena i dopuna nekog zakona. Ali šta vam to vrijedi ako ne znate šta piše u zakonu koji se mijenja. Takođe, materijale bi bilo korisno dopuniti i brojevima telefona i adresama institucija i nevladinih organizacija, kako bi sve to čovjek imao na jednom mjestu i znao koga da pozove ako mu treba neka informacija ili dodatno obrazloženje.

Koliko radionice mogu da pomognu ženama u sticanju vještina potrebnih za aktivnije učešće u javnom, političkom životu? Na čemu bi, po Vama, trebalo više raditi i da li biste Vi nešto mjenjali?

Primjetila sam da žene baš i ne vole kada dođu iskusnije političarke i učestvuju u cijeloj radionici. Nekako se osjećaju indisponirano. Imam osjećaj da to kod njih stvara neku nervozu.



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Trebalo bi razdvojiti nivoe, odnosno jednu vrstu radionica organizovati za žene koje do sada nisu imale priliku da prođu takvu vrstu edukacije i koje su manje iskusne, a drugu vrstu radionica za iskusnije političarke. Npr. ja ću sada biti poslanica u Parlamentarnoj skupštini BiH i voljela bih da znam kako to na tom nivou funkcioniše. Ovako kao da idem u prazno. Ne znam kako se ulažu amandmani, kakve su skupštinske procedure, itd.

Šta vidite kao prepreke aktivnijem političkom angažmanu žena?

Otvorene liste. Neki misle da su zatvorene liste manje demokratične. Ja iz svog iskustva mogu da kažem da su otvorene liste glavni problem. Na ovim izborima bila sam na listi koja je pokrivala veliko biračko tijelo. I gdje se puno lobiralo. Muškarci su pribjegavali raznim vrstama lobiranja, od neformalnih sastanaka u kavanama do nekih stvari koje, ajde da to tako kažem, nisu bile u skladu sa zakonom. U biračkim odborima su bili uglavnom muškarci i dopisivali su se glasovi, uglavnom muškim kandidatima.

Tu je i problem manjih gradova. Kandidati iz manjih gradova teško mogu da se takmiče sa kandidatima, recimo iz Banje Luke ili Prijedora ili drugih većih mjesta. Iako nemam gorak ukus u ustima poslije ovih izbora, tvrdim da su izborne liste najveći problem ženama, a vrlo brzo će biti i muškarcima.

AZRA PAŠALIĆ, STRANKA ZA BiH



Da li vam je ono što ste prošli na radionicama koristilo i kako?

Moje mišljenje o radionicama je, u svakom slučaju, pozitivno. Sve što se novo nauči dobro dođe.

Kako sam naučeno konkretno iskoristila? Pa korigovala sam neka svoja ponašanja i način rada. Prije sam nekako bila lošije organizovana, radila sam više stihijski, bez plana i programa, ali uvođenjem sistematizacije u svakodnevni životu imam više vremena i za druge poslove.

Lični angažman?

Nisam bila naročito aktivna. Malo sam posustala zbog loših odnosa sa predsjednikom moje partije. Nije me stavio na listu, naš nesporazum nismo račistili i to je bila greška. Trebali smo sjesti i porazgovarati. Uglavnom, bilo me je manje u političkom životu nego što bih ja to voljela i što bih mogla. Da li je tu bila u pitanju ljubomora muškaraca ili njihova needuciranost, teško je reći. Ja idem na seminare, kongrese, uvijek nešto naučim, trebali bi i oni ići.

Šta biste mjenjali?

Kompletna edukacija je dobra, ali mislim da bi na radionice trebali pozivati i relevantnije muškarce, predsjednike partija ili predstavnike Glavnih odbora, da i oni nešto nauče. Jer teška je borba žena u strankama sa partijskim rukovodstvom. Takođe, treba nam više

ženske podrške. Treba pobuditi interesovanje žena da se bave politikom i u tom smislu bilo bi dobro imati žene koje su već uspjele na tom polju.

Kada je riječ o materijalnoj situaciji i ona bi se morala poboljšati kako bi se žena mirno mogla baviti politikom. Otkloniti i tu prepreku da to ne bude opravdanje za neučestvovanje. Trebalo bi i finansijski podupirati NVO koje se bave edukacijom žena kako bi mogle istrajati u obučavanju nas žena.

TANJA BURIĆ, PDP



Izborna jedinica 1 – Predstavnički dom Parlamentarne skupštine
BiH

Da li vam je ono što ste prošli na radionicama koristilo i kako?

U svakom slučaju korisno. Ja nisam neka ekstra iskusna političarka, ali već sam neke tri, četiri godine u svoj toj priči kandidatura i lista. Bila sam i na ovim izborima kandidatkinja ispred partije koja već nekoliko godina radi i koja je većini poznata. Dosta toga je već bilo odradeno – nešto sam ja lično odradila, nešto ljudi iz izbornog štaba. Svakako je dobro čuti lična iskustva kandidatkinja koje su iskusnije i koje imaju rezultate iza sebe.

Mislim da su radionice posebno interesantne i korisne onima koje tek ulaze u politiku.

Kako biste ocijenili svoj angažman u javnom životu?

Maksimalno sam se angažovala. Mislim da sam postigla i solidan rezultat odnosno došla dosta glasova, pogotovo kada se uzme u obzir ko je sve bio na listi, a riječ je o političarima koji su godinama poznati ne samo u RS, nego i u BiH.

Radila sam kao idiot. Organizovala sam kako svoju ličnu kampanju, ali i generalno bila sam uključena u sve aktivnosti koje je pripremao Izborni štab. Nastojala sam iskoristiti sve vidove promocije koji su mi stajali na raspolaganju. E sad, nisam baš imala pristupa državnoj, odnosno entitetskoj televiziji, ali sam se dosta pojavljivala na lokalnoj TV.

Prepreke?

Najveći problem su muškarci. Ali to, ipak, zavisi od individue do individue. Bitno je i kako ste došli na listu. Da li ste borili i rukama i nogama da biste došli na listu, ili vas je podržala i postavila baza na tu poziciju. Ja sam imala sreću da sam bila predložena iz baze.

Ovdje, takođe, mislim da nisu toliko problem žene koliko mladi. Imamo obrazovane, elokventne, sposobne mlade ljude koji ne mogu doći do izražaja od nekih ljudi koji se godinama nalaze na nekim pozicijama.

Znači treba vam podrška baze i dobri živci. Morate biti spremni na sve i svašta i da se izlaktate sa nekima koji su ko zna kakvim putevima zauzeli određena mjesta.

Šta biste mjenjali?

Ja sam, sve u svemu, zadovoljna. Kada se pozivaju učesnice mislim da bi bilo dobro kombinovati iskusnije i neiskusnije političarke da ih na radionicama bude 50: 50. Nove

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žene koje tek ulaze u politiku i tu priču imaće šta da čuju i nauče od iskusnijih političarki, a one same moći će razmijeniti mišljenja između sebe i sazanti nešto novo. Sve u svemu radionice su OK. To uvijek bude lijepo druženje, sve se može dogovoriti, organizatori su fleksibilni.

Još jedna stvar, trebalo bi pozivati žene koje stvarno hoće nešto da nauče, a ne da tu dolaze samo pro forme radi.

AZRA ALIJAGIĆ, SDP BIH



Izborna jedinica 2 – za Narodnu skupštinu RS

Da li vam je ono što ste prošli na radionicama koristilo i kako?

Ja bih radionicama, od srca, dala ocjenu 10+. Najiskrenije. Pogotovo nam je koristila radionica u Neumu. Čim smo se vratile iz Neuma bacile smo se na posao. Promovisale smo sebe kroz ličnu kampanju. Ja sam svoja lična sredstva uložila u štampanje propagandnog materijala. Muškarci su uzeli partijske pare, a nama su rekli da para za nas nema. Mi smo lične kampanje organizovale slijedeći ono što smo naučile – nikog nismo kudile, i naše kolege su divne, ali evo i nas, evo i mene. Samo smo sebe pojačale. Ja sam uoči izbora lijepila i svoje malo veće fotografije, zaista sam maksimalno radila, ali, ipak, nisam izabrana. Jer narod nije ni slušao programe, samo ga je interesovalo nacionalno grupisanje.

Dvije firme su vodile i dobile izbore. Kandidati iz Stranke za BiH nisu izašli iz svojih kancelarija, a opet su pobijedili, jer im je to njihov vožd omogućio. Mi smo 24 sata bile na ulici i ništa. Da su na listi SNSD bili ćoravi i gluvi opet bi prošli.

Ako nisi u svom obraćanju imao nacionalnog momenta, nije ti bilo prođe.

Kako biste ocijenili svoj angažman u javnom životu?

Mi smo se zahvaljujući radionicama oslobodile, stekle smo samouvjerenost, znanje, naučile što ćemo istaći. Ali džaba, to niko nije slušao, ako tu nije bilo nacionalnog.

Još smo mi roviti. Mogao si biti 24 sata na medijima, bez obzira da li si žena ili muškarac, ali ako nisi bio u jednoj od dvije firme, tj. vladajuće partije ništa ti nije moglo pomoći.

No, da nije bilo onoga što sam od vas naučila ne bih postigla nikakav rezultat. Ovako, uspjela sam se izboriti za drugo mjesto na listi i zahvaljujući radu i anagažmanu u predizbornom periodu i ličnoj kampanji koju sam organizovala dobila sam veliki broj glasova. I to je rezultat, bez obzira što nisam izabrana. Da nisam ništa radila bila bih negdje na dnu.

Nikad više nismo radile, nikad edukovanije nismo bile. Zahvaljujući vama naučile smo kako da se ponašamo, oblačimo, nastupamo, ali dok se narod ne izliječi, džaba sve. Narodu je potrebno duboko buđenje. Još je ovo rovito podneblje.

Šta biste mjenjali?

Vi to vrlo uspješno radite. Uspjele ste prevazići nacionalne barijere. Žene se sve osjećaju kao da su u jednoj partiji, svakome se daje važnost.

Ništa ne bih mjenjala, vi ne biste bili to što jeste da nešto promijenite. Ja sam oduševljena načinom na koji i kako radite. Samo tako nastavite. To što sam bila druga na kandidatskoj listi i druga po broju dobijenih glasova je pokazatelj vašeg rada.

Samo vi budite istrajne.

NEVENKA TRIFKOVIĆ, PDP



kandidatkinja za NS RS

Da li vam je ono što ste prošli na radionicama koristilo i kako?

Mislim da su i meni, ali i drugima, mada ne mogu govoriti u tuđe ime, radionice dosta pomogle, pogotovo onima koje nisu u mogućnosti da u okviru svoje struke/profesije nauče neke nove vještine i usvoje neka nova znanja.

Lični angažman?

Ja bih rekla da sam ostala korektna i disciplinovana, pridržavajući se i partijskih i ljudskih, moralnih pravila. Drugi nisu tako postupali. Koristili su se svim mogućim sredstvima rukovodeći se onim da cilj opravdava sredstvo. Podržavam lične kampanje, ali do određene mjere. Na ovim izborima je bilo svega. I nedozvoljenih stvari koje su se graničile sa prekršajnim, pa i elementima krivičnog djela.

Šta vidite kao prepreke aktivnijem političkom angažmanu žena?

Nedovoljna podrška ženama. Verbalno postoji jako puno takve podrške. Pogotovo od stranačkih lidera koji verbalno podržavaju žene i govore da na njih računaju. Ali, u biti, to nije tako. Žene su samo djelimično uključene u partijsko odlučivanje.

Šta mjenjati?

Bio bi dobar potez uključiti što veći broj muškaraca, da privolimo što više njih da i oni učestvuju u ovakvim edukacijama da mi ne bismo, kada se vratimo u svoje partije, udarale u zidove.

Pored muškaraca, koje bi definitivno trebalo uključiti, trebalo bi pozivati i predstavnike medija. Ali ne da na radionicama učestvuju kao novinari/ke, već kao učesnici u edukaciji. Trebalo bi uključiti i ljude iz obrazovnog procesa, nastavnike i profesore iz osnovnih i srednjih škola, ali i univerziteta. Oni bi trebali biti aktivni učesnici kako bi stečena znanja mogli prenositi i ex katedra.

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FAHIRA DANELIŠEN, DNZ



Izborna jedinica 2 – Narodna skupština RS

Da li vam je ono što ste prošli na radionicama koristilo i kako?

Ja sam u maloj stranci i u zadnji tren sam pristala da budem na listi, kao predsjednica žena te stranke za RS.

Nisam se baš borila u kampanji, jer je sve nekako bilo u zadnji tren. Trebalo je u kampanju ranije krenuti. Ali radionica u Neumu mi je definitivno otvorila oči. Tek tada sam uvidjela koliko ništa ne znam o političkoj borbi i medijima.

Bilo mi je i teško, moram vam reći. Tamo su bile već oformljene političarke, koje znaju što hoće i iza kojih čvrsto stoje njihove partije.

Puno mi je sve to pomoglo, mada je bilo već kasno da bih nešto od naučenog primijenila u praksi. Teško se bilo probiti. Druge stranke imaju iza sebe 10–15 godina rada, a mi smo novi u RS.

Zbilja mi je radionica pomogla. Kamo sreće da sam ranije to prošla. Gledala sam druge učesnice, iskusnije političarke, kako rade i dosta sam naučila.

Šta biste mjenjali?

Meni je sve bilo dobro. Možda se treba ranije uključiti. Proći dvije, tri radionice.

To je neophodno, kao bukvar za početnike. Sve je zanat, pa i politika, koji se uči.

Ništa ja o bavljenju politikom nisam znala. Naša baza je u Kladuši, tako da smo mi ovdje bili nekako prepušteni sami sebi. Meni je radionica puno pomogla. Naročito u razbijanju treme. Upoređujete, gledate, slušate, kopirate, ima se šta naučiti.

DESANKA RAĐEVIĆ, SDS



Izborna jedinica 1 – Predstavnički dom Parlamentarne skupštine BiH

Da li vam je ono što ste prošli na radionicama koristilo i kako?

Okvirno to je najbolje što se dogodilo za žene u politici i javnom životu u BiH.

Meni lično je mnogo koristilo u mom radu. Stručno sam se usavršavala u okviru politike zahvaljujući onome što sam čula i naučila na radionicama.

No, čini mi se da je jedan dio ostao nedorečen, jer osim borbe za žensku ravnopravnost postoji i borba između ljudi za pozicije. Kako razdvojiti zdravu od nezdrave konkurencije. Kad kažem zdrava konkurencija mislim kada neko ima sposobnosti i znanja i bori se da uspije, za razliku od nezdrave konkurencije kada je neko u politici jer misli da mu to može nešto privatno pružiti, neke privilegije, a kada bude izabran ništa ne radi, samo statira, kao statua. To je najkompleksnije pitanje.

Vaš lični angažman?

Ova predizborna kampanja uopšte je bila drugačija nego sve prethodne. Ja sam prvi put vodila i svoju ličnu kampanju koja je rezultirala time da sam sa trećeg mjesta izbila na drugo mjesto po broju osvojenih glasova. Ali ni to mi nije bilo dovoljno za poslanički mandat.

Više su se borbe vodile među kandidatima unutar jedne stranke, nego između stranaka. Pogotovo je to bilo vidljivo na lokalnom nivou gdje su se svi borili za sebe da dobiju što više ličnih glasova. Naročito su bili hendikepirani oni iz manjih opština sa malim biračkim tijelom. Oni nisu imali šansi u odnosu na kandidate iz većih gradova.

Ja nisam imala ni materijalna sredstva.

Kampanja je imala i nedostataka i prednosti. Prednost je što sada u novom sazivu Narodne skupštine RS imate skoro sve nove poslanike, potpuno je obnovljena NSRS. Nedostatak je bio taj što se niko nije bavio programima. Uglavnom su se pričali vicevi i neke zanimljive priče.

Poremetili su se odnosi među ljudima u strankama. Svako se brinuo o sebi i za sebe, izostala je međusobna podrška i solidarnost.

Šta mjenjati?

Lično mislim da bi trebalo iskoristiti žene koje imaju iskustva (ja iza sebe imam 8 godina bavljenja politikom). One bi mladima mogle prenijeti svoja i dobra i loša iskustva kako bi one sa manje žrtava i truda dolazile do kvalitetnih rješenja.

Mislim da treba više raditi i sa samim biračima. Nama na tribine dolaze uvijek jedni te isti ljudi, i to u malom broju. Do onih drugih se ne dopire. A i oni su glasači. Kada bi sada nekog od njih pitali iz kojih razloga su glasali za neku stranku ili nekog kandidata ne bi vam znali tačno odgovoriti.

Šta su, po Vama, prepreke aktivnijem političkom angažmanu žena?

ako malo žena je izabrano u odnosu koliko ih je bilo „ponuđeno” na listama.

U pitanju je povezanost među ljudima iza scene. Muškarci su na čelu institucija i preduzeća. Mogu da učine usluge jedni drugima. Zakonite usluge. I tu je kvaka. Zato jedni druge guraju, jer će se ispomoći poslije, jedni drugima će moći vratiti uslugu. Ta povezanost među muškarcima je mnogo jača. Ja nemam poslovnih veza zbog kojih bi me neko podupreo. To je hendikep za sve žene.



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MIRA KUČUK, NARODNA STRANKA RADOM ZA BOLJITAK



Narodna skupština RS

Da li vam je ono što ste prošli na radionicama koristilo i kako?

Pošto nisam nešto politički angažovana nije mi bilo od izuzetne pomoći. S druge strane, imala sam priliku da u jednom drugom svjetlu vidim kako se radi u politici. Prvi put sam drugačijim očima gledala na ta događanja. Pratila sam i na TV nastupe političara i na radionici sam prepoznala da se i političari služe trikovima, odnosno metodama koje su i sami negdje naučili.

U toku kampanje morala sam se predstavljati i radionica mi je pomogla da to bolje osmislim, da imam koncepciju i da znam kako ću se predstaviti javnosti.

Lični angažman?

Bio je nedovoljan, ali to je više bila stvar stranke. Ono što je stranka tražila, ja sam odradila, maksimalno sam iskoristila sve što sam znala i naučila, koliko je to bilo u mojoj mogućnosti, ali čini mi se da smo ipak bili prepušteni sami sebi.

Šta biste mjenjali?

Interesantno vi to radite. Otvoreni razgovor, dopalo mi se. A šta bih mjenjala – pa, ništa nisam saznala o vašim organizacijama, a mislim da bi bilo korisno da smo čuli o vama više da bismo znali kako možemo i u budućnosti koristiti vaše usluge.

Šta Vi vidite kao prepreke aktivnijem političkom angažmanu žena?

Mi smo na Balkanu i to je pod broj 1. U pitanju je odnos društva prema ženi generalno. Drugo, žena je uglavnom u ulozi majke i domaćice, što znači da nema vremena da se bavi politikom. I u strankama žene su u drugom planu. I u društvu, kada birači vide ženu na listi kažu „pusti kraju, to je žena”. I to nije stav samo muškaraca, nego i žena koje su sumnjičave prema angažmanu drugih žena u politici. Svijest žena na ovim prostorima, ali i cijelog društva, treba mjenjati.

MIRA POPOVIĆ, DNS



Izborna jedinica 2 – NS RS

Da li vam je ono što ste prošli na radionicama koristilo i kako?

Skoro sam bila u Neumu i bilo je fantastično. Radili smo, između ostalog, pisanje poruke, kako je prezentovati, koliko poruka treba da traje, kojoj ciljnoj grupi je namijenjena,

itd. Nešto od toga sam već znala, ali sada je to bilo ono pravo – razrada i sadržaja i forme poruke.

Lični angažman?

Ocijenila bih ga sa 5+. Dala sam i više nego što sam mogla. Mada se uvijek može više. Maksimalno sam radila i rezultat nije izostao. Izabrana sam za poslanicu. Bitni su rad, poštenje i umijeće koje imate iza sebe, ali morat imati i novac, moć i položaj ako želite sigurno da napredujete. Da sam imala novac i položaj mogla sam dobiti i dva puta više glasova.

Mora se raditi edukacija sa ženama kako bi postale svjesne sebe i svojih mogućnosti. Tu je i socijalna strana – porodica leži na ženinim plećima i zato je potrebno ženu ras-teretiti ako želimo da imamo više žena u politici.

Sve je edukacija, i ne samo žena, već cjelokupnog stanovništva, mora se pričati, pričati i pričati i isticati pozitivne primjere.

Šta biste mjenjali?

Nekad bude dosadno. Za one koji su već prošle određene radionice bude prosto neinteresan-tesantno. Trebalo bi nas podijeliti u 2 kategorije – oni koji su prošli određene edukacije očekuju da čuju nešto novo, da nauče nešto novo. Na kraju bi trebalo organizovati neku zajedničku radionicu gdje bi se razmijenila iskustva i mišljenja.

LJILJANA MILAŠIN, DNS



Izborna jedinica 1 – Parlament BiH

Da li vam je ono što ste prošli na radionicama koristilo i kako?

Čujte, svakako da jeste. U svakom slučaju ja sam baš zadovoljna. Meni je sve to bilo super. Iskustvo je iskustvo.

Bila mi je to pomoć. Ono bar čovjek postane otvoreniji, snalažljiviji.

Lični angažman?

Dosta sam se bila angažovala, a ono ništa. U politici je to tako, nikad se ne zna. Nešto računate, kontate, a ono....ništa. Ili smo, možda, mi prezahtjevne.

Šta Vi vidite kao prepreke aktivnijem političkom angažmanu žena?

Žene imaju puno obaveza, porodica, kuća, djeca, imaju manje slobode.

Muškarci se ne moraju ni dogovarati. Žene sputavaju same sebe.

A što se tiče radionica, mislim da su sve teme dobro obrađene. Čini mi se da je sve OK.

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MIRJANA GOLIĆ, DEPOS



Parlamentarna skupština BiH

Da li vam je ono što ste prošli na radionicama koristilo i kako?

Radionica mi je zaista dobro došla. Nastupi u medijima su bili bolji baš zahvaljujući radionici. A radionica mi je i otvorila vidike u smislu da sam počela da posvećujem više pažnje sebi, počela sam da sebe posmatram u jednoj drugačijoj prizmi, ali i u odnosu na muškarce.

Nakon radionice neke stvari sam počela drugačije posmatrati. Radim kao stečajni upravnik. Nedavno je 600 ljudi jedne firme ostalo bez posla, a tek su skoro dobili neke zaostale i oni su zadovoljni tim mrvicama, a to su stvarno mrvice, dovoljne tek za onu najosnovniju egzistenciju. A gdje su oni koji su doveli do toga? Imali smo nekada od Gradiške do Banje Luke 3 benzinske pumpe, a vidite koliko ih imamo sada. To je svojstveno muškarcima.

Lični angažman?

Bila sam apolitična čitavo vrijeme, ovo mi je bila prva kandidatura. Moja stranka je mlada, tek formirana, i moram reći da nisu bili posvetili dovoljnu pažnju svojim kandidatima, pogotovo kandidatima u mojoj izbornoj jedinici. Neki su gurani zbog ličnih interesa. Bila je to propast stranke. Vladajuće stranke su nas pomele.

Mislila sam da ime nešto znači i pristala sam da se kandidujem na nagovor Ceničke, u istoj smo branši. Svoj izborni rezultat ne želim ni da pominjem. Stranka se uopšte nije angažovala u Izbornoj jedinici 1. Nisam željela da zloupotrebljavam svoje ime. Odradila sam dio kampanje, ali se nisam pretjerano angažovala kada sam vidjela šta se radi.

Ja želim biti prepoznatljiva po nečem drugom, po nečemu što sam uradila, a ne da mi prepoznaju facu samo zato što sam se pojavljivala u medijima.

Muškarci su agresivniji i ne dozvoljavaju ženi da bude ravnopravna. Ne osjećam takvu vrstu ugroženosti u struci, ali kad se uđe u politiku tu vladaju druga pravila. Muškarci su više i bolje povezani, svi su u dogovoru i tu žena teško može uspjeti.

Žena više osjeća probleme i terete i može bolje doprinijeti njihovom rješavanju. Racionalnija je, zna sa novcem, zna da ekonomiče, nisu rasipnice. Za razliku od njih, muškarci su skloniji prljavim načinima blaćenja i prljavim načinima finansiranja.

Toliko sam se razočarala kada sam nešto vidjela, a nešto čula. Čovjek se nije smio pojaviti na jednom skupu, jer mu je to strnaka zabranila. Bojao se da će dobiti otkaz.

Kod nas se sve počelo svoditi na devizu „ja i samo ja, ne postoji niko drugi“. To je valjda ono što nam je donijela tranzicija, ali ja to ne mogu prihvatiti, jer nisam tako odgajana, niti sam svoju djecu odgajala u takvom duhu.

Šta biste mjenjali?

Premalo iskustva imam...trebalo bi više raditi sa manjim grupama i na konkretnijim stvarima. Meni je na radionici izgledalo sve nekako prebrzo, na brzinu su se prolazile neke teme.

Ali saznala sam dosta i korisnih stvari. Sve je, praktično, škola i svaki put nešto novo saznate. Upoznala sam i druge žene političarke i naučila nešto novo.

ZORICA GLUVIĆ, NARODNA STRANKA RADOM ZA BOLJITAK



Kandidatkinja za Narodnu skupštinu RS

Da li vam je ono što ste prošli na radionicama koristilo i kako?

Sve je bilo super. Mi smo u startu znali, jer smo nova stranka, da ne možemo uspjeti u odnosu na vodeće stranke. Radionica je bila super, korisna razmjenjena mišljenja, čule smo i iskusne političarke.

Lični angažman?

Osrednji, sve je stvar stranke. Nisam se pretjerano trudila. Vladajuće stranke su imale više finansija, mogli su da organizuju promocije, mi nismo bili u takvoj prilici. Nije bilo šanse.

Problem su i muškraci. Ne možete od njih da dođete do izražaja. Žena je prvo majka, domaćica, sve se svodi na to. Malo ima uspješnih žena.

Koliko radionice mogu da pomognu ženama u sticanju vještina potrebnih za aktivnije učešće u javnom, političkom životu? Na čemu bi, po Vama, trebalo više raditi i da li biste Vi nešto mjenjali?

Ništa ne bih mjenjala. Mnogo mi se dopalo.

NADA TEŠANOVIĆ, SNSD



Kandidatkinja za NSRS

Da li vam je ono što ste prošli na radionicama koristilo i kako?

Radionice su mi stvarno pomogle. Osnajile su me i dale mi mogućnost da doživim politiku na jedan drugi način, jer u vrijeme kada sam ja ušla u politiku radionica nije ni bilo, nisu se organizovale.

Učila sam na tim radionicama i to je, iskreno, ostavilo traga u meni.

Bilo je dobrih tema koje su vaše organizacije pokrenule, a o kojima se nije razgovaralo. Ali bilo je i tema koje se u suštini ponavljaju kao što je ravnopravnost polova– sve se vrti oko toga.

Radionice, da sumiram, imaju efekta, dobri predavači rade, interesantne su.

Lični angažman?

Mogu reći da je moja kampanja ove godine bila lakša nego prethodnih. Išla sam sa tim da sam ostavila traga iza sebe i da me ljudi poznaju, što umnogome olakšava kreiranje nastupa.

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Što se tiče posljednje radionice u Neumu, sastav mi nije imponovao. Bilo je tu žena koje su prvi put došle na radionicu i bile su zatečene. Sa njima je trebalo raditi od samog početka, a mi iskusnije smo, s druge strane, očekivale da to bude vrhunac naše edukacije. Da naučimo nešto novo što možemo primijeniti. Mada se uvijek nešto novo sazna.

Šta biste mijenjali?

Treba nam više muškaraca. Nedavno sam imala verbalni duel sa kolegom koji mi je rekao: „Vama je samo bitno da je to žena“. Ja sam mu odgovorila da se ne radi uopšte o ženi, već o tome da treba da imamo jednake mogućnosti.

Od žena se traži kvalitet i obrazovanje, pa čak se obraća pažnja i na fizički izgled. Od muškaraca se to ne traži.

U svakom slučaju smatram da nam na radionicama treba više muškaraca sa kojima ćemo direktno razmjenjivati iskustva i mišljenja.

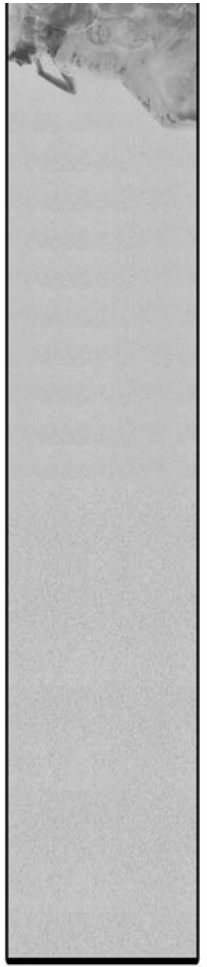
Takođe, i unutar stranaka se mora povesti računa ko se šalje na seminare. Besmisleno je sad slati jednu ženu, sad drugu. Jedna žena bi morala da prođe kompletan radioničarski ciklus, jer se ne može samo na jednoj radionici sve naučiti.

Šta vidite kao prepreku aktivnijem angažmanu žena?

Medijsko predstavljanje je bilo ogromna prepreka. Nigdje se nismo uspjele pojaviti, ni na TV, ni u štampi. Forsirali su predsjednik i potpredsjednik stranke i mi tu nismo imali pristupa.

Drugo pitanje koje samoj sebi postavljam je da li su lične kampanje dozvoljene ili ne. To je dovodilo do sukoba unutar samih stranaka. I to bi same stranke morale da usaglasile da li su lične kampanje dozvoljene ili nisu.

Što se tiče izbornih nastupa na tribinama, tu smo imale odriježene ruke, sa, doduše, tačno određenom minutažom za svoja izlaganja. Na tim javnim nastupima smo bile daleko aktivnije i imale smo priliku da dođemo, da se predstavimo biračkom tijelu.



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Tekst govora održanog 16. i 17. maja 2006. u Štokholmu, na seminarima za zaposlene u Ministarstvu inostranih poslova Kraljevine Švedske i Švedskoj agenciji za međunarodni razvoj (SIDA), te studente politologije, mirovnih i rodni studija Univerziteta u Štokholmu.

LIDIJA ŽIVANOVIĆ

OD „PROSTORA ZA RAZGOVOR” DO „PROSTORA ZA PROMJENE”

Prije deset godina, u Bosni i Hercegovini je prestao rat. U fizičkom smislu, godine rata su bile godine života u getu. Ginulo se, vladala je opšta destrukcija i stvarale se etnički čiste teritorije. Ali, i kada je stao rat, lokalne nacional-političke elite su forsirale duboke etničke podjele, ali i izolaciju od svijeta.

Po struci sam inženjerka arhitekture i do rata radila sam taj posao u projektnim biroima. Rat je, sve to presjekao i sada kad razmišljam o tom vremenu ne znam od čega i kako smo živjeli te četiri godine. Muškarci na ratištu, a žene u kućama sa svim teretom preživljavanja. U mom gradu nije bilo rata. Ali, bogovi rata su i pored toga držali sve u svojim rukama. Uveden je policijski čas, grad bez struje, zatvorene komunikacije, kontrolisane informacije, noćne eksplozije, prisilna mobilizacija, radne obaveze, ubistva, destrukcija i strah koji blokira. U meni je rastao otpor i nezadovoljstvo prema nametnutom i želja da nešto promijenim, da se iz svega toga izađe.

U decembru 1995. potpisan je Dejtonski mirovni sporazum. Na početku, okupilo se nas nekoliko žena, prijateljica i razgovaralo. Željele smo jednostavno da pokažemo da postojimo i da nam je nužan drugačiji život. Da umjesto zatvorenosti imamo otvorenost, umjesto izolacije komunikaciju, umjesto etničke matrice da gradimo matricu slobodnog građanina/ke – pojedinca/ke. Bile smo protiv rata. Željele da živimo kao ljudi, a ne samo kao pripadnici ove ili one etničke zajednice.

U januaru 1996. sam u Banjaluci imala prve susrete i razgovore sa ženama iz drugog entiteta i predstavnicima iz Holandije i Engleske. Ti sastanci se mogu nazvati „tajnim”, jer bez obzira na Mirovni sporazum komunikacija sa „drugima i drugačijima” je bila nepoželjna za tadašnju vlast. Nije postojala kritična masa ljudi spremnih da javno govore. Zato nam je bila važna pomoć međunarodnih organizacija (bezbjedan prevoz za susrete i sredstva). To je vrijeme kada smo se kretale po našoj zemlji uz pomoć OSCE-a. Ali, kretale smo se i rušile nametnute barijere.

Pokrenule smo prve inicijative za razgovore između žena različitih etničkih i vjerskih pripadnosti, iz različitih gradova u Bosni i Hercegovini, različitih stranaka, nevladinih organizacija i žena koje tada nisu bile organizovane. Okupile smo se jer smo htjele dati svoj doprinos promjenama. Mnogima je to izgledalo nemoguće. A jedino se nama činilo da je baš to nemoguće – moguće. Vjerovala sam iskreno, prvo u mogućnost stvarne međusobne komunikacije, i u stvaranje prostora za zajednički rad u izgradnji budućeg života. Ta vjera davala nam je nadu. Na primjer, interesantno je danas vidjeti o čemu smo razgovarale i šta smo se dogovorile na našem prvom skupu 1996. godine, koji smo nazvale „Prostor za razgovor”. Razgovarale smo o rješavanju problema izbjeglica i raseljenih osoba, rekonstrukciji i razvoju, političkoj participaciji žena i njenoj ulozi u političkom životu, sistemu obrazovanja, socijalnim



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problemima i mogućnostima njihovih rješavanja, o toleranciji u tolerantnoj atmosferi – jednom riječju o problemima koji su nam bili zajednički bez obzira na etničku pripadnost. Bile smo sigurne da ćemo mnogo lakše naći zajednički jezik, nego neke druge društvene grupe. Krenule smo u akciju i počele graditi prijateljstva i savezništva.

Zar nisu problemi koje su tada žene prepoznale aktuelni i danas?

Ali, moć odlučivanja nije bila u našim rukama. Želimo da prioriteti žena postanu i socijalni i politički prioriteti o kojima se razgovara na svim nivoima – od lokalnih zajednica do Parlamentarne skupštine BiH.

U organizaciji različitih NVO–a, domaćih ili međunarodnih, nizale su se konferencije koje su otvarale nove probleme, probleme nasilja nad ženama, zakonske regulative, trgovine ženama, zapošljavanja, obrazovanja o miru i toleranciji, učešća žena u obnovi i razvoju i dr, uključivale i ohrabrivale nova lica. I uvijek je kao ishodište iskazivana potreba važnosti učešća žena u javnom i političkom životu, neophodnost međusobne saradnje i zajedničke akcije.

Shvatile smo da ni jedna NVO, bez obzira koliko je dobro organizovana, kvalifikovana i stručna ne može sama da ostvari cilj koji je sebi postavila, bez podrške, ili čak zajedničke akcije sa ženama iz drugih NVO–a i sa ženama iz političkih partija.

Kvinna till Kvinna je prepoznala važnost tih naših susreta i podržala ih, nastavila s nama da prolazi kroz sve teške i lijepe trenutke na putu ka pomirenju i u borbi za ravnopravnost. Podržava nas i danas. U tom procesu, razlikuju se od brojnih međunarodnih organizacija koje su radile i rade na našim prostorima, jer su imale razumijevanja za naše specifičnosti. Sada, gledajući na ovaj period, mogu reći da su žene prepoznale ključna pitanja za budućnost zemlje. Pokrenule smo pitanja koja nas povezuju i zahtijevaju zajedničko djelovanje za dobrobit svih bez obzira na etničku pripadnost koja je, nažalost i danas dominantna u retorici vladajućeg etnonacionalnog političkog establišmenta. **A zar rješavanje ovih otvorenih pitanja nije doprinos miru i stabilizaciji?**

Može se reći da smo zapravo u skladu sa zaključcima naših prvih susreta trasirale rad proteklih godina. Mnogi problemi i danas postoje, ali nakon deset godina djelovanja uvjerila sam se da je njihovo rješavanje proces i da smo trasirale dobar put. Lično, često sam nezadovoljna postignutim rezultatima, jer želim da se promjene dešavaju brže. Ipak imamo čime biti zadovoljne. Evo samo nekoliko primjera koji su tek danas, nakon deset godina jasno vidljivi, a koje smo jedino zajedničkim zalaganjem žena iz civilnog sektora i žena iz političkih stranaka i naravno podršku međunarodnih organizacija mogle postići:

- Pred opšte izbore 1998. godine 14 ženskih NVO–a sa područja cijele Bosne i Hercegovine je provelo akciju zalaganja za uvođenje kvota za 30% žena na kandidatskim listama pod nazivom? Nas je više? Uspjele smo se izboriti za izborno pravilo OSCE–a – 3 žene među prvih 10. Već na prvim sljedećim izborima 1998. godine na listama se našlo 26% žena, a procenat izabраниh je sa jednocifrenih brojeva skočio od tri do čak deset puta u nekim parlamentima (dobile smo od 15 do 26% žena u parlamentima u BiH)
- U maju 1999. 16 NVO–a su u saradnji sa Međunarodnom grupom za ljudska prava izradile "Izveštaj nevladinih organizacija o stanju ženskih ljudskih prava u Bosni i Hercegovini";
- Kao rezultat saradnje ženskih organizacija i parlamentarki Narodne skupštine Republike Srpske od 1.10. 2000. godine porodično nasilje, kao i silovanje u braku se tetira kao krivično djelo;
- Od tog perioda, počinju naši zalagački naponi da nasilje u porodici i trgovina ljudima budu prepoznati kao društveni i politički problemi u BiH na svim nivoima,
- 2001. godine Izborni zakon je dodatno poboljšan. Dobili smo otvorene liste i obavezu da



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- na kandidatskim listama svaka treća bude osoba manje zastupljenog pola.
- Inicirale smo i podržale razvoj mehanizama za ravnopravnost polova u Bosni i Hercegovini, koji počinju da funkcionišu
 - Ključni uticaj na donošenje Zakona o ravnopravnosti polova na nivou BiH imala je **Koalicija NVO-a za jednakost i ravnopravnost polova u BiH**, koja je okupila oko 40 organizacija i 130 građanskih grupa. Prijedlog Zakona o ravnopravnosti polova koji je predložila ova koalicija, u saradnji sa Međunarodnom pravnom grupom i Kancelarijom UN za ljudska prava, usvojen je u Parlamentu BiH u maju 2003. godine.
 - Drugi izvještaj u sjeni u o implementaciji CEDAW konvencije i ženskim ljudskim pravima u BiH izradile smo saradnji sa Global Rights Partners for Justice.
 - Skupština grada Banja Luka – grada u kojem smo na lokalnom nivou uložile najviše napora, danas ima 35% odbornica, a od deset načelnika odjeljenja u gradskoj upravi pet su žene. Stvorile smo klimu u kojoj se zanemarljiv procenat žena u gradskoj vlasti neće ponoviti. To ne smijemo dozvoliti.
 - Imamo parlamentarke na svim nivoima koje će rado na naš poziv telefonom lobirati za neko pitanje, proslijediti nam informacije i tražiti naše mišljenje. Imamo i one koje su svjesne i kojima je ravnopravnost postala politički cilj. Imamo medije, u kojima smo ranije samo novcem mogle dobiti prostor za ženska pitanja, a koji danas, iako nedovoljno, izvještavaju i o našim aktivnostima. Imamo zakon i mehanizme za ravnopravnost polova, za koje smo se zajednički izborile.

Kroz sve ove aktivnosti među ženama koje su se srele 1996. godine i danas postoje prijateljstva ili dobri profesionalni odnosi i dalje širimo krugove.

Ovo što radimo je evolucija. Ne mogu reći da smo zaista napravile pokret ili održive mehanizme. Ustvari, uspostavile čvrstu osnovu i neformalnu mrežu organizacija i pojedinaca koji osiguravaju održivost ovoga što smo postigli, sprečavaju da se ne vratimo nazad.

Za potpuno preoblikovanje javne svijesti u pogledu opredjeljenja za mir i ravnopravnost još imamo mnogo posla.

Oblasti u kojima smo postigle rezultate javno i u krugovima odlučivanja među muškarcima još uvijek doživljavaju kao žensko pitanje. Evo samo jednog posljednjeg primjera – prilikom nedavne rasprave o amandmanima na izborni zakon gdje smo tražile gender izbornu statistiku i naizmjeničan raspored kandidata oba pola na listama, u novinama je osvanuo naslov „Parlament dva sata raspravljao o ženama”. Usput, amandmani o kandidatskim listama nisu usvojeni. Ja ističem – naši amandmani se odnose na društvo – i na muškarce i na žene! Naime, prioritet je sada da se usmjerimo ka tome da svi shvate da ne postoje tzv. ženska pitanja ili sektor kojim bi se samo žene trebale baviti. Ako bi to bilo tako, onda bi žene i njihovi problemi bili samo jedan izolovani i sam sebi dovoljan dio društva. Naprotiv, žena treba biti svuda i na svakom mjestu, a svaki društveni problem i projektovanje budućeg života istovremeno je i problem žene.

Kao što smo krajem devedesetih prolazili važnu fazu u gradnji mira – uspostavu komunikacije, slobode kretanja, otvaranje za dijalog i razmjenu različitih mišljenja, uspostavljanje saradnje sa vlastima i naravno, davanje glasa običnim građankama i građanima, sada smo ponovo na jednoj prekretnici. BiH prolazi kroz reforme ključne za njenu budućnost, otvoreni su pregovori o stabilizaciji i pridruživanju Evropskoj uniji. Mijenja se Ustav, reformiše se vojska, policija – žene su isključene iz ovog dijela mirovnog procesa i izgradnje države. Zašto, kada smo dale izuzetan doprinos u gradnji povjerenja od 1996. i bile u stanju da se dogovaramo, ne bismo bile sposobne da ga damo i sada deset godina poslije? Uslijediće još mnoge reforme. Da li ćemo u njih biti uključene? Činjenica da oba pola ne učestvuju



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ravnopravno u donošenju ovakvih odluka, govori da će temelje države koja ulazi u Evropsku Uniju udariti samo jedan dio našeg društva. Pritom, ne mogu sa sigurnošću reći ni da bi ove politike bile u potpunosti rodno senzitivne u slučaju da je broj žena veći, jer gender mainstreaming, odnosno analiza posljedica svake javne politike na oba pola, još uvijek nije postala sastavni dio u procesima odlučivanja.

Mislim da ove moje rečenice jasno govore o potrebi i pravcima našeg budućeg intenzivnog djelovanja. Osim toga moramo pratiti trendove, uskladiti naš rad i osigurati da reforme koje naše vlasti rade ne budu pro forme, radi otvaranja vrata Evrope, već da se primjenjuju u praksi radi građana i građanki.

Dok se to ne desi, naš doprinos stvaranju ambijenta u kojem komuniciramo, a ne ratujemo, lobiranju i zalaganju za promjenu ili donošenju zakona, ukazivanju na ključne društvene probleme, bit će marginalizirani.

Za ovu fazu u našoj evoluciji sa sigurnošću se možemo osloniti na naša dosadašnja postignuća u smislu mehanizama, propisa, ljudskih resursa.

Ostaje otvoreno pitanje finansijske podrške iz domaćih izvora. Na domaće vlasti i preduzeća u tome, na žalost, još uvijek ne možemo računati. I mislim da ćemo moći računati tek onda kada izgradimo gender politike o kojima govorim, kao i kriterijume za fer i transparentno dodjeljivanje sredstava i kada mi, građani i građanke budemo mogli uticati na utvrđivanje prioriteta. Naravno, i kada BiH ne budu vodili ljudi kojima je etnički identitet na prvom mjestu a ne mir i dobrobit građana.

Finansiranje iz domaćih izvora je počelo, posebno na opštinskom nivou, ali prioriteti su uglavnom socijalne i humanitarne prirode, pitanja zaštite životne sredine, a kriterijumi za dodjelu sretstava su nerazvijeni.

Još niko od BiH institucija nije investirao u mirovno i političko obrazovanje, učešće žena u mirovnim procesima, ravnopravnost polova u javnim politikama, antikorupcijske projekte. Ovo su pitanja koja ostaju po strani, jer mi njima direktno želimo uticati na one koji ta sredstva dodjeljuju. Za rješavanje ovih pitanja još neko vrijeme ćemo se morati osloniti na inostrane donatore.

Nisam zadovoljna brzinom naših društvenih promjena. Uradile smo doista puno, naprimjer, u promjenama legislative, na novim zakonima, motivisale smo široki krug žena za angažman, bitno podigle svijest o potrebi promjena, o društvenoj ulozi žena itd. U našim uslovima mi smo tu ispred muškaraca. Sa našim kolegicama iz Pristine, Skopja, Beograda ili Zagreba, mi se ne nalazimo u Briselu ili u Beču, već u našim gradovima. Zajedno pokušavamo jedne drugima pomoći i rješavati probleme.

Ali, blokade u sistemu su još uvijek velike. Ekonomska situacija je teška, a naše društvo i dalje funkcioniše isključivo na etničkom principu i na bazi etničkih podjela. Na izborima i dalje dominiraju nacionalne političke partije i jedna autistička svijest vlasti po kojoj građani postoje zbog vlasti a ne obratno. Sa svoje strane, autizam naših vlasti direktno ili indirektno, podržava diskriminaciju. Često naši prijedlozi i apeli ostaju bez dovoljnog odjeka. U praksi žene teško ulaze u centre moći i uticaja. Ovo se posebno odnosi na izvršnu vlast u kojoj je učešće žena gotovo zanemarivo. A sigurno je da bi se mnogo toga brže mijenjalo da je pozicija žena drugačija.

Upravo na promjeni te pozicije mora biti težište našeg angažmana. Radi se, naravno, o dugoročnom poslu. Za taj posao potrebne su i promjene kod nas samih u civilnom sektoru, ali treba nam i podrška međunarodne zajednice. Zasto? Pa ponajprije zato što je kod jednog broja nevladinih organizacija prisutan komformizam, pa i dvolično ponašanje u kojem se, naprimjer, vidi jedan formalni odnos prema projektima i aktivnostima, deklarativno se

prihvataju stavovi o građanskom društvu, a na drugoj strani se, na različite načine, podržavaju projekti ili stavovi svih onih koji upravo proizvode blokade. U vezi s tim, takođe i međunarodna zajednica vodi jednu problematičnu i strateški nedefinisanu politiku, koja se lomila preko nedovoljno razvijenih građanskih inicijativa. Ona, naravno, za partnere ima ove naše domaće pobjednike izbora, ali to su već deset godina upravo oni koji su vodili rat i koji očigledno ne mogu graditi mir. Na taj način, problemi se ne mogu riješiti. To građani osjećaju i svaki put apstinencija na izborima je sve veća i prelazi 50 procenata.

Gender mehanizmi, čije osnivanje smo inicirale, su se pretvorili u državne institucije čiji rad i dalje moramo pratiti i s njima uspostavljati saradnju kao što smo to nekada radili sa bilo kojom drugom institucijom. Svijest o ravnopravnosti polova nije ušla u sve pore društvenog života. Moramo i dalje pratiti i analizirati javne politike, aktivnosti, budžete kako bismo osigurali da se sve ono što smo postigle zaista i provodi.

Krenuli smo od stvaranja Prostora za razgovor, stvorili i još uvijek stvaramo Prostor za promjene, a nadamo se da ćemo uskoro dobiti „Preobraženi prostor” u kojem će interesi i potrebe svih društvenih grupa, i žena i muškaraca, biti jednako uvažavani i tretirani.

Ili pojednostavljeno rečeno nadamo se da ćemo od Prostora za razgovor stvoriti Preobraženi prostor.





Helsinški parlament građana (HPG) Banja Luka je nevladina organizacija osnovana 1996. godine u Banjoj Luci. Od tada je aktivno uključen u promociju, jačanje i povezivanje civilnih inicijativa, na lokalnom i regionalnom nivou, i radi na pomirenju i osnaživanju marginalizovanih društvenih grupa za političko djelovanje. Helsinški parlament građana Banja Luka je organizacija za zalaganje i podršku, te resursni centar, koji usmjerava svoje aktivnosti u tri programska područja: jačanje civilnog društva i transformacija javne vlasti u servis građana, zalaganje za rodnu jednakost, stvaranje uslova za intenzivnije uključivanje mladih u javni život.

Naša misija je: HPG je organizacija koja podržava i stimuliše autonomnost i slobodu svih građana, uključivanjem marginalizovanih društvenih grupa u demokratske procese, naročito žena i mladih.

Naša vizija je: Društvo jednakih mogućnosti za sve.

Ovakvom politikom podrške marginalizovanim i zapostavljenim grupama u njihovom okupljanju nastoji se ostvariti korektivni faktor vladajuće strukture.

Prioriteti djelovanja Helsinškog parlamenta građana Banja Luka u narednom periodu su:

- Osnaživanje marginalizovanih grupa, posebno žena, mladih i manjina, za političko djelovanje i unapređenje svog položaja u društvu,
- Uticaj na institucije vlasti u Bosni i Hercegovini radi unapređenja javnih politika prema ovim grupama,
- Povećanje zastupljenosti i unapređenje slike žena, mladih i manjina u medijima,
- Jačanje svijesti građana i građanki u Bosni i Hercegovini o diskriminaciji marginalizovanih grupa i mehanizmima zaštite njihovih prava,
- Jačanje saradnje sa drugim organizacijama i institucijama u Bosni i Hercegovini, ali i nameđunarodnom nivou,
- Približavanje obrazovnih programa, literature, znanja i vještina u vezi sa izgradnjom mira, razvojem civilnog društva i ljudskim pravima građanima i građankama BiH,
- Kontinuirano osposobljavanje osoblja Helsinškog parlamenta građana Banja Luka i rad na održivosti organizacije.

Udružene žene Banja Luka je nevladina organizacija osnovana 16. avgusta 1996 godine u Banja Luci. Kroz aktivnosti i projekte naše organizacije, zalažemo se za unaprijeđenje društvenog položaja žene i njeno pravo na život bez nasilja u porodici i javnom životu. Želimo vidjeti više žena na pozicijama odlučivanja u zvaničnim institucijama na svim nivoima vlasti i odlučivanja u Bosni i Hercegovini.

Naša vizija je: Žena svijesna njene moći, ravnopravna, poštovana, zaposlena i srećna.

Naša misija je: Jačanje i afirmisanje žena kroz zalaganje i rad na stvarnom poštovanju i primjeni ženskih ljudskih prava.

Strateški prioriteti i ciljevi djelovanja Udruženih žena Banja Luka:

- Borba protiv nasilja nad ženama kroz obezbjeđivanje besplatne pravne i psihosocijalne pomoći za žene i djecu žrtve nasilja, aktivnosti usmjerene na primjenu zvaničnih politika i institucionalnih mehanizama za borbu protiv nasilja nad ženama;
- Jačanje svijesti građana/ki o nasilju nad ženama i rodno uslovljenom nasilju kroz medijsko zalaganje i jačanje i unaprijeđenje saradnje sa drugim nevladinim organizacijama i zvaničnim institucijama koje se bave ovim problemima u BiH i regiji;
- Jačanje svijesti građana/ki o trgovini ljudima u BiH i javno zalaganje za efikasniji rad zvaničnih institucija u BiH na prevenciji trgovine ljudima;
- Osnježivanje žena da učestvuju u društvenim promjenama kroz javno zalaganje za njihovu aktivnu i ravnopravnu ulogu u kreiranju javnih politika i političkom odlučivanju na svim nivoima u BiH;
- Jednakost polova u medijima BiH – javno zalaganje za uklanjanje diskriminacije i zloupotreba žena u elektronskim i štampanim medijima u BiH i stvaranje uslova za jednak pristup žena i muškaraca procesu kreiranja medijskih politika u BiH;
- Javno zalaganje za jačanje položaja žena u našem društvu i smanjenje diskriminacije žena u političkom, ekonomskom i društvenom životu kroz monitoriranje primjene zakona i javnih politika i iniciranje procedura za izmjene diskriminirajućih zakona i politika na svim nivoima u BiH;
- Podrška održivom povratku u Bosni i Hercegovini kroz rad sa ženama i muškarcima u ruralnim zajednicama BiH;
- Jačanje saradnje sa drugim organizacijama civilnog društva i zvaničnim institucijama na svim nivoima u BiH i drugim zemljama u regionu;
- Razvoj unutrašnjih kapaciteta Udruženih žena Banja Luka kroz angažovanje novog profesionalnog osoblja i volontera/ki i rad na razvoju održivosti organizacije kroz dugoročno finansijsko, programsko i menadžment planiranje.



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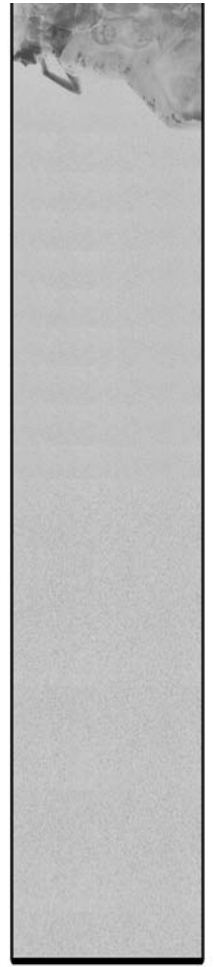
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Udružene žene Banja Luka

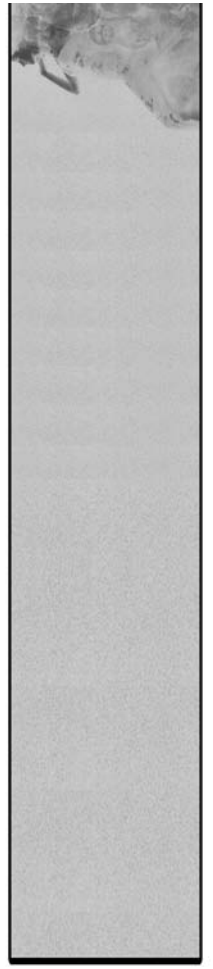
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WOMAN TODAY

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INTRODUCTION

In 2006, Helsinki Citizens Assembly Banja Luka and United Women Banja Luka marked 10th anniversary of their existence very actively. This year was also the year of general elections, so our activities directed toward improving position of a woman in public and political life and increasing representation of women in institutions of governance did not leave us a break for big celebrations. However, there was a time for happiness, since many of our women collaborators from political parties were elected in institutions of governance. To those women who were not successful in that direction, we helped at least to implement their pre-election campaigns easier and to be more visible in eyes of voters.

Here we are presenting you another publication "Woman Today," which provides an overview of all activities implemented in 2006, content of expert's presentations submitted by women and men that actively supported our activities, as well as impressions of women politicians that participated in our programs during this year and previous years. These texts will provide you information about role of media in promotion of gender equality and presentation of women in pre-election campaign, position of women in institutions of governance after elections in October 2006, constitutional changes and way of Bosnia and Herzegovina to the European integrations, protection from domestic violence, and other topics. The project "Woman Today", which we implement for past ten years with support of »Kvinnan Till Kvinna Foundation" from Sweden represents our contribution to elimination of all forms of discrimination of women, and creation of environment where women and men will have the same possibilities.

Nada Golubović
Lidija Živanović
Project Coordinators

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PUBLIC DISCUSSIONS
ACTUAL MOMENT

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MIRA LOLIĆ MOČEVIĆ

ROLE OF MEDIA IN PROMOTION OF WOMEN'S HUMAN RIGHTS

Women's human rights became focus of public discussions in our region during the last twenty years or so. However, during last five years, media are perceiving women's human rights as the topic of daily or periodical information.

Nongovernmental organizations struggled for more frequent talks about women's human rights, than laws were adopted that forced need to talk about this issue, and governmental agencies working on women's human rights were created. Reality and challenging female destinies revealed problems of women, as majority of the population. Although being majority in our environment, women still did not accomplish their goal – equal possibilities for all, regardless sex.

Media became inevitable part of life, which determined their very important role in promotion of all human rights, women's human rights as well. Printed and electronic media, commercial or public – they all offered the possibility for citizens to get quickly various news and information.

To what extent, and if the women's human rights are to be a focus of media attention, among other things, depends of following:

- Is there an interest of the public and its acceptance of women's rights;
- Are media professional, and if they are, they are covering any issue more comprehensively and are following principles of investigative journalism;
- Is the media commercial or public (contrary to commercial media, public media must respond to the needs of the widest structure of population and to cover all issues of interest for the public – commercial media do not have this obligation);
- Is the topic interesting from a journalist' point of view or not;
- Are those who are interested for solving some issue, in our case promotion of women's human rights, ready to fight for usage of a media as toll for accomplishing objectives, and to use various means and pressure on media to promote women's rights;
- Are media educated about women's human rights and to what extent? Are they ready to deal with, and promote women's rights, and how much media editors and managers are ready to promote women's rights?

The more complex media are there are more and more possibilities for promotion of women's rights. The most complex and ideal media is **television**, and many theoreticians claim it represents the most popular media worldwide. Television message speaks with words and pictures. During 60-ties of the last century, Marshal MacLuan, one of the most know theoreticians of mass communications wrote that media are extensions of a human body, and television represents extensions of eyes and ears. Within a very short time, they provide huge amount of information to central nerve system of a human.



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People often say – what you did not see on television – it did not happen. Many centuries old Chinese proverb says "better once seen than hundred times said." I will focus on TV journalism, because of the fact that I work on Television of Republika Srpska.

Various journalism' genres have different influence on creation of public opinion and influencing consciousness of readers, listeners, and watchers. However, each journalist' story, each news story should provide answers on five essential journalist questions: **WHO, WHAT, WHERE, WHEN, AND WHY** (how). I will use this logic to guide you through role of media in promotion of women's human rights.

WHAT – Promotion of women's rights will be successful and accepted in public if media are focusing on it. Currently, commercial media are not paying enough attention on this issue, and public media are only partially dealing with it. Promotion of any particular human rights should be based on principle of *equal possibilities for all*.

WHO – It is very important who presents the news in media and who the focus of the news is.

If more women are on the TV screen, on the air, or are signing the texts as journalists, than people are perceiving images of active woman, very important woman (with frequent appearance of women in media, it will become quite common that they are delivering the news and information). Woman is the essential executor of the job, topic of the news – meaning rights which we are promoting. It will become quite normal that woman's human right is important and that we all should promote and implement it. (I believe that not all media are familiar with, or they do not want to know that legally regulated rights and obligations are related to violations or implementations of women's rights.)

However, in relation with this first journalist' question, it is important to emphasize that editors and directors of media have very important place in promotion of women's rights, since they can open and close the media for this promotion. We still witness that there is no consensus among management structures in media about a need for promotion of women's rights in media. Sometimes we also see very gender insensitive attitudes, and as extreme they claim there is "too much promotion of women's rights in media". Certainly, here is very important question of awareness and education of female journalists, their acceptance and wish to promote women's rights. Sometimes this interest is perceived as "positive or negative feminism".

In Media Company where I work, Radio Television of Republika Srpska, women are majority in program sector – as members of journalist and editorial teams, and more and more they appear as actors of information that we send to the public.

WHERE – Where women's human rights are promoted in media, and where women's human rights are implemented (or violated).

It is important on which side and in which program we wish to promote women's human rights. We will accomplish much better results if we promote them through several different programs whose target groups are different, than if we do that in so called women's pages, women's programs, or similar.

Another issue represents the fact that so called women's pages promote photographs with naked women, information about cooking, hairstyles, or similar topics. They do not cover more serious women's topics or issues, and do not promote all women's values. Very often, they have "sexist approach."

Certainly, media should produce women's programs, but these programs must cover different areas of women's focus, and should observe a woman as universal human being. We should always have in mind that we can accomplish better results if more target groups



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get and accept information through various programs (through entire programs or complete newspapers). This could help "news story" about women's rights to become usual and quite normal and not exception. Our media, but also our society is still not in this phase of judgment.

When we talk about the answer on journalist' question "where," it is important to say that women's human rights should be promoted through programs directed for urban and rural population (some researches showed there is higher level of violation of women's human rights in rural areas than in urban areas).

HOW – With answering on this journalist' question, I should emphasize:

If we use *interesting way*, and talk *not intrusively* (because intrusiveness and adoption or presentation of any topic based on force are unacceptable for the public) about some violated women's right, this will be more interesting for viewers and will certainly improve promotion of media.

Presumption is that a journalist use principles of *professionalism and quality* to promote women's human rights. His/her presentation or report should be interesting, and the more interesting it is, the more is will be acceptable for viewers. If it was prepared from the angle of a woman whose right has been violated, presentation or report is even more interesting and striking.

WHEN – The time when we present some information is also very important, because there are hours when great number of viewers and listeners are watching television or are listening radio. The most suitable moment for promotion of women's human rights is when the entire family is at home, because then all members of a family receive information, learn and understand the presented issue, and we give importance to a topic we are talking about.

It is desirable to promote women's rights through programs with the best viewer's rate and in peak hours, because they gather the greatest number of media users, the highest level of trust, and habit to watch and receive information from that program, which opens fantastic possibilities for promotion of women's rights.

Sometimes would be more effective to promote women's rights in morning program, when women are able to be alone and watch TV program (I say this because of remarks of some women viewers that called us and said they would like to watch programs about women's human rights in morning, when their husbands are not at home, since they have very negative view about women's rights – this example shows that morning program can be used for education of women).

WHY – I will end my introductory presentation with answering this journalist' question. The answer on question why is important to promote women's human rights through media lies in citation of Stewart Hall from 1986. He wrote:

"Media have power to present the world on certain ways, and just because there are so many different and conflicting ways for building meaning of the world, it is of utmost importance what and who is excluded, and how media present things, people, events, and relationships."

Banja Luka, March 7, 2006

SUMMARY OF THE PUBLIC DISCUSSION

Topic of the public discussion "Role of Media in Promotion of Women's Human Rights" was not chosen by coincidence. "Key issue for women in the election year is how media will present them," explained Mira Lolić Močević, the introductory speaker, which talked about women in media from her journalist' point of view.

She said that important progress in media promotion of women was made in past five years, thanks to the engagement of nongovernmental organizations, and added that Radio Television of Republika Srpska was the first media in Bosnia and Herzegovina that started to use female nouns for positions of women – woman editor, woman proofreader, woman journalist...

In discussion that followed, we could hear the critics that the same women appear in media over and over again. Lana Jajčević from United Women Banja Luka reacted and asked if anyone asks viewers and listeners if they had enough of Dodik, Čavić, or Krstan Simić, which are occupying TV screens for past then years. "If they are not boring for people after then years, why we would be boring," asked Ms. Jajčević.

Nada Tešanović, Representative in the People's Assembly of Republika Srpska criticized journalists and said they approach her to ask mostly about gender equality issues, and avoid current political issues. Milosava Jakovljević noticed that women are almost invisible in political and informative programs of Radio Television of Republika Srpska, such as "Eyes to Eyes" or "Red Line." Passing Constitutional Law exam is obligatory for women at the Law School, but they are not asked about constitutional changes in B&H, noticed Ms. Jakovljević.

Through discussions about appearances of women in media, participants concluded that women are analyzing too much what they will say, how they will say that, and how it will look like. It is much more important for women to have clear opinion and message, and to know what she wants to say – than there is no reason for unease and fear from camera. This is one of the conclusions from the public discussion held on March 7, 2006 in Banja Luka, with more than 43 women and men participants.

Demonstrating will of Radio Television of Republika Srpska to continue with policy of promotion of women's human rights, Mira Lolić Močević, Program Director of RTRS invited all participants of the public discussion to shortly say to camera what they expect from media. TV Program with statements of participants of the public discussion was broadcasted on April 8, 2006.

Review prepared by
Dragana Dardić



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CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES IN BIH

INTRODUCTIVE SPEAKERS: DRAGANA ČAVIĆ, MLADEN IVANIĆ I NIKOLA ŠPIRIĆ

Banja Luka, April 19, 2006.

Summary of the public discussion

On April 19, 2006, United Women Banja Luka and Helsinki Citizens Assembly Banja Luka organized the public discussion in Banja Luka. Key introductory speakers were Dragan Čavić, Mladen Ivanić and Nikola Špirić, as direct and indirect participants in negotiations about changes of B&H Constitution. Their task was to provide explanation of which parts of B&H Constitution will be changed, and how this would reflect on Republika Srpska.

Citizens were interested to hear about the costs of constitutional changes in B&H, which entity authorities will be transferred to the state level, why we did not have public discussions about this issue, and why constitutional changes were discussed on the level of political parties, and not on the level of official institutions.

Speaking from the position of the President of Serbian Democratic Party, Dragan Čavić said "he has no idea about costs of the constitutional changes, but he knows they are certainly cheaper from conflict."

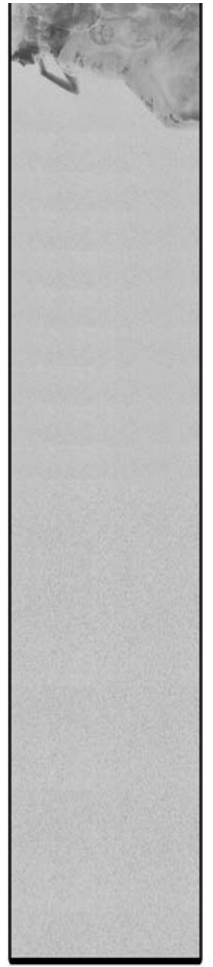
"Principle of costs is not the key principle for organization of this state," said Mr. Čavić and added that constitutional changes will make the state more functional and will not "endanger" the entities.

"We gained as much as we could in this political and global circumstances," said Mr. Čavić, and explained that constitutional changes are related to the election and functioning of members of the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Parliamentary Assembly of B&H, the Council of Ministers of B&H, and ratio of authorities between the entities and the state. In answering the question if he compared his pre-election speeches few years ago and today, Mr. Čavić said: "I know what I was saying during elections in 1998. However, situation in the society was different. Changes that were impossible then years ago, are realistic now."

He added that Serbian Democratic Party "cracked like a watermelon" in 1997, because it leaded unrealistic politic that based on "keep up, keep up, keep up," and ignoring demands of the international community. Mr. Čavić emphasized all should be clear that Republika Srpska is not a state but entity, and the "easiest thing is to sell illusions that it could be different."

Mladen Ivanić, Leader of the Party for Democratic Progress added that constitutional changes are "not end of the world," and that long term policy of Republika Srpska is to defend its interests in joint institutions at the state level.

When talking about transparency of the whole process, Mr. Ivanić especially emphasized that the public discussion organized by United Women Banja Luka and Helsinki Citizens Assembly Banja Luka was the first one he was invited on to speak about constitutional chan-



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ges, and he immediately accepted, without any hesitation. He added that leaders of political parties took over great responsibility with signing the constitutional amendments, because "damages would be much greater if we were only saying 'we do not want' 'we do not want'. At the end, we would be forced to accept something served to us by others."

Nikola Špirić, Representative of the Union of Independent Social Democrats emphasized that changes are not cosmetic "as some political parties from the Federation of B&H wish to present." The main goal of constitutional changes is to "create possibilities for functioning of governmental institutions at all levels."

Čedo Đukić, Advisor to the President of the People's Assembly of Republika Srpska was interested to hear if the constitutional changes would endanger legislative authorities of RS Parliament. Mr. Čavić said "there is nothing to worry about." "The only change that will happen in that direction is reducing number of delegates in the House of People from 28 to 12 representatives," said Mr. Čavić.

Mile Dmičić, Secretary of the Constitutional Court of RS was interested to hear why legal experts were not involved in process of negotiations about changes of B&H Constitution, and is it possible to predict what kind of consequences these changes would have on the Constitution of Republika Srpska. He said this process was far from the eyes of democratic public and legality of the institutions, and it is still not clear what type of the state organization we are talking about. We still do not know precisely if the entities are federal units or something else.

Dragan Čavić answered that leaders of political parties called hundred different experts with doctoral degree, and only several legal experts responded, those "who had courage to participate in developing constitutional amendments."

Participants were interested to hear how political leaders are planning to solve the issue of poverty in the country, and how they think to improve position of pensioners. However, there were no concrete answers on these questions.

The public discussion "Constitutional Changes in Bosnia and Herzegovina" was organized within the project "Woman Today" implemented for past then years by United Women Banja Luka and Helsinki Citizens Assembly Banja Luka. There were over seventy women and men citizens of Banja Luka that participated in discussion. The main objectives of the public discussion were to confront political leaders with citizens, demystify process of adoption of constitutional amendments, give citizens the opportunity to ask questions and clear doubts about consequences that constitutional changes will have on life of ordinary people.

Review prepared by
Dragana Dardić

EUROPEAN INTEGRATION – PROCESS, WHERE ARE WE AND WHERE DO WE GO?

INTRODUCTIVE SPEAKER: CHIEF NEGOTIATOR OF BiH IGOR DAVIDOVIĆ

Banja Luka, June 8, 2006.

SUMMARY OF THE PUBLIC DISCUSSION

Beginning of negotiations about stabilization and association agreement of Bosnia and Herzegovina with the European Union was marked as one of the most important political events in the previous period. On June 27, 2006, Igor Davidović, Chief of B&H Negotiation Team was introductory speaker at the public discussion, and he tried to explain to women and men participants, what the interests of Bosnia and Herzegovina to join the European Union are, and what are the benefits and drawbacks of this process.

"We passed half of the process. Part of the questions is practically settled, and we left second part for negotiations scheduled for autumn," said Mr. Davidović. He added, "It could happen that we sign the Stabilization and Association Agreement in November, which represents the first serious step toward full membership in the European Union."

However, Mr. Davidović also emphasized it will take at least six years more for Bosnia and Herzegovina to become full member of the European Union.

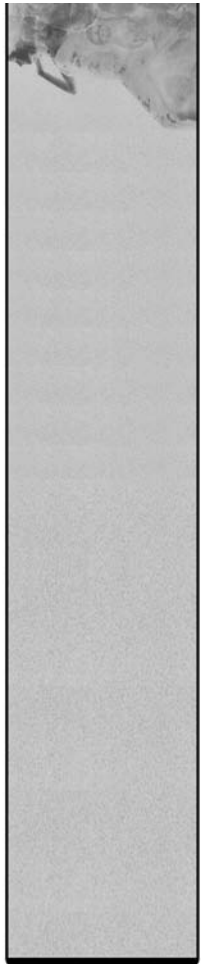
He said some countries of the European Union show visible "fatigue from expansion of the European Union." "It seems that EU will stop access of one number of countries in EU," said Mr. Davidović.

According to him, after signing the Stabilization and Accession Agreement, Bosnia and Herzegovina will face problems, and this could last for another three years. Budget users will be the first who will be affected with entering into force of the Free Trade Agreement between Bosnia and Herzegovina and countries of the European Union. This will happened because of decrease of budget revenues from duties on imported goods.

"Our market will open for free import of goods from European producers. Duty rates will decrease regressively for certain number of products coming from the European Union, which will decrease duties flow into the budget. This decrease of budget sources will not be amortized with value added tax," explained Mr. Davidović.

He said that Bosnia and Herzegovina still needs to do many things – such are activities on changes of the Law about Property Relations, and informing domestic companies to protect and patent their products.

Mr. Davidović also said that Schengen visas will be unavailable for a long time, meaning that stories about abolishing visas for citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina are unrealistic. With explaining of what Bosnia and Herzegovina will get with entering of the European Union, Mr. Davidović said, "Its better to be in that company. Sooner or latter we will have freedom of movement and we will have easier access to investments. Now we can not count on anything. We are still in isolation."



Citizens were interested to learn how they can access to the EU funds, how small and middle enterprises will be treated, what kind of status will B&H farmers have, when population census will be conducted in Bosnia and Herzegovina in order to be known what types of resources are available to the state.

The public discussion with more than forty women and men participants was organized by United Women Banja Luka and Helsinki Citizens Assembly Banja Luka, as the part of project "Woman Today" supported by Kvinna till Kvinna Foundation from Sweden. Co-organizer of the public discussion was Igor Radojičić, President of the People's Assembly of Republika Srpska.

Review prepared by
Dragana Dardić

4.TH PUBLIC DISCUSSIONS

SANELA PAŠIĆ DELAHMETOVIĆ

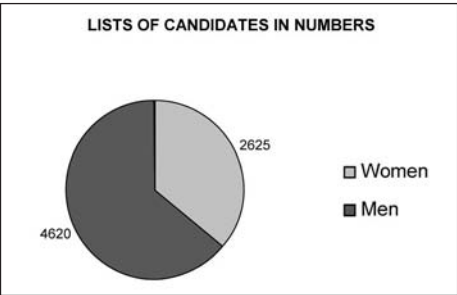
GENDER ASPECT OF THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN

Gender aspect of political processes will certainly be the topic of discussion in upcoming years, because last events and advancement in this very important issue shows that is necessary to work on awareness rising, way of thinking, and acceptance of importance of gender analysis in all fields of work.

The last election campaign showed more time and work is needed for us to accept gender aspect as something we should consider important during pre-election process, and not to have it just as a cover or a mask of political advocacy without make up.

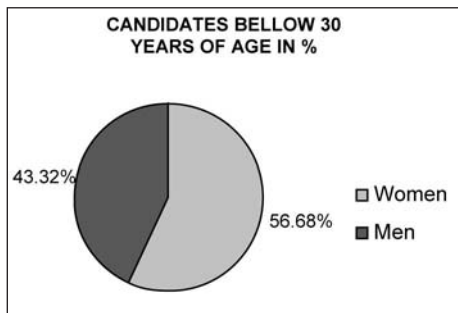
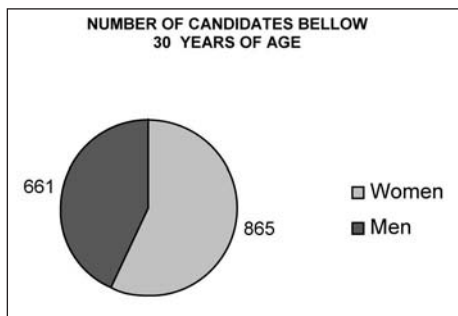
In 1998, thanks to relentless work and diligence of nongovernmental organizations active in the field of gender equity and equality, we witnessed progress in acceptance of women's representation in politics. That year, on the initiative of NGOs and OSCE, the Election Law in B&H was changed, and rule was introduced that requires at least 30% of women at lists of candidates of each political party. Nowadays, in 2006, this rule is respected. However, it is not visible, at least not in the part of public appearance and media recognition. The only places where female candidates are visible are lists of candidates of political parties.

Appendix 1. – Chart with Participation of Women on the Election Lists





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Obviously it is not enough just to change election laws, but we also need to work on increasing gender sensitivity of entire society. Primarily, those who are creating public opinion should be educated first about the issue of gender aspect of a society, journalists first, from both printed and electronic media.

Only with journalists that will recognize, define, and correctly analyze issues that are related and are directly influencing gender roles, we can count that wider population will understand gender issues. The objective is to have entire society educated and with increased sensibility about gender issues, in order to accept equality and equity in all fields of life and work. Lack of suitable recognition of the essence of gender issues among journalists was easily recognizable also during pre-election period. Attention was directed toward statements, photographs, signs, texts, and all other media coverage of men exclusively – politicians that already developed their public image. Although female politicians were also part of the teams that were presenting themselves to the public in fight for acquiring support of voters, journalists were not writing about them, about their speeches and pre-election promises, contrary to their male colleagues from political parties.

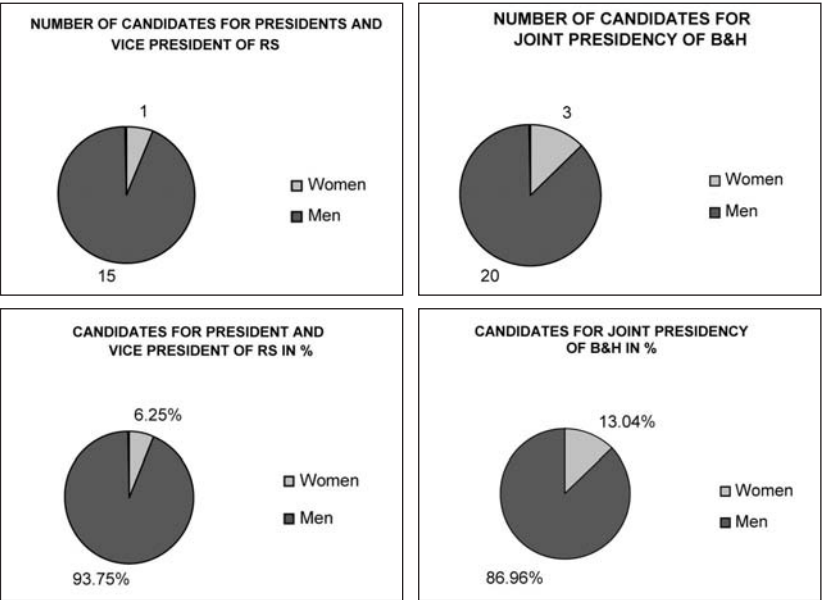
In deeply rotted patriarchal society, it is also true that a woman hardly builds new positions recognizable in power systems. Building of a new identity of successful and strong women is 'mission impossible.' This role requires strong support of her entire environment and unconditional understanding of her family. However, female politician should also have a support of her male colleagues in order to acquire more important and recognizable role. It seems that already recognizable male politicians are still carefully watching their positions.



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This is clearly illustrated in the Appendix 2. – Chart with female candidates in some of the most important official state positions.



Gender aspect of participation of women active in political parties is something that was emphasized through the work of nongovernmental organizations that are working on gender issues. Through their work, they undoubtedly saw that one of the ways for reaching social consciousness about equality of women and men is through female politicians. Pre-election campaign showed that all organized conferences, seminars, lectures, workshops, meetings, round tables, and public discussions...all those advocacy actions directed for progress and final change of social values that would be in line with democracy should be continued. However, men should be involved in these activities, and we should change something in a strategy of our future work.

There are skillful women – regardless what male politicians are saying. They proved on their jobs, they are respected and recognized as persons and professionals. As such, they joined political parties, and than they became marginalized. During pre-election campaigns, they were visible thanks to their own mini-campaigns. Their political parties did not enable them to share public and media space with their male colleagues.

The best example for this argument showed through monitoring of pre-election campaign when newspapers were covering pre-election appearances of political parties, promoted speeches and work of male politicians, and few female politicians were only mentioned as bearers of lists of candidates, and their pre-election appearances were invisible among other statements of their male colleagues from political parties.

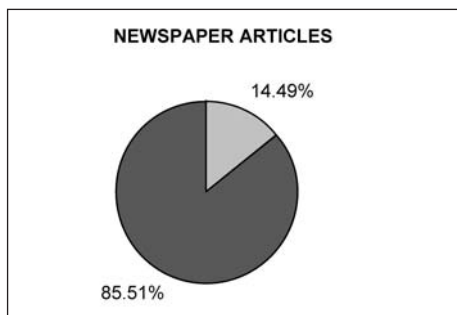
Another example represents the analysis of one week of pre-election campaign. We analyzed the period from September 18, 2006 to September 24, 2006. During this period, "Glas Srpske," daily newspapers with the largest print, published 69 articles related to elections and pre-election appearances of political parties.

Only 10 articles were mentioning women. However, again they were not in equal position with other colleagues. Out of 10 articles, only 4 articles were focusing on concrete state-



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ments of female politicians, candidates of their political parties. Even in these cases, there was no enough space for their commentaries about current situation in a society or pre-election statements. They share space with their colleagues, and their public statements are summarized in one sentence. Rest of the articles bring only list of names as candidates for some positions in state bodies of Bosnia and Herzegovina, or in the case when a woman was promoted that does not participate actively in the election process as candidate. In this case, we can say that a woman that was not candidate for the elections was represented more than all other female candidates together. We can conclude that media space during pre-election period was offered to a woman that was not competition and threat to men.



Similar situation could be noticed in television programs, where appearance of women could be seen more as exception than regular thing.

For example, in the period from September 23, 2006 to September 29, 2006, BEL Television had 4 TV programs, and Alternative Television Banja Luka had 17 TV programs. These were pre-election chronicles and programs dedicated to pre-election events. Out of total number of TV programs, only 4 TV programs had female politicians as guests, beside their male colleagues. Taken as a whole, in relation to TV programs or various forms of debates, it is noticeable that female candidates were not asked questions related to so called "high politics," such is, for example, the issue of constitutional changes. Contrary to that, female politicians are usually asked about family issues, or only from the area of their professional expertise, for example health sector, etc.

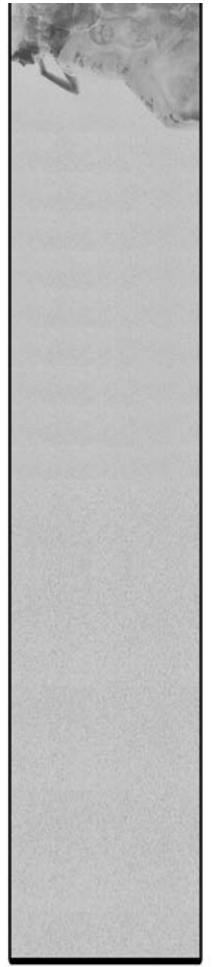
As the most influential media on wider audience, none of the televisions hosted female politicians, or organized some type of debates between them – all was directed to well known politicians that did not offer or say something new.

Here I do not want to say that experienced politicians are only men, neither that female politicians are less capable to conduct public presentations. Simply saying, what was noticeable during pre-election process of political campaigns from the gender aspect is that although women were represented over 30% on lists of candidates, their visibility in campaigns was not satisfactory, and it was not in accordance with proportional representation on lists of candidates.

As much as it seems wrong to us, none of these situations are wrong if they do not teach us something. This applies also for the pre-election campaign behind us, which we need to analyze and try to make our actions better and more successful.

Because of that, it is important for us to say clearly what the problem is, and what reasons influenced low visibility of women in political campaigns. Together, we should develop recommendations for our future work, which we will adjust to the situation and environment.

Banja Luka, October 26, 2006.



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SUMMARY OF THE PUBLIC DISCUSSION

On October 26, 2006, United Women Banja Luka and Helsinki Citizens Assembly Banja Luka organized the public discussion with the main objective of providing gender analysis of visibility of female candidates in media during pre-election campaign.

Sanela Pašić Delahmetović, introductory speaker at the public discussion, monitored two daily newspapers and two TV stations for a week in September 2006. According to her, women are almost invisible in media reports during that period.

"Out of 69 articles in daily newspapers 'Glas Srpske', only 10 articles focused on women. Out of these 10 articles, only 4 texts presented some concrete statement of female politicians," said Ms. Delahmetović, and added that those rare cited statements of female politicians mostly ended as one sentence.

Out of 21 TV stories related to promotion of political candidates, only 4 TV stories focused on female candidates, said Ms. Delahmetović, and emphasized that Svetlana Cenić, former Minister of Finance of RS, was more covered by media than all female candidates together. I the same time, Ms. Cenić was not a candidate at all.

Speaking about her experience of a candidate for the elections, Nada Golubović said none of the newspapers recorded any of her statements during pre-election period. "My rhetoric was obviously non-desirable. Media liked more rhetoric of leaders of political parties, which was focusing on statements that Republika Srpska will keep to exist," said Ms. Golubović, and added that national fears that are visible among each of the three major national communities are enabling such rhetoric.

Azra Alijagić from Social Democratic Party of B&H said she was bitter on behavior of some media that ignored female candidates waiting "for some men from political party to show up in order to take a statement from him." She added this pre-election campaign showed that the nation is still "nationally sick, because people are not interested for higher salaries and better living conditions, but only national problems."

Marija Rapo from the Croatian Democratic Community of B&H appealed on public broadcasting services to pay more attention on schedules for media presentations they offer to political candidates. She provided example that one media offered her space for presentation in Novi Grad, although she is not from that election unit.

Nevenka Trifković from Party for Democratic Progress said "she would not criticize media, because she recognizes independent journalism." She emphasized that visibility of women during pre-election campaign was controlled by political parties, not media. "They do not stand professionals in the politics because they become dangerous. Beside national positions, we also have misogynic behavior on the political scene," said Ms. Trifković, and added that men were controlling finances in the campaign. "From they way how the pre-election campaign was conducted, we could not have different results," said Ms. Trifković, and emphasized we still need to work on implementation of recommendations of the Council of Europe Board of Ministers, and involve men in the whole story.

Milosava Jakovljević was a candidate of the People's Party "Radom za Boljitak" on the elections in October. She said that word "boljitak" was not the cause of bad election results of this party in Republika Srpska, because "Serbs perceive this word as Croatian expression." "It better to be full on any language than hungry on Serbian language – I was repeating that during pre-election campaign, and no media recorded it. If a man said it, he would be praised as a saint," said Ms. Jakovljević, and added that people here believe in



empty talks spiced with 10 decagrams of fog, and half kilogram of a smoke. Ufeta Kobašlić from the Social Democratic Party of B&H said two political leaders marked pre-election campaign – Milorad Dodik and Haris Silajdžić. "We could be the smartest, and we still did not get better results," she said, and added "in this country people are only taking, and if they cannot do it, they are taking by force. This is also character of this system."

Dragica Vukalo, journalist of Radio Television of Republika Srpska noticed that "men easily say many things, and they easy forget them. When women say something big, they are objective and realistic."

Lidija Živanović from the Helsinki Citizens Assembly Banja Luka said that "comparing with the pre-election campaign, results are not so bad after all." She pointed on the fact that there are more women in People's Assembly of RS. Parliament of FB&H has the same number of women delegates, while number of women in Parliamentary Assembly of B&H fall from 6 to 5 representatives. She believes women should focus on changes of the Law about Political Parties in order to harmonize it with the Gender Equality Law in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

There were twenty –two women and men participants on the public discussion, and the main conclusion was that we should continue with education of journalists in order to increase their sensibility for the gender equality issues, and preparing gender balanced media reports. Future activities in this direction should actively involve men. There was also the recommendation that we should once again remind the official institutions on existence of the Gender Equality Law in B&H, in order to pay attention on gender aspect when they enter the process of creating new governance institutions.

Review prepared by
Dragana Dardić

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5TH PUBLIC DISCUSSIONS

SNEŽANA SAVIĆ, PhD, PROFESSOR

DISCRIMINATION AND HUMAN RIGHTS AND FREEDOMS

–Locally and globally–

"I recently heard from my female colleague from China how this Buddhist – Confucian country makes difference between Heaven and Hell. In Hell, skeletons are sitting around the table with the best meals. Unfortunately, those who are invited cannot enjoy in wonderful food, because every time they start to eat, eating sticks grow so much that they cannot use them. And how the Heaven looks like? There guests are also sitting around the table full of tasty dishes. However, they do not look hungry, although eating sticks start to grow



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every time they take them in their hands. However, contrary to the inhabitants of Hell, they feed each other with offered meals.”

Professor Tomas Flayner used this allegory in the Preface of Serbian edition of his book *Human Rights and Human Dignity*. Reading this book, I thought there is no better way for opening the presentation about human rights and discrimination.

There is no doubt that protection and accomplishment of human rights and fundamental freedoms represent ground of every modern society and state. Also, there is no doubt that democracy in the widest sense on one side, and accomplishment and protection of basic human rights and freedoms on the other side are ground of legal state, not only in its formal, but also material and axiological meaning. Democracy, as such, not only as a form of political regime, but also as the essential principle of the modern state in general presupposes and includes this protection. Because of that, it has been said very often that democracy and freedom are twin sisters.

Among other things, or perhaps at the first place, democratic society should be built through realization and protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms. Similarly, realization and protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms are precondition for implementation of the democracy as the ultimate principle of the legal state. In that sense, these two legal categories, but two principles as well, are inseparable. If rule of law, in terms of its content, presupposes protection and realization of basic human rights and freedoms, it is logical that without it we cannot speak about democratic state. Full protection of human rights and freedoms in the same time represents prohibition of any other type of discrimination among people, and their equality by the law in realization of their rights and freedoms. Old rule is that people are principally equal and they should be treated as such. Therefore, human right on legal equality represents the ground for each legal system, and represents accomplishment of justice, naturally to the extent that is possible at all.

The principle that people should be equally treated certainly represents the least conflicting issue. However, it is much more difficult to apply this principle in the concrete society. For example, women and men undoubtedly should be treated equally. Than, is it allowed to pay women less because they have lesser working results because of motherhood and family obligations, asks professor Flayner? No one will object to the fact that old people are living on social insurance, and that they cannot work any more, although this represents another favor of a certain category of people based on age criteria, says professor Flayner. Therefore, in certain situations it is visible that distinction between people should not be made, while in some cases this distinction must be made, because it represents one special type of discrimination, so called positive discrimination.

Perhaps this expression is not adequate, but it is already commonly used in the area of human rights. The question should be asked – when it is right to use positive discrimination. It is supposed that the principle that equal should be equally treated, and unequal should be unequally treated should be applied here as well. However, it seems that this general principle is not sufficient any more. Namely, if it is really justifiable to secure that certain inequalities should be treated unequally, than state should render the account in front of inequalities. Unequal treatment is justified only when, according to general social ideas, there is inequality between people, which justifies unequal treatment, and there is no doubt about it.

Nowadays, discrimination represents the term with a specific meaning. It represents unequal treatment in relation to persons of different racial, national, religious, sex or class-status differences. Therefore, there is racial, national, religious, and gender discrimination, as well



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as other types of discrimination. Discrimination can be merely social, but also legal. Nowadays, legal discrimination is pretty rare, and, as a rule, prohibited. However, there is actual discrimination – social discrimination, which frequently exists not only in those areas that are not regulated by the law, but also those areas with secured legal protection. So, this type of discrimination can exist against positive laws. Existence of discrimination represents difficult problem in many countries, especially existence of racial discrimination, whose importance is expanding there are mixing races and nations.

Prohibition of any type of discrimination, especially racial and gender discrimination became integral part of the protection of human rights and freedoms, and ultimate principle of the international law. Charter of United Nations, Article 1, Paragraph 3, which regulates the main objectives of the United Nations, says "...realization of the international cooperation in solving international issues of economic, social, cultural or humanitarian nature, also during development and strengthening of respect of human rights and fundamental freedoms for all, regardless of race, sex, language, or religion." Introductory part of the Universal Declaration about Human Rights sets the approach that "whereas recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world." The Article 1 says that "all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood." While Article 2 says that "Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, color, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status." Furthermore, no distinction shall be made on the basis of the political, jurisdictional or international status of the country or territory to which a person belongs, whether it is independent, trust, non-self-governing or under any other limitation of sovereignty." Article 7 of the Declaration says that "all people are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law. All are entitled to equal protection against any discrimination in violation of this Declaration and against any incitement to such discrimination".

Similar solutions are the integral part of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, starting with the Preamble, Article 2, Paragraph 1, and Article 26. Additionally, similar solutions are integrated in the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights, as stated in the Preamble, and Article 2, Paragraph 2 of this Covenant. Beside these general documents, there are special conventions that are prohibiting discrimination, such as Declaration on Abolishing of All Forms of Intolerable Situations and Discrimination on Ground of Religion and Opinion, International Convention on Abolishing of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (Preamble, Article 1), Convention on Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination of Women (Preamble, Article 1, and Article 2.), Convention of the International Labor Organization no. 11 about Employment and Choice of Profession, as well as UNESCO Convention Against Discrimination in the Area of Education.

An especially important document in the area of realization and respect of human rights and fundamental freedoms, and prohibition of any form of discrimination is the European Convention about Human Rights and Basic Freedoms. Beside protection of a whole range of rights and freedoms, Article 14 of this Convention regulates that "enjoying rights and freedoms regulated by this Convention shall be provided without any type of discrimination, such as sex, race, skin color, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, relation to some national minority, property status, birth, or some other status." Beside this protection, related to the enjoyment of all rights and freedoms regulated by the



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Convention, Protocol no. 12 of the Convention specially defines discrimination. It calls upon the essential principle of equality of all persons before the law, and the right on equal legal protection. This Convention also collectively strengthens general prohibition of discrimination. Article 1 of the Protocol regulates that "enjoyment of all rights regulated by the law shall be ensured without discrimination on any ground, such are sex, race, skin color, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, belonging to a national minority, property, birth, or any other status."

In General Framework Peace Agreement in Bosnia and Herzegovina – Dayton Peace Agreement, special place was given to protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms, as well as prohibition of discrimination at any ground. Constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina – Annex 4 of the Dayton Peace Agreement, starting with Preamble, where its signatories (bearers) are calling upon the Universal Declaration on Human Rights and other human rights instruments, to the Article 2 of the Constitution, which explicitly states the most important human rights and fundamental freedoms, as well as principle of non-discrimination. It is especially important that the Constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina recognizes ipso iure supremacy of the European Convention over domestic legislation, which provides special importance to these general and legal values. In that sense, development of standards of human rights and fundamental freedoms, as well as prohibition of discrimination, according to already established principles in the above mentioned and other international documents, emerges as necessary precondition of democracy development and rule of law in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Constitution of the Bosnia and Herzegovina uses specific way to assure protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms. Article 2, with title *Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms* determines their realization and protection. Paragraph 1 of this Article regulates that "Bosnia and Herzegovina and its two entities will ensure the highest level of internationally recognized human rights and fundamental freedoms." Paragraph 2, of the Article regulates the international standards, and determines that "rights and freedoms regulated by the European Convention for Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms and its Protocols shall be directly applied in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Its provisions will have priority above all other laws." Paragraph 3 of the Article with title *Enumeration of Rights* regulates that all persons on the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina will enjoy human rights and freedoms from the Paragraph 2. These rights and freedoms include following: right to life, right of persons not to be a subject of torture, inhuman or degrading procedures or punishments, right of persons not to be a subject of slavery or submission, forced labor or obligatory labor, right on freedom and security of personality, right on fair hearing in civil and criminal proceedings, and other rights related to criminal proceedings, right on private and family life, home and correspondence, freedom of thought, consciousness and religion, freedom of expression, freedom of peaceful gathering and freedom of association with others, right to marriage and founding a family, right on property, right on education, right on freedom of movement and residence.

Paragraph 4 of the Article is dedicated to the *Non-Discrimination* and regulates that "enjoyment of rights and freedoms in this article or international agreements listed in the Annex 1 of this Constitution shall be secured for all persons without discrimination on any ground, such are sex, race, color, language, religious, political or other believes, national and social origin, affiliation to a national minority, property, birth, or other statuses."

Beside this, Paragraph 5 of the same Article of the Constitution especially regulates rights of refugees and displaced persons to return their homes, which presupposes return of pro-



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erty, which they were deprived from during hostilities since 1991, as well as their right to compensation for any property that cannot be returned to them.

Paragraph 6, of the same Article is related to implementation, and regulates that Bosnia and Herzegovina and all courts, and state bodies and institutions governed by or within the entities will apply and respect human rights and fundamental freedoms mentioned in the Paragraph 2 of this Article. Furthermore, the same Article, Paragraph 7, regulates that Bosnia and Herzegovina will remain or become the member of the international agreements listed in the Annex 1 of this Constitution.

Annex 1 on the Constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina regulates additional agreements about human rights that will be applicable in Bosnia and Herzegovina, as follows: Convention about Prevention and Punishment of Genocide from 1948, Geneva Conventions 1 – 4 from 1949, about Protection of Victims of War, and Protocols on Convention 1 – 2, 1977, 1951 Convention about Status of Refugees and Protocol on this Convention from 1966, Convention on Citizenship of Married Women from 1957, Convention on Reducing Number of Persons without Citizenship from 1961, International Convention on Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination from 1965, International Covenant about Civil and Political Rights from 1966, and Facultative Protocols to this Covenant from 1966 and 1989, Covenant about Economic, Social and Cultural Rights from 1966, Convention on Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women from 1979, Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatments and Punishment from 1984, Convention on Rights of a Child from 1989, International Convention about Protection of Rights of All Immigrant Workers and Members of their Families from 1990, European Charter about Regional Languages and Minority Languages from 1992, and Framework Convention for Protection of National Minorities.

Furthermore, Article 2, Paragraph 8, of the B&H Constitution regulates that official authorities in Bosnia and Herzegovina will cooperate and secure unlimited access to all international mechanisms for monitoring human rights established for Bosnia and Herzegovina supervisory bodies established by any of the international agreements listed in Annex 1 of the Constitution, International Tribunal for Former Yugoslavia, or any other organization authorized by the United Nations, with a mandate from the area of human rights and humanitarian law.

Article 10, which stipulate changes of the Constitution, in Paragraph 2 regulates that none of the amendments on Constitution can eliminate or diminish any of the rights and freedoms listed in the Article 2 of the Constitution, neither can it change this Paragraph.

In its Preamble, Constitution of the Republika Srpska calls on realization of human rights and prohibition of discrimination, which repeats in the Article 1 when stating that constitutional peoples and other citizens are participating in work of governmental institutions of Republika Srpska equally and without discrimination. Article 5 of the Constitution regulates that constitutional organization of Republika Srpska is based on guarantying and protection of human freedoms and rights in accordance with the international standards. Article 10 of the Constitution explicitly regulates that citizens of Republika Srpska are equal in freedoms, rights and obligations, equal before the law, and enjoy the same legal protection regardless their race, sex, language, national affiliation, religion, social origin, birth, education, property situation, political and other opinion, social position, or other personal characteristic. Article 16 of the Constitution guarantees the right on equal protection of all rights in court procedure, or in front of the other state body or organization. Besides protection of all rights regulated by the Constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina and relevant international conventions, Constitution of Republika Srpska, in Article 40, Paragraph 3 regulates that youth, wo–



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men and disabled persons have special protection, which represents positive discrimination. Constitution of Republika Srpska, especially the Article 48 regulates that rights and freedoms guaranteed by this Constitution cannot be deprived or limited. In case of different provisions about rights and freedoms between the Constitution of Republika Srpska and the Constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina, more favorable provisions for an individual will be applied.

Bosnia and Herzegovina also have some special laws that provide additional protection for specific human rights and prohibit any type of discrimination. For example, that is Gender Equality Law in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Official Gazette of B&H, No.16/2003). This Law regulates, promotes, and protects gender equality, and guarantees equal possibilities for all citizens, in public and private sphere of a society, and prevent direct and indirect discrimination based on sex. (Article 1).

Article 2 of the Law regulates that both sexes are equal, and that full equality of women and men is guaranteed in all fields of society, especially in the area of education, economy, employment, and labor, social and health protection, sport, culture, public life and media, regardless of their marital and family situation, and explicitly states that discrimination based on sex and sexual orientation is prohibited.

Article 3 of this Law defines gender based discrimination, as any distinction, exclusion, restriction or preference based on gender, legal or factual, which has the purpose of nullifying or impairing the recognition, enjoyment or exercise of human rights and freedoms by individual/s in political, educational, economic, social, cultural, sports, civic or any other field of public life.

In the same article, the Law defines direct and indirect gender based discrimination. Direct gender discrimination is any situation wherein an individual has been or is or may be treated less favorably than another individual in a similar situation, on the basis of sex.

On the other side, indirect gender discrimination is any situation wherein an apparently neutral legal norm, criterion or practice, equal for all, puts persons of one sex at a particular disadvantage compared with persons of the other sex.

Article 22 of the Law regulates that the Ministry of Human Rights and Refugees of Bosnia and Herzegovina shall supervise implementation of this Law. In order to ensure the supervision of implementation of this Law, Gender Equality Agency of Bosnia and Herzegovina will be established within the Ministry for Human Rights and Refugees.

Similar solutions are provided in the Law about Protection of Rights of Members of National Minorities (Official Gazette of B&H, No. 12/2003), Law about Freedom of Religion and Legal Status of Churches and Religious Communities in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Official Gazette of B&H No. 5/2004).

For example, Law about Protection of Members of National Minorities, in its Articles 1,2,4, and 25 prohibits discrimination of national minorities in enjoyment of their rights, and punishes every act, agitation, organization or assistance of activities that could endanger survival of some national minority, provoke national hatred, lead to discrimination or placing member of a national minority in unequal position.

Law about Freedom of Religion and Legal Status of Churches and Religious Communities in Bosnia and Herzegovina, in its Articles 1, 2 and 5 prohibits any discrimination based on religion or belief.

As we can see, in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Republika Srpska, human rights and freedoms are normatively guaranteed to everyone, without any discrimination. This practically means that all people, regardless of differences between them, are equal before the law, and have equal rights and freedoms. However, still there is a question of so called factual dis-



crimination. Namely, formal, legal non-discrimination does not guarantee always factual non-discrimination. There is widespread opinion that is very difficult to implement the principle of legal equality and human rights at general, through legal measures. Professor Flyner raises the question – how the law, or court, can avoid discrimination that is deep rooted in culture, history, tradition, beliefs and emotions of some society. Mixture in some society can not be enforced with legal measures, if this is not accepted in reality and large number of population does not follow it with their own will. Flyner believes that this is, after all, visible in the case of difficult implementation of equality between men and women. Namely, social and traditional discrimination can be quickly removed neither with good intentions, nor with legal measures. However, courts, legislators, and the state cannot sign capitulation because of it. A man certainly must be aware of the fact that it takes many years for efficient implementation of legal equality, as well as for realization of equal chances. If one goes too much forward, then he/she must count on significant counter-actions, as it was shown during 50-ties and 60-ties in the case of southern states of USA. Because of that, each country should conduct certain measures, above all, education of population, increasing awareness and political and legal culture of population, and to build their attitude toward discrimination. This is certainly durable and exhausting task, but final results are meaningful. This task is still to be done in Bosnia and Herzegovina and its entities, regardless of good normative solutions. Role of nongovernmental organizations is undoubtedly huge in this process, so organization of public discussions on these topics is great contribution to this.

Meaning of human rights and freedoms, and their accomplishment and protection is based in equality of people before the law, and non-discrimination on any ground. These two things are interrelated, which I, hopefully, showed with this report.

NIKOLA DORONIĆ, FAMILY THERAPIST

Center for Social Work Banja Luka

EXPERIENCES IN WORK WITH CASES OF DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

Domestic violence represents big problem in all societies, so we are not spared from this very dangerous social issue. Until now, many attempts were taken to end this deviation. However, these attempts were not efficient enough. In order to treat domestic violence systematically and all-inclusively, beside good legislative solutions we need to create social atmosphere that will be sensible enough for recognizing violence, and to take decisive action when the violence actually happens. Context in which we are currently living does not fulfill any of these preconditions, which means that we have confusing legislative solutions, and our society is still burdened with numerous prejudices and stereotypes, which prevent further increasing sensibility of communities for more organized and more efficient actions. With development of civil society, which manifests through work of nongovernmental sector,



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we have increased sensibility of community for this very important human issue. However, without harmonized legislative, it is not possible to identify systematic solutions that will adequately react on domestic violence.

Thanks to proactive work of nongovernmental sector since 1997, domestic violence succeeded to be enforced in the Criminal Code of Republika Srpska in 2000. New Criminal Code of RS, Article 208 domestic violence starts to be sanctioned as criminal act, processed by official duty (Official Gazette of RS, No. 49 from June 5, 2003). Beside Criminal Code of RS, we have Gender Equality Law of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which regulates domestic violence, in Chapter XI (Official Gazette of B&H, No. 16/03). With objective of actualizing the issue of domestic violence, and to have clearer attitude and response of a society toward this issue, People's Assembly of Republika Srpska adopted the Law for Protection from Domestic Violence, as the special law, at the end of 2005 (Official Gazette of RS, No. 118 from December 30, 2005). Since this is a special law, I believe it is necessary to provide detailed introduction in its conception and specifics that this Law should provide.

LAW ON PROTECTION FROM DOMESTIC VIOLENCE REGULATES

a. Range of Persons that are Considered as Family Members

This Law for the first time clearly defines range of people that are considered as family members. Previous practice, especially behavior of police, was creating confusion around defining family members. Inadequate definition which persons are considered as family members contributed to additional misunderstandings in the practice, especially when victims were reporting violence. Therefore, it was necessary to define who makes the family.

According to this Law, family members are:

- Spouses in a marriage or common law community,
- Their children (common children, or children from previous marriages),
- Former spouses and their children,
- Person who adopted a child, and its adopted son or daughter,
- Guardian, and its dependent(s),
- Parents of present and former spouses,
- Stepfather and stepmother.

b. Concept and Acts of Domestic Violence

Beside clear definition of family members, legislator considered important to define concept and acts of domestic violence. This is also important in order to assist subjects of protection in processing criminal act of domestic violence.

According to this Law, any act that causes physical, psychological, and sexual suffering, or economic damage, as well as any threats of such actions, or omission of a diligent duty, which seriously restrict members of a family to enjoy their rights and freedoms based on equality in public and private sphere of life.

The Law defines following acts as domestic violence:

- Physical attack on a family member,
- Any use of physical force or compulsion,
- Any act that can cause danger, physical or psychological suffering,
- Causing feeling of fear with extortion or threat,
- Serious verbal assaults, cursing, calling insulting names, etc.
- Spying and all other forms of disturbance of other family member,



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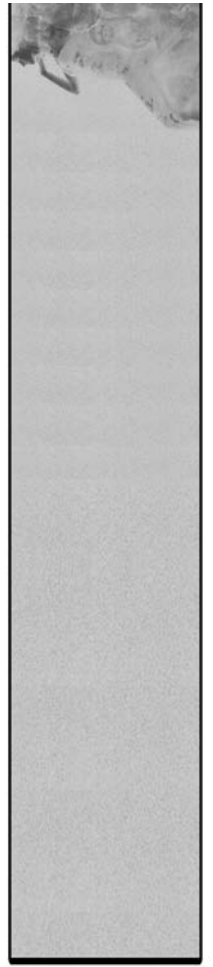
- Damaging or destroying of a common property,
- Intentional omission of diligent attention or supervision,
- Isolation or restricting freedom,
- Lack of care in solving essential needs.

c. Protection of Victims

Especial importance of this Law is that it introduces legal definitions of protection measures for victims of domestic violence, as well as models of treatment of abusers. This is the most important contribution, with clear objective for accomplishing social reaction on different forms of violence. With these protection measures, legislator primarily wanted to stop violent behavior and protect victims, but also try to influence on change of violent behavior through models of work with abusers. Legislator regulated that authorized ministries will adopt bylaws with a period of 60 days. These bylaws will provide details for methods of implementation for the protection measures. Majority of these bylaws are not adopted within a period of 6 months. After media pressure of civil society representatives, ministries adopted majority of bylaws.

Types of protection measures:

- The first protection measure is removing from an apartment or house, and should be a first solution with a package of protection measures. This is important innovation, which should force abuser to feel on "his own skin" the consequences of his behavior. Bylaw for implementation of this measure should be adopted by the Ministry of Interior Affairs, which has the authority over implementation of this measure.
- Order for prohibiting abuser to approach a victim of violence is measure that should be sentenced together with removing abuser from an apartment or house. This protection measure is also in the authority of police.
- Securing protection for a victim of violence – safe house, protection measure that should be sentenced as a final solution, in the case where is not possible to protect a victim through using other methods. Legislator regulated that this measure should be provided on a short period (prior to implementation of protection measure of removing abuser from an apartment and order for prohibiting abuser to approach a victim of violence), and cannot be longer than three months. Bylaw about conditions for opening and rules of work of the safe house has been developed by the Ministry of Health and Social Care. This bylaw regulates that services of this protection measure can be provided by institutions of social care established by RS, nongovernmental organizations, or individuals, within private entrepreneurship, and family accommodation.
- Prohibition of disturbing or stocking a victim of violence. As a rule, this measure is used together with some of the above mentioned protection measures, or it can be used independently. Bylaw for implementation of this measure is developed and implemented by the police.
- Obligatory psychosocial treatment represents a new thing in our legislative regulations. With introducing this measure, legislator had the intention to fundamentally influence on change of violent behavior through social and educational work with abusers. We hope that significant number of abusers will change their behavior after social and educative treatment, which will in a best way contribute to improving position of victims of violence. Developing of bylaw for implementation of this measure is within authority of the Ministry of Health and Social Care, and direct implementation should be done through the health system, primarily through Centers for Mental Health.



- Obligatory treatment from alcohol and drug abuse. This protection measure was introduced because the practice showed that significant number of abusers primarily have the problem with alcohol abuse, and in recent period with drug abuse as well. In order to accomplish change in behavior of abuser, and relations within a family, it is necessary to influence the basic problem, in this case the abuse of alcohol and drugs. Implementation of this measure is already well developed within health system, and it is in authority of Centers for Mental Health.
- Work for the benefit of a humanitarian organization also represents a new thing in our legislative system. Legislator thought that introduction of this measure would contribute to development of a community through involvement in socially useful work. Beside this basic idea, the Law did not regulate types of organizations, as well as methods of implementation of this measure.

Type and Purpose of Minor Offences

Specifics, but also confusion of this Law happened when it regulated that domestic violence should be treated as minor offence. Beside protection measures, monetary fine is the only punishment regulated by this Law. Furthermore, this Law introduces very low monetary fines for the act of domestic violence, while they are much higher for responsible persons in official institutions that are obliged to report domestic violence.

SUBJECTS OF PROTECTION:

Since domestic violence represents extremely dangerous activity for which we need timely reaction with clearly defined activities of a certain institutions, legislator clearly defined subjects of protection, their roles and duties after finding out that domestic violence occurred, or after receiving report from a victim or her helpers.

The Law regulates four subjects of protection, as follows:

POLICE – After receiving report about domestic violence, police should take urgent action aimed for protection of a victim of domestic violence, and submit report to the authorized prosecutors' office and Center for Social Care.

PROSECUTOR – Should urgently investigate if concrete act represents criminal act or minor offence. If he/she finds out there are elements of a criminal act, the concrete case is transferred to a criminal proceedings' judge. For issuing protection measures order, the case should be transferred to a minor offence' judge. If there are no elements of a criminal act, there is no criminal procedure, but prosecutor only informs minor offense judge for issuing protection measures, and eventually monetary fine, within a period of 24 hours. Therefore, prosecutors are taking necessary measures, and are informing court about them.

CUSTODY BODY/INSTITUTION – Takes necessary measures for urgent protection of victims of domestic violence, and prepares implementation of protection measures.

COURT – Court should issue a decision about one or more protection measures, within a period of three days.

SPECIFICS OF THIS LAW:

A) GOOD SIDES:

- Special Law encompasses protection of victims of domestic violence,
- The Law regulates "urgency in acting,"
- Well defined protection measures.



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B) BAD SIDES:

- Prior to adoption of this Law, domestic violence was treated solely as criminal act. Law for Protection from Domestic Violence lowers the social danger of this act, by regulating it as minor offence.
- New Law about Minor Offences excludes possibilities for issuing protection measures within minor offence procedure, regardless the fact that they are regulated by the Law for Protection from Domestic Violence.
- Prosecutors' offices and courts "slowly" react on more frequent and more complex forms of domestic violence.
- There is no adequate punishing policy!

Banja Luka, December 6, 2006

SUMMARY OF THE PUBLIC DISCUSSION

During implementation of the Campaign "16 Days of Activism Against Violence Against Women," United Women Banja Luka and Helsinki Citizens Assembly Banja Luka organized public discussion on December 6. Nada Golubović, President of United Women Banja Luka said the main objective of the discussion was to "point again on the issue of violence against women."

Snježana Savić, Professor of the Law School in Banja Luka presented normative aspect of discrimination, and explained how international law and domestic legislation regulates this issue.

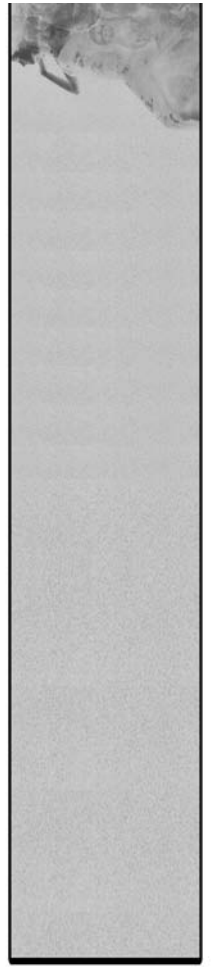
"The essence is that we cannot enjoy in things provided to us by a nature and society without helping each other," said Ms. Savić, and reminded participants that Bosnia and Herzegovina ratified numerous international conventions and declarations that guarantee enjoyment of rights and freedoms to all people, without any type of discrimination, such as sex, race, language, religion, national or social origin.

As Ms. Savić emphasized, Bosnia and Herzegovina guarantees human rights and freedoms to all, without any type of discrimination, this does not automatically mean factual existence of non-discrimination. Namely, as she explained, discrimination is deep rooted in culture, history and tradition, and cannot be removed easily just with adoption of legal measures, especially in relation to equality of women and men.

"Each state has to adopt and implement numerous measures aimed for education of population, increasing level of awareness, political and legal culture of population, and building their attitude toward discrimination. This is durable and exhausting process, but results are certainly worthwhile. Regardless of good normative solutions, Bosnia and Herzegovina and its entities still need to do this job," said Ms. Savić.

When it comes to participation of women in bodies of legislative and executive governance at all levels in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Ms. Savić suggested to nongovernmental organizations to direct their efforts to change Election Law in B&H in order to enforce principle of nondiscrimination when constituting government.

Contrary to Professor Savić, Nikola Dorontić, Representative of the Center for Social Work in Banja Luka talked about experiences of the Center in relation to the cases of domestic violence. "Regardless a whole bunch of laws, we still cannot protect a victim of violence.



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We thought that we solved this problem, at least formally. But when we woke up, we saw we do not know what to do with these laws, especially the Law for Protection from Domestic Violence,” said Mr. Dorontić.

However, according to him there is “a bright spot at the end of a tunnel, and that is what we are trying to accomplish in Banja Luka. We got the approval and financial support to start with regular duty shifts of institutions that are working on domestic violence such as centers for social work, police, prosecutors, courts, hospitals, and nongovernmental organizations.” According to Mr. Dorontić, when we act fast and with sincere intention to say to the abuser that violence cannot happen again, he will stop.

Around sixty women and men participants of the public discussion concluded more should be done on building healthy atmosphere in a family. Developing awareness about equality of women and men should start from kindergartens, and men also should start to be involved in education about this issue.

Review prepared by
Dragana Dardić



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MEDIA PROMOTION

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With the objective to inform the wide public with a position of women in B&H society and what has been done in order to improve their status, during 2006, we organized numerous media promotions, including participation in regular programs of Public Broadcasting Service of Republika Srpska, broadcasting of a TV spot, and press conferences.

Since 2006 was a year of the parliamentary elections in Bosnia and Herzegovina, majority of media presentations were directed on promotion of female candidates, and making public appeals directed to women and men voters to give their trust to women politicians on the elections. Media presentations were used to direct public attention on stereotypical portrayal of women in media, issue of domestic violence, as well as exclusion of women from processes of vital interest for the state – such is the process of accession of Bosnia and Herzegovina to the European Union. .

PRESS CONFERENCES

BANJA LUKA – 7 MARCH 2006

In the eve of 8 March – International Women's Day, we organized the press conference to focus on the issue of representation of women in media and their media portrayal. Journalists received the results of Global Media Monitoring, organized on 16 February 2005, with participation of thousands of volunteers from 76 countries worldwide. Results were related to Bosnia and Herzegovina, where we monitored central news of three TV stations, three radio stations, and four daily newspapers on 16 February. The analysis of media content showed that women as actors and competent conversationalists that are making statements or commenting on some event showed in 18% of TV stories, 16% radio stories, and 13% of news articles. Men are dominating all fields of life and still keep ultimate priority in media contents.

From this press conference, we sent the appeal to all media companies in Bosnia and Herzegovina to give editorial role to women on 8 March, and, on that way, at least for one day change stereotypical media picture in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

BANJA LUKA – 29 JUNE 2006

On this press conference, we presented the key findings of the "Study about Domestic Violence in Bosnia and Herzegovina," the initiative for developing of a long-term strategy for combating domestic violence, and recommendations of the CEDAW Committee for Bosnia and Herzegovina. We used this opportunity to emphasize again the issue of non-harmonized laws with the umbrella Gender Equality Law in Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as different treatment of domestic violence, which causes difficulties in providing assistance to victims of domestic violence that cannot have adequate protection.

BANJA LUKA – 25 NOVEMBER 2006

On 25 November 2006, within marking of 16 Days of Activism, United Women Banja Luka and Helsinki Citizens Assembly Banja Luka also organized the press conference in order to remind journalists what 16 days of activism actually mean, and that this campaign has been implemented every year worldwide, with objective of fighting against violence against women, promotion of women's human rights, and diminishing all forms of discrimination



against women. Journalists were introduced with work of SOS telephone and activities related to the opening of Safe House for women and children victims of domestic violence in Banja Luka. After the press conference, SOS telephone volunteers conducted a street campaign of distribution of leaflets and poster campaign. Women representatives of official institutions joined this action.

BANJA LUKA – 8 DECEMBER 2006

Press conference was organized in the eve of the International Human Rights Day. In relation to that, we talked about rights of national minorities in Bosnia and Herzegovina, rights of youth people, especially young women in B&H, violations of human rights, and mechanisms in Bosnia and Herzegovina that should protect women and their rights.

BANJA LUKA – 28 DECEMBER 2006

At the end of the year, Nada Golubović, President of United Women Banja Luka and Lidija Živanović, Executive Director of Helsinki Citizens Assembly Banja Luka again wanted to emphasize that United Women Banja Luka still did not receive financial support for running costs of the Safe House, despite all the promises. They also talked about priorities for action of these two associations, especially in the area of creating equal possibilities for both sexes in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Nada Golubović announced that United Women Banja Luka will work on prevention of trafficking of people and better media promotion of women. Lidija Živanović said that Helsinki Citizens Assembly will continue to work with youth people, on strengthening of local self-governance, and building of sustainable peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

RADIO PROGRAMS

Radio program "Gender Analysis of the Pre-election Campaign 2006" was broadcasted on 1 November 2006, and guests in studio were Lidija Živanović, Executive Director of the Helsinki Citizens Assembly and Project Coordinator of "Woman Today X," and Sanela Pašić Delahmetović, Project Coordinator in Helsinki Citizens Assembly Banja Luka. Radio program focused on unequal position of female candidates during pre-election period, as only a few media reports focused on them. Guests of the program also discussed rhetoric of pre-election period, when leaders of political parties were re-opening national question as a key foundation of their campaign, without real programs that would promise better life to citizens. There were many calls of listeners directly to the radio program, and they were supporting women as more realistic and fair. However, the election results show that voters still have more trust in men.

Radio program "Domestic Violence – Real and Legal Protection" was broadcasted on 12 December 2006, as a part of 16 Days of Activism Campaign. Focus of the radio program was on possibilities for ensuring protection of victims of violence, but also recognizing domestic violence as the public issue that should be a focus of entire society. This program also brought discussion about lack of harmonization between laws and obstacles to implement protection measures regulated in the Law for Protection from Domestic Violence. Numerous listeners that called into program emphasized delicacy of this issue, because it happens behind the closed doors, and it is still recognized as a private issue and not public concern.

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TV PROGRAMS

First TV Program was broadcasted at Radio Television of Republika Srpska on 9 April 2006. Guests were Mira Lolić Močević, Program Director of RTRS, and Amela Bašić, Representative of United Women Banja Luka.

Mira Lolić Močević talked about position of women in media of B&H, with reflection on past period, when women were underrepresented, especially in editorial structures of media in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

According to her, RTRS made significant progress in this area, with involving women in editing programs and decision making, and devoting significant part of its program to the position and rights of women in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Amela Bašić presented monitoring results of 10 electronic and printed media, which was conducted on 16 February 2005, as a part of Global Media Monitoring Project, with participation of 76 countries worldwide.

Two story clips were broadcasted during TV program, with statements of women politicians about women's participation in different fields of life.

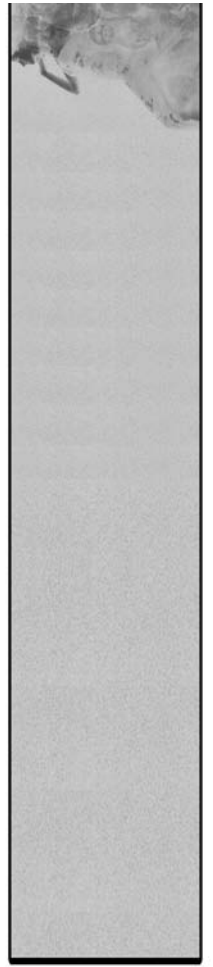
Second TV program "European Integrations and Where This Process Leads Us" was broadcasted at RTRS on 8 July 2006. Objective of this program was to introduce TV viewers with process of EU integrations, and emphasize that women citizens are equally as men interested for this issue. Guests of this TV program were Igor Davidović, Chief of Negotiation Team for entering Bosnia and Herzegovina into European Union and Nada Golubović, President of the United Women Banja Luka. Mr. Davidović introduced TV viewers with current phase of the negotiation process for entering of B&H into European Union. In his presentation, Mr. Davidović emphasized good and bad sides of entering EU, and said it is better to be in European Union because of investments and greater market possibilities, than to be in isolation.

One TV viewer "criticized" Nada Golubović because she discusses integration of Bosnia and Herzegovina into European Union. This reflected stereotype supported by men, believing that women should not have a voice in discussions about organization of the state, because they need to take care about their household, and eventually with some humanitarian work.

Third TV program "Women in Elections" was held on 19 August 2006. Guests of this TV program were Nada Tešanović, (in that period) Representative in the People's Assembly of RS, and (now) also Vice President of the People's Assembly of RS, and Nada Golubović, Project Coordinator. Guests lobbied voters to pay attention on female candidates at the election lists and emphasized importance of women's participation in politic. They also lobbied media to give more space to women candidates. Story clips with statements of women politicians were broadcasted during the program. For majority of female candidates, this was the only opportunity to their views on television.

TV Parliament "Women and Elections" was broadcasted on 28 December 2006. Guests were Nada Tešanović, Vice President of the People's Assembly of RS, Nada Lipovac, Deputy Minister for Family, Youth and Sport of RS, Gordana Lihović, Delegate in the City Assembly of Banja Luka, Ljilja Radovanović, Chief of Department for Community Affairs in the City Administration of Banja Luka, Lidija Živanović, Representative of the Helsinki Citizens Assembly Banja Luka and Nada Golubović, Representative of United Women Banja Luka.

Focus of the discussion was what represents women's issues, and TV program guests agreed that all issues are in focus of both women and men, but certainly there are some is-



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sues of special interest for women, and these issues are marginalized in our society. Above all, this related to the issue of domestic violence, which became visible in our society, thanks to the activism of women. Guests also talked about opening of the Safe House in Banja Luka, and possibilities of providing financial support for its running costs. There were many questions of TV viewers, and majority of them related to difficult social position of all people in our society.

TV SPOT CAMPAIGN

Proposal for spot campaign came after the workshop Training for Trainers. TV spot was broadcasted on Radio Television of Republika Srpska during September 2006, in the period of presentations of political parties. It was the only TV spot that appealed on voting body to vote for women. Message of TV spot was: "Think Over In the Name of All of Us, Decide, and Give Your Vote to a Woman".



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ROUND TABLE

WHAT WE DID SO FAR AND WHERE
ARE WE GOING TO?

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During parliamentary elections held in October 2006, women politicians won around 20% of seats in the state and entity parliaments. If we also take into consideration the election results on cantonal level, slightly more than 17% of women are elected as delegates in the parliaments of B&H. This represents approximately the same result as it was on the general elections in 2002.

However, if we look back then years in the past, we can remember there was only one female representative in the People's Assembly of RS in 1996, which was barely 1%. Significant progress is visible in relation to that time.

Nongovernmental organizations that are working on gender equality are still unsatisfied with representation of women in newly elected institutions of Bosnia and Herzegovina, because it does not reflect equality of women and men. They are pleased with those results accomplished by women candidates that participated in their programs for strengthening women in politics. Accomplished results are only partially encouraging, so opinion of NGOs is that now is the right time to meet with women politicians and define mutual expectations and strategies for future work, in order to accomplish better results.

These are the key conclusions of the round table "What We Done So Far And Where Are We Going To?" organized by United Women and Helsinki Citizens Assembly Banja Luka on 7 December 2006 in Banja Luka. This round table gathered 25 women representatives of nongovernmental organizations from Bihać, Sarajevo, Višegrad, Bratunac, Tomislavgrad and Banja Luka. Their objective was to analyze their pre-election activities and effects they had on the target groups of women activists of political parties and candidates on the elections, and develop recommendations for future work. They agreed it is necessary to modify the approach to this issue.

Nongovernmental organizations expressed dissatisfaction with the fact that the Gender Equality Law in B&H is not implemented in the practice in the part related to public and political life. While NGOs working on gender equality believe the provision of the Article 15 related to "as a rule" equal representation of women and men should be interpreted as approximately equal number of men and women in governmental institutions, the Election Commission of B&H does not support this interpretation. Therefore, there is no consensus about what legal formulation "as a rule" means, and how it should look like in the practice.

"For equal position of a woman in society, we need much more than only existence of the Gender Equality Law, because political culture is not made of facts, for example that people are voting on the elections, that there are enough female candidates on the election lists, that political parties exist," said Gordana Vidović, Director of the Association "Future" from Modriča in her introductory presentation, when she analyzed political discrimination of women. She emphasized that for equality of women and men we need mature political culture that consist of beliefs of people in these facts, and which manifests in the practice through giving support also to women. If we have in mind the words of Ralf Dahrendorf after removal of Berlin Wall that 60 years is needed for development of civil society and real political culture, than we should not be discouraged, and should be happy when we notice even small steps in our work. But we have to modify our activities in order to be even more efficient.

Traditional patriarchal culture and lull in legal equality of women and men during a previous system strongly resist to changes and everything that nongovernmental organizations have accomplished in the area of gender equality.

"Unfortunately, many men and women think that politic is male's job, and women do not



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have place in it," says Gordana Vidović. Therefore, women are not amnestied from responsibility and should make more efforts in this field. There are obstacles for women that want to step out from a socially constructed framework, and these are following: discriminative relation of political parties toward their female members and candidates, reflected through marginalization during pre-election campaign at all places where they could establish contact or influence on greater number of voters as well as small or no investment in campaigns of female politicians, lack of willingness among political parties to implement Gender Equality Law in B&H. To illustrate this, we can offer the example that participation of women in public presentations during pre-election period was significantly lower than their participation of 36% as candidates on the election lists. Ratio of men and women on promotional materials was approximately 80%: 20%, meaning that every fifth person that was publicly presented was a woman, while only 8% of women were subjects of the reports in columns about elections in daily newspapers. On the other side, great number of female candidates and politicians did not recognize importance of taking the initiative, organizing of their public presentation and having a personal contact with voters.

"Women consciously assigned their accomplished results in favor of results of their political parties. With doing this, they amortized their own contribution, because political party benefits from it and not women candidates personally. This influenced that voters connect them less for these results," says Gordana Vidović.

She adds that some of the female candidates even relied on "old glory" of their political parties, and were silently following their leaders. Voters forgot them, and as a result they lost positions they had, and we lost some of our allies on decision making positions.

Dragana Dardić, Project Coordinator in Helsinki Citizens Assembly Banja Luka presented results of the analysis of interviews with participants of training program, which this organization implemented in cooperation with United Women Banja Luka. Nongovernmental sector should not be unhappy with accomplished results, since all women participants are satisfied with trainings and support they received, although in majority of cases they did not reach desired goal – to be elected in institutions of governance. Women participants that just recently engaged in politic were especially pleased with the training.

"The workshop helped me although I was not elected for a representative. It helped to get rid of tension and stress when I was presenting on pre-election meetings. Women and men my colleagues from political party also noticed something was happening with me, that I am 'somehow different'," said one of the interviewed women that participated in training program. Some of the women participants started with their pre-election campaigns immediately after they completed training. They prepared personal posters, conducted 'door to door' action and talked with voters, and became more organized and efficient in fighting for their rights within their political parties: *"If I did not learn news skills from you, I would not accomplish any results. With this, I succeeded to fight for second place on the list of candidates, and I won great number of votes thanks to my hard work and engagement during pre-election period and personal campaign that I organized. That is also the result, no matter if I am not elected. If I did not do anything, I would be somewhere on a bottom of a list.* Media statement of Vice President of the People's Assembly of Republika Srpska speaks about role of nongovernmental sector in support for women politicians: *"My political empowerment as a woman originates from nongovernmental sector."*

Women participants in the training program recommended that experienced women politicians should be more frequently involved as facilitators. Target groups should be separated a–



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nd different topics should be prepared for more experienced women politicians and women who are beginners in political life. Furthermore, they emphasized greater number of men should be involved in the activities, so they can engage in direct conversations with women politicians in order to increase understanding of the issues women in politics are facing, and assist in process of reaching gender equality in their political parties. According to them, circle of interested people for this topic spreads very slowly, and almost the same people that we already have as allies are coming to the public discussions. Activities should be more frequent, and organizers should plan the activities to involve also new people.

In discussion that came after the introductory presentations, women participants identified that non-governmental organizations were organizing very similar activities during pre-election period. They were targeting voters and women and men politicians in their regions and election units. Activities were consisting of seminars for women politicians, public discussions, poster campaigns, and leaflets for support for female candidates, public calls for voters to vote on the elections through media and public meetings, and especially call for women voters to support women. Majority of these activities showed certain results and every organization could say that two to six female candidates that won seats participated in their programs. However, dilemma remains if women voted for women. We cannot have precise data about that, but results show that majority of women and men probably acted the same way on polling stations.

Because all of that, conclusion was there is a right time for developing new strategy for improving position of a woman in public and political life. This should be done through joint meeting of nongovernmental organizations and women politicians where both sides could say to each other their expectations, thoughts, good practices, but also disappointments. Some of the steps that should be included in the strategy are following: to continue pressure toward the Election Commission of Bosnia and Herzegovina to implement the Gender Equality Law in B&H, and institutions of B&H to change the Election Law of B&H, to request from the official institutions to financially support the activities aimed for promotion of gender equality, to mutually support initiatives of nongovernmental organizations, with sending letters of a similar content to an official institution that is an object of advocacy efforts, to engage experienced women politicians as facilitators of future educational programs, to work more with men in politics and identify supporters for our future activities among them, and to identify more efficient ways for putting pressure on official institutions at all levels to implement international conventions, constitutions, and laws in the practice.

RECOMMENDATIONS FROM THE ROUND TABLE "WHAT WE DID SO FAR, AND WHERE ARE WE GOING TO?"

- To organize a meeting with elected women politicians, where we can say what we expect from each other, and develop joint strategy. Harmonize expectations of women from NGOs and women politicians,
- To identify male supporters from the parliaments and involve them in developing strategic action plan,
- To use resources of experienced women politicians for education of women with less political experience,
- To make pressure at all levels of governance for direct implementation of the international conventions, constitutions, and laws that are regulating issues of gender equality,
- To issue public protest against unequal representation of women and men in commissions and other parliamentary bodies,
- To support the initiative of nongovernmental organizations, but not with turning back the letter to the organization, but with sending our own letter with the initiative in the name of our organization to the media and targeted institution,
- To request commentary of the Gender Equality Law of B&H from the Election Commission of B&H in the part related to the public and political life,
- To start a new initiative for change of the Election Law of B&H, as the conclusion from public discussion, with attaching signatures of women and men participants,
- To make pressure at all levels of governance to start to financially support activities of nongovernmental organizations directed to gender equality, and to respect them as real partners and correctors.



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RESULTS OF THE RESEARCH: ACCESS AND REAL INFLUENCE OF WOMEN ON DEVELOPMENT OF MEDIA IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

*Presentation: Nada Golubović, President,
Aleksandra Petrić, Human Rights Advisor*

Part of the round table focused on presentation of results of the research conducted by United Women Banja Luka, about the influence of women on development of media in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The research brings analysis of 29 electronic and printed media, including public and private media.

Gender Equality Law of Bosnia and Herzegovina (May 2003) was the first legislative document in B&H that introduced legislative protection of equal access to media for women and men, secured prohibition of gender based discrimination in media presentations, and regulated a formal obligation of promoting gender equality through media. This legislative provision represents the concrete argument, and starting point for development of public pressure and public advocacy activities for securing equal access to media for women, as well as better visibility of women in media, and securing real influence of women on increasing gender sensibility of media in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Results of the research show that if we observe number of women and men engaged and employed in media, we can conclude there is no obvious gender discrimination in the quantitative sense. Percentages of engaged women in B&H media vary in average from 42% of women in branch offices to 68% of women engaged on positions of organizers in media. However, there is noticeable trend of increasing number of engaged women in media on positions that are less paid, and are requiring greater responsibility and more work.

Furthermore, there are visible gender stereotypes in B&H media in relation to job positions traditionally reserved for women and men. As example, we are pointing on the research result where only 26% of women are engaged on jobs related to production in B&H media, which is job area related to technical field – considered traditionally male job.

Women are less represented in decision-making structures in media of Bosnia and Herzegovina. This is clearly visible from the research data that only 39% of women participate in decision-making bodies in B&H media that were targeted with the research. There is visible trend of higher percentage of women's participation in those decision-making structures, which, as a rule, have less power and influence, as well as those bodies whose decisions are not compulsory, such are advisory boards in B&H media, where we have 47% of women.

Although dominant majority of media in B&H (73%) that participated in the research stated they are paying attention on equal representation of women and men in the process of creation of editorial policies, from the explanations that accompany this statement we can conclude that this determination is only verbally declarative, and majority of media do not have clear procedures and rules that would enable implementation of this policy in the practice. 54% of B&H media did not provide any explanation of ways and methods how they ensure equal representation of women and men in the process of creating editorial policies, while only 8% of media stated they are insisting on involving women in all structures of media program development. Beside that, majority of media does not have written procedures and rules that would indicate equal representation of men and women as important criteria.

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Results of the research show that significant percentage of media in B&H – 31% – does not have any position related to ways and activities, which would improve access and influence of women on creation of editorial and advertising policies in media of Bosnia and Herzegovina. It is interesting that 31% of media supports the opinion that women in media are only women should be more engaged on improving their position and influence on work of media. This points to the issue that functioning of media in B&H is burdened with gender stereotypes that women are solely responsible for their status in a society, and they need to fight alone for positive changes.

Following are the key recommendations of the research:

- Improving media strategies and determinations toward the gender equality issues in media, and active promotion of equality of women and men in access and influence of development of media,
- In cooperation with official institutions and nongovernmental organizations in B&H, media must develop models and continuously conduct education about gender equality directed toward increasing awareness of women and men engaged in media, which will enable positive influence in terms of improving gender equality within working and decision-making structures in media, and ensuring gender sensitive media reporting,
- In accordance with the Gender Equality Law in Bosnia and Herzegovina, media in B&H should establish clear written procedures, policies, and activities directed toward reaching equality of women and men in the process of creating editorial policies and promoting greater participation of women in creation of programs, which should be transparent toward persons engaged in media and the public,
- Official institutions in B&H, which have official mandate to conduct activities directed toward creation of procedures and rules for work of media in B&H, must ensure that these rules and procedures are harmonized with the Gender Equality Law in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The research was implemented within three-year project **"Gender Equality in B&H = Informed Public Opinion and Gender Sensitive Media"**, with contribution of 10 women journalists from different media throughout Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Review prepared by
Aleksandar Živanović



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WORKSHOPS

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Six workshops were organized within the project Woman Today during 2006. In February we organized training for trainers, with a wish to share our experiences, knowledge and skills from the areas of public advocacy, lobbying and communication with media. Participants were nineteen women activists from Bihać, Mostar, Višegrad, Trebinje, Modriča, Sarajevo, Bratunac, Bijeljina, Zenica, Livno and Bosansko Grahovo.

In the pre-election period we organized four public advocacy workshops for women from different political parties from the Election Units 1 and 2. In this process, we had invaluable support of experienced women politicians and women parliamentarians – Desanka Rađević (Gradiška), Nada Tešanović (Banja Luka), Snježana Rajilić (Novi Grad), and Divna Aničić (Mrkonjić Grad). Objectives of the workshops were following:

- To empower and encourage women politicians to participate in public and political life
- To teach them skills of public advocacy and lobbying
- To teach them skills of approaching voters
- To teach them to develop strategic plan of their campaigns
- To teach them how to present themselves in media
- To teach them to communicate with media through public statements
- To teach them how to organize a press conference

Our wish was that women participants learn necessary skills in the election year, in order to be encouraged to fight for their place on the election lists of their political parties, and than to conduct pre-election campaign with using learned skills and experiences. Trainers at the workshops were Natalija Petrić, Aleksandar Živanović, Dragana Dardić and Svetlana Pezer, and participants were seventy-two (72) women from different political parties.

In September, at the beginning of the pre-election campaign, we organized four-day workshop in Neum with title **"My Position on the Elections and Leading of the Election Campaign"** led by Natalija Petrić and Aleksandar Živanović.

Participants were eighteen (18) women politicians that were candidates of their political parties from the area of municipalities of Banja Luka, Prijedor, Kozarska Dubica and Gradiška.

The program of the workshop was designed in five (5) large modules:

1. Forming of the lists of candidates
2. Plan of a political party in pre-election campaign
3. My plan in pre-election campaign
4. Personal campaigns:
 - Door to door campaign
 - Presentation on the public meetings
 - Media presentation and developing public statements
 - Press conference
5. Analysis of different methods of conducting pre-election campaign

Experienced women politicians were ready to share their knowledge and experience with inexperienced colleagues that are just entering the world of politic and on lists of candidates, which we see as great advantage of this workshop. We believe future educational programs should involve experienced women politicians from our community to participate as educators.

In conversation with Dragana Dardić, women participants shared their impressions about the workshops, how much they learned, and how they applied this knowledge. Here are also suggestions that will help us improve our programs in a future.



OLGA MILOJICA, PEOPLE'S PARTY WORK FOR BETTERMENT

Prijedor – Candidate for People's Assembly of RS

Did the skills you learned during workshops helped you and how?

Every gathering is useful, we met many women, heard their opinions. These types of gatherings are good and useful.

I did not hesitate to share what I heard with my female colleagues, but mostly young women, to be decisive, brave, and say what they think, because no one else will do that for them. They have to do it alone.

How would you evaluate your involvement in public life?

I did not do my best during the pre-election campaign, otherwise I would be elected. There was a big competition, and I belong to the young political option, non-parliamentary.

I learned a lot about personal campaign during the last workshop in Neum. Now I see I did not do it well. Men from my political party, but from all other parties as well took their male right to present themselves in media. It was very little space for us women to do it, we had to push and intrude.

How much workshops can help women in acquiring skills needed for more active participation in public and political life? By your opinion, what deserves a better focus, and would you change something?

I have no objections on workshops I attended so far. Perhaps they should be organized more frequently. Women should be trained better and prepared for local elections, to participate in campaign with more self-confidence.

LJERKA STANIĆ, SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF B&H

Election Unit 1 – Candidate for House of Representatives of the Parliamentary Assembly of B&H

Did the skills you learned during workshops helped you and how?

Each time, I am pleasantly surprised with the approach and acceptance of Helsinki Citizens Assembly and United Women. I benefited a lot, really a lot from workshops organized by these two organizations. I find myself and acquired self-confidence. During the last workshop, Nada Tešanović and Nada Golubović helped me with pointing where and on what I should focus. They saw I was not focused, that I have many ideas, but I do not know how to form them, and they helped me. They turned me back on the right track, and I draw the essence of what I wanted to do.

Until now, I attended around ten workshops, and they helped me a lot in a work in my political party.

How would you evaluate your involvement in public life?

Women were neglected in my political party. We did not have financial support for media presentations, and only one woman was participating once in media presentation. However, again, women did not vote for women. There were more men that voted for women. It seems we did not grow up to understand each other. I do not know if this is the issue of jealousy or we think women are not grown up to be in politic.



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How much workshops can help women in acquiring skills needed for more active participation in public and political life? By your opinion, what deserves a better focus, and would you change something?

Organization of workshops should be continued. And how! With a heavier rhythm. Women are withdrawing too much. They do not have support of their political party and family. They need more self-confidence, and this is something they build during workshops.

What I would change? I would divide women from leading political parties and those smaller "more southern." Workshops should be adjusted and implemented according to this division, because women from leading political parties are more skillful and better informed, and have different approach. We are still not grown up in relation to our political parties, in order to keep in track with them.

Every woman should have her personal campaign and possibility to present her platform in media. Personal campaigns are large and difficult, but they also give us results. As we are doing now, we are conducting campaigns for our male colleagues from political parties.

MARICA CAREVIĆ, DEPOS

Election Unit 2 – Candidate for the People's Assembly of RS

Did the skills you learned during workshops helped you and how?

It was a good seminar and we received very good training. There were a lot of different women, with different social status, from different political parties...and that was good. This because we are stuck in our environment, and do not see anything beyond that, so it is good to step out from that circle and look at the things from some different angle.

The workshop helped me although I was not elected for a representative. It helped to get rid of tension and stress when I was presenting on pre-election meetings. Women and men my colleagues from political party also noticed something was happening with me, that I am "somehow different."

How would you evaluate your involvement in public life?

Personally, I am satisfied. I am a team player and I do not care to stand out and show up alone. That is my mental structure. This reflected during this pre-election campaign as well.

How much workshops can help women in acquiring skills needed for more active participation in public and political life? By your opinion, what deserves a better focus, and would you change something?

We should work more on general enlightening of women. Politic is a top. If you are not satisfied with your life, if you are in chaos, it would be difficult for you to engage in politic. We are small and poor country, and everyone expect a lot. We should think more positively, be satisfied with a small things that we accomplish. Criteria are changed, as well as system of values. Nowadays, women take care about family, support their husbands and children, men turned back messed up from the war. Simply there is a need for working on general enlightenment of all, especially women.

SNJEŽANA RAJILIĆ, PARTY OF INDEPENDENT SOCIAL DEMOCRATS

Candidate for the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina

Did the skills you learned during workshops helped you and how?

When I come to the workshop, there are also women who are less engaged in politic, and they need to learn everything from the start, so it is not quite interesting.

, in fact, benefited the most from your materials. There I could find how to organize myself, how to act and develop an attitude and what I should say when I do media presentation. When I need something, I read your materials. This especially counts for these elections – I shared your material with the election headquarter, and it was used.

How would you evaluate your involvement in public life?

I was not active enough in the People's Assembly of RS. As if I was saturated, and I was also burned with my duties in the local board of my political party. However, I increased my engagement on the local level for 200%. I worked much more in boards of local communities, attended exhibitions, cultural events...

I am in this job for a long time. I have two terms in the People's Assembly of RS behind me, and now I received a trust for third mandate in the Parliamentary Assembly of B&H. Those who decide to engage in politic must be well informed. In that sense, I would suggest to add set of laws of RS and B&H to your materials. For example, before each session, representatives in People's Assembly of RS are receiving proposals for changes and amendments of some laws in their materials. However, this is not useful if you do not know what is written in the law that is proposed for changes. Also, it would be very useful to add telephone numbers and addresses of institutions – and nongovernmental organizations, in order for us to know who we should contact if we need some information or additional explanation.

How much workshops can help women in acquiring skills needed for more active participation in public and political life? By your opinion, what deserves a better focus, and would you change something?

I noticed that women do not like that much if some experienced women politicians come to participate in some workshop. Somehow they feel indisposed. I have a feeling this creates some kind of nervousness among them.

You should separate the levels, to organize one type of workshops for women who did not have an opportunity to pass this type of education, women with less experience, and to organize other type of workshops for more experienced women politicians. For example, I will be a representative in the Parliamentary Assembly of B&H, and would like to know how things are functioning on that level. As this, it is as I go on blind date. I do not know the procedure for submitting amendments, what are parliamentary procedures at that level, etc.

What do you see as obstacles for more active engagement of women?

Open lists. Some people think that closed lists are less democratic. From my experience, I can say that open lists are the main issue. On these elections, I was on the list of candidates that covered large voting body. And where there was a lot's of lobbying. Men were conducting different forms of lobbying, from informal meetings in bars, to some methods that, so to say, were not quite legal. Men were dominant in polling boards, and votes were added mostly to male candidates.

This is the problem with small communities. Candidates from smaller cities can hardly



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compete with candidates from, for example Banja Luka or Prijedor, or some other bigger cities. Although I do not have a bitter taste in my mouth after these elections, I believe that election lists are the biggest problem for women, and soon they will be a problem for men as well.

AZRA PAŠALIĆ, PARTY FOR B&H

Did the skills you learned during workshops helped you and how?

I have only positive opinion about the workshops. Everything new we learn is very useful. How did I use what I learned in the practice? Well, I corrected some of my behaviors and style of work. Before, I was somehow less organized, worked more chaotically, without any plan and program. However, when I introduced systematization in everyday life, I have more time for other activities.

How would you evaluate your involvement in public life?

I was not especially active. I get tired a little bit because of bad communication with a president of my political party. He did not put me on the list of candidates, we did not solve our misunderstanding, and that was mistake. We should sit down and talk. Mostly, I was less visible in political life than I would like to, and that I could contribute. I do not know if this was because of jealousy of men or their lack of education, it is hard to say. I attend seminars, congresses, and always learn something new. They should do the same as well.

How much workshops can help women in acquiring skills needed for more active participation in public and political life? By your opinion, what deserves a better focus, and would you change something?

Entire education was good, but I believe you should invite also competent men, presidents of political parties or representatives of the Main Boards of political parties, for them to learn something as well. Because struggle of women with leadership structures in political parties is very difficult. Also, we need more women's support. We need to encourage women to involve in politic. In that sense, it would be great to have women that already succeeded in this field.

When it comes to material situation, it should improve too, in order to support women to engage in political life more easily. We should work on removing this obstacle, in order not to make it excuse for non-participation.

Nongovernmental organizations that are working on education of women should be financially supported, so they can continue with this important mission.

TANJA BURIĆ, PARTY OF DEMOCRATIC PROGRESS

**Election Unit 1 – Candidate for House of Representatives
of the Parliamentary Assembly of B&H**

Did the skills you learned during workshops helped you and how?

Useful, in any case. I am not some extra experienced politician, but I am still in this story of candidacy and lists for some three to four years. On these elections, I was again the candidate of the political party that exists for a several years, and most of

the people are familiar with its work. Many things were already done – I contributed in some activities, some activities were conducted by the people from the election headquarter. It is certainly good to hear personal experiences of women candidates that are more experienced and have results behind them.

I think that workshops are especially interesting and useful for those women who are just entering the politics.

How would you evaluate your involvement in public life?

I was engaged to a maximum. I think that I made a good result and won a lot's of votes, when we take into consideration the other people on the lists of candidates, meaning politicians that are known for years, not only in RS, but whole B&H.

I was working as an idiot. I organized my personal campaign, but I was generally involved in all activities prepared by the election headquarter. I tried to use all types of promotion that were available to me. Well, I did not have the access to the state or entity TV services, but I've had a lot's of presentations on local television.

Obstacles?

Men are the largest problem. However, this still depends from an individual to an individual. It is also important how you got on the list of candidates. Did you fight with all you can to get there, or you were supported by a base to get on that position. I was lucky that I was proposed from a base.

Here, as well, I believe women are not a problem that much as youth people are. We have educated, eloquent, skilful young people that are not visible because some people are occupying some positions for years.

Therefore, you need support from a base and good nerves. You need to be prepared for all, to fight for position with some people who got on positions using who knows what ways.

What would you change?

I am satisfied, taken as a whole. When you invite participants, I think it would be good if you can combine more experienced women politicians and women with less experience in politics, to have them in ratio of 50:50. New women that are just entering into politics and that story will have what to hear and learn from more experienced women politicians, and they will have an opportunity to exchange opinion and find out new things. Workshops are good. They always mean nice gatherings, everything can be arranged, and organizers are more flexible.

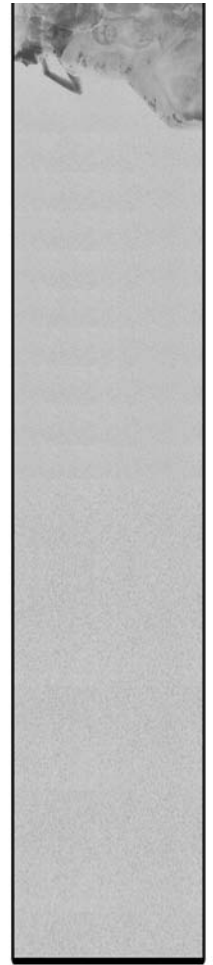
Just one thing more, you should invite women that really want to learn something, and not to be here just formally.

AZRA ALIJAGIĆ, SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF B&H

Election Unit 2 – Candidate for the People's Assembly of RS

Did the skills you learned during workshops helped you and how?

The most sincerely, I would mark workshops with 10+. Really. I especially liked the workshop held in Neum. We started with the activities, as soon as we returned from Neum. We promoted ourselves through personal campaign. I invested my own money in printing the promotional material. Men took money from the political party, and said



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to us there is not money for our promotion. We organized personal campaigns having in mind what we learned – we did not criticize anyone, our colleagues are also wonderful but here we are, here I am. We just strengthened ourselves.

In the eve of the elections, I was distributing my photographs that were little bigger. I was really engaged to a maximum, but still I was not elected. Because people were not listening programs, they were just interested for national grouping.

Two companies were running campaigns and won the elections. Candidates of Party for B&H did not leave their offices, but they still won seats, because their leader enabled that to them. We were at the streets for 24 hours a day and still nothing happened. If candidates of SNSD were blind and deaf they would still won seats.

You could not pass if you did not have national moment in your presentation.

How would you evaluate your involvement in public life?

Thanks to these workshops, we acquired freedom, self-confidence, knowledge – we learned to emphasize important details. However, all of that was in vain – no one was listening if there was not national dimension.

We are still sensitive. You could in media for 24 hours a day, regardless if you are man or woman candidate – if you are not in one of two companies, meaning leading political parties, you could not do anything.

If I did not learn news skills from you, I would not accomplish any results. With this, I succeeded to fight for second place on the list of candidates, and I won great number of votes thanks to my hard work and engagement during pre-election period and personal campaign that I organized. That is also the result, no matter if I am not elected. If I did not do anything, I would be somewhere on a bottom of a list.

We never worked more, and we never had more skills than now. Thanks to you we learned how to act, dress, and present. However, until people heal the wounds from war, everything is in vain. People need deep wake up, because this is still sensitive region.

What would you change?

You are doing this very successfully. You succeeded to overcome national barriers. All women feel as they are in one political party, everyone receives equal attention. I would not change anything, you would not be what you are if you change something. I am delighted with the way how you do it. You just keep up the good work. The fact I was second on list of candidates, and second when counting number of acquired votes is result of your work.

You just need to keep it up.

NEVENKA TRIFKOVIĆ, PARTY OF DEMOCRATIC PROGRESS

Candidate for People's Assembly of RS

Did the skills you learned during workshops helped you and how?

I believe these workshops helped me a lot, as well as to other people, although I cannot speak in the name of someone else. This type of education is especially useful for those women who are unable to learn new skills and acquire new knowledge within their profession.



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How would you evaluate your involvement in public life?

I would say that I stayed fair and disciplined, and respected rules of my political party, human, and moral rules. Other people did not act like that. They used all possible resources – based on proverb that goal justifies means. I support personal campaigns, but to a certain extent. There was all kind of stuff during these elections. Also illegal activities that were close to minor offences, but also with elements of criminal act.

What do you see as obstacles for more active political engagement of women?

Insufficient support to women. There is a lot of such support, but only verbally. Especially from leaders of political parties that are verbally supporting women, and are saying that they count on women. However, this is not true in the real life. Women are only partially involved in decision making of political parties.

What would you change?

It would be a good strategy to involve men as much as possible, to make them wish also to participate in this type of education. This would help us not to hit walls when we go back to our political parties.

Beside men, you should also invite representatives of media. But not to participate in educations as women and men journalists, but as participants in education. You should also involve people from educational process, teachers and professors from elementary schools and secondary schools, but also universities. They should be active participants in order to transfer the knowledge they acquired to their students.

FAHIRA DANELIŠEN, DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE'S COMMUNITY

Election Unit 2 – Candidate for People's Assembly of RS

Did the skills you learned during workshops helped you and how?

I come from a small political party, and I agreed to be a candidate in the last moment, as a woman president of this party for RS.

I was not fighting that much during this pre-election campaign, because everything happened somehow in the last moment. But workshop in Neum definitely opened my eyes, because I realized how little I know about political fight and media.

I must tell you that I was in a difficult position. There were already developed women politicians that know what they want and have strong support of their political parties.

All of that helped me a lot, although it was already late for applying things I learned in the practice. It was difficult to get through. Other political parties have 10 to 15 years of work behind them, and we are new in RS.

The workshop really helped me. I could only wish to participate in something similar much earlier. I watched other women participants, more experienced politicians how they work, and learned a lot.

What would you change?

I was satisfied with everything. Perhaps one should join earlier. Pass two to three workshops. This is necessary, as learning letters for children. Everything requires skills, politics as well, and we can learn these skills.

I did not know anything about doing political work. Headquarter of our political party is in Kladuša, so here we are left to our own. I benefited a lot from this workshop.

Especially how to overcome fear from public speech. You compare, watch, listen, copy, there are many things to learn.



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DESANKA RAĐEVIĆ, SERBIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY

Election Unit 1 – Candidate for House of Representatives of the Parliamentary Assembly of B&H

Did the skills you learned during workshops helped you and how?

Generally, this is the best thing that happened for women in politics and public life in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

It was very useful for me personally, as I used it in my work. I was able to develop my professional knowledge within politic, thanks to things I heard and learned during workshops.

However, I think there is one important part, which we did not discuss enough during this education. Beside fight for women's equality, there is also a fight between people for positions. How we can separate healthy from bad competition. When I say healthy competition, I think about people with skills and knowledge to succeed, contrary to bad competition when someone engage in politic because he/she believes it can bring private privileges. When he/she is elected, does not work much, just sits in the parliament as a statue. This is the most complicated issue.

Your personal engagement?

This pre-election campaign was generally different than any campaign in the previous period. For the first time, I conducted my personal campaign, which resulted that I jumped from third to second place when counting a number of votes. However, this was not enough for acquiring mandate of a representative.

There were more fighting between candidates within one political party than between political parties.

This was especially visible on the local level where all candidates were fighting to win as many personal votes as possible. Candidates from smaller communities with small voting body were especially handicapped. They did not have a chance in relation to the candidates from larger cities.

I did not have financial support for the campaign.

The campaign had both advantages and weaknesses. The advantage is that now you have almost all new representatives in the People's Assembly of RS, completely renewed parliament. Weakness is that no one dealt with programs. Candidates were mostly telling jokes and some interesting stories.

Relations between people in political parties became disturbed. Everyone was taking care for his/her own, mutual support and solidarity was missing.

What would you change?

Personally I believe we should use women that have experience (I have 8 years in politics behind me). These women could share their good and bad experiences with young women in order to enable them to identify good solutions without much sacrifice and efforts.

I believe candidates should work more with voters. The small group of same people is always coming to our public discussions. We are not reaching other people, and they are voters too. When you would ask some of them why they voted for some political party or some candidate they could not answer to you precisely.



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What do you see as obstacles for more active political engagement of women?

Only few women were elected comparing to number of "offered" women at the lists of candidates.

Reason for this is connectedness between people behind a scene. Men are at executive positions of institutions and companies. They can do favors to each other. Personal favors that are fitting within legally allowed methods. And here is the catch. This is the reason why they support each other because they are in position to return a favor later. This connectedness among men is much stronger. I do not have business connections for which someone would support me. This is a weakness for all women.

MIRA KUČUK, PEOPLE'S PARTY WORK FOR BETTERMENT

Candidate for People's Assembly of RS

Did the skills you learned during workshops helped you and how?

It was not that much helpful for me, since I am not politically involved to a great extent. On the other hand, I had the opportunity to see what is happening in politics from a different angle. I was seeing that with different eyes for the first time. I was watching presentations of male politicians on TV, and during the workshop I recognized that they also use some tricks and methods they also learned somewhere.

I had to make personal presentations during the pre-election campaign, and the workshop helped me to prepare myself better, to have conception and to know how I would present myself to the public.

Personal engagement?

It was insufficient, but this was more matter of my political party than it was my fault. I did what the political party asked me to do. I used everything I knew and learned to a maximum. However, I still believe we were on our own, without much assistance.

What would you change?

You are doing it on really interesting way. Open conversation, I liked it. What would I change – well, I did not learn anything about your organizations. I think it would be useful that we heard more about you so we can use your services in a future as well.

What do you see as obstacles for more active political engagement of women?

We are on Balkan, and that is on the first place. I am pointing at attitude of our society toward women in general. Furthermore, a woman is mostly in her role of mother and housewife, which means that she does not have a time to be politically active. Women are also in the shadow in political parties. In a society as well – when voters see a woman at the list of candidates they say "leave it on, that is a woman." And this is not only male's attitude. Women can be also suspicious about other women that are active in politics. We should change consciousness of women in this region, but also the whole society.



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MIRA POPOVIĆ, DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE'S PARTY

Election Unit 2 – Candidate for People's Assembly of RS

Did the skills you learned during workshops helped you and how?

I was recently in Neum and it was excellent. Among other things, we worked on developing a message, how to present it, how much it should last, which group it targets, etc. I already knew some of these things, but now it was the right thing – development of the form and content of the message.

Personal engagement?

I would mark it with 5+. I gave even more than I could. Although you can always give more. I worked to a maximum and result is here. I won a seat in the People's Assembly of RS. Work, honesty and skills you have are important, but you also need to have money, power and position if you wish to be sure that you will succeed. If I had money and position, I could win even twice more votes that now. Education with women must be conducted, in order for them to become aware of themselves as their possibilities.

There is also a social side – family rests on women's shoulder, and we need to free women from obligations if we want to have more women in politics.

Everything is in education, not just women but entire population, we need to talk, talk and talk, and emphasize positive examples.

What would you change?

It is boring sometimes, especially for those women who already passed certain workshops. We should be divided in 2 categories – women that already passed certain education and expect to hear something new, learn something new. At the end, it should be some joint workshop where women can exchange experiences and opinions.

LJILJANA MILAŠIN, DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE'S PARTY

Election Unit 1 – Parliamentary Assembly of B&H

Did the skills you learned during workshops helped you and how?

Listen, it certainly did. In any case, I am really satisfied. Everything was great to me. Experience is experience.

It was helpful for me. I became more open and clever.

Personal engagement?

I engaged a lot, and nothing happened. That happens in politics. You count on something, think, and than...nothing. Or we are, perhaps, too demanding.

What do you see as obstacles for more active political engagement of women?

Women have a lot's of obligations, family, house, kids, they have less freedom.

Men do not even have to agree with each other. Women tie themselves.

In relation to the workshops, I believe all topics were well presented. It seems to me everything is OK.

Did the skills you learned during workshops helped you and how?

The workshop was really useful to me. My media presentations were much better thanks to the workshop. It opened my perspectives, in terms that I started to pay more attention to myself. I started to see myself in one different prism, but also in relation to men. After the workshop, I started to see some things differently. I am working as bankruptcy manager. Six hundred people lost their jobs recently. Just now they got some late payments, and they were satisfied with these small things. These are really minor payments, enough for the bare existence. And where are those people who brought them into that position? In the past, we had three gas stations on the road from Gradiška to Banja Luka, and you can see how much of them we have now. This is only male's feature.

Personal engagement?

I was apolitical during the whole time of pre-election campaign, this was my first candidacy. My political party is young, and I can say they did not give enough attention to their candidates, especially not the candidates in my election unit. Some candidates were promoted better because of personal interests. That was failure. Leading political parties simply smashed us. I thought that my name means something, and I agreed to be a candidate, because Svetlana Cenić¹ lobbied me, we are in the same profession. I do not want to mention my election result. My political party was totally inactive in the Election Unit 1. I did not want to abuse my name. I was active in a part of the pre-election campaign, but I was not engaged that much when I saw what was happening. I wish to be recognizable by something else that I worked on – not just to be recognized because of my face that someone saw on media.

Men are more aggressive, and they do not allow women to be equal. I do not feel that kind of relations in my profession. However, there are other rules when you enter politics. Men are more and better connected, they all follow the same rules, and a woman can hardly succeed there.

A woman feels problems and burdens more than a man, and she can contribute better to their solution. Women are more rational, know with money, know to economize, and they are not squanderers. Contrary to them, men are more prone using dirty ways of besmirching and dirty ways of financing.

I was disappointed so much when I saw and hear some things. A man could not appear at some pre-election meeting, because political party did not let him. He was afraid he will loose his job.

In our environment, everything ends with maxim "I and only I, there is no one else." Perhaps this is something that came with transition. However, I can not accept it, because I was not educated like that, neither I educated my children to act like that.

What would you change?

I lack experience...there is a need for working more with smaller groups and on more concrete things. Everything at the workshop looked to me somehow too fast—we were jumping over topics too quickly.

However, I find out many useful things. Everything is practical and educational, and every time you learn something new. I met other women politicians and learned something new.

1 Svetlana Cenić was a Minister of Finance in RS Government of Prime Minister Pero Bujeļlović (Translator's note).



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ZORICA GLUVIĆ, PEOPLE'S PARTY WORK FOR BETTERMENT

Candidate for the People's Assembly of RS

Did the skills you learned during workshops helped you and how?

Everything was great. At the very beginning, we knew we can not have major success in comparison to leading political party, because our party is new on political scene. Workshop was great, useful exchange of opinion – we also had the opportunity to hear experienced women politicians.

Personal engagement?

Average, everything is in the political party. I did not make much effort. Leading political parties had more finances, they could organize promotions, and we did not have such opportunity. There was no chance.

Problem is also in men. You can not be visible because of them. A woman is mother and a housewife first, and it all boils down to the same old thing. There are a few successful women.

How much workshops can help women in acquiring skills needed for more active participation in public and political life? By your opinion, what deserves a better focus, and would you change something?

I would not change anything. I liked everything a lot.

NADA TEŠANOVIĆ, PARTY OF INDEPENDENT SOCIAL DEMOCRATS

Candidate for the People's Assembly of RS

Did the skills you learned during workshops helped you and how?

Workshops really helped me. They strengthened me, and provided me a possibility to see politics with different eyes. In the time when I entered politics, there were no workshops, they were not organized.

I was learning on these workshops, and sincerely, that made some influence on me. There were good topics your associations initiated, and were not discussed before. But there were also topics that are essentially repeating, such is gender equality – everything rolls around that.

To summarize, workshops are effective, you have good lecturers, and they are interesting.

Personal engagement?

I can say that this year my campaign was much easier than those campaigns during previous period. I was thinking that I left some track behind me and that people know me, which makes easier development of my public presentation.

In relation to the last workshop in Neum, composition of the participants was not the best choice. There were women who came to the workshop for the first time, and they were lost. They needed to hear and learn everything from the start. Those women, who have more experience in politics, including me, expected this workshop to be a culmination of our education. To learn something new we can apply. Although, you can always learn new things.



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What would you change?

We need more men. Recently I had a verbal duel with a colleague, and he said to me "It is only important to you that that is a woman." I responded this is not about women, but the fact that we should have equal possibilities.

Women are requested to have a quality and education, even to look good. Men are not obliged to follow the same criteria in politics.

Anyway, I believe that workshops should involve more men with whom we can directly exchange experiences and opinions.

Also, political parties must pay attention which people they send on educations and seminars. It is useless to send one woman to participate in one workshop, and next time to send other woman. One woman should pass entire workshop' cycle, because she cannot learn everything at one workshop.

What do you see as obstacles for more active political engagement of women?

Media presentation was a huge obstacle. We did not succeed to show up anywhere, neither on TV nor in printed media. President and vice president of political party had been prioritized in media presentations, and we did not have access in it.

Another question that I ask myself is if the personal campaigns are allowed or not.

This question was bringing conflict within political parties. Political parties had to internally agree if personal campaigns are allowed or not.

Related to pre-election presentations at public meetings, we were free to present what we want, although with a strict timing for our speeches. We were much more active during these public meetings, and we had the opportunity to present our views to the voters.



Text of the speech presented on May 16th and 17th 2006 in Stockholm, in seminars for employees of the Ministry of foreign affairs of Sweden and Swedish International Development Agency, and for students of politology, peace and gender studies of the University in Stockholm.

LIDIJA ŽIVANOVIĆ

FROM „ROOM TO CONVERSATION” TO „ROOM FOR CHANGES”

Ten years ago, the war ended in Bosnia and Herzegovina. In physical sense, years of war were years of life in a ghetto. People were dying, general destruction was ruling, and ethnically clean territories were created. However, even the war stopped, local national-political elites were fostering deep ethnic divisions, but also the isolation from the world.

I am an architect by profession, and until the beginning of war, I was doing this job in architectural bureaus. The war stopped all of that, and now when I think about that period I do not know how we lived during those four years. Men were on battlefield, and women were home with their burden of survival. There was no war in my city. However, despite of that, Gods of war were controlling everything. Curfew was introduced—city was without the electricity, closed communication, controlled information, night explosions, forced mobilization, forced working obligation, killings, destruction and fear that blocks everything. Resistance and dissatisfaction toward enforced violence was growing in me, but also the wish to change something, to contribute that we overcome all of this.

Dayton Peace Agreement was signed in December 1995. At the beginning, several of us female friends gathered and talked. We simply wanted to show that we exist, and that we need different life. Instead of closeness — to have openness, instead of isolation — to have communication, and instead of ethnic matrix — to build matrix of free woman and man citizen — individual. We were against the war. We wanted to live like humans, and not only as representatives of this or that ethnic community.

In January 1996, I've had the first meetings with women from the other entity, and representatives from the Netherlands and England. These meetings could be called "secret," because regardless of the Peace Agreement, communication with "others and different" was perceived undesirable for official authorities in that period. There was no critical mass of people ready to talk openly in the public. Because of that, we needed assistance of the international organizations (safe transport for meetings, and financial support). That was the period when we traveled across our country with the assistance of OSCE — but we traveled, and we were breaking imposed barriers.

We started first initiatives for conversation between women of different ethnic and religious belongings, from different cities in Bosnia and Herzegovina, from different political parties and nongovernmental organizations, and women that were not organized before that period. We gathered because we wanted to give our contribution to the changes. Many people thought that is impossible. And only we thought this impossible thing — is possible. I believed sincerely, first in the possibility of real mutual communication, and creation of space

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for joint work in building of future life. That faith was giving us a hope. For example, it is interesting to look into what we talked about and what we agreed to do on our first event in 1996, which we called "Room for Conversation." We talked about solving of problems of refugees and displaced persons, about reconstruction and development, political participation of women and their role in political life, educational system, social issues, and possibilities for their solving, about tolerance in tolerant atmosphere – in one word – about issues that were common to us, regardless of ethnic belonging.

We were convinced that we would find common ground much easily than some other social groups. We initiated action and started with building friendships and alliances.

Aren't these problems recognized by women than actual also today?

However, decision making power was not in our hands. We want that our women's priorities become also social and political priorities that are discussed at all levels – from local communities to the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

During the past period, numerous conferences were organized by different local and international nongovernmental organizations, which opened new issues – problem of violence against women, legislative regulations, trafficking of women, employment, education about peace and tolerance, participation of women in reconstruction and development – and were involving and encouraging new persons. As the result of all these discussions, we always expressed the need for participation of women in public and political life, necessity of mutual cooperation and joint action. We realized that any nongovernmental organization, regardless if it has good organization, qualifications, and expertise can not accomplish its objectives alone, without support or even common action with women from other nongovernmental organizations and women from political parties.

Kvinna till Kvinna recognized importance of our meetings, supported them, and continued with us through all difficult and nice moments on the way to reconciliation and equality.

Kvinna till Kvinna supports us today as well. In this process, this organization differs from numerous international organizations that worked and are working in our environment, because women from this organization had understanding for our specific situation.

Nowadays, looking back on the past period, I can say that women recognized key issues for the future of the country. We initiated many issues that connect us and require common action for wellbeing of all, regardless of ethnic belonging, which unfortunately remained dominant in rhetoric of ruling ethno-national political establishment. **Isn't solving of these open issues contribution to the peace and stabilization?**

We can say that we actually paved our work for all these years in accordance with the conclusions of our first meeting. Many problems exist also today, but after ten years of activism I realized that solving these issues represents a process and that we paved a good road. On the personal level, I am very often dissatisfied with accomplished results, because I want changes to come faster. Regardless to that, we have many things to be satisfied with. Here are only few examples that were not visible during past ten years, but are visible today – we could accomplish these results only through common advocacy actions of women from civil society and political parties, and of course, with the assistance of international organizations:

- Prior to the general elections of 1998, fourteen women's nongovernmental organizations throughout Bosnia and Herzegovina conducted advocacy action for introducing quota of 30% for women on the lists of candidates. This action was organized under title "There Are More Of Us," and we succeeded to fight for election rule of OSCE – three women among first ten candidates. In 1998, on the first elections after introducing this rule, the-



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re were 26% of women on the lists of candidates. The percentage of elected women jumped from one figure number up to three even ten times in some parliaments (we got 15 to 26% of women in parliaments of Bosnia and Herzegovina)

- In May 1999, sixteen nongovernmental organizations in B&H, in cooperation with the International Human Rights Law Group prepared "NGO Report about Condition of Women's Human Rights in Bosnia and Herzegovina."
- Since October 1, 2000, as the result of cooperation of women's organizations and women parliamentarians of the People's Assembly of Republika Srpska, family violence, as well as rape in marriage were recognized as criminal acts in the Criminal Code of RS.
- Since that period, we initiated our advocacy efforts for recognizing family violence and trafficking of people as social and political problems in Bosnia and Herzegovina at all levels.
- In 2001, the Election Law was additionally improved. We got open lists of candidates, and obligation that less represented sex should have every third place on these lists.
- We initiated and supported development of institutional mechanisms for gender equality in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which begin to function.
- **NGO Coalition for Gender Equity and Equality in B&H** had the key influence on adoption of the Gender Equality Law in B&H. This Coalition gathered around forty organizations and hundred and thirty civil society groups. Draft Gender Equality Law in B&H proposed by this Coalition, in cooperation with the International Human Rights Law Group and OHCHR was adopted in the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina in May 2003.
- We prepared the second shadow report about implementation of CEDAW Convention and women's human rights in Bosnia and Herzegovina, in cooperation with the Global Rights Partners for Justice.
- City Assembly of Banja Luka – the city where we invested the largest efforts on the local level, today has 35% of female representatives, and out of ten Chiefs of Departments in the City Administration, five are women. We created climate in which minor percentage of women in the city governance will not happen again. We must not allow that.
- We have women parliamentarians at all levels, which would gladly lobby for some issues if we contact them by phone. They would also share information with us, and ask for our opinion. We also have women politicians that are gender sensitive, and for which gender equality became their political objective. We have media, in which we could before only get a space for women's issues if we paid for it. Today, although insufficient, they report about our activities. We have the Law and institutional mechanisms for gender equality, for which we struggled together.

Through all these activities among women that met in 1996, friendships or good professional relations exist even today, and we further spread our cooperation, and acquire new allies. This we do is the evolution. I can not say we really created a movement or sustainable mechanisms. In fact, we established strong ground and informal network of organizations and individuals that ensure sustainability of this what we accomplished, and prevent us to step back.

For full transformation of public awareness in terms of determination for peace and equality – we still have a lot's of work to do.

Areas where we accomplished results are still perceived as women's questions in the public and in decision making circles dominated by men. Here is just one of the recent examples – during recent discussion about amendments on the election Law of B&H, where we requested gender segregated election statistics, and alternate distribution of candidates of



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both sexes on the election lists – next morning newspapers published the article with title “Parliament discussed for two hours about women.” By the way, amendments about election lists were not adopted. I would like to emphasize – our amendments are related to changes in society – and they affect both women and men! Namely, our priority now should be to direct our efforts to increase understanding that there are no so called women’s issues or sector that concerns only women. If that is the case, women and their issues would be only one isolated and self-sufficient part of society. On the contrary, women should be present everywhere and at every place, and every social issue and projection of future life is also related to women.

Similar like we passed through important phase of peace building at the end of 90-ties – establishing communication, freedom of movement, opening of dialogue and exchange of different opinions, establishing communication with authorities, and of course, giving voice to the ordinary women and men citizens. Now we are again on the turning point. Bosnia and Herzegovina is passing through key reforms that are important for its future – negotiations are opened for stabilization and accession to the European Union. Constitution of B&H is in the process of change, and there are also negotiations about reforms of police and army structures – women are excluded from this part of peace process and the state building. I am wondering, since we made important contribution to the building of trust since 1996, and we were capable to reach the agreement about many things – why we could not be capable to make the important contribution also now – ten years after. Many other reforms will come in the future. Are we going to participate in these processes? The fact that women and men do not participate equally in decision making about these issues speaks in the favor of the argument that cornerstones of the state which should enter the European Union will be built by only one part of our society. Even if we had greater participation of women in these processes, I can not claim for sure that these policies would be completely gender sensitive, because gender mainstreaming – analysis of consequences of all public policies on the life of women and men – still did not become integral part of decision making processes.

I believe that these thoughts are clearly speaking about the need and directions of our intensive work in the future. Beside that, we need to keep in track with the trends, adjust our work, and ensure that reforms conducted by our authorities are not just formal, to pen the doors of Europe, but that these reforms are really implemented in the practice, for the sake of our women and men citizens.

Until that happens, our contribution to the creation of environment in which we communicate and do not fight, our lobbying, advocacy for change or adoption of laws, and pointing at key social issues would be marginalized.

For this phase in our evolution, we can certainly rely on our present accomplishments in terms of creating mechanisms, legislation, and human resources.

Financial support from local sources remains the open issue. Unfortunately, we still can not count on support of local authorities and companies. I believe we can count on them only when we build gender policies I was talking about, as well as criteria for fair and transparent allocation of funds, and when we, as women and men citizens start to have the influence on determining priorities. This would happen also when people that promote ethnic identity as priority, instead of peace and wellbeing of citizens leave leadership structures of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Financial support of the local nongovernmental organizations from local sources was initiated, especially at the local level. However, priorities are mostly social and humanitarian



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projects, environmental protection, and criteria for allocation of financial support are still undeveloped.

B&H institutions still did not invest in peace and political education, participation of women peace processes, gender equality in public policies, and anticorruption projects. These issues are still neglected and do not receive local financial support, because through working on these issues we want to influence those who allocate the means. For solving these issues we will still need to rely on foreign donors.

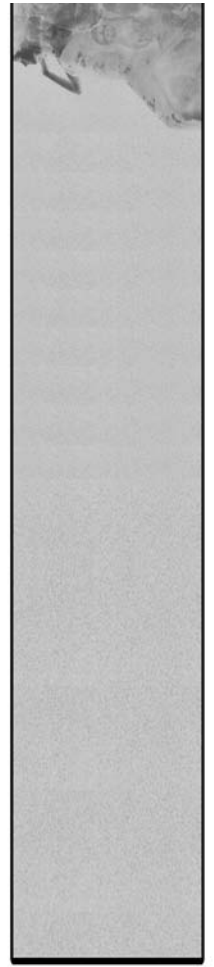
I am not satisfied with tempo of our social changes. We accomplished a lot, for example in the field of legislative changes and adoption of new laws, we motivated large group of women to become involved, we significantly increased awareness about need for changes, and social role of women, etc. In our circumstances, we are ahead of men. With our female colleagues from Pristine, Skopje, Belgrade, or Zagreb, we meet not in Brussels or Vienna, but in our cities. Together we are trying to help each other and solve the issues. However, blockades in the system are still too big. Economic situation is difficult, and our society still functions exclusively on ethnical principles and based on ethnic changes. National political parties and one autistic consciousness that citizens exist because of authorities and not the opposite are still dominant on the elections. From its side, autism of our authorities directly or indirectly supports discrimination. Very often, our appeals and suggestions stay invisible. In the practice, it is very difficult for women to enter centers of power and influence. This especially relates to the executive governance, where participation of women is almost invisible. Many things would certainly change faster if position of women is different.

Focus of our actions should be directed on changes of this position. Certainly, this represents long-term task. For accomplishing that task, we need changes of us in nongovernmental sector, but we also need support from the international community. Why? Predominantly because certain number of nongovernmental organizations functions on the basis of conformism, and they are cherishing double standards. You can see among them one formal relation toward projects and activities, and declarative acceptance of opinions about civil society. From the other side, projects and opinions of those who produce blockades are supported through different ways. I relation to that, the international community is leading one problematic and strategically undefined politic, which breaks over weakly developed civil initiatives. For sure, this policy values as partners our local winners of the elections. However, for the past then years, people that make governments in B&H are those who lead the war, and which obviously can not build the peace. Problems can not be solved on that way. Citizens are feeling that, and abstinence from the elections grows every year, and goes over 50%.

Gender mechanisms, which creation we initiated through our actions, became the state institutions whose work we still need to monitor, and we need to build cooperation with them as we did before with any other official institution. Awareness about gender equality did not enter all pores of social life. We still need to monitor and analyze public policies, activities, and budgets, in order to ensure that all things we accomplished are really implemented in the practice.

We started with Room for Conversation, and we created and we are still creating Room for Changes. We hope that soon we will get "Transformed Room," where interests and needs of all social groups, both women and men would be equally valued and treated.

Or simply saying – we hope that from Room for Conversation we will create Transformed Room.



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Helsinki Citizens' Assembly (hCa) Banja Luka is a nongovernmental organisation registered on August 16th, 1996 in Banja Luka, Bosnia and Herzegovina. Since then, it has been actively involved in promotion, strengthening and networking of civil initiatives both locally and regionally in South Eastern Europe, working on reconciliation and empowerment of marginalised and disadvantaged groups. Nowadays hCa Banja Luka is an advocacy and support organization as well as a resource centre directing its actions into three main program areas: strengthening civil society and transformation of public institutions into a citizens' service, advocacy for gender equality, creating conditions for more intensive involvement of youth in public life.

Our mission: hCa Banja Luka is an organisation that supports and stimulates autonomy and freedom of all citizens, involving depressed social groups in democratic processes, particularly women and youth.

Our vision: Society of equal opportunities for all.

Priorities of the Helsinki Citizens' Assembly Banja Luka in the nearest future:

- Empowerment of marginalised groups, particularly women, youth and minorities for political engagement and improvement of their status in society,
- Influence on public authorities in Bosnia and Herzegovina with purpose of improvement of public policies related to these groups,
- Increase of representation of women, youth and minorities in the media and improvement of reporting in qualitative terms,
- Raising of public awareness in Bosnia and Herzegovina on discrimination of marginalised groups and mechanisms for protection of their rights,
- Strengthening cooperation with other organisations and institutions in Bosnia and Herzegovina and internationally,
- Providing access to resources, educational programs, knowledge and skills related to peace-building, civil society development and human rights to all citizens' in BiH,
- Continuous education and training of personnel of the Helsinki Citizens' Assembly Banja Luka and work towards organisational sustainability.

The United Women Banja Luka is nongovernmental organization founded on August 16 1996 in Banja Luka. Through the activities and projects of our association, we are advocating for improving social position of woman and her right to life without violence in family and public life. We want to see more women at decision-making positions in official institutions at all levels of governance in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Our vision is: Woman aware of her power, equal, respected, employed, and happy.

Our mission is: Strengthening and affirmation of women through advocacy and work on implementation of women's human rights.

Overall Strategic Priorities and Objectives of United Women Banja Luka:

- Fighting against violence against women through offering free legal and psychosocial assistance for women and children victims of violence, work on introducing new official policies and institutional mechanisms of fighting violence against women;
- Strengthening awareness of women and men citizens about violence against women and gender based violence through media advocacy, and strengthening and increasing cooperation with other NGOs and official institutions working on these issues in B&H and the region;
- Strengthening awareness of women and men citizens about trafficking of people in B&H, and public advocacy for more efficient work of official institutions in B&H on prevention of trafficking of people;
- Empowering women to participate in social changes through public advocacy for their active and equal role in creation of public policies, and political decision making at all levels of B&H;
- Gender equality in media B&H – public advocacy for diminishing discrimination and abuse of women in electronic and printed media in B&H, and creating conditions for equal access of women and men on creation of media policies in B&H;
- Public advocacy for strengthening position of women in our society, and diminishing discrimination of women in political, economic, and social sphere through monitoring of the positive laws and public policies, and initiating procedures for changes of discriminatory laws and public policies at all levels in B&H;
- Support for sustainable return in Bosnia and Herzegovina through work with women and men in rural communities of Bosnia and Herzegovina;
- Strengthening cooperation with other civil society organizations and official institutions at all levels in B&H;
- Developing internal capacities of the Association through engaging new staff and volunteers and working on development of organizational sustainability through long-term financial, program and management planning.



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