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# PUBLIC POLICY ADVOCACY:

WOMEN FOR SOCIAL CHANGE  
IN THE YUGOSLAV SUCCESSOR STATES

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THE STAR PROJECT  
OF DELPHI INTERNATIONAL  
Strategies, Training and Advocacy for Reconciliation

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PUBLIC POLICY ADVOCACY  
Women for Social Change  
in the Yugoslav Successor States

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# INTRODUCTION

The STAR Project of Delphi International has provided encouragement technical assistance and financial support to non-nationalistic women's groups working for social change throughout the Yugoslav Successor States since late 1994 STAR works with a remarkable network of new NGOs that are committed to democratic principles and seek to build healthy organizations that will last for many years to come

From 1995-1998 the STAR Project sent 18 women from the Yugoslav Successor States to the International Policy Advocacy training program a four-week intensive course in the United States to provide them with a practical experiential approach to learning key advocacy concepts and skills that NGOs need to influence policies in their respective countries The goal of this training program is to assist civil society organizations worldwide in developing a capacity to influence local national and international public policies and institutions

To assist those resource women to pass on the knowledge that they gained in public policy advocacy and adapted to their country and region STAR initiated the project of creating this Public Policy Advocacy Workbook in 1997 The advocacy resource women planned the content wrote or adapted the text wrote the case studies based on their organizations advocacy campaigns gathered the supporting materials and pilot-tested the draft in the training workshops they conducted

This workbook opens with 'A Premeditated Murder' an essay by Slavenka Drakulic that illustrates the challenges and barriers to public policy advocacy in this region The rest of the book is an attempt to answer Slavenka's question "But how do you define a common public interest and how do you fight for it?"

## HOW TO USE THIS BOOK

This book has taken a year to produce We believe that this workbook is something special It is not a set of recipes for social change imported from some foreign bakery with a few ingredients changed to those available in local shops temperatures changed from Fahrenheit to Celsius and measurements changed from pounds to kilos Rather it is meant to be a tool kit a guide written by activists and advocates for activists and advocates to help incorporate public policy advocacy into activism in a particular part of the world at a particular moment filled with conflicts opportunities and dedicated communities of social change activists

This workbook is written in the belief that women can and WILL

- bring our issues to the public directly through community education and indirectly through the media,
- change institutions and laws
  - use international mechanisms to pressure governments
- begin to acknowledge and harness our economic and political power to increase social justice

Please use this workbook to help your advocacy efforts Please feel free to reproduce it share it criticize it adapt it translate it It is a work in process as advocacy must always be

Finally please keep in touch with STAR and the local advocacy teams about how you use this book in which ways it is helpful and how it can be improved

Jill Benderly Rada Vujovic and Lael Stegall on behalf of the entire STAR team  
July 1998



## “A PREMEDITATED MURDER”

BY SLAVENKA DRAKULIĆ

This is a story about anger about fear but most of all about the feeling of helplessness

It was a public execution On Saturday 25 February 1995 on Strossmayer Square in Zagreb a row of innocent victims was executed slowly and deliberately They stood in silence waiting for their turn First a few executioners in blue overalls would surround one of the victims each holding an electric saw in his hand Then the process of killing would start — and it was a process because the victims were old some of them were difficult to cut up It took at least half an hour to murder just one of them

The sound was the worst part of it There was no wind and in the ghastly silence you could hear first the high-pitched noise of the electric saws cutting through the wood with great strain, then the cracking of frozen branches as the tree started to fall Finally came a dull thud as it hit the ground a sound like an immense sigh shaking all the surroundings and making people tremble too

The victims of this brutal execution were the maple trees in the very heart of Zagreb Attacked by people the maple trees, naturally could not defend themselves Only other people could have defended them but instead they stood there in silence watching It was a damp winter's day yet a crowd of people came to look pushing their fists deep into their pockets and jumping up and down to keep warm A woman covered the eyes of her child as if she didn't want it to see the crime An old man cried Most of the people looked incredulous as if they could not believe what they were seeing Some shrugged their shoulders and just passed by No one looked happy not even the workers performing their slow and unpleasant duty

This is what happened on that winter morning or rather what did not happen a group of citizens stood and watched a murder and did nothing There may have been enough people gathered there to stage a small demonstration but no one dared say a word let alone do something that might look like a protest — blocking workers, hugging the trees making a speech singing - anything They stood passive and immobile almost like trees themselves Or like future victims Why did they do nothing?

There are three squares with parks in the middle of Zagreb They cover several hundred meters from the square of Ban Jelacic in the north to the old Austro-Hungarian main railway station in the south From the air they look like a beautiful green oasis something like Central Park in New York and they have the same function Collectively they are called Lenuci's Horse shoe, after the name of the architect who planned them in the last century, and they are a part of the city's very identity

The first trees to go were on Tomislav Square next to the station One day the square simply awoke naked stripped of its green coat Young trees were planted to replace the old ones There was no public discussion about this act at all Not that the citizens did not see it — it would be hard to ignore such a thing But it was a fait accompli and it seemed that the destiny of the city centre's trees was not as important a problem as the refugees the bad economy or the local elections

Or was it something else that prevented people from reacting? Then came the public execution at Strossmayer Square. Now only one more park Zrinjevac at the very north remains to be put into order', after which the whole centre of Zagreb will look different.

The official explanation is always the same. As the mayor of the city said two days after the trees were cut down in Strossmayer Square they were old and sick and there was a risk that they would fall down and hurt somebody. It is a busy city and of course this couldn't be allowed to happen it should be prevented in time, or a severe accident might occur. His explanation sounded plausible. The only problem was that it was given *post festum* after the murder had already been committed. This key fact was not picked up either by the press or by any citizens' organization. The few discussions that did appear in the newspapers concentrated on aesthetics. The young trees planted in place of the old ones were not to be allowed to grow untidily any longer instead they were to be trimmed in the French style. Did it look better to have trees with "untidy tops, or neatly trimmed in the French way? It is probably not necessary to point out that this argument was conducted exclusively among the experts.

It became apparent that this 'improvement' to the city's appearance had been decided upon long ago back in the eighties at a time when there was no money to fund it. Now the money had been found and the plan fitted nicely into the concept of giving the city a new identity. It also coincided with the new city administration and the new government of the Croatian Republic which wanted to leave their own visible imprint on Zagreb. The City Institute for Space Planning formally signed the order for the tree execution which means that the explanation that these trees were diseased was merely an excuse for killing them. The real reason was to make the new plan possible. If all the trees really were sick because of pollution they could have been saved with today's technology. Ill or not they could have been gradually replaced by the new ones but that would have scuppered the whole idea of a neat new look'. In fact not all of them were diseased this would have been evident to anyone who cared to glance at them as they were cut down.

Still this is not the most important aspect of this case of premeditated murder. That lies in the secrecy and silence of the operation. Amazingly enough the whole operation became widely known only through the 'Letters to the Editor' section of the press — amazingly because in the old days such letters addressed issues that journalists were not supposed to touch. This practice has continued in the main daily newspapers controlled by the government for the same reason as it was used under communism that is to censor certain subjects. Two full pages of such letters are about the only place you can find polemical writing in the official press. This is not to say that letters pages are totally free from manipulation or control but still there are some issues that are discussed only in this form. Such was the case with the trees. These letters revealed how the city administration operates. They had a plan for the appearance of city and they hired experts but they did not discuss the plan in public. It was not that the plan was a huge secret but they simply do not have the habit of launching any kind of public discussion not even among experts themselves. In their arrogance it did not occur to any of the officials from the mayor downwards to consult, ask or inform anyone else - least of all the citizens of Zagreb.

Let's remember that we are not talking about private property here, but about public amenities that every citizen has the right to use and perhaps about which even to express his or her opinion. But the city administrators have not changed their thinking or behavior because nothing has prompted them to do so. They are used to imposing a solution (cutting down) to a problem (untidy-looking trees some of which were diseased). They are all accustomed to the way things worked under the previous system where no city bureaucrat would have dreamed of publicly discussing any sort of plan, much less delivering reports on say the public money spent on such a project.

Why change anything now? The administrators and the experts behave as though they are not responsible to anyone but the mayor, who gave them their jobs and who is paying them. The mayor of Zagreb has evidently not learned yet that he is responsible to citizens, the taxpayers whose money he is spending. In short, those in power are still operating pretty much as before — from above. Yet if you mentioned democracy to them, they'd be all for it in theory.

Obviously some concerned citizens dared to telephone the newspapers, which were then forced to ask the authorities for an explanation. But the city administration and the experts are not the only ones to be blamed. The citizens themselves behaved as if they had no say in the matter, much less the right to make demands. But, as the newspapers' letters pages later revealed, they really were angry. True, they could not show that anger before the officials acted because they did not know about the plan. But where was that anger when the trees were killed? Why didn't they show it then? When I asked my friend who saw the whole thing from her windows, she said, 'We could not do anything.' Another friend told me that the authorities had planted new trees so the tragedy was not that big. To me, it sounds like a justification of his own inactivity. The truth is that when it happened, everyone was surprised and shocked. One letter perhaps best summarized the feelings of the Zagreb citizens about the tree execution: 'We are completely helpless and without influence.'

Again, it seems strange that nobody felt seriously offended by the insult to their elementary democratic right to be informed before something like this happened, not when it was too late. But afterwards, no one demanded that someone took responsibility for the public interest. In the first place, few people saw it as a problem. Those who did were most probably aware that the Croatian democracy is not the most developed in the world and that an insistence on information, explanation, responsibility, and so on would be less than welcome to both the authorities and to other not-so-daring citizens. So, why bother? The cutting down of a tree is nobody's personal problem and does not directly interfere with one's life.

The protection of one's own interests has been everybody's sole priority until only very recently. Everything that was public was considered state-owned or state-ruled — they should take care of "it." Now suddenly there is such a thing as public interest. But it is difficult for people to grasp that in the end it is *our* interest and *our* problem and *our* citizens' right to act in the name of it. But how do you define a common public interest and how do you fight for it? It is a new issue because it is something that could become an issue only in a democracy where one can actually do something — start some action, organize a pressure group or lobby, and influence public opinion. This seems self-evident but only to those who don't live here. Here people don't think in this way; they are not prepared for it, either by their political leaders or by their media. They do not necessarily make the connection between a unilateral decision to cut down the trees in their city and democracy. But how else can you learn to put democracy into practice? It is not an abstract concept; it will not develop if nobody is willing to take a personal risk to move inwards.

If the people of Zagreb did make that connection, they should have tried to stop the workers and their electric saws. Most probably the trees would have fallen down anyway, but the citizens would have done their duty. Only several months later, another square in Zagreb — that of Petar Preradovic — lost its identity. However, this time the citizens organized a petition which in a single day collected 8,000 signatures against this "urban genocide." It was all in vain, of course. But people did stand up for their ideas. They did protest. And that makes all the difference in the world. It brings hope for the future.

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## GRAPPLING WITH WORDS

### BY VESNA KESIĆ

Dear readers

Forgive me for beginning my introduction to this useful publication with socio-linguistic gibberish. Most of you may already know what is meant by the terms 'advocacy' and 'lobbying' and how to begin this work. A cultural analysis of these concepts may seem unnecessary, burdening you with words when actions would be more helpful. The feminism which most of us have chosen (or been condemned to) generally discards overly pedantic analyses because they block much needed action and besides we don't have the time. However, the absence of reflection will leave a vacuum which may later return to haunt us as a lack of common consciousness. We will find we don't have a clear agreement on what we are doing, how we can do it successfully or what we wish to achieve. Therefore, I shall spend some time on these concepts before I say a few words about our experiences with advocacy and lobbying.

This part of the world has experienced many waves of historical change in recent years: the introduction of political pluralism and a free-market economy, but also war with its economic and moral crises, the break up of the former Yugoslavia and the establishment of new states. Those of us who have been present have seen how each wave brought with it new trends in our work: different models, methods and techniques of social change, each of them an attempt to deal with the social processes and problems brought about by the various waves.

In the first years we learned how to give women support, how to facilitate group process, establish self-help groups and counsel and empower other women. We learned how to recognize post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), how to deal with burn-out and secondary trauma and to how to identify our personal limits. This trend was followed by workshops in conflict resolution, techniques for peaceful communication and the rebuilding of trust. After this came workshop packages and training sessions in the fields of human rights, organizational development and structure, leadership, democratization and grassroots democracy, civil society, the NGO and non-profit sector, and income generation.

The appearance of each of these new skills, techniques and methods has brought new terms, words and concepts. The latest wave and trend, one which we are just beginning, has brought 'lobbying' and 'advocacy' into our glossary.

Some of the new terms have been easy to adopt because it has been easy to find adequate expressions for them in our languages. For example, 'self-help' means *samopomoć*. Others have been more problematic: empowering meaning *osnaživanje* and commitment meaning *predanost* or *odgovornost*. But what in the world can be done when one tries to transform a victim (*žrtva*) into a *survivor-ica*, meaning one who has survived and lived and overcome the consequences of violence? Accountability remains an altogether untranslatable word because the literal translation (*uracunljivost*) belongs in either a psychological or accounting dictionary, not in the sphere of social and political responsibility. Probably the best way to define it is to say that it is the obligation of government, state institutions and individuals at all levels to justify their actions to those who have democratically elected them.

If we gather all these words together and look at them as a unit, it is evident that we are dealing with a beautiful conglomeration of imports, mostly of Anglo-Saxon and more precisely North American, origin

One could make the case that there is no harm done in simply adopting these words in their original versions. This could be called a natural process of acculturation where we add our suffixes, prefixes and other morphemes to imported words such as *menadžment*, *kompjutor* and even *feministkinja* without fear of cultural imperialism. One could suggest that we just adopt them and in doing so acknowledge that we've entered a new style of public and political activity which requires new technology, new roles, new knowledge and skills.

The adoption of foreign words in and of itself is not necessarily a bad thing. We have accepted English terminology in areas of popular culture like rock n roll music and in the realm of electronic communication (i.e. computers, e-mail). This terminology has been completely and naturally integrated into our language. I don't think that the result has been a loss of our 'national essence or culture'. On the contrary, our culture has been enriched by these imports.

New words that deal with psychological and political concepts however create an influence that is different than the one affecting popular culture. I find that some of these words bring up familiar discomforts about language and the whole culture which the words signify. There are problems and pitfalls with translating these words because their meanings come out of other cultures and traditions. They cover a whole sphere of thought on public relations, political institutions and procedures, organizational principles and practices, civil society and the relation between psychological conditions and interpersonal communication.

The limitations and difficulties with translation point out that at least at first glance traditions of civic participation, civil society, democratic institutions, cultures and procedures do not exist in this part of the world. The assumption that follows is that these must be imported all at once as completely new and different concepts if we want to be able to communicate with the rest of the world.

Now you can see that the problem is no longer how to find a common language of gibberish. The issue is how to overcome the very serious difficulty of transplanting different social, cultural and psychological models. There should not be *a priori* opposition to these processes. However, we should be conscious of them and aware of when we are adapting and agreeing to them. Only then can they become an active and natural part of our work.

So let's try!

The terms *advocacy* and *lobbying* have already come into local use. We are slowly becoming accustomed to the translations. *Advocacy* is defined as *speaking in favor of, representing, or promoting*. We may also use it to mean *convincing, pestering, soliciting, or agitating*. We haven't bothered to translate *lobbying* (*lobiranje*) but we know that the concept is broader in scope than simple persuasion and that it most often refers to attempts to directly influence politicians, legislators and *policy makers*. *Policy makers* is itself another untranslatable term as the words for politics and policy are indistinguishable—*politika*.

What is *lobbying*, actually? In our language it connotes a completely disreputable practice. According to Klaić (*Large Dictionary of Foreign Words*, first edition) *lobbying* is derived from

the word lobby a physical place in a parliament building According to the same source a lobbyist is a politician who uses private conversations to win the parliamentary representatives over to one's political views In English, and even more so in US legal-political tradition lobbying refers to the practice of outside representatives of special interests (unions farmers industry) who try to influence government decisions

The use of the term lobbying in the United States dates from the first half of the nineteenth century when representatives of various special interests would gather in the lobby of the US Congress and prey upon congress members to convince them of the importance of the lobbyists' respective interests The Americans legalized this practice by adopting a federal law in the middle of this century Today lobbying activities must be registered and the often large incomes earned by lobbyists must be reported and taxed! (This has not stopped lobbyists from paying off legislators)

So now what can we do with that type of tradition? Does this mean we need to go for coffee with one of the few women members of our parliament? While that might not be a bad idea I believe that public engagement public actions and public pressure are more legitimate and will be more effective than sipping coffee This is particularly true in a society where a tradition of public action and standards for political activity are so desperately lacking

Something very similar to lobbying also comes out of the continental European tradition It was called *antichambering*, from the French word *antichambre* which means anteroom or lobby The term originated as early as the French feudal era, when it meant (Klaic) waiting in the lobby and soliciting noblemen petitioning from house to house currying favor and being slavishly humble Fortunately for world history American cultural tradition won out over the French version so that lobbying is no longer considered a humiliating political activity However that still does not necessarily make it effective under our present conditions

I would like to propose that we completely throw this highly-valued term *lobbying* out of our contemporary political-activist dictionary I suggest that we *do* get together and sip coffee with women politicians and *policy makers* explain our viewpoints and needs and attempt to convince them of our ideas But for God's sake let's not call the wonderful women's tradition of socializing and conversation '*lobbying*', and thereby convert it into political lingo even if it comes from a noble American origin

On the other hand I would still justify the time spent grappling with the translation and the concept behind the term *advocacy* But I would also like to raise some of my cultural and political dilemmas here The word *advocacy* comes from the Latin *advocare* meaning to bid to send for" In our linguistic tradition the word is linked inseparably to the legal profession where it basically means representing and advocating for a client But if you try to translate the international word *advokat* meaning a lawyer into the English word *advocate*, no one in any English-speaking society will understand you An *advokat* refers solely to a lawyer or a 'barrister HELP!" In this case, then we are trying to import a word which already exists and has its own connotations in our linguistic and political tradition One of those connotations due to our capricious history and tradition is that lawyers are not regarded as people who would unselfishly stand up for the benefit and rights of others for social justice and social change An example of the folkloric stereotypes of a lawyer are those found in the shysters from Kovacic's *U registraturi* (In the Registry Office) against whom the righteous Ivica Kicmanovic battled Kicmanovic is in some respects the historical predecessor of today's NGO activist So much for grappling with words

In June 1997 I attended a one-week workshop in Bucharest on *Strategic Planning for Reproductive Rights* sponsored by the Centre for Development and Population Activities/ Promoting Women in Development Project from Washington, DC. It was a classic workshop in 'lobbying and advocacy' with reproductive rights as just one of the areas targeted for advocacy. The workshop was especially interesting because the participants were women from six Eastern European countries, women to whom I still feel closest when it comes to exchanging these kinds of experiences.

This workshop once again demonstrated that the functional meaning of 'advocacy' varied according to cultures. Women from Eastern Europe all had problems translating the terminology. In a majority of these countries the English terms have simply been adopted and linguistically adapted. The organizers presented us with descriptive definitions of 'advocacy' in some Asian, African and Latin American countries. We attempted to come up with a broad and useful definition by brainstorming on "What does advocacy mean in our country-specific situations?" Approximately forty words were offered in that 'storm' ranging from murder to lawyer to change and public speech. We did not arrive at any common useful definitions but there were some noteworthy elements which I think important to mention.

Advocacy is a process (that is something lasting in time and space), an activity whose objective is to achieve desired changes in society. It is a process through which relationships of power can become more democratic and just by providing marginalized groups (discriminated against, underprivileged, etc.) with space in public decision-making, thereby making their lives and environment healthier, safer and more productive. Approaches to 'advocacy' must be rooted in the local context. Advocacy can include many spheres of activity using various strategies, techniques and skills. Regardless of the elaborate variations in definitions and descriptions, many of which you will find in presented in this guide, I believe that the essential elements of advocacy remain the same.

And so where does this leave us? We began with the observation that the concepts 'lobbying' and 'advocacy' are difficult to translate and that the best solution is sometimes to leave them untranslated. When we try to translate them they often sound hideously irritating. They irritate because they reflect the uniqueness of the political landscape from which they originate. And like "the process of democratization" or 'the model of developed western democracies' this makes them impossible to implement in our societies due to the trite but true existence of our cultural and political differences.

However, we have also come to the realization that the essence of those definitions is not completely unknown in our political tradition and culture. In fact, one can very easily find our social democracy and socialist roots in the European political tradition. The difference we have with American society is the fact that the US does not have political parties with this socialist orientation, nor has this political philosophy become rooted in the US political and economic system. Instead of being part of the US legislative process, advocacy has been relegated exclusively to the sphere of the civil society and non-governmental organizations (NGOs).

This does not mean that we who work in women's groups, activists in civil society, peace organizations, want to stop acting through NGOs, even if we do have social-democratic and socialist political parties in our countries. (What these parties actually do is a subject for another discussion.) Knowledge about advocacy and its techniques is necessary for all groups and organizations that wish to act publicly and politically. But in my opinion, the most adequate

term for 'advocacy' would be social engagement public activity and support or simply good old activism directed towards specific organizational goals and missions

Here arise the problems with the concept of politics for those of us working with women and with women's groups I have not met a single woman whose view of politics could not be reduced to the belief that politics is a dirty ineffective corrupt unscrupulous fight for power authority and personal gain This belief is shared by a majority of the ordinary people in this part of the world A more sophisticated feminist critique would add that politics is a patriarchal conflict discipline which includes opportunities for domination and resistance It is a field where women should not participate if they really want to change this world and maintain their diversity Despite the fact that women long ago adopted strategies for public participation and have been filling jobs and positions that have decision-making power women still have problems with politics power and authority

But this attitude is also held by every average citizen who has internalized the concepts of politics as described above It is an indication of the non-existence of a democratic tradition and participatory culture the lack of civic courage and civic consciousness There is no belief in the effectiveness of political participation so the task of being involved in politics or advocacy seems nonsensical So we must develop a tradition where politics is not considered merely as a skill and strategy for acquiring power for the sake of power or of gaining authority for the sake of personal gain This is what the art of politics has implied because of our tradition of insufficient democratic institutions and culture As long as we continue to define and experience politics in this way we will continue to surrender it to those who are dirty ineffective evil corrupt sly, and greedy We must accept the social and historical reality that politics is after all the only discipline through which it is possible to change and improve something in society including the status of women

It might help here to reflect on the origin of the term "politics" for a moment Politics in the original sense of the word means activity in connection with civil state and public affairs the setting up of relations within the community including the managing of these affairs Klacik gives the following synonyms for the adjective *political* reasonable smart wise cautious prudent rational deliberate and I must confess cunning A reminder of these roots leaves us with a clear understanding that by training ourselves in advocacy and lobbying we are acquiring the skill and knowledge to be active in politics and to participate in public and social decision-making This in turn leads to human and social development and the general improvement of society open exchange and access to information broader access to public wealth and a rejection of all forms of discrimination In women's and civil organizations the practice of politics does not have to be carried out through the traditional activities of political parties or be exhausted in the the battle for power and authority Politics can include any activities aimed at improving the status of women in all spheres of life It can mean such things as lobbying for better street lighting in the neighborhoods in which we live As women activists citizens and voters we can give the power that we do have to those in political parties who are not corrupt power-hungry greedy and selfish and who will be accountable for the political mandates we give to them

After this extensive introduction, I finally come to the point I really wanted to make regarding this guide to advocacy and lobbying Not a single technique or training method nor any knowledge of strategies planning coalitions and forms of public activism nor any new skills we may acquire such as organizational development will be useful unless we apply them with full awareness and understanding of our local situations and the political constellations and relations in our societies and communities



The well-known slogan "Think Globally, Act Locally" has now been turned on its head "Think Locally Act Globally" This does not mean we should take our own provincialism and uniqueness and impose it on others as a global process But such thinking is one of the ways we can prevent ourselves from becoming lost in the globalization process and winding up ineffective because we are uncritical and blinded by unclear terminology which comes from other cultures We must remember that these techniques of knowledge, these methods of disciplining and organizing our activities and of acquiring effectiveness will have value only if we think locally This is a lesson that the best written guides and advocacy trainers continually endeavor to instill in us To apply these methods in our communities in appropriate ways with critical (instead of criticizing) thinking and action When that step is finally taken the terminology that we use or that has been imposed upon us, will no longer be important We will come up with our own words

To be effective our organizations and activities must follow some basic principles for effective persuasion and lobbying and for the development of feminist democratic institutions The points below are often presented as activist principles for lobbying and advocacy<sup>1</sup>

- Legitimacy** Who an organization represents and the nature of the organization's relations with its constituency or base It speaks to the question For whom and with what types of authority does an organization speak out in public?

- Credibility** To what extent do those represented by an organization actually believe in the organization and have confidence or trust in it?

- Accountability** How is an organization held responsible for its activities? There are two forms of responsibility public and internal Groups and their members must be responsible and accountable not only to their constituency but also to each other

- Power** The use and control of resources (money, infrastructure employees ) influence and authority

In the end after all my skepticism about the concepts and activities of advocacy and lobbying I want to present my strongest argument for gaining knowledge and skills in these two fields Doing so will allow us to reach at least three goals

- 1 The creation of a women's public sphere and a women's culture Only through these can we contribute to social changes that improve the status of women in our communities in the public realm and in the home

- 2 The establishment of new standards and measures new laws social norms and values Only through these can old stereotypes and the traditionally bad (and ever worsening) position of women be erased and eliminated

- 3 A process and practice of advocacy social activism, and public participation that is constantly changing adapting being tested and re-examined

Applying the principles of effective organization healthy strategies coalition-building critical re-examination exchanges as well as support, community and solidarity will help us to resist dogmatism and petrification, and to take the best that feminism offers solid grounding in change and creative debate

<sup>1</sup> Taken from Final Workshop Report on Strategic Action for Reproductive Health Rights Bucharest, Romania June 24-28 1997  
PROWID/CEDPA

STAR PROJECT WORKSHOP HELD ON THE ISLAND OF HVAR IN MAY OF 1997

## AN ATTEMPT TO TRANSLATE THE TERMS ADVOCACY AND ADVOCATE INTO THE LANGUAGES OF THE YUGOSLAV SUCCESSOR STATES

### PARTICIPANTS

Svenka Savic Snijezana Matejic Morana Palikovic Rada Stakic-Domuz Rada Vujovic Jill Benderly  
Lidija Dimova Nedzma Dzananovic Xheraldina Vula Miriam Kervatin Bojana Genov Marina  
Škrabalo Marina Blagojevic, Julija Teleki, Vlasta Jalusic, Mirnesa Bajramovic

#### Croatian

zastupanje  
zagovaranje

zalaganje

advokativiranje  
angaziranje

zastupnik-ca  
zagovornik-ca  
zagovaratelj-ica  
zalagatelj-ica  
zalagac-ica

advokat-ica

#### Serbian

zastupanje  
zagovaranje  
zalaganje

#### Albanian

advokim  
perfaqsim  
perfaqshesja  
advokuesja

#### Bosnian

zastupanje  
zauzimanje  
zalaganje  
angazovanje  
zagovaranje  
nastojanje

#### Slovenian

zavzemanje  
delovanje  
zagovarjanje  
zalaganje  
angaziranje

#### Macedonian

zalozba  
zaloznicka  
zastapuvanje  
zalagacka

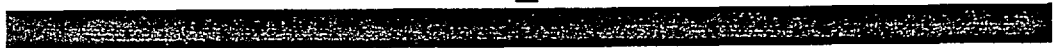
#### Hungarian

hozza allas  
ked vijelet

After ten minutes of group brainstorming on possible translations of the English words *advocacy* and *advocate* in languages of the Yugoslav Successor States linguistics professor Svenka Savic made the following observation. The content of most advocacy words is new in this region so the task of this workshop is not to choose one particular word in our respective languages for each of the English-language terms but to suggest a number of words which have meanings close to the original. Once we have made our decisions we should put these words into practice and allow time and everyday use to weave the new terms for each of these rather new concepts into our respective languages. She also suggested that each woman make sure to consult with other women in her NGO on the possible choice of words and encourage them to contribute their own suggestions and ideas.

In most of the the languages the words were almost identical, but their meanings differed. For example the word "zagovaranje" most often suggested at the workshop, has a nuanced meaning in the Slovenian language one connoting a defensive attitude. The same word in the Bosnian language has a pejorative connotation too close in meaning to the word "ogovaranje" or "gossiping".

# WHY ADVOCACY?



*Life shrinks or expands  
in proportion to one's courage.*

Anais Nin, French writer

# WHY ADVOCACY?

**L**ike the other states of the former socialist bloc the Yugoslav Successor States (YSS) have inherited an authoritarian political culture. This is a natural consequence of their relatively lengthy exposure to a social system in which there was no active nor independent role for the individual. Therefore, there were no civic initiatives, one of the basic characteristics of a democratic culture.

Democracy requires the active participation of a citizenry conscious of its importance and responsible for its decisions. It is clear that we need to encourage democracy in our part of the world. 'The people's voice' is always important in the political decision-making process. Freedom of speech is one of the fundamentals of a democratic society where the possibilities of expressing one's own opinion are unlimited as long as one also acknowledges the opinions of others. Physical violence in such a context should become completely unnecessary.

For centuries, citizens have been finding various means to express their opinions. The Netherlands, for example, had laws in place in the 11<sup>th</sup> century which foresaw the direct participation of the public in decision-making. More recently, in this century, public demonstrations around the world, from the student rebellions of the 1960s in Paris and Amsterdam to the US protests against the Vietnam War, helped to bring about great social changes. Questions regarding the legitimacy and process of political decision-making were posed at that time by a growing public chorus. A variety of social movements developed in this atmosphere of protest: student, peace, feminist, health care, consumer protection, ecological, etc. The voluntary gathering of citizens into non-profit, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), foundations, and private institutions was a significant factor in the development of modern social infrastructures. Unfortunately, the role of this sector has remained unclear to state administrations, and even to many citizens in the developed countries. It should not be surprising then that the average citizen in Croatia or Macedonia has little idea about what must be done to stimulate the development of the NGO sector.

For the purpose of this text, we have decided to differentiate between OPERATIVE NGOs, those which offer services, and ADVOCACY NGOs, those which advocate and influence.

Since the early 1980s, the advocacy NGO sector has been recognized as exceptionally important, even by powerful international institutions such as the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, and the United Nations.

**LET'S NOT FORGET:  
EVERYONE IS AN  
INTERESTED  
PARTY.**

There are now an increasing number of cases where the non-profit sector has begun to serve as a catalyst for national and international development processes. New technology has significantly broadened the scope of its activities. In the Yugoslav Successor States, the strategies and skills of public policy advocacy are expected to play a large role because the non-institutional sector, the NGOs, and the citizens who represent them will be in the best position to participate actively and efficiently in the political, social, and economic life of society.

The lack of citizens' initiatives is not the only obstacle on the road to democracy. An additional impediment is created by the concentration of power in the hands of a few individuals. We will need courage, strength, knowledge, skill, and political space in order to effect change.

Although it might not be possible to put into practice every aspect of advocacy that is recommended in this workbook, any one of these activities will open up new space for the development of democratic processes

This workbook went to press without a case study written by women in Kosova. This was not an appropriate time for them to write case studies. Instead we have included a group of statements from them and from their allies opposing the war which they face more intensely every day

### **STATEMENT OF THE SILENT PROTEST**

Today we are making a statement in silence because we the women the women of Kosova believe that we have sufficiently mourned as Albanian people of Kosova during these past ten years. Since November 1988 when as pacifists women children and men marched from their homes and from their schools towards Prishtine from all over Kosova in order to show to the world that we do not want imprisonment we do not want hate we do not want terror enough of ethnocide and that we do not ask for anything more than freedom. This is our irrefutable right

Directed towards the world we acknowledge that we have said a lot and a lot has been said we told what was happening, we obtained numerous resolutions many statements were pronounced you visited us but still from the Serb party there is an absence of will for resolving this conflict. We can not remain indifferent vis-a-vis the most recent victims which can not be buried whereas the wounded are not allowed to be treated. Amidst the victims there are maimed women and children. Since today all the women of the world are in solidarity and share our pain we summon the United Nations and the Security Council to immediately protect us as a nation in danger. We summon the United States of America as a friend for an immediate intervention. We summon the European Union to urgently reconsider its attitude towards Kosova

We urgently demand a humanitarian corridor in order to aid the population of Drenica in medicine food and clothing

We are for peace therefore with our white pieces of paper we show the world that we hold no rights and that we want to write them ourselves with peace and not with war. We stand firmly on our doorsteps to protect them

Centre for Protection of Women and Children  
Women's Forum of The League for a Democratic Kosova  
Women Intellectuals of Drenica  
Women in Black  
League of Albanian Women  
Women Artists and Veterans of Education  
Media Project  
Legjenda  
Aureola  
'Motrat Qiriazit'

Women's Network  
Kosova March 8 1998

## **WOMEN'S PROTESTS IN KOSOVA**

On 8 March 1998 as informed before, women of Kosova organized by the Network of Women protested against violence ethnocide, genocide and against the silence of the international community These protests were also to solidarize with the victims in Drenica central Kosova and against war

Women said they were for peace and they permanently did conflict resolution by being peaceful ever since 1988 But they have become aware now that one side conflict resolution is not enough in order to end the consequent violence practised over these years This time they decided to remain silent 15 minutes paying tribute to the dead and live victims with a white papers were singing the song of sorrow the song of mourning Despite the big number of women present some 60 000 as estimated in Prishtine silence let the song of papers be heard as a purple song

Otherwise these protests did not happen only in Prishtine they happened at every place of Kosova Bigger centres had women out in the streets smaller ones and the rural area had women at the door steps All women were directed to the world with blank papers speaking that we do not want to be displaced we stay here we do not want war we are for peace therefore let us write our own rights we lack of in peace

According to the evaluations at least half a million women protested

Reported by  
Sevdie Ahmeti  
Prishtine 9 March 1998

## **STATEMENT BY WOMEN'S GROUPS OF CROATIA ON THE VIOLENCE IN KOSOVA**

We have been following the unprecedented wave of violence occurring in Kosova with great concern the terror of Miloevic's regime obviously does not waver before the worst kind of violence inflicted upon its citizens for the purpose of hindering a whole democratic society Through the manufacturing of internal enemies this time it is another ethnic group the Kosova Albanians the regime is attempting to cover up the loss of faith that the citizens have shown towards the government in the last elections and hence, the use of stoking hatred towards citizens of Albanian ethnicity continues to support the ruling party This model of the creation of hatred from one nation towards another is a necessary propaganda tool familiar to others in parts of the former Yugoslavia, and it is this abuse which is most dangerous in pitting one nation against another man against man, all for the obvious purpose of maintaining power Consequently with that goal and willingness to use brutal force this regime obviously does not wish to negotiate does not see people individuals women children ignores peace efforts and is indifferent with respect to its own acts of inhumanity All this is excused through the supposed need to protect the interests of the Serbian nation when it is exactly that Serbian nation who is experiencing the most historical damage alongside the Albanians Repression in the place of democracy the Serbian regime is not only smothering its Albanian citizens of their basic human rights but they are also leaving their citizens with the same fate for any future development of a civil society and democracy inheritance

We women from Croatia are embittered by the brutality and insolence of this regime and we deeply sympathize with the victims of the police and military violence being inflicted on Kosova With this statement we would like to express our solidarity with the citizens of Kosova and

at the same time strongly protest against the use of violence We appeal to the Serbian regime to the citizens of FR Yugoslavia and to the international community to IMMEDIATELY begin negotiations with the local residents

This statement is signed in unity between women's groups and all democratic powers who are opposed to the violence

Anti War Campaign — Croatia  
Ariadna - Rijeka  
Arkzin - magazin  
B a B e  
Because - lesbian publishing group  
CESI - Center for Education and Counseling of Women  
Women's Club - Pakrac  
Rosa House  
Lesbian group - Kontra  
Open doors - Split  
Transition to Democracy - women's group  
The Society of Professional Scientists  
Women's Action Rijeka - Rijeka  
Women's group Losinj - Losinj  
Women's Association Split  
Women's Infoteka

In Zagreb March 1998

## **WAR IN KOSOVA - THE LOGICS OF PATRIARCHY**

Violation of human rights is an international issue

Women's autonomous groups in Belgrade are communicating publicly in order to condemn the violence of the Serbian regime in Kosova The war in Kosova has begun The violence of the Serbian regime in Kosova is the continuation of the apartheid policy which the regime is applying for the past ten years And the present situation shows that the territory is sacred not the human life

Where do we start from?

### **WE START FROM THE PATRIARCHY,**

from the PATRIARCHY as the mechanism for maintaining men's violence against women for thousand of years Women's movement is unmasking the patriarchal ideology which serves the violent men to perpetuate violence so that women and children cannot be helped from outside to stop the violence Patriarchy considers that men's violence in the family is a family private matter' - this ideology of privacy permits the violence in all other domains of society When the SOS hotline for women and children calls the police to intervene in a violent scene a violent husband next to his bruised wife claims 'This is my wife it is my issue' Policeman also with male understanding confirms that it is a "family matter' That is exactly the model how the first man of the ruling regime leads the war in Kosova Kosova is an inner problem of Serbia" About which he decides alone In that way the referendum too becomes his personal matter - family matter - whilst Kosova has been for many years an international open problem



### **WE START FROM THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS**

In the year that celebrates 50th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights which was signed by more than 150 members of United Nations we recall that this declaration has been issued precisely in order to prevent the possibility of the abuse by the official regimes (as in the World War I and II) to torture and kill their citizens. The Universal Declaration claims that the breaking of every human right is an international issue: the confiscation of the passport of an Albanian at the Yugoslav border when he comes back from work in Switzerland back home' (to Serbia) this is in the same way an international issue as wife battering, abused children, the consequences of sanctions, forced drafts, torture in the police station, sexual harassment at work, incest.

### **WE REFER TO THE EXPERIENCE OF APARTHEID IN SOUTH AFRICA**

One of the means of domination of white establishment in South Africa which led the policy of apartheid and discrimination against black people, was the politics which pronounced that the apartheid was their inner matter.

Why are we speaking publicly?

Women's movement and feminist theory knows the mechanism of exclusion of the Others. Women as the universal, the discriminated Other, gender knows that male violence against women is the model of every violence against the Other as an enemy.

In Serbia the model of the Other as an enemy was constructed by a man who rules for the past ten years. We saw that from the beginning of the war the Other as an enemy changed his face: first it was the Slovenes, then Croats, then the Muslims, and now they are Albanians and Montenegrins. Very soon they will be from Vojvodina and Šumadija. It seems to us that even when that man remains without territory or people, but the symbol of the empty Serbian regime, he will go on ruling.

Notwithstanding him, notwithstanding the new states, women will still be an object of violence as the Other gender if we do not organize ourselves. That is why we are publicly speaking.

Women's autonomous groups are based on feminist politics that private is political and they tend to work to end all kinds of discriminations. In the first place the discrimination against women. We refuse all kinds of violence, especially the violence that the stronger practices against the weaker. That is why it is less important how many states there will be formed and on which territory, but it is very important that no human right is abused. It is important for us the right to be different - without which there is no civil society.

### **WE SUPPORT**

We support women's groups in Kosova and in Serbia which promote women's human rights and non-violent communication.

We support the peace movement in Kosova and Serbia.

We support legal initiatives which will outlaw all (written and not written) discriminatory laws in Serbia against Albanians in Kosova. First of all the state reproductive policy that legitimizes hatred against Albanians by paying only Serb women for the birth of a third child.

We support those who want international mediation because after ten years of exhaustion of double crossing and torturing the Albanian people the Serbian regime cannot be trusted

We support disloyalty to the Serbian regime refusal of the draft deserters the right of an individual to conscience objection that is that one cannot be sent to war in Kosova against his own will

### **WARNING**

If the war in Kosova expands no matter with which armies, men's violence against women will be intensified rape in war rape in refugee camps prostitution sexual trafficking with women violence in families ethnic cleansing in mixed marriages sexual harassment incest Every war makes social and private relations more patriarchal and legalizes the militarism which means that the status of women decrease and hate against women increases

Autonomous Women's Groups in Belgrade Serbia

Women in Black Against War

Autonomous Women's Center Against Sexual Violence

"Feminist Publishers 94

Center for Women's Studies

Belgrade Women's Lobby

in Belgrade May 1998

**OPEN LETTER FROM "WOMEN TO WOMEN" - SARAJEVO**

To /ZAMIR/WOMEN, /ZAMIR/FORUM  
From ZENEZENAMA\_SA@ZAMIR-SA ZTN APC ORG  
(Zene Zenama Sarajevo)  
Subject Kosova - apel  
Date Mo 15 06 98, 00 00 (received 17 06 98)  
Size 2333 Bytes  
File Kosovač1.txt, 15 06 98, 18 02 16

Sarajevo, 15/06/98

Dear Friends

Women to women is an independent citizens association founded in March 1997 as a non - governmental non - party organisation whose work focuses on the protection of human rights especially women s human rights

Concerned about the current situation in Kosova SR Yugoslavia we would like to raise an appeal to the national and international community

We members of the Citizens Association Women to Women strongly condemn any kind of violence and abuse of individual and collective human rights in Kosova At a time when Bosnia and Herzegovina is only beginning to heal its wounds from the four-year long aggression the national and international community is closing its eyes on the sufferings of civilians in Kosova

Despite the mistakes made and one would think the lessons learnt from dealing with the Bosnian conflict has the international community not yet understood that the largest group of victims in such conflicts the one group no one seems to ask anything about are defenseless women and children?

Has the International Community not yet understood that simply waiting for armed conflicts to stop of their own accord necessarily implies the loss of one too many lives? We ask those who have dedicated their lives to defend democracy and its basic principles to immediately advocate condemnation of the current situation in Kosova We therefore ask of YOU not only to get involved in helping to prevent the outbreak of a new war in the Balkans but to take responsibility for peacekeeping in the region

We ask of the international institutions to get actively involved in helping to bring the parties in conflict to the negotiating table

We also request access to the regions in which the greatest number of victims are to be found for humanitarian agencies and non - governmental organizations in order for them to be able to assist and provide support to the innocent civilians

These civilians mostly women and children cannot be asked to wait for consensus to be reached between high politics

Bosnia and Herzegovina stands as a very example in our recent past

Dear friends

we ask from you to react immediately in order to prevent new conflicts in the Balkans What can you do

- send this letter to three local organizations - preferably to two in your own town and one to another organization in the European Union
- write to your local media requesting action of support within Kosova
- write to your Parliamentary representatives enclosing this letter

Only together can we prevent the repeat tragedies for innocent victims

Udruzenje gradjanki 'zene zenama' Sarajevo  
Sarajevo 15/06/98

*Every advance was the result of women's rebellion against a system which was limiting them, followed by great personal sacrifice, but also the conscious and sub-conscious efforts of the power-wielders to manipulate that which was achieved, or to even use it against women, regardless of the character of the social system.*

*Neda Božinović, The Women's Question in Serbia*



# BASIC ADVOCACY STRATEGIES

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# BASIC ADVOCACY STRATEGIES

## NINE FUNDAMENTAL QUESTIONS

**F**or every area of governance, you can devise a strategy and plan tactics with which you can become a democratic advocate

Let us first define the concepts "strategy" and "tactics"

### TACTICS

Tactics are the procedures and tools you need to attain a defined goal. One can choose from a range of tactics such as gathering signatures on a petition, organizing a letter-writing campaign, or holding a protest rally.

### STRATEGY

A strategy is a plan that will lead you through the use of certain skills and tactics to the attainment of a clearly defined goal.

A strategy requires that you clearly define the following points: WHERE YOU ARE NOW, WHERE YOU WANT TO END UP, AND HOW YOU INTEND TO DO THIS.

**To develop a successful public advocacy strategy, you must answer nine key questions.**

### A/ LOOK AHEAD

#### 1 What do you want to attain?

A strategy begins with a clearly defined goal. Then you need to distinguish between long-term and short-term goals. It will also help to differentiate between *content* goals which describe how to change the situation, and *process* goals which describe how to create a cooperative way of working for change.

#### 2 Towards whom is the action directed? Who do you want to affect?

Who are the people or institutions you want to reach? You need to identify not only responsible individuals, possible partners and allies, but also your opponents. You need to have a clear idea who will be receiving your messages and to know how and by what means you can generate pressure on the target groups.

#### 3 What message do you want the audience to hear?

In approaching a variety of audiences, you must adapt the message so that it is widely recognizable and well understood. An approach should contain two basic components: an appeal to the general welfare, and an appeal to a particular personal interest.

#### 4 Who transmits the message?

The same message can have completely different effects when it is sent by different people. Put the **RIGHT PERSON IN THE RIGHT PLACE AT THE RIGHT TIME**. Sometimes it's better to send an expert, and sometimes someone who has had direct experience with the problem will be more suitable.

#### 5 How do you want to deliver the message?

There are many ways to send a message, from face-to-face conversations to gentle public persuasion. Make a case-by-case assessment of what will be most effective.

## **B/ LOOK BACK**

### **1 What have you already achieved? What are your resources?**

Successful public advocacy needs a solid foundation. This might include previous actions, already-existing coalitions, skilled personnel, or a data base. You don't need to start from scratch; you can make use of previously acquired experience.

### **2 What do you still need to develop? What are your weak points?**

Identify and develop the new resources you need to be effective in a given situation. For example, are there new coalitions that have to be built? Is there research to be done? Are there media contacts to be made?

### **3 How will you begin?**

Evaluate which of your goals are currently achievable. Which goals can help you gather the right kind of people? Which can help light the path to your final goal?

### **4 How will you evaluate your work?**

Your progress should be examined along the way and the success of your strategy should be continually assessed. It is most important that you review whether you have directed your message to the correct audiences and whether they are hearing you as you want to be heard. Your ability to make corrections along the way and to eliminate elements that do not work is vitally important.

## **KEY ELEMENTS OF STRATEGIC THINKING**

Realize that there are no absolute or "God given" values or facts.

- Use an analytical approach but do not neglect your intuition.
- Maintain a balanced approach enroute to your goal without rejecting any possible option.
- Deal with multiple aspects of the same problem simultaneously.
- Always be open to new insights.
- Acknowledge that there is always the possibility of interpersonal disagreements.
- Value flexibility as well as commitment to work.

IT IS DIFFICULT TO DEFINE THE KEY ELEMENTS IN THE RIGHT WAY (and something is always left unsaid)

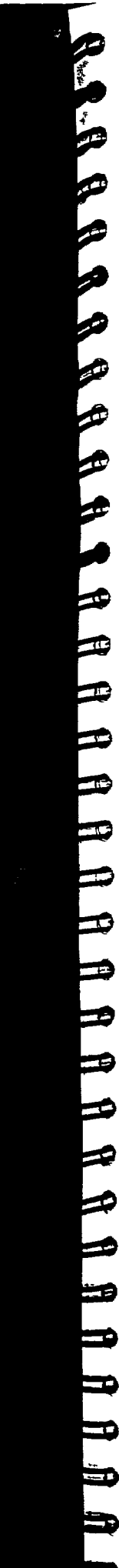
## **DURING THE DEVELOPMENT OF A STRATEGY ALWAYS KEEP THE FOLLOWING IN MIND**

Don't rely on assumptions either yours or anyone else's

- There may not always be a clear answer but the questions always have to be clear.
- Life is short so get involved in the game.
- If you get bored during a campaign before you conclude that this is inevitable, find out why this is so.
- Accept paradoxes.
- Changes are unavoidable but they can be good, bad, somewhere in between or a little bit of all three.
- Leadership is vital but it isn't worth anything if you don't have partners and associates.
- Some things are simply not feasible.
- A sense of urgency is good but calm is even more important.

- Good advice is always welcome but beware of foolish counsel
- Sometimes it is less important to do the RIGHT thing than it is to do something that will teach us what is the RIGHT thing
- Listen to yourself listen to others Be sure to enable others to hear you
- Never say never





WHAT IS PUBLIC  
POLICY ADVOCACY?

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*We all have power - the capacity to influence, alter, affect the lives of those around us. And until all of us use our power in the public world, it will continue to be dominated by those who are driven to dominate, rather than by those who wish to use power as a means to noncontrolling wellbeing.*

Marilyn French,  
American feminist and literary critic,  
*Beyond Power*

# WHAT IS PUBLIC POLICY ADVOCACY?

**PUBLIC POLICY ADVOCACY** is the process of taking action using the instruments of democracy to create new public space, new politics, and new laws. Instruments of democracy include elections and legal processes, civic actions, civil disobedience, negotiating, influencing public opinion, even bargaining.

**PUBLIC POLICY ADVOCACY'S** mission is the creation of a more just and fair society. A society is considered to be more just when the interests of marginalized groups, people with weak economic power and even weaker political influence are respectfully represented.

**PUBLIC ADVOCACY** involves activities directed towards changing the politics, position or program within an institution - from the non-profit sector to government ministries and parliament to international organizations. These changes aim to create more democratic and more open structures and processes within the community.

**PUBLIC POLICY ADVOCACY** may take place in situations where the decision-making process is completely informal.

**PUBLIC POLICY ADVOCACY** means representing, appealing to or defending a particular idea to other people.

**PUBLIC POLICY ADVOCACY** means speaking out, directing the attention of the community to a certain important topic and guiding a decision-maker towards a good choice.

**PUBLIC POLICY ADVOCACY** includes various short-term activities that lead to the attainment of the designated long-term goal.

**PUBLIC POLICY ADVOCACY** seeks innovation; it benefits from creativity and the desire for experimentation.

**PUBLIC PUBLIC ADVOCACY** demands that you participate completely with all of your being and life experience.

**PUBLIC POLICY ADVOCACY** demands that you accept the leading role and not simply play the role of an extra in a film.

**PUBLIC ADVOCACY** demands that you give 100%!

**IF YOU WANT CHANGE,  
CHOOSE PUBLIC POLICY ADVOCACY!**

## Comments

1. Do you recognize your activities in any of these working definitions?
2. Define what the concept **PUBLIC POLICY ADVOCACY** means to you.
3. In your opinion, what would be the most effective means of using **PUBLIC POLICY ADVOCACY** in your country?

*Never doubt that a small group of thoughtful, committed citizens can change the world. Indeed it is the only thing that ever has.*

Margaret Mead, American anthropologist

*If we don't take catch our opportunity now, it may be another another twenty, twenty-five years before we are going to accomplish anything for women.*

Nahla Qura, Palestinian Women's Social Work  
Committee, Jerusalem

# ELEMENTS OF **IV** ADVOCACY

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# ELEMENTS OF ADVOCACY

**T**hose involved in public policy advocacy will need to understand and be able to articulate the concept but you must also accept the perspective that modifications to the definition are necessary acceptable and natural Each of the interpretations offered here is a working definition of public policy advocacy Following each new experience putting advocacy into practice, the definitions may be supplemented and reshaped

In 1985 David Cohen and Mike Petschuk founded the Advocacy Institute in Washington DC Many people advised them not to use the word "advocacy" because of its negative connotations because it "smelled of politics", it confused people and it scared off funders Cohen and Petschuk politely listened to all these objections but remained firmly committed to their choice of words

Advocacy encourages and demands an involvement with politics, in a wide variety of political settings Public advocates are looking for concrete information Who did what? How much did they do? When was an action undertaken? Why? Public policy advocacy calls for a more equitable division of political and economic power To be a successful advocate you must make use of many types of tools and techniques, strategies and tactics and must challenge yourself in various public arenas Advocacy never limits itself to only one tool or method it doesn't act ONLY during elections, doesn't focus exclusively on mobilizing the masses and doesn't concentrate solely on using data or coalitions or the media

## FIVE ELEMENTS OF PUBLIC POLICY ADVOCACY

To better understand advocacy examine these FIVE ELEMENTS

- 1 CHARACTERISTICS OF PUBLIC POLICY ADVOCACY
- 2 SPACE FOR PUBLIC DEBATE
- 3 ADVOCACY ARENAS
- 4 PERSONAL AND INSTITUTIONAL USAGE
- 5 USING THE POWER OF PUBLIC POLICY ADVOCACY TO IMPROVE PUBLIC RELATIONS

### 1. CHARACTERISTICS OF PUBLIC POLICY ADVOCACY

#### PUBLIC POLICY ADVOCACY

- SEEKS something from others individuals, groups institutions
- ASKS systematic questions
- GETS INVOLVED in issues with which nobody else is involved
- CREATES new political experiences
- INVOLVES people who are interested in changing a particular policy or political situation
- INITIATES ACTION AND UNCOVERS INFORMATION

### 2. SPACE FOR PUBLIC DEBATE

Public policy advocacy opens up space for PUBLIC DEBATE How this is formulated depends on the field of interest For example, public debate on the need to decrease domestic violence could focus on changing legislation Concerns about the importing of meat might lead to a broader look at consumer protection Public exchange on the need to raise the standard of living for pensioners might focus on their right to free transportation

In creating the space for the PUBLIC AIRING OF OPINIONS you must

- use information and analysis
- develop a story
- establish different levels of public involvement
  - a) low level quiet monitoring inobtrusive activities, quietly accepted public actions
  - b) medium level actions which receive a PUBLIC show of support
  - c) high level active public participation in a partnership in which all have decision-making influence

### 3. ADVOCACY ARENAS

To create the space for the public airing of opinions, you will have to be active in a number of public arenas You will need specific skills to be effective in each of these arenas

#### a NETWORKING

In first phase of creating an advocacy strategy, identify the people who view particular problems similarly and who wish to react in the same fashion

#### b AD HOC COALITIONS

Don't expect these types of associations to be permanent Involve certain groups, or individuals in common actions for short-term goals These coalitions are effective in part because of their unpredictability They bring in unexpected partners and will enrich your efforts with creativity

#### c LONG-TERM COALITIONS

Build and maintain long-term alliances, with precisely defined goals It is optimal to include groups and individuals from a wide spectrum of civil society These coalitions are most effective in the development of actions

#### d MEDIA

Make use of the media in all possible ways They are very important partners in creating public opinion

#### e DECISION-MAKERS

It is exceptionally important to finding the correct approach to elected representatives They make important decisions and have access to information Keep in mind that they are susceptible to various forms of pressure from power-brokers, in the name of "higher interests" and that they are likely to give in if nobody keeps an eye on them

#### f FUNDERS

Look for support from funders and international agencies Develop relations of mutual support and respect

### WHAT ELSE DO YOU NEED IN ORDER TO SUCCESSFULLY ACT IN EACH OF THESE SETTINGS?

It is crucial to know the system!!!

## **ADVOCATES MUST KNOW**

### **1 STRUCTURE**

How are institutions such as government ministries or county offices organized? What are the decision-making processes?

### **2 JURISDICTION**

The laws determine the jurisdiction of municipal county and national offices and ministries. In what manner do these bodies carry out their responsibilities? Over what areas do particular offices and ministries have jurisdiction?

### **3 CONNECTIONS**

Do other informally-drawn connections exist between particular levels of decision-making? How are the decision-making levels connected?

### **4 POWER**

Who has the power to put questions on the parliamentary agenda and in the parliamentary debate about a particular problem?

### **5 LIMITS**

What are the limits of influence?

### **6 INFLUENCE**

At what points and in what manner are decision-makers susceptible to outside influence? Can you get close to them? Do they react to public opinion or the media?

## **WHAT ELSE DO YOU HAVE TO KNOW?**

Once an NGO enters the public sphere and throws its hat into the ring, it has to be prepared to think strategically. Be realistic, honest about your capabilities, but don't get stuck. Taking action will bring unexpected turning-points, sometimes disappointments, but also wonderful surprises.

## **KNOWING THE SYSTEM IN WHICH YOU ARE ACTIVE INCREASES THE POSSIBILITY OF POSITIVE SURPRISES, AND DECREASES DISAPPOINTMENTS**



An example from Croatia

## THE DIVISION OF POWERS IN THE REPUBLIC OF CROATIA

	Legislative	Executive	Judicial
The National Level	Parliament of Rep of Croatia The National Level House of Representatives House of Counties	President of the Rep of Croatia Government of the Rep of Croatia Ministries	•Supreme Court
The Regional/ local level  •Counties •Cities/Towns •Municipalities	Representative bodies Councils or legislatures	County Prefect Town Council Mayor	County Court Municipal Court

Direct decision-making by citizens

- Referendum
- Local citizens committees
- The right to petition

### 4. WHAT ARE THE PERSONAL AND INSTITUTIONAL BENEFITS?

- Builds self-confidence
- Demystifies public processes
- Awakens our consciousness about achieving unity through activities in which differences are acknowledged and responsibility is shared
- Prepares us for public presentations
- Teaches us to use modern techniques of communication from the media to the computer
- Affirms the individual as an integral part of the whole
- Helps us become more aware of the political nature of all acts and makes us more responsible with respect to our public duties

### 5. HOW CAN YOU USE THE POWER OF ADVOCACY TO IMPROVE PUBLIC RELATIONS?

By acting publicly and building connections at numerous levels from individuals to institutions you will acquire power and the strength to influence. Opening new public space and creating a common interest that did not exist previously brings power to you and your organization. However your reputation and power will grow only if the information you pass on to the media and the state administration is credible.

Your power will also increase when you know how to influence those who are responsible for handing down a particular decision. Tell them that you will inform the public about their actions and voice your belief that their role was (or wasn't) constructive.

# THE POWER OF ADVOCACY

One of the sources of acquiring social power is PUBLIC POLICY ADVOCACY. It is one of the important components of organized daily life. NGOs and other segments of civil society are the link between the weak and the strong. The challenge is to motivate people within the community - trade unionists, lawyers, physicians, teachers, academics - all those who will together take part in building the process of public policy advocacy.

You won't always be successful in attaining the desired objective. Remember that even a compromise is an improvement one upon which you build your future actions.

## **6. DIAGRAM OF THE ELEMENTS OF PUBLIC POLICY ADVOCACY**

While the use of various advocacy techniques and strategies will vary from case to case, the following basic elements yield effective action. You don't have to use all of them simultaneously or in the order in which they are listed. Each situation will demand a specifically planned combination.

### **a SELECT A GOAL**

It is important to determine whether your goal contributes to solving the problem and whether it will attract the attention of various groups.

### **b USE DATA AND RESEARCH FOR ADVOCACY**

Data is essential. Facts will often be the most important part of your argument. What data will best explain the need for your goal?

### **c IDENTIFY THE AUDIENCE FOR YOUR MESSAGE**

When the goal and the issue have been chosen, direct your advocacy towards those responsible for making decisions or to those individuals who can influence the decision-makers.

### **d SHAPE AND DIRECT YOUR MESSAGE**

Create a message appropriate to those to whom it is being directed.

### **e CREATE COALITIONS**

The power of advocacy is assured by the number of participants involved in attaining the goal. Involving a large number of groups or individuals also serves as a form of protection, particularly in places where democracy and public policy advocacy are new phenomena. Think about who else you can include. Who else can be an ally?

### **f MAKE CONVINCING PRESENTATIONS**

Opportunities to influence decision-makers are limited. A politician may only offer you one meeting. A minister may be able to spare five minutes of her time. A well-prepared presentation based upon convincing arguments can transform even a short meeting into a successful action. You often have only one chance to explain your position, so it's very important that you know how to take advantage of this opportunity.

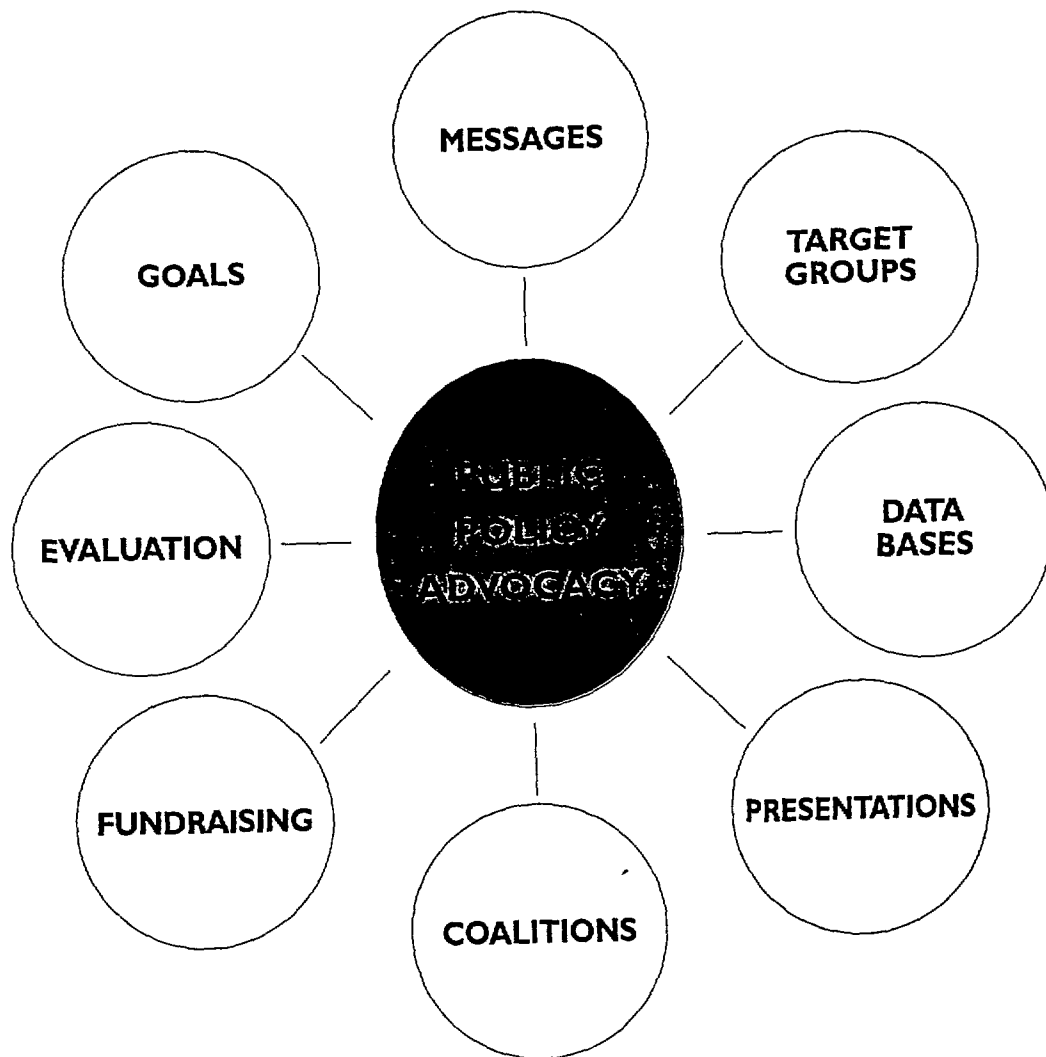
### **g FUNDRAISING**

Most activity requires funding. Successful advocacy calls for the long-term investment of time, energy and resources. You will need to plan ways to gather the necessary financial resources.

### **h EVALUATION**

How will you know whether or not you have been successful in reaching your goals? How can you improve your strategy? If you want your advocacy to be successful, you will need to seek feedback and evaluate your invested effort.

# THE STAR PROJECT OF DELPHI INTERNATIONAL



## CASE STUDY

Topic **Preventing violence against women**  
Location **Bosnia and Herzegovina**  
Date **1998**  
Implementer **Medica Infoteka, Zenica**  
Case study by **Rada Stakic-Domuz**

In 1998 Infoteka began a public policy advocacy project entitled 'Preventing Violence against Women'. Since 1997 we have been involved in an initiative to prevent violence against women which began as a joint action of BiH and international organizations. The activities of the initiative focused on four areas:

1. Increasing the level of public awareness
2. Creating a database
3. Educating the police
4. Changing laws and regulations

Infoteka joined a working group responsible for increasing the level of public awareness and creating a database. Joint meetings were held until March. After that we worked independently.

Infoteka's first step in the advocacy process was to research the problem of violence against women in our community. Through research the following goals were to be met:

1. Determine the extent and nature of violence against women in the community
2. Acquire information on the extent and nature of services being offered to women survivors of violence (including institutional procedures and protocols)
3. Become familiar with the ways professionals in the community approach this problem, their attitude towards violence against women and towards suggestions for changing laws and procedures as well as their ideas on how to work to prevent violence against women
4. Learn how women in the community view the problem of violence against women. Assess the level of 'acceptance' of various forms of violence and the level of community awareness regarding women's human rights and the right to life without violence

Our research will serve as a foundation upon which advocacy activities will be built. For example, working with a police inspector we gained knowledge about how a woman who has experienced sexual abuse was treated, the legal framework, police protocol, and the attitude of the police personnel towards victims of violence. We are now in a position to develop an advocacy program and to attempt to change existing conditions and make it possible for women to be treated with respect and dignity.

In the last few months we have:

- Formulated a research plan and timeline for three areas of investigation: gathering data from government institutions, interviewing professionals in the community, and completing the preliminary research
- Organized a seminar at which we learned methods of preliminary research
- Gathered data from the Center for Social Work and interviewed Center personnel
- Gathered data from the police and interviewed inspectors who handle cases involving violence against women
- Established contact with medical personnel who can help us gather information from the emergency ward and the gynecological unit of the regional hospital



- Trained 12 women to conduct public survey research on the issue of violence against women
- As of July 17 1998 we had collected 500 completed questionnaires, and we are currently compiling the data

All 500 questionnaires will be analyzed by computer and the results will be published in an independent publication As far as we know this is the first research of its type conducted in the city of Zenica It uncovers fundamental information related to the problem of violence against women In the same publication we will also publish an analysis of the work of the SOS Telephone which has been operating within Medica since May 11 1998 and an analysis of the data and interviews conducted with the police the Center for Social Work medical institutions and NGOs offering services to women and children

We will present the publication to the media at a press conference designed to raise public awareness regarding the problem of violence against women Further advocacy activities will be planned based on the results of the research

The ultimate goal of our advocacy is a change in the police procedure regarding the treatment of victims of sexual violence We also want to change the legal approach to domestic violence in regards to appropriate sanctions In working for these goals our advocacy efforts will be directed towards building coalitions with other women's non-governmental organizations

### Comments

Let's INVESTIGATE this case study with respect to the previously outlined elements of public advocacy

- 1 With which issue does this public policy advocacy campaign deal?
- 2 To which specific arena is this advocacy campaign directed?
- 3 Which data does it use?
- 4 Offer your suggestion in which advocacy arena would you try to create room for change?
- 5 Which other people in the community would you target?

Medica je prva pružila ruku ženama i djeci, žrtvama nasilja

# Kako prekinuti šutnju



U Medicu su stigle i žrtve nasilja. Slika: M. Pojakić, psihologinja

Prvih 100 dana aprila 1993. godine kao od tek se ekvivalenta i to je prvi kat za 1.000 žena koje u prvih mjesecima najteže ratna trauma došla je na njih. Na njih su bile ostavljene i žene koje su bile agresivne na bosnu i hercegovinu u Zrenjaninu. Se skupila grupa žena i dječaka iz žiljavih oblasti medicane i sustrana Centar za terapiju žena Medica. Upravo prvu vashodni stihio psihološko i mekoloska pomoć i loanim z nama i njihovih djece. Kako mi se e kadala vrati i uspijeli su i u zrenjaninu. U Medicu prostraju se i životni i i rad na ka. Orijentiraju se i žrtve ratnih trauma ucene.

Istomiti petogodišnjem ratu u okrug priključuju se i drugi žrtvi iz različitih država. Medica je u brojkama nije statički, ali i u vrijeme udarne trahone i e i tino e i koo i ed e po mentalno i izk zdravlje k ženih djetia. U brojni di terapiji kiti seansi procesi mulantropi, stacionarni, psi i farmako klog i ječenja i obuke u Medicu inimi i n ama, radnog i tingu i a ravan j.

## Zahtjevi života

Tragale smo za onim što osnajuje sto pumaže što može pružiti sigurnost i spozna ule vriednost autentičnog ljudskog susreta... Prvi period rata i počeci rada sa psihološkom traumom žene i djece u ovom projekatu su i e remenske distance izveduju mi kao period i ljudskog i profe-

sionalnog preživljavanja. Bilo je to svakodnevno hvatanje koraka sa zahtjevima koje je život postavljao pred nas i mise porodične, svakodnevno hvatanje koraka sa potrebama traumatizirane populacije kojom smo se po svom ljudskom opredjeljenju bavile. kaže Lidia Ostojić, psiholog u projektu, i naglašava. Svaka od nas je u svoj rad pored prethodnog profesionalnog iskustva unijela velik dio svoje ličnosti svoga stila razmišljanja i kreiranja odnosa sa ljudima, odnosa prema teskoćama. A onda smo jedna drugu nadopunjivale i polagano se gradilo naš pristup problemima žene i dogruđivalo projekat kao cjelinu.

U samim početku Medice je osnovana radni pružanja smještaja, medicinske njega psihološke tretmana višestruko traumatiziranim ženama izbjegličke populacije. silanun ženama koje su bile zatečene u logorima koje su preživjele progone i ubistva lanova porodice trudnicama sa ugroženom trudnoćom.

Političkoj stabilizaciji u stacionarnom dijelu Medice vraćanje uvjetima bližim uobičajenom životu bio je sjedeći korak stoga lijeti stvaranje Medice i 3 u Visu kom gdje se omogućuje sticanje novih znanja i vještina (strani jezici, daktiografija, rad na kompjuteru, življenje, plerjenje i terapeutske usluge) kao proširenje mogućnosti za zaposlenje i materijalne sigurnosti žene.

## Ličnosti prije svega

Projekat je zamišljen tako da se ženi koja je preživjela traumatično silovanje ili bilo koje traumatsko iskustvo obraćamo kao

Petogodišnji rad u Medici nisu brojke nje statistika to su čitave životne sudbine strahote nesreće i njihove teške posljedice po žene i djecu i porodicu ● Vrijeme danas je u okviru porodice koje dugo ostaje skriveno i bez adekvatne pomoći ugroženoj. Stoga i akcija Prekinimo šutnju podržimo jedna drugu

ličnosti a ne kao kategoriji. To je mjesto gdje se preko njenog stradanja neće šutke prelaziti, gdje će se naći na povjerenje, solidarnosti, uzajavanje i diskreciju. Mjesto gdje će biti poštovana kao ličnost i gdje će njena snaga preživljavanju naći na poštovanje. Gdje će ojačana samosvijest nastaviti da živi život, ne onaj koji mora živjeti! nego punovrijedan život kažu u psihološkim Medicu.

Stoga već početkom druge godine djelovanja, vodene idejom okupljanja porodice za jedan broj ranijih stanovnika iz Medice obezbjeđuju stanove za trajniji smještaj te u okviru radnih projekata i mogućnosti zarade i osamostaljenja. Vraćanje samopoštovanja, osjećaja vrijednosti i ugurnosti učinili su i programi doškoložavanja prekvilifikacije ali i poštovanje srednjih škola i fakulteta stanovnika Medice.

U Medici su pomoć dobijale sve žene koje su se obraćale u ginekološku ambulancu u ambulancu opće prakse ili psihološko-najbrijzko savjetovanište. Medica je pomoć pružala i različitim kategorijama socijalno-ugroženog stanovništva, invalidnim licima bolesnoj djeci. Članice Medicinog tima pružile su brojne usluge na području psihosocijalne edukacije i formalne informacioni centar...

## Soo-telofon

Sama brojka od 55 hiljada pruženih usluga različite vrste u toku pet godina postojanja mnogo govori a od tada do danas Medica je narastala, mijenjala se i usaglašavala svoje aktivnosti potrebama žene kako u ratu tako i u posleratnom periodu.

U današnjem vremenu navode djelatnice Medice, repatrijacija bosanskih izbjeglica, žena koje sa sobom nose



Od 1993. mobilne medicinske ekipe MEDICE probijale su barkade i silaze do zlostavljanih žena. Od 1995. MEDICA ima MARTU. To je savremeno opremljena pokratna ginekološka ambulanta u kojoj je do sada obavljeno 2 341 ginekološki i 582 pregleda opšte prakse.

na izlazu ere traume ili njihovo ponovno preživljavanje. Ono o čemu nam život zahtjeva i daje odgovor u Medicini, tima. Psihijatrično i fizičko načelo istovremeno. Na liječenje i prevenciju nepredviđenih problema. Većina tih problema desava se iz

zatvorenih vrata kuće porodice u tajnosti i izolaciji s jedne strane, što su to tajne nezrečive s kojima je teško izaći u javnost koje je jako teško teško saopćiti a s druge strane zato što žene

jenja, pa će u tom smislu edukativna uloga u zdravstvenoj preventivi biti u fokusu aktivnosti ovog tima.

**Bogato iskustvo**

S obzirom na sublimirano iskustvo i stečeno znanje u radu sa traumatiziranim osobama, Medica sutra može biti respektabilan partner institucijama u oblasti psiho zdravstvene zaštite. Može biti uvaženi saradnik na nekom istraživačkom projektu iz oblasti psihologije psihijatrije sociologije ginekologije nudeći pone to iz svoje dokumentacione baze podataka dosjea informativnih materijala. Sada je već sasvim očito da Medica nije samo Centar za terapiju i pružanje pomoći ženama koji besplatno pruža usluge ordiniranja ginekologkinje ljekara opšte prakse psihologkinje psihijatke ona je imajući u vidu druge projekte i više od toga. One, u saradnji sa drugim institucijama u društvu mogu inicirati daleko veću brigu za mentalno zdravlje ljudi mogu u saradnji sa medijima govoriti upravo o tom zdravlju istovremeno educirajući i razbijajući prisutne predrasude. Mogu se boriti za humanizaciju odnosa među polovima za ženska prava koja su ustinu i ljudska prava, za humanizaciju civilnog društva uopšte kažu



Dio tima MEDICE na redovnom dogovoru

**SOS**  
telefon za žene i djecu žrtve nasilja

zenica  
svakog dana  
od 17 - 21 h



SVAKA SITUACIJA  
NASILJA IMA IZLAZ

nemaju ideju kome da se obrate a da ne budu ismijane ili neshvacene. Mi znamo da se to desava i spremne smo da pomognemo kaže psiholog Edita Ostojic. Sa ciljem pomoći, a pod geslom "Prekinimo šutnju podržimo jedna drugu u okviru Medice odsedavno je otvorena i sos-telefonska linija za žene i djecu žrtve nasilja.

Medicinski tim Medice, prema ginekološkim nalazima radnim ove godine, upozorava na izuzetno zabrinjavajući porast patoloških nalaza, odnosno malignih obol

eljanice Medice.

Ljudima treba da shvate da se mentalni problemi mogu prevazići uz određenu podršku i pomoć. Model mentalnog zdravlja u zajednici je ono što mi kao pioniri ovdje radimo i pokušavamo oživiti. Ono što mi radimo jeste to da klijentica prepozna te svoje snage i da ih reorganizuje u procesu oporavka i ozdravljenja. U tom kontekstu mi se nadamo da ćemo prerasti u Centar za zaštitu žena od nasilja.

Ermina Jelenc

*The vacuum created by the absence of effective local political institutions has brought about a complex structure of voluntary organizations that both fulfill functional roles by providing resources of various types to disadvantaged communities and also present policy ideas to ministers and civil servants. These organizations are often innovative and radical, and have an open, democratic structure. One of the uncertainties concerning the peace process is the effects of creating local, elected policymaking institutions that would be dominated by the traditional political parties, which up to the present have been slow to focus on the underrepresentation of women.*

Carmel Roulston, Ulster, Northern Ireland



DYNAMICS OF THE ADVOCACY  
PROCESS

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# DYNAMICS OF THE ADVOCACY PROCESS

## FIVE ELEMENTS OF ADVOCACY

**A**DVOCACY is a dynamic process which includes diverse players ideas schedules and politics It can be divided into five mutually compatible phases

### FIRST PHASE

Identification of the issue or problem which motivates you to demand change In this phase determine the course of action and draw up a schedule of activities

### SECOND PHASE

Public advocates and other 'players' suggest solutions choosing those most politically economically and socially feasible

### THIRD PHASE

This is the most important phase in which you build relations with those who have influence on decision-makers Activities in this phase include building coalitions meeting decision makers and influencing public attitudes

### FOURTH PHASE

The fourth phase occurs after the problem has been identified the approach to solving the problem has been agreed upon and the political will exists to take action Things happen almost simultaneously, often in a very short time It is imperative that the right moment for a particular action not go by unrecognized The window of opportunity" for action will close quickly An understanding of the decision-making process and a solid strategy will increase your chances of acting successfully

### FIFTH AND FINAL PHASE

Evaluation is extremely important but it is often not utilized Good public advocates assess their work and learn from experience Those who have wielded influence and applied pressure as well as institutions which have enacted particular policy changes must periodically review the effects of the newly-created situation

## CASE STUDY

Topic **The Youth Network in BiH**  
Location **Bosnia and Herzegovina**  
Date **1997**  
Implementer **Helsinki Citizens Assembly of Banja Luka and Tuzla**  
Case study by **Aleksandra Petric**

At the beginning of 1997 the offices of the Helsinki Citizens Assembly (hca) in Banja Luka and Tuzla began contacts and visits with youth organizations and youth throughout the whole territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) One of the basic reasons for this effort was the lack of any type of communication and contact among youth and youth groups

Prior to the war in BiH there were many youth groups and organizations such as the Federation of Socialist Youth the Youth Holiday Association and the Federation of Scouts By contrast today more than two years after the signing of the Dayton Peace Accords communication between young people from the two entities of BiH the Republika Srpska and the BiH Federation is exceptionally difficult. It is very difficult for youth to meet and there are few opportunities for interpersonal contact and cooperation The best opportunities for youth from Bosnia to meet have been abroad and at these meetings, "enemies" are usually forgotten Unfortunately though when the young people return home, all contact is usually lost and everything is forgotten

Our basic idea was to begin an initiative for more concrete opportunities for associating and creating mutual cooperation among youth by organizing meetings throughout Bosnia and Herzegovina

At the very beginning however we met with numerous obstacles and difficulties The role which the media has played in Bosnia during the war has taken its toll The seeds of horrifying hatred sown by the media have ensured that youth do not have a clear picture of what is happening outside of the towns and villages in the territories where they live News from the 'other side' is difficult to come by Lack of freedom of movement means that young people from the Republika Srpska do not often have opportunities to go to the Federation, and vice versa Telephone communication is still very unreliable All these problems contribute to trapping youth in a type of ghetto deepening their fear of contacts with others and maintaining a false picture of the situation in which all of us live

We decided to try to destroy these imposed blockades by organizing joint youth activities We took the first step and 'broke the ice' when we organized two informal meetings, the first in Tuzla in early 1997 and the second in Banja Luka in September of the same year During the meetings attended by more than thirty youth from both Bosnian entities, we spoke with youth about their desires and they tried find ways to deal with a piece of the larger problem which affects all of us so much

It was a major challenge to organize that first youth meeting in the Republika Srpska at a time when that part of BiH was in exceptionally intense political turmoil The meetings were held from October 17-19 1997 in Laktasi a small town near Banja Luka Sixty youth from all parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina representing approximately 45 youth organizations spent three days participating in two workshops

The first workshop FUNDRAISING , offered basic information on developing project proposals plus helpful addresses of possible funders and ways to reach them This was very useful information since many workshop participants represented organizations in isolated communities such as Mrkonjic Grad Ribnik and Gornji Vakuf where due to the war it has been impossible to consider any type of activism

The goal of the second workshop OVERCOMING DIFFERENCES AMONG YOUTH IN BiH , was to open a youth dialogue across ethnic, political gender and other differences The twenty-seven participants at the workshop spoke about a number of fundamental differences among youth in BiH In addition to gender differences in social status and differences between urban and rural youth the final difference that was mentioned was belonging to a specific religious group This was not brought up in a negative sense but as something natural that is acquired at birth and which, in fact represents the basis for thinking about tolerance mutual recognition and understanding

The participants agreed to send an appeal or statement to all media as a way of breaking the silence and revealing the true situation The appeal can be summed up in one sentence which reads as follows Despite the fact that the current political situation in both entities of BiH forces youth to the margins of social life they (youth) have sufficient strength and will to resist these politics and create mutual cooperation and association The appeal was broadcast on a majority of the radio and television stations in BiH (A promotional message regarding this initiative was broadcast 15 times on OBN television and prompted much positive reaction ) Following the first round of meetings hCa Banja Luka and hCa Tuzla embarked upon an initiative to publish a youth magazine symbolically entitled TNT (To Nisi Ti a Mogao Bi Biti—That's Not You But It Could Be) in which youth from all the youth organizations that are members of the network would work on a strictly volunteer basis The magazine would be published quarterly and editorial boards from both parts of BiH would work on its conception and realization Our aim with the magazine is to better inform and connect youth

We are currently planning the second set of meetings in Tuzla which will be held at the end of February 1998 We are aware that not everything will go smoothly and without adversity However if we don't at least try to change things it might seem as if we are satisfied with the current situation which is not the case We are aware that youth can indeed influence political changes in Bosnia and Herzegovina if they are given the chance to commit themselves and express their thoughts We believe in the importance of uniting youth It is only through a strong youth coalition that youth can attain status in society the status they so richly deserve We will continue to offer them our assistance in these endeavors

### Comments

- 1 Analyze the dynamics of the process in this example
- 2 Identify the issue and problem in question that motivated this public advocacy action
- 3 After having identified the problem suggest solutions and a goal which is most politically, economically and socially feasible at this time Be creative
- 4 Give your suggestions for activities in the phase during which relationships are built to influence decision-makers (e.g. coalitions, meetings with decision-makers, influencing public attitudes)
- 5 Put together your suggestion of an advocacy strategy related to the issue described in this case Make use of the nine key questions to guide an advocacy strategy as listed in the second chapter

# ОМЛАДИНА ЗАЈЕДНО ПО ДРУГИ ПУТ

ПРИПРЕМИО  
Александар ЖИВАНОВИЋ

**Д**руги пут је дошло до сурета омладине из оба ентитета али омладине која не жели да се бави политиком бар оним што ми у свакодневном говору подразумевамо под том ријечу У Тузли су од 20 до 22 фебруара у организацији hCa омладинске мреже представници четрдесетак омладинских невла-



Поменуте закључке конфореније у Тузли подржали су представници свих присутних организација. Златна Јесен, All Star, Омладинска организација "Круг", Женска акција "Видра", Омладински центар "Здрво раст", ДИС-театар (Бањалука), Ансамбл "19", Рок група "Влага" (Бихаћ), Хелсиншки Комитет за људска права, Омладинска стручна Бироа за људска права (Бихаћ), Омладински Центар "Група за млади" (Собравак), Демократски омладински центар (Лакташи), Дружење грађана "Будућност" (Модрича), Омладински центар "Солем" (Луботина), Мостара, Омладинска организација "Центар" (Мркоњић Град), Зеница, Бадир, Феникс, Омладински центар "Сажетнић" (Приједор), Омладинска организација за културу и спорт (Рибник), "DIA" клуб, "Нешто више" (Сарајево), Омладински савез (Теслић), Позориште (Травник), Дом младих, "У", "Драфт-театар", "Постпесимисти", Форум грађана, "Са е Рома" (Тузла), Дом младих, Савез извиђача (Зеница), Канцеларије hCa Бањалука, Тузла и Сарајево, те Медиа центар "Прелом".

диних организација и омладинских секција наставили рад на јачању сарадње и међусобне размјене информација. Ово повезивање је почело прошле године на првим сусретима у Лакташима код Бањалуке. У међувремену изашао је нулти број омладинског магазина под називом ТНТ који омогућава свим организацијама чланицама мреже да представе свој рад као и да ширу јавност упознају са оним што омладина ради у њиховом граду.

Тузла је овог пута окупила младе из Бањалуке Бихаћа Бијељине Горњег Вакуфа Лакташа Модриче Мостара Мркоњић Града Приједора Рибника Сарајева Теслића Травника Велике Кладуше Зенице града домаћина те младе госте из Београда Приштине Суботице Љубљане Загреба Хага и Прага. Сви они закључили су да им медијски простор не пружа довољно могућности да покажу оно што знају као и да се неријетко њихове активности у медијима искориштавају у политичке сархе. Тузлански сусрети резултирали су и договором да се у већим градовима БиХ и у Републици Српској и Федерацији БиХ формирају информациони центри између којих би се успоставио редован проток информација везаних за живот и рад младих људи у свим подручјима

земље. Како је речено за сада постоје могућности да се размјена обавља путем е-маила али није искључен ни излазак на Интернет односно креирање web презентација.

Организатори су присутнима пружили и кратак курс о писању пројеката и наступу пред донаторима што је проблем са којим се сусреће сав невладин сектор у БиХ. Краће предавање о људским правима мањина и међусобно информисање младих о ситуацији у градовима из којих долазе допринијели су да са ових сусрета буде упућен апел свима како би се дјеловало у правцу стварања толерантне атмосфере и мултиетничког мултикултуралног и грађанског друштва. Посебна пажња посвећена је Ромима за које је констатовано да су најугроженија мањина у БиХ.

Ради помоћи омладинским организацијама чланицама неопходно је основати Фондацију hCa омладинске мреже. Истакли су млади и поручили и другима да се укључе у ову мрежу како би сарадња била успјешнија. Омладинска hCa мрежа ће настојати да се прошири и на регију око Требиња и Горажда подручја у којима за сада нема своје чланове. Једини услов за укључивање у мрежу је да припадате невладиној сектору те да се не бавите политичким дјелом.

*Facts do not cease to exist  
because they are ignored.*

Aldous Huxley, English writer

*Well, knowledge is a fine thing, and mother Eve  
thought so, but she smarted so severely for hers,  
that most of her daughters have been afraid of it  
since.*

Abigail Adams, U.S. First Lady, 1791

HOW TO CREATE  
AND USE A DATABASE

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# HOW TO CREATE AND USE A DATABASE

**P**ublic advocates seek to bring about needed positive changes. However, without relevant facts and data related to an individual problem, it is impossible to initiate a quality campaign.

A successful public advocacy campaign is based on 'hard' facts and data regarding a particular problem and condition.

The word 'database' may sound a little intimidating because it is often associated with complicated mathematical and statistical procedures, the creation of tables, and other unimaginative techniques.

## IT'S NOT LIKE THAT!

In order to be able to effectively utilize data in your campaign, you have to know how to identify which facts you need. That means you will need to struggle with simple arithmetical calculations: addition, subtraction, multiplication, and division. This can be done even without a computer. A pocket calculator will do.

• This chapter will describe how to choose, analyze, and utilize data for a successful campaign.

Public advocates use data in various ways:

- in written reports
- for verbal presentations such as before city councils or parliaments
- at press conferences

## GATHERING DATA

### A) THE FIRST STEP

The first step in every project is GATHERING DATA. However, before you begin this, you need to determine:

1. Whose interest do you wish to arouse concerning the problem?
2. What do you wish to convince someone about?
3. How do you want the target groups to act?

### I WHOSE INTEREST DO YOU WISH TO AROUSE?

- public opinion
- legislators and other politicians
- institutions that provide services
- the state administration
- business people
- a particular community, religious, ethnic, cultural, etc.
- the media

### • Public Opinion

Public opinion can best be influenced by using as few statistics as possible and spicing them up with anecdotes. When you use numbers to illustrate the human side of the story, you simultaneously appeal to both reason and emotion.



# TO BE USED AS A GUIDE

## •Legislators and other politicians

A somewhat different approach is needed with decision-makers. Data will enable you to appeal to their sense of reason but you can also show them that they will gain personally through their own involvement in the issue. You must use the data to help them comprehend the problem, but you can also use data to convince them that their activity will be appreciated and rewarded by voters or business partners. An enormous amount of statistical data will not attract them. Instead to get them to hear as much of what you have to say as possible prepare a concise poignant and useful presentation. Make it possible for them to immediately use this data in their political speeches. Remember that they also like personal anecdotes spiced up with details.

## •Institutions that provide services (centers for social work, retirement homes, homes for children in need, etc )

These institutions are in daily contact with people and they have access to many moving stories. They are in need of solid firm numbers—facts and data which they can personally use to acquire funds from government budgets. Help them by suggesting new programs for widening the scope of their activity.

## •The state administration

If you wish to influence the government's interpretation of a draft proposal or the passage of a specific law or regulation your presentation must be of high quality and backed up with a clear picture of the consequences of carrying out or not carrying out particular measures.

## •Business people

Business people like politicians respond best to facts that are related to or have direct influence on their areas of interest.

## •Specific communities, groups religious, ethnic, cultural, etc

In reaching out to specific groups data has to be directly connected to their specific interests, stories and personal experiences.

## •The media

The media are interested in stories that will attract the attention of the wider public. Journalists and editors don't have time to read long reports. They need short, clear and exciting information. Your task is to summarize and highlight the main points.

## 2 WHAT DO YOU WISH TO CONVINCE THEM ABOUT?

Your need to

- \* raise the level of interest in a particular problem
- \* receive support for starting up an activity
- \* prevent the passage or carrying out of a harmful policy

In order to interest the public in a particular problem choose data that can be clearly and concisely presented. You want it to leave a strong impression and awaken people's desire to learn more details.

Your data must be closely connected to the problem, but at the same time paint a broad picture of the situation. Use the data to show how the society would be better (or worse) if the changes you are seeking did (not) come about. Utilize the data to stimulate new ideas and thinking.

TO CREATE

## SET YOUR CREATIVITY IN MOTION, BUT BE REALISTIC!

After you decide who you wish to influence and what you intend to achieve, ask yourself

- How many individuals are ready to work on gathering data?
- Will I (we) have to do everything myself (ourselves) or are there others I (we) can count on?
- Who will create the graphics or present the results to the media?
- What skills do I (we) possess? Is my (our) knowledge of basic arithmetic graphing or communication with state institutions sufficient?
- Do I (we) have enough experience using data?

If you don't have experience using data start slowly Don't present more data than you can connect to your arguments Allow enough time for thorough preparation and don't set tight deadlines

### TYPES OF DATA

Data can be represented by

- numbers
- address books with names, telephone numbers etc
- legal examples
- regulations
- statistics
- research results

Data can essentially be divided into three categories

- data about people
  - data about events/occurrences
  - data about conditions or processes
- Data about people** includes demographic data age gender nationality race income status education
  - Data about events includes** dates and facts about birth death accidents conflicts meetings
  - Data about conditions** presents a particular moment in an organization family, program and
  - Data about processes** relates to the procedures for changing a municipal or state budget law decision

All three types of data are quantified by a particular time and place day year city county

# TO CREATE A Z DATA FILE

## HOW DO YOU SELECT THE DATA YOU NEED?

When selecting the data you need for analysis and presentation keep in mind the following questions

### 1 What is the report or testimony about?

For a report on the status of children and youth in your community for example you would need data regarding such issues as health protection education family incomes family abuse and the youth unemployment rate

### 2 Which data is accessible?

After you have defined your topic direct your attention to the accessibility of data Is there enough useful data for one of the issues which interests you? For example you might want to know how many women become pregnant every year but no one has these statistics You mustn't give up too quickly however, because the relevant facts may be obtainable indirectly In this example you could turn to data regarding the number of surviving and dead newborns as well the number of abortions

### 3 What time period is covered by the data?

It is generally expected that data describing a series of changes must cover two points separated by at least five years Any changes which have occurred over a shorter period one year for example are not reliable enough because the changes documented could be the consequence of a transient condition

### 4 How reliable and credible are the data?

Always check the credibility of the data you gather What are the sources? Have they been scrutinized well enough?

ADVICE If you don't know the source - don't use the data!

Make use of the services of professional agencies as primary sources of data Compilations of data received from journalists or other advocacy groups should be considered secondary sources

### 5 Comparing Data

One more important piece of advice Compare the data from various areas and time periods This can give your call for action a very interesting and valuable context

## VERY IMPORTANT!

### 1 USE ONLY DATA YOU HAVE RECEIVED FROM OFFICIAL SOURCES

Do not rely on data from the media or other advocacy groups

### 2 CHECK YOUR NUMBERS, EVEN A THOUSAND TIMES!

You can never re-check too many times One small mistake in counting can destroy a whole campaign!

### 3 DON'T LEAVE ALL THE WORK TO OUTSIDE EXPERTS!

If you gather data yourself, you will be able to present it more convincingly

## TO CREATE

### 4 KEEP THE PRESENTATION SIMPLE!

Don't overuse tables and rows of numbers. Immediately proceed to the main points about the problem.

### 5 POINT OUT CHANGES OVERTIME

You should use a minimum of two fixed points in time separated by at least five years as an indication of the changes which have taken place.

### 6 USE THE MOST UP-TO-DATE DATA AVAILABLE

This will make it easier to convince the public that the problems exist HERE and NOW.

### 7 USE DATA TO AROUSE THE NEED FOR CHANGE

Emphasize and underline the improvements a change would bring.

## DATA ANALYSIS

Are you afraid to analyze your data? Don't be afraid! It's easy!

1 You know how to add and subtract, don't you?

The statistical institutes from whom you will get your data have already done the counting. For your use, you only have to add or subtract something.

2 You have a calculator, right?

You'll can use it for calculating percentages, fractions, and the like.

3 Arrange the numbers!

You will then be able to solve more complicated tasks, none of which will be more demanding than those already described above!

Topic	<b>Motivating citizens to get involved in solving environmental pollution problems</b>
Location	<b>Mali Lošinj, Croatia</b>
Date	<b>1997</b>
Implementer	<b>Women's Group Lošinj</b>
Case study by	<b>Bojana Genov</b>

In the Mali Lošinj shipyards, the sandblasting of boats is carried out using quartzite sand, even though its use is prohibited by law because of its harmful effects on people's health. Those in charge of the shipyards and the local authorities, meanwhile, claim that quartzite sand is not being used and that all work is being done in accordance with the laws on environmental protection. People living in the immediate vicinity of the shipyards were very upset by these false claims, while the remaining citizens showed no interest since they didn't know anything about the problem directly.

Activists from the Lošinj Women's Group decided to embark upon a public advocacy campaign and began to gather data necessary for successful activity. We began by polling those citizens that lived near in the vicinity of the shipyards, after which we spoke with those employed at the

# HOW TO CREATE A PUBLIC POLICY

shipyards We engaged the help of a lawyer who could inform us about the legal aspects of the case We wanted to determine whether the correct course of action to take was simply to demand that the existing law be respected, or whether attention had to be focused on the lack of adequate legislation and regulations in our community

We also took a sample of the sand used in the shipyards, we did so in the presence of citizens who are not members of our organization We had to send the sample to Slovenia for analysis because Croatian companies after finding out the purpose of our request refused to perform the analysis We spoke with an engineer who works for one of the world's best known ship insurers and inquired about how the world's largest shipyards (which are also located next to residential districts) have solved the problem Supplied with all the necessary information we began our local campaign

**The public goal of the campaign** was to prevent the use of obsolete and harmful technology while **the hidden goal** was to persuade citizens, and help them understand that they can and must have an influence on social change

**Announcing the campaign** - We advertised the campaign publicly on local radio All the data we had collected was made public Citizens who had no idea nor had ever thought about the technology being used at the shipyard became concerned We emphasized that the right to a clean environment is a fundamental human right and that citizens have the right to organize themselves and demand influence on daily life in their community Then we held a series of press conferences which were covered by the newspapers *Novi List, Glas Istre, Voce del Popolo Vjesnik, and Dnevnik*

We wrote letters to local politicians the shipyard management and the Tourist Board, requesting that the existing regulations be respected and that thought be given to adopting world standards (ISO) which are currently not included in our regulations

**Mobilizing groups and individuals** - Through various media sources we were able to announce that we were collecting signatures for a petition We were able to call on all citizens to join us in the campaign We took part in a radio talk show during which citizens called in to give and request information The large number of signatures collected on the petition showed us that citizens grasped the scope of the problem and were ready to demand that it be resolved

We also invited regional environmental groups to join us in making our demands and their members joined our efforts to put pressure on the authorities

**Contact with the decision-makers** - We sent the petition to the municipal authorities the shipyard management and representatives of Parliament from our county We appealed to them to introduce legislation that would establish environmental regulations in our area in accordance with world standards

**Maintaining the interest of the media and the public** - There was regular media coverage of our activities and eventually it became unnecessary to pressure the media to give attention to the issue Citizens continued to telephone radio call-in shows and talked about the problem of their own accord (that is without our urging) The public was mobilized We called on the public to become involved in eco-patrols that would report on all shipyard activities Although an eco patrol in such a small town is completely unnecessary (half the activists of the Women's Group can see the shipyard from their apartment windows) they provided the public with a sense of importance about their own involvement. People contin-

## TO CREATE

## IN THE FUTURE

ued to call with information about which boat was being refurbished, what was taking place, whether or not the workers were in protective suits, if the wind was blowing and scattering sand and how much sediment there was on their terraces and windows

One amusing anecdote proves how well we were succeeding An activist called the shipyard management and demanded that the shipyard pay for cleaning paint off of her windows paint which had been scattered by the wind during the painting of a boat Management being quite edgy because of the public reaction agreed to her demand and had her windows cleaned!

**Searching for an ally within the system** - On a few occasions we called the police and the sanitary inspector to come to the shipyard While they claimed that it wasn't their jurisdiction they came nevertheless We also reported the problems to the County Environmental Protection Office They finally handed down a decision which required the shipyard to

- a) perform expensive emissions-level testing
- b) change the type of sand used
- c) have attestation for the sand
- d) prohibit sandblasting in windy conditions
- e) procure new equipment

**What happened? What types of changes have come about?** There is significantly less pollution now The shipyard does not respect all of the requirements set by the county but they are being much more cautious The community has learned that citizens can influence change

The campaign was not expanded Of five MPs only one has been in correspondence with us asking for the data He did not push for the legislative initiative but this is to be expected given the division of power in the legislature We consider it a success that he even kept up correspondence with us and acknowledged us as associates

**What didn't we do, that we should have?** We didn't continue with the campaign nor have we maintained the eco-patrols We have not kept the public's interest focused on this problem Our goal was to stimulate public action In order for our campaign to have been considered complete we would have to be able to verify how far the shipyard has gone to fulfill the demands placed on it by the authorities and what the supervising authority has done to ensure that the shipyard is fulfilling these demands We would have had to inform the public of our findings and invite the citizens to come forward with information for a parallel report

### Comments

- 1 Analyze which data was accessible to the organizers of the campaign What problems were present while gathering data?
- 2 Using the theoretical section of the previous chapter on choice analysis and utilization of data put together your proposal for a strategy for creating a data base of facts for this case
- 3 List all those whom the campaigners attempted to interest in this campaign Who were the target groups?
- 4 Who were the target groups in the strategy directed at the media?
- 5 Make an evaluation Which goals were achieved?

KONFERENCIJA ZA NOVINARE ŽENSKE GRUPE MALI LOŠINJ  
O PJSKARENJU U BRODOGRADILIŠTU

# LOŠINJ EKOLOŠKO »POTEMKINOVO SELO«

**MALI LOŠINJ** — Unatoč činjenici da se na nasa upozorenja zahtjeve i peticije uglavnom oglašuju a čine to nažalost čak i saborsku za stupnici nastavljamo s još intenzivnijim aktivnostima kojima je cilj ukinuti pjeskarenje a to znači i vrlo opasno zagađivanje koje proizvodi lošinjski »šker« rekla je na konferenciji za tisak voditeljica Eko-projekta Ženske grupe Lošinj Ivana Chalvien Otočani i šira javnost dobro poznaju kronologiju događaja jer je o tome bilo govora u medijima a tri peticije s više stotina potpisa također nisu urodile plodom Tražile smo pokretanje zakonodavne inicijative našem se dopisu odazvao zastupnik Damir Kajin a gospoda Linić i Luttenberger nisu se udostojili niti odgovoriti Treba znati da je pjeskarenje kvarcnim pijeskom pri remontu brodova u svijetu odavno napušteno i da je Hrvatska je dna od rijetkih zemalja gdje se to još uvijek dopušta da devastira okoliš i negativno utječe na turističku djelatnost Međutim iz brodogra-

dišta su nam poručili da se ne razumijemo u tehnologiju a lokalna vlast također zatvara oči pred tim problemom proglašavajući se nenadležnom Ministarstvo turizma uputilo je zahtjev Državnoj upravi za zaštitu okoliša da poduzme zakonske mjere a zasad smo uspjele postići jedino da županijski Odjel za zaštitu okoliša naloži brodogradilištu mjerenje emisije čestica obustavljanje pjeskarenja u nepovoljnim meteo-uvjetima čišćenje i selektivno prikupljanje otpada i evidentiranje količina i sastava otpadnih ulja. S obzirom da »šker« mora po tom rješenju kontrolirati sam sebe mi ćemo im u tome pomoći zbog čega smo formirale eko patrolu i pozivamo građane da nam se pridruže kaze Ivana Chalvien

— Analiza pijeska za pjeskarenje elektronskim mikroskopom što je učinjeno u slovenskom »Matkonergu« dakle od neovisne institucije nedvojbeno pokazuje da je riječ o silicijevu dioksidu koji uzrokuje opasnu bolest sili kazu pluća kazu koordinatorka Ženske grupe Lošinj Bo-

jana Genov O tome imamo dokumentaciju a očekujemo i rezultate analize mulja na teške metale Što se tiče pjeskarenje kao metode istina je da se ne razumijemo u tehnologiju ali znamo čitati pa smo u Enciklopediji JAZU iz 1971 godine pronašle da je to već tada prije 26 godina bio zastarjeli način obrade metala. Inače Lošinj je poznat kao ekološko Potemkino selo jer su kontejneri za selektivno odlaganje smeća samo dekoracija, budući da se smeće bez selektivnosti odlaze na deponiju isto kao i batenje iz za to posebno postavljenih kaseti

— Šker ne pridonosi turističkom ugledu Lošinja na njegovu djelatnost stižu mnogobrojne primjedbe turista i građana koji su zbog prometne regulacije prisiljeni parkirati kraj brodogradilišta koje se proširilo prema gradu i zauzelo pomorsko dobro

Nedavno se dogodilo da su dobili i »opitirane« automobile iako to nisu tražili a od štetnih zahtjeva građana i tu

## IZBORI 1997.

Pjeskarenje kvarcnim pijeskom pri remontu brodova u svijetu je odavno napušteno i Hrvatska je jedna od rijetkih zemalja gdje se to još uvijek dopušta

nsta vozača i nautičara, prilican je broj nastavlja Ivana Chalvien Osim toga, u neposrednoj blizini brodogradilišta nalaze se pekara i restoran kao i brojne zgrade za stanovanje Sramota je da »šker« nakon šest uzastopnih tužbi dobije nagradu za ekologiju zbog postavljanja plutajuće brane kad ta brana i dalje služi kao dekoracija jer nije sasvim prihvaćena uz obalu i propušta mirje ulja koje izlaze u lošinjsku zaljev Mi se ne zalažemo za zatvaranje brodogradilišta kaže Ivana Chalvien nego za zabranu pjeskarenja u interesu zdravlja i turizma, kako bi spriječili ponavljanje neželjenih ekoloških incidenata osobito uoči sezone i u turističkoj sezoni

M KARDUM

*When NGO leaders complain that they can't get news coverage, it's usually because they don't understand the definition of what is newsworthy. Remember the saying: "when dog bites man, it's not news; when man bites dog - that's news". A story doesn't have to be negative to get coverage. One might be: "Dog saves man's life".*

Arthur Sulzberger Jr.,  
publisher of the New York Times



# VII

THE MEDIA AND YOU

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# THE MEDIA AND YOU

## THE MEDIA AND PUBLIC ADVOCACY

STRATEGY USE THE MEDIA TO ADDRESS THE WIDER PUBLIC AND TO PROMOTE YOUR DEMANDS FOR POSITIVE CHANGES

### THE PLAN

Determine

- WHO DO YOU WISH TO REACH - TARGET GROUPS?
- WHICH MEDIA SOURCES WILL YOU UTILIZE?  
HOW WILL YOU ATTRACT THEIR ATTENTION?  
WHAT MESSAGE DO YOU WISH TO SEND?
- BASIC OBSTACLES
- STRATEGY FOR ELIMINATING OBSTACLES
- NEXT STEPS

Concentrate on

- DEFINING THE PROBLEM
- PRESENTING A SOLUTION
- MOBILIZING ADVOCATES
- ACQUIRING POWER
- DETERMINING TARGET GROUPS
- INFLUENCING DECISION-MAKERS

Advice

- MONITOR THE MEDIA
- CREATE A MEDIA LIST AND DEVELOP CONTACTS
- CAREFULLY PLAN YOUR MESSAGE
- WORK ACCORDING TO PLAN
- ALWAYS BE INQUISITIVE
- ALWAYS GIVE UP-TO DATE INFORMATION
- OFFER A MOVING HUMAN STORY
- THINK ABOUT THE STORY'S LOCAL IMPORTANCE
- YOUR ORGANIZATION'S MEDIA REPRESENTATIVE MUST BE CONVINCING AND SKILLFUL IN MAKING PUBLIC APPEARANCES
- REGULARLY SEND INFORMATION TO JOURNALISTS

## THE MEDIA

Significant changes have been taking place in the media. The time when only the privileged power-brokers were covered in the print media or on radio and television, is long past. Today, interviews are made with vagabonds and intellectuals. Journalists are omnipresent, everything interests them. Events are retold in a new way, concise and convincing.

**What is news?**

**Something that is different today than it was yesterday. Something that is important to a wide circle of people.**

# MEDIA ANSWERS

What are the most important elements of news for journalists and editors?

- the existence of conflict
- criticism of someone/something
- controversy

Journalists and editors love a black and white world since it is easier to write about and more easily accepted by the public. They will often attempt to reduce your story to simple divisions of good vs bad. Be prepared! Prepare your answers carefully. Remember that you have a part of the truth and that you represent a valid point of view.

## TELEVISION INTERVIEW

An interview begins long before the moment when you call the journalist or s/he calls you.

If journalists ask you for an interview, inquire about the topic. Who have they already contacted? What relevant documents have they already read? When will the interview be aired? Which role is intended for you?

Agree to a time and hang up the phone.  
Don't begin giving them answers until you are completely prepared.

FOR YOU THE PURPOSE OF THE INTERVIEW IS NOT ONLY TO RESPOND TO THE JOURNALIST'S QUESTIONS. You have your own goal - to articulate the ESSENCE of the PROBLEM with which you are dealing. Don't ever forget that!

Journalists may ask difficult questions. You do not have to answer them. However, you should **always** explain why. Don't simply say "No comment."

### MEDIA DO'S AND DON'TS

- DO** speak spontaneously and with an informal style. Ask the journalist if a question isn't clear to you.
- DO** take the initiative. Emphasize the essence of your viewpoint in every sentence. Remember that the television news often airs only a single sentence, so if your comment doesn't contain the main point of your message, the opportunity to convey it may be lost forever.
- DO** answer concisely and simply.
- DO** make use of clichés, comparisons, and simplifications.
- DO** answer using two or three short sentences at most.
- DO** say "I don't know" when you don't know an answer.
- DO** be positive in stressing your viewpoint.
- DO** when you have answered the question, stop talking.
- DO** be cold-blooded, even if it seems to you that the questions are unfriendly.

However,

- DON'T** use jargon or muddled professional expressions. A fifth-grade student should be able to understand you.
- DON'T** talk with journalists informally, even if you add the warning that "this is off the record." Everything you tell them can be used against you.

**DON'T** get angry even when provoked  
**DON'T** lie to journalists If you make a mistake, admit it.

**BEFORE THE INTERVIEW** determine what message you wish to send to the public Decide whether you want to praise your program, speak about the need for change give someone support or criticize someone or something

Your message must be short clear and meaningful

**NEWSPAPER INTERVIEW**

A newspaper interview may be short a telephone conversation that lasts a few minutes or long lasting an hour or more The form will depend on deadlines how interesting the story is and what role you play in it For a long interview a journalist will want plenty of material and interesting things  
You can make use of notes and documents  
Prepare yourself well Do some research on the newspaper and the journalist

**RADIO INTERVIEW**

When a journalist from the radio station calls s/he usually wants to get a comment from you **immediately** If you re not willing or able s/he will find someone else

Remember a few pieces of advice  
Speak in a normal tone of voice but expressively Remember that the tone of voice will have an effect on listeners Be clear and concise You have only a few seconds at your disposal Never respond angrily or nervously Maintain your composure and cool but clearly state your viewpoint If you are asked to appear on a talk show agree to the topic and questions beforehand

**TRICKS OF THE TRADE**

- 1 You don't have to strictly adhere to the questions when giving an answer particularly if they are off the topic
- 2 Clearly and resolutely refute every incorrect claim made by the journalist, but **DON T REPEAT** the words The best answer is That's not correct What is correct is
- 3 If the journalist asks you about problems you are having in implementing a particular action, respond with a positive approach Your words should carry a tone of optimism
- 4 A journalist may ask you the same question twenty times trying to get a response Don t feel you must respond You should determine the course of the interview
- 5 If the journalist moves outside the agreed-upon topic don t follow Return to the topic about which you wish to speak
- 6 Don t allow the journalist to limit you For example if you are asked the question, "Are you for choice A or B?" you can freely answer "I think that C is the best choice"
- 7 Simplify simplify simplify!!!

## AFTER THE INTERVIEW

Following an interview many people feel cheated and deprived " Oh why didn t the journalist ask this and that " Oh my worst sentences were chosen "

### BEFORE REACHING FOR THE TELEPHONE AND CALLING THE JOURNALIST, THINK TWICE

- Has actual harm been done or is it mainly your ego that has been damaged?
- Is the harm obvious and significant?
- Can the harm that was done possibly jeopardize the project?
- Can the journalists poor report have legal ramifications? What will be the reaction of opponents critics legislators or politicians?

Mark Twain once said " The truth barely got its boots on, by the time the lie had gone halfway round the world "

If you conclude that you must seek a correction do it RIGHT AWAY

Prepare yourself and call the journalist editor publisher owner

You also have the option of sending an open letter letter-to-the-editor etc

Consider the possibility of producing your own, correct version

## PLANNING MEDIA COVERAGE OF AN ACTION

Answer the following questions

- 1 What topic do you wish to talk about?
- 2 What do you want to achieve?
- 3 Why have you chosen those goals?
- 4 What are the arguments for and against advocating a specific change?
- 5 What else do you need to know before demanding those changes? How will you learn this?
- 6 In what manner do you wish to make use of the media? Which segment of the public do you wish to address? How will you influence that public?
- 7 Which media do you need? How will you attract their attention?
- 8 What is your message?
- 9 Who will be responsible for public relations and why?
- 10 What are your main obstacles?
- 11 What are your first steps?
- 12 How will you evaluate the success of
  - a) the media strategy
  - b) the whole campaign

**PUBLIC POLICY ADVOCACY  
IS LIFE AND CREATIVITY,  
SORROW AND LAUGHTER,  
POSITIVE PROVOCATION  
AND ORGANIZED CLAMOR.**

**CASE STUDY**

Topic **Motivating citizen involvement in creating urban development policy "Let's Save the Cypresses"**  
 Location **Pula, Croatia**  
 Date **1995**  
 Implementer **Ad hoc coalition of NGOs and citizens**  
 Case study by **Miriam Kervatin**

General facts Pula is a city of 62 000 inhabitants located in the northwestern Croatian region of Istria

Particulars Since the 1991 establishment of parliamentary democracy in the Republic of Croatia a regional party has won every election in this region giving it a dominant role at the local and regional level

The political environment is characterized by a lack of participation of the 'little' people in decision-making about issues affecting public welfare. Neither the knowledge nor the political will exists for this type of activity. Government bureaucrats serve the interests of the elite and of various lobby groups. Consequently it is growing more and more important to develop a consciousness in the average citizen about the need to exert influence over decision-makers by increasing the power of public opinion. The issues related to PUBLIC WELFARE must be made VISIBLE.

As I followed which problems have aroused public concern I finally found an issue which was both very timely and sufficiently "innocent" for a public advocacy strategy. By innocent I mean that the citizens would not consider it politically "inappropriate" — this is important when taking into consideration the present political situation in our area. I was drawn to this issue by my green heart but I was socially aware enough to know that to attract the public, we would need to demystify the work of a city government which presents itself as inaccessible to the average person.

To introduce the topic I will quote from an article which was published at that time in the independent daily newspaper *Voice of Istria*. The title was **I WALK ABOUT AND THINK ABOUT PULA**. It was written by the author **Tajana Arambašin Sliskovic**.

I meet people I know and the majority immediately begin with the story about how grand works are being prepared for the outdoor marketplace, how certain towers are going to be built, how trees will be chopped down and other similar things. People are disturbed, become upset (helplessly) and ask me to write something about this. I respond by saying that I don't think it would help at all and I fear wasting time over this since those who decide weren't even affected back then (when some pavilions were built) by what the public thought. Everyone is concerned about one-hundred-year-old trees. Beautiful names of the future business towers — Cedar, Chestnut, Acacia — which will be built on the site of the trees and marketplace. I can't believe that these beautiful names were thought up as mementos of the trees that will no longer be there and I have to ask myself: couldn't we, regarding this renovation, ask various competent people from other European cities or at least see how they do this since we are after all the part of Croatia closest to Europe? Why couldn't we gather together all the artists in Pula and the poets, all those who have a sense of the beautiful and hear what they have to say? **AND FINALLY WHY NOT ASK THE CITIZENS OF PULA THEMSELVES?**

The problem is this There was a plan to chop down one-hundred-year-old trees on the town's main outdoor marketplace in order to build some business complexes We who had been residents of the city for many years were witnesses to many ad hoc decisions that in no way whatsoever contributed to improving the quality of life That is why I decided to put into practice the knowledge and skills I acquired the previous summer at the intensive public policy advocacy seminar in the USA

I identified the issue and set out the basic strategies I would utilize I defined two target groups I wanted to hear my message a) the power-wielding authorities those who make the city's decisions and b) all those responsible for creating public opinion

Utilizing all my available options including personal contacts I was successful in setting up a meeting at the City Council with the vice-mayor He is also the director of the public enterprise 'Trznica (Marketplace) the company responsible for carrying out the renovation of the city marketplace (Note the public enterprise is owned by the city - meaning the citizens )

I was interested in finding out the attitude of the authorities towards the problem and toward citizens who weren't satisfied with the planned construction They were surprised that someone was demanding that the topic be talked about They were suspicious about my role I saw my position as one of a moderate someone who hoped that some good will would be found and that the authorities would make the correct decision to stop the chopping down of the trees and build the business complex at some other location

I delved into the government structures and inquired about the decision-making procedures that applied to this situation There I discovered irregularities There are regulations or at least a procedure to protect city greenery when it is being removed In this instance the regulations were not respected I compiled the collected data, eavesdropped read the papers recorded the names of individuals and institutions involved gathered people together telephoned and lobbied By now this hot topic had heated up the Pula scene

I finally came out with a proposal to organize an open public debate a round-table discussion for those interested parties on the topic of the protection of the city's green belt In principle the initiative received the support of the city leaders

I visited the Greens who were at that time just at the point of founding a formal association Their coordinator gave me some data and the statutes of the Conference of Municipalities which state that every city is obligated to ensure 25 m<sup>2</sup> of green space per resident I also learned that it has been scientifically proven that a mature tree reduces air pollution by approximately 50-80% In one year, a single old, beautiful tree collects 68 kg of pollution To put it differently that tree absorbs the equivalent of the exhaust fumes of one motor vehicle travelling 25 000 km This data showed that the Pula outdoor marketplace creates an urban integration of architecture and nature to which every violent insertion of new objects would cause irreparable harm

I took on the task of organizing a round-table discussion an informal open meeting to which I invited the mayor, the President of the Office for Urbanism, citizens who live in that area, citizens who reacted through the daily press all city councilors the Greens journalists and representatives of all non-governmental organizations active in the city (youth women pensioners )

# ... EDL- ARE YOU

At the meeting I took responsibility for coordinating the action which all those present confirmed by a vote. People found the issue interesting and their involvement grew. Needless to say not a single member of the city government appeared, although one city councilor appeared as did the representative from the Commission for Green Space in the city.

Word had been spreading that the trees would be cut down in a matter of days because the existing building permit was due to expire shortly. We agreed to create an ad hoc group to work on the action. Everything was new to us. We didn't make plans to seek funding since the group had no history or experience. Instead we sought financial assistance for the printing of posters for example through acquaintances. Someone always knew somebody somewhere who could help. People wanted to help.

A strategy was planned in the following order:

- 1 Find out what the public felt about the problem we planned to organize the signing of a petition 'Save the Cypresses'. This would give us relevant data regarding the number of citizens whose thinking we represented.
- 2 Contact the media specifically radio stations and newspapers. We planned to announce the campaign and maintain constant contact with journalists sending them new, up-to-date information.
- 3 Organize a round-table discussion and invite experts from diverse areas of expertise — architects, freelance artists, the Institute for the Protection of Public Health, the Greens, non-governmental organizations active in the city, the relevant city departments, journalists.
- 4 Make an official report about the round-table discussion that was held.
- 5 Hold a protest rally and involve children and youth who are active in groups from kindergarten (young Greens) to high school debate clubs.
- 6 Present the action 'Save the Cypresses' at a meeting of the City Council.

It was imperative that we act immediately. If we delayed the trees would be chopped down.

Everything happened quickly. The action got into full swing. Telephones were ringing. We received assurances from the city administration that they would give us reasonable cooperation. They showed some interest and said that they would await the results of the petition.

The following day thanks to a journalist a few representatives of the action were given prime time on a live radio show at two o'clock in the afternoon. The show covered the topic of renovating public space, the question of the chopping down one-hundred-year-old trees, and the issue of whether or not citizens had the right to voice their opinions. Since the show was being broadcast live people called in and all of them were of the opinion that the city should not allow the trees to be chopped down.

Then in the middle of the show a caller phoned up and said, 'Just keep on talking. Excavating machines have arrived at the outdoor marketplace. Workers have begun preparations for bringing down the trees.'

My reaction was powerful and emotional. I don't remember everything that I said but I learned later that it resulted in many people gathering at the outdoor marketplace. They were moved by my comments on the radio.

We had to act immediately. We left the offices of the radio station and ran to the marketplace. We found that four cypresses and one magnificent cedar had been bound by steel wire cables to the excavating machines. The workers were preparing to chop them down. I looked for the person in charge, someone who was responsible.



I searched but nobody came forward. They were all going about their work, not paying any attention to us! The belief that the cypresses had to remain hardened within me. I stood in front of the first of the row of cypresses and it was obvious to everybody that I had no intention of moving. For a short while the tension and silence grew with me standing in front of the tree the workers having stopped the excavating machine so as not to injure me and the people watching it all. This was I thought civil disobedience.

In a moment everything turned around. More people began to gather many arriving because they had been listening to the radio. Later it was said that people had stopped their cars in order to hear what was happening. Then I heard the voice of a man standing nearby holding a baby. Are we going to actually let this lady to stand there and defend the trees by herself?

And people began to approach women children men. Soon there were about thirty of us standing around the trees.

The workers received instructions to leave the marketplace. When the excavating machines retreated all those present began to spontaneously applaud. They were smiling with satisfaction. That was an important moment. It was the grand culmination — completely spontaneous. We have no recollection in the recent past of that type of action of human solidarity here and because of trees at that.

The cypresses were alive and were a symbol of other possibilities yes 'ordinary' people can and must express their opinion. It can succeed!

The action continued with the gathering of petition signatures. At one location despite a biting cold north wind the petition was signed by over 400 people in only four hours. Everyone came to the outdoor marketplace to put their signature on the petition. Verbal support was enormous. I will never forget one young boy without legs a refugee and invalid of the recent war. The cypresses were important even to him even though Pula had only recently become his city.

The day after my action a small protest rally was held at the same location. It was organized by the young Greens and the daycare center staff. Children carried placards reading 'I love my green city'. The place with the cypresses had become very popular. People were talking about it at the marketplace at the doctor's the hairdresser's everywhere. Pilgrimages to the scene of the crime were organized.

There were all types of commentary and response. Not all of them were positive. An obvious alliance existed between the construction lobby and the city government. A tall wire fence with paid security guards members of a security association was set up on the parcel of land surrounding the cypresses. The fence and the security guards were perplexing from whom were the cypresses being protected? At issue was a lot of money. Rumor had it that commissions had already been paid out. All sorts of things could be heard through the grapevine.

The media continued to monitor the situation. We were given media space on a daily basis whenever we wanted it. Any and all information was welcome. The role of the public was constantly emphasized.

The city government was attacked more and more for its lack of openness and for its arrogance. City Hall and the City Council were informed about the results of the petition. All channels were used to lobby the city councilors.

Our goal was to CHANGE THE CITY COUNCIL DECISION REGARDING THE CONSTRUCTION OF BUSINESS COMPLEXES ON THE SITE OF THE OUTDOOR MARKET-PLACE THUS RESPECTING PUBLIC OPINION I was chosen, representing the Ad Hoc Coalition to present our viewpoints at a session of the City Council

It was extremely stressful One of our members the president of the Greens of Pula was physically attacked by one of the security guards We were threatened and were told to forget about the cypresses I made the public aware of these attacks This was my only protection at the time make everything public not showing any fear Although some individuals in certain official circles were less sympathetic towards us the citizens liked the action

The need to take into account the public's opinion and to change the development plan of the city of Pula began to be seriously debated at sessions of the City Council City leaders were never more prepared for cooperation After two sessions a vote was passed to leave the cypresses alone SUCCESS!

The cypresses to this day continue to stand grow live

Afterwards other political games began to make their appearance Our motives as initiators of the campaign were called into question Various stories began to make the rounds

As time passed we became involved in more actions with an ever larger number of participants The work and association of an informal group called the NERVOUS CITIZENS began We received publicity throughout Croatia thanks to various media sources We included both younger and older citizens alternative types and artists but very few of those who had business ambitions in the city

There was eventually a political party crisis certainly brought about by other problems and other players as well but we all agreed that the issue of the cypresses was the first to seriously rile the previously untouchable city government A few months later in January the city government fell Those who replaced them represent, for the most part members of the same interest groups but those currently in power are wiser They address the public more at least formally

To add to the paradox before the change of government a new 'Statute on Green Spaces and Communal Order' was adopted The city councilors did not read the material but unanimously adopted a statute anyway according to which in Pula CHAINING ONESELF TO A TREE IS FORBIDDEN AND PUNISHABLE BY LAW

The statute is still in force There is no end to the stupidity of bureaucracy!

BUT THE CYPRESSES ARE STILL ALIVE THEY ARE A SYMBOL LOOK AT THEM AND NEVER FORGET THAT

**Comments**

- 1 What were the goals of this campaign?
- 2 How much was the media used in this case as a means for influencing the public?
- 3 Plan out an action of your own for the media in this case
  
- 4 Create an action for the media in which you work out the following elements
  - a) identifying the topic
  - b) shaping the message
  - c) determining the goals
  - d) defining the target groups
  - e) predicting difficulties/obstacles
  
- 5 Determine who will be the individual responsible for media relations and why

~~BEST AVAILABLE COPY~~

DANAS POTPISIVANJE PETICIJE I MIRNI PROSVJED PROTIV  
SJEČE ČEMPRESA NA TRŽNICI

# SPASIMO ČEMPRESA!

PULA Danas će se a  
publiki tržišta od 10 do 14  
sati potpisivati peticiju, a  
od 12 sati početi će se i vno  
okupljanje znak o osvjeđa  
njem. Od čempresa Pej  
trać se potpisati pred  
vazda nbar kuću dok će se  
čempresno okupljanje od  
zastavara čempresa kraj  
stana za Flanatičkoj ulici  
na mjesti predviđenom za  
građevnu poslovnu objekta  
u Puli.

U četiri nedjeljne akcije re-  
zultat zaključaka sa skupa  
građana održanog prekiju  
u Puli istodobno je sa-  
skupu upućen prigovor  
Gradskom poglavarstvu vi-  
deu.

Skup održan na nic jat  
u Miram Kervatin, koja se  
nastupila svoje osobno  
ime me dviju neviđih  
organizacija HOMO- or  
gipozicije za zaštitu ljudskih  
prava TARE grupe za  
promociju zaštitu ljudskih  
prava i Skupu su se uz  
pristvo nov nara, odazvali  
Josip Orbanic vijećnik La-  
tinka Jastani predsjednik  
Udruge Zelena Istra Associa-  
zione Istria verde Valter  
Bursic predsjednik Komisije  
za zelene površine pred-  
stavnici stanara Flanatič-  
koj ulici Suzana Dunca i  
ostali članice TARE te  
zainteresirani građani.

## DIJALOG GRADANA I GRADSKJE UPRAVE

Današnje sastanak za  
rešenje je kao početak učvr-  
šćavanja demokratskih pro-  
cesa, od osno otvaranje d  
dijalog između zainteresira-  
nih građana, neviđih njih  
organizacija, medija te donosi-  
telje odluka, u ovom slučaju  
gradske uprave istakla je u  
uvodnoj reči Miram Kerva-  
tin. Sastanku su bili pozvan  
i predstavnici gradske upra-  
ve koji su svoj nedozivak  
opozdat održavanjem sjed-

Prekjuer je na inicijativu Miram Kervatin koja je nastupila u svoje  
osobno ime i u ime dviju nevladinih organizacija HOMO- organiza-  
cije za zaštitu ljudskih prava i TARE grupe za promociju i zaštitu ljud-  
skih prava zena održan prosvjedni skup kako bi se spriječilo rušenje  
čempresa. Od gradskih celnika odazvali su se vijećnik osip Orba-  
nic Latinka Janjanin predsjednica Udruge Zeleni na Istra Associa-  
zione Istria verde Valter Bursic predsjednik Komisije za zelene povr-  
šine predstavnici stanara u Flanatičkoj ulici Suzana Dunca u svoj-  
stvu članice TARE te zainteresirani građani.

nice Gradskog vijeća Sku-  
pu se je odazvao i direktor  
JP Tržnica Miroslav  
Ivančić sprječavši se profesio-  
nalnim ob ezama. Za  
grebu

Smatram da sv ka bro-  
kraturana uprava koja rad  
u preferiranosti stogo-  
će tražiranoj vlasti može  
degradirati pored ostalog  
zaštitu okoliša, na štetu  
kvalitetnog življenja svih  
građana. Dan m se da je  
pravo to posjed o om-  
sluča, nastavlja je Kerva-  
tin te dodala kako je neop-  
hodno demistificirati javne  
processe servisa izdati grad-  
ski pravu protiv sječe ovih  
čempresa. Ovaj skup plan-  
rane akcije zamisljen su kao  
kratkoročna kampanja u  
svrhu sprečavanja klanja  
na tržnici čempresa a u koju  
se na aktivno sudjelovanje  
pozivaju svi zainteresirani  
građani stručnjaci ako vo-  
lo ten te d eca vrt ca, osnov-  
nih srednjih škola.

## ALARM ZA BUDUĆE DEVASTACIJE

Obracujući se nazočnima,  
vijećnik Josip Orbanic rekao  
je kako su se našem grad  
uvijek zvodili radovi na zele-  
nim površinama ime za  
građane da bi građani ka-  
snije o novina saznali kako  
su radovi već uveden a sta-  
bla već uklonjena. Najčešće  
su u zahvat iziskivali velika  
sredstva da bi kasnije bili  
pokrivani na teret građana.

Kod te gradnje najčešće  
stradava drveće a tako u  
kako ne bi trebalo biti. To se  
drveće zelenilo nakon izra-  
de projekta najčešće ukla-  
njalo a da je Komisija za zele-  
ne površine davanjem  
svoje suglasnosti bila dove-  
dena pred svršen č n. Uko-  
liko nek privatnik posjede  
stabilo u svom vrtu jemu  
će brzo biti pod jeta pnhava  
odnosno kazna a takva bi  
se stroga bnja morala voditi  
o javnim stabilima zelenim  
površinama usprkos privat-  
im interesima koji su najče-  
šće ezan uz gradnju pos-  
tavnih objekata aglasno je  
Orbanic dodavši da razlog  
ovog okupljanja nije samo  
zbog ovih četiju čempresa  
već zbog zaštite svih zele-  
nih površina koje se ubudu-  
će namjeravaju da astruži  
Osvrnulo se kratko na tek  
zasadena stabla Judnog  
drveća u Flanatičkoj ulici ko-  
junašot svojoj ljepoti a zbog  
loših uvjeta bez dovoljno  
zamlje neće biti duga vjeka.

## IZIGRANO MIŠLJENJE KOMISIJE?

Posebno zanimljiv bio je  
istup predsjed ka Komisije  
za zelene površine Valtera  
Bursica ponudivši prisut-  
nima ocitovanje Komisije ar  
nešenje Upravnom odelu  
za prostorno uređenje ko-  
munalno gospodarstvo s  
potpisom odgovarajućeg  
Odeljaka za prostorno uređe-  
nje dipl.ing arh Jasminke

Pe narda Doblanović

M smo uzdali svoje miš-  
ljenje vel Bursić u kojem je  
vidljivo naše ocitovanje po-  
kojem se zbog vjredne loka-  
cije s parkovnim zelenilom  
treba izbjeći uklanjanje sta-  
bla čempresa cedra, uz nj  
horu zaštitu pozdranem vi-  
solih oplata. Samo sluba-  
njacija se ne može izbjeći ukla-  
njanje stabla i zbog  
nepredviđenog oštećenja m  
smo opravdati sječ samo  
jednog čempresa č j bi pra-  
zar prostor b o nadopunjen  
krošnjama preostala trn čem-  
presa P rnikom rešenja,  
međutim saznajem da se  
odukovava sječa trn čempres-  
a mogu samo reći da o o  
nešenje gradske upra-  
držim neutemeljenim jer ne  
uv žava mišljenje Komisije  
a na je se pozva Buduc-  
da nismo bili upoznat i dalj  
njim planovima gradnje onaj  
koj je znao sve iskonstio je  
neispravnost našeg ocito-  
vanja istaknuo je Bursic.

U ocitovanju komisije za  
eventualno uklanjanje čem-  
pre sa konačno smo saznali  
znos naknade 1.484  
kurva(?) za jedno stablo čem-  
pre sa, što je primijeno s ne-  
govarivanjem prisutnih.  
Na skupu se također sa-  
znulo da su još uorak, 28  
studenog djelatnici Istra  
gradi je (koja je izvođač ra-  
dova) zatražili u Hercula  
ne porudu za rušenje četi-  
ri) stabla čempresa iz čega  
se može zaključiti da b  
na spomenutoj lokaciji pre-



Čempresi na tržnici koji u pobudili pozornost javnosti  
kade se saznalo da će biti srušeni kako bi se na ovome  
prostoru podigao poslovni prostor (D. C.)

ostalo netačnuto samo  
jedno stablo ced a. Ova-  
kvim razvojem događaja  
up tina je opstojnost samog  
cedra.

Milan Ferečić Slavica  
Matičić u ime stanara Fa-  
lanatičkoj 12, 14, 16 ne la-  
zenc u vlasničke odnose po-  
koma je Tržnica preuzela  
parcele ispred kućnog broja  
14 protivac se sječa čem-  
presa grad i objekta izraz  
i su bojazan da će sudbinu  
sječa doživjeti čet palme  
na toj parceli stare stot najk  
godina. Ferenčić je još e-  
kao kako je "Urbis 72 do-  
bio građevinsku dozvolu za  
ugradnju Cedra mimo sug-  
lasnosti stanara u susjed-  
nim zgradama a koji su ima-  
li niz primjedbi od prozrač-  
nosti oduzimanja sunčeve  
svjetlosti male udaljenosti  
objekta spavaonica s sve  
do umanjenja komercijal-  
ne vrijednosti stanova tim  
zgradama.

Predsjednica Udruge  
Zelena Istra Associazone  
Istria verde Latinka Janja-  
nin ponovila je stav Udruge  
objavljenog esgranj u

našem istu od 29 stude-  
nog Posebno je istaknuta  
prijedlog da se u planiranju  
zad raku u prostor osim ar-  
hitekurala konzultiraju struč-  
njaci s drugih područja kako  
bi konačna rešenja bila što  
k alit Inja u koristi ljudskog  
urbanog okoliša.

Iako se predstavnici grad-  
sk uprave nisu odazvali M  
nam Kervatin bran jela je na  
kon razgo ora s Bojanom  
Pernarom pročelnikom  
Upravnog odeljaka za pro-  
storno uređenje komu-  
nalno gospodarstvo negov  
prijedlog da se što prije orga-  
nizira okrugli stol, odnosno  
otvoren ja na rasprava na ko-  
joj bi se pokušalo znac za  
redukcno rešenje. No zbog  
kratkooce vremena činjen-  
ce da je rešenje za sječ  
čempresa već doneseno te  
bojazni da se neće postoi-  
vat volje građana Kervatin  
je izrazila nadu da će današ-  
nje potpisivanje peticije pro-  
svjednog okupljanja građana  
na tržnici uspjeti sačuvati  
čempresa.

Z. ANGELESKI

## CASE STUDY

Topic           **Research on gender and media "Tame Me, the Media Way"**  
Location       **The Republic of Macedonia**  
Date            **1997**  
Implementer   **UMAM (Urban Action, Media Action) - Skopje, Macedonia**  
Case study by  **Biljana Bejkova**

The media as a source of information is the most important means of creating public consciousness. It creates a picture of the world and the people in it. Mindful of this powerful role in 1997 the UMAM Center decided to begin a research project which would shed a clear light on the media's portrayal of women and the relations between men and women. During the summer our research and analysis focused on advertisements and commercials that are broadcast on television, published in women's magazines and displayed on billboards.

The results of this research were put together in a booklet distributed to the Council for Broadcasting of the Republic of Macedonia, the Department for the Advancement of Sexual Equality at the Ministry of Work and Social Politics, all women's groups and other NGOs, foundations that finance women's projects and projects focused on media relations as well as to the general public. The message was simple, clear and unequivocal: 'The advertisements were, regardless of how amusing, innocent and clear they seemed, in actual fact, expressively sexist and discriminatory towards women. Women were shown as objects, almost exclusively young, gorgeous, smiling with wonderful figures, although subservient to 'superior' males. Consequently, it's high time that commercials and all other marketing messages are freed from stereotypes and the remnants of the past and that they offer something current where contemporary women are contemporary subjects and equally as worthy as men.'

This research was the first of its type in Macedonia. Our intention was to mobilize public opinion against these kinds of messages transmitted through advertising as part of everyday life. We wanted to promote women's perspective being taken into consideration in the design of advertisements and their broadcasts. The people who learned about our research became quite interested in the issue. The project received media coverage and NGOs expressed their support for more media monitoring by offering their own contributions. The Council for Broadcasting offered the UMAM Center a position as a member of the Public Group for Monitoring whose responsibility is to supervise the electronic media in Macedonia and respond to any form of abuse or violation of human rights.

### Comments

1. What were the goals of this action?
2. Why was this research project important?
3. In what respect does it differ from the usual methods of utilizing the media in public policy advocacy?
4. What future actions are necessary to influence the media and their manner of portraying women?

*I have come to the conclusion that politics are too serious a matter to be left to the politicians.*

Charles de Gaulle, French statesman

*As citizens, we are responsible for how we are governed. The main issue is not to elect a "good President", but to form a system of civic control over government and to broaden citizens' participation in decision-making, especially in decision-making on crucial issues of security, peace and military.*

Marina Liborakina,  
Russian activist against the war in Chechnya

# VIII LOBBYING



# LOBBYING

**L**obbying encompasses a whole range of actions with the goal of exerting influence. The basic target group of a lobbying action is decision-makers.

Those who are involved in lobbying are both sources of information and users of information and support. They stand at the door to a particular policy ready to convey information to and from the decision-makers, other groups, opponents and coalition partners. They are a bridge.

## LOBBYING FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE

is an art form but one that does not have much chance to receive large financial support. Fighters for social justice must be far more agile than their opponents.

The following advice is intended for all those who work in the social sphere endeavoring to make positive changes in administrations, laws, regulations, policies.

- Even the best lobbyists for social issues will rarely change the outcome of a vote.
- Lobbyists are more often the gatherers and disseminators of information and can only indirectly elicit some change.
- Lobbyists DO NOT HAVE CONSTANT friends or enemies.
- Lobbyists have to know procedures in parliament, city halls, etc.
- Lobbyists find influential legislators and give them support where and when it is needed.
- A successful lobbying campaign must strictly adhere to basic principles and can only be flexible in some details.
- Lobbying campaigns have their own rhythm (speeding up and slowing down).
- Campaigns may be quiet but still successful. There are situations in which the best move is to wait.
- Lobbyists never give up. There's always another day.
- Lobbyists always maintain their networks.
- Lobbyists continually redefine their tactics.
- Lobbyists must carefully tune in to the voice of the public, legislators and the government, the media and precisely weigh what has to be done.

## SIX PRACTICAL INSTRUCTIONS FOR LOBBYING

(for instance parliamentary representatives)

1. Make a schedule. Determine what you want to achieve at a particular meeting. Hold yourself to two or three points at most. Allow yourself a little bit of idle chatter, but remember that the task at hand always comes first. If you come in a group, determine beforehand who will present what and publicly declare the order of presentations.
2. Listen carefully. Try to pick up clues to the representative's attitudes and viewpoints as you communicate about the problem. If you have a meeting with a quiet one, wake him up with questions. If you are dealing with a 'blabberer', jump in when he's catching his breath and steer the conversation back to the original topic.
3. Prepare yourself for the conversation but don't think that you have to be an expert. A majority of the representatives don't know any more than you do. Don't clog the conversation.



with needless details Give a human dimension to the problem Learn when to say "I don't know" Promise to send follow up information that you do not have with you at the time Be open to counter-arguments but do not waver from you own opinion Don't be argumentative

4 Don't stay too long Keep the conversation to the topic If you have heard enough and have heard what you wanted to hear thank the person with whom you were speaking and leave If you are disappointed say so kindly and excuse yourself Leave room for future conversations

5 Remember that you are there in order to establish a relationship Offer thanks for useful information even if the information isn't true Remember in lobbying there are no constant friends or enemies Maybe you will need that same individual's information the very next day

6 The next step following the visit is to send a short thank-you note

### **BASIC RULES**

- Adhere to basic values - respectful relationships justice truth  
Everyone is important and everyone appreciates recognition No one can achieve anything alone
- Doing your homework is very important Always prepare Analysis and data are key elements  
The right idea will bring about change
- Set out to climb high peaks but also value every conquered hill
- Only committed work and enthusiasm can lead to change
- Practice listening
- Don't be passive  
Allow others to share the victory

### **LESS NOTICEABLE EFFECTS OF LOBBYING**

- Stimulates associations
- Motivates and moves legislators—gently
- Uncovers new talent
- Builds coalitions
- Recovers quickly after a non-successful action
- Gives impetus to good advocacy work
- Connects parliamentary representatives and state bodies with their base

### **WHAT SHOULD A LOBBYIST FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE TRY TO AVOID?**

- 1 Colleagues with doomsday attitudes
- 2 Rushing into an action
- 3 Falling into extreme optimism or pessimism
- 4 Being paralyzed by static coalitions
- 5 Personal attacks against legislators or government officials on the opposing side

## CASE STUDY

Topic **International summer youth camp in Bekecsaba, Hungary**  
Location **Baranja, Croatia**  
Date **1994**  
Implementer **Association for peace and human rights - Baranja**  
Case study by **Gordana Stojanovic**

International organizations from Germany Holland and Switzerland organized the second summer camp for youth from various European countries (Holland Switzerland Germany Hungary, Romania Slovakia and from countries of the Yugoslavia Successor States) in Bekecsaba Hungary

The main goal of the camp was to introduce the youth of Europe to problems related to the the Yugoslav Successor States and to use workshops and other activities to reestablish contacts between youth who had been separated by war

Due to general mistrust and the region's isolation as well as to misinformation it was very difficult to gather the designated participants and take them to the camp For example a story was circulating that the Hungarian government was extraditing all males found in Hungary and turning them over to the Croatian government

An additional source of tension for youth from my community—the then-Serbian occupied area of Eastern Slavonia—came because of the presence of young people from Croatia at the camp in other words enemies Another problem was that a very small number of young people possessed passports

Making use of personal acquaintances I asked around to find out which young people (17-22 years of age) had passports or valid travel documents I got in touch with the parents of the prospective attendees The task of convincing them that *their* child's attendance was needed at an international summer camp was very complicated I used data I had at my disposal During my conversations with parents I pointed out that young people from other parts of Europe would be at the camp I showed them the camp's program I spoke to them about the importance of youth from this region attending in order to show that they were also 'normal' young people and that they had the same needs as youth world-wide I also told them that young people from Croatia would be present and that given how things happen in our countries where those absent can be slandered it wouldn't be good to give others the chance to slander us unopposed so we should also be present We would be our own best representatives Despite all of my convincing some parents remained relatively "rigid" in refusing to allow their child to attend the camp and speak with the other side Of course sometimes my background (one of my parents is Serb one Croat) was fairly influential in making parents decide to back out or to agree For some the information that I also had someone on the other side was a plus while for some that was a minus and a reason for not agreeing

After having signed up some participants I turned my attention to the Ministry of Education I had a conversation with the Education Minister that ended quite unpleasantly He warned that there was talk of me being a spy He asked me if I had thought about my family and whether I wanted someone to put a bomb in my car Finally I was threatened that I would be fired if I continued these types of activities From this conversation I realized I had to figure out a way in which the young people's visit to the camp would not result in their being punished at school, etc

I then decided to approach the police since it would be impossible for anyone to leave or enter the region without their permission Discouraged by the performance of the Education Minister I delayed my visit to the police I was aware that state institutions are relatively interconnected and can influence one another

Later I kindly requested to speak with the individual responsible for the issuing of permits for entering and leaving the region. Fortunately I found this Chief of Police to be a relatively educated and reasonable type for a policeman. At that moment it occurred to me that I should complain about the Education Minister's conduct. First, I explained to the police officer why it would be good for the children to be present at the summer camp. I reminded him of the fact that our children were at a disadvantage with respect to other children since the others all had the chance to travel and go somewhere and that only kids and youth from this area were in complete international isolation. Then I mentioned that the Education Minister was interfering with the work of the police and told him that I came to complain about the Minister's conduct. I succeeded. The police officer reacted immediately.

The Chief of Police went to the Ministry of Education and demanded that the Minister permit the departure of the group from Baranja since that was in the interest of all of us. He told him that the world had to hear the Serb side and that he should start considering the fact that the job of the police and the job of the Ministry of Education were two separate things. Following that I went to speak with the parents and was able to inform them that we had the agreement of the police and Education Ministry.

In retrospect those were the first beginnings of any sort of peace work and the first public policy advocacy in the community.

We did not develop the campaign further. However a dozen or more young people were able after four long years to leave the region to feel that they were once again in contact with other young people and to have the opportunity to once again go on a vacation.

### Comments

- 1 Analyze the elements of public policy advocacy present in this case.
- 2 How much was lobbying present in this action?
- 3 In which arenas was lobbying done?
- 4 Analyze how the messages were tailored towards the various target groups.
- 5 Create your own lobbying program for this case.



## CASE STUDY

Topic           **Proposal to amend the Law on Labor Relations**  
Location       **The Republic of Macedonia**  
Date           **Fall 1997**  
Implementer   **NGO ad hoc coalition**  
Case study by **Jagoda Gligorovska, Women's Organization of Kumanovo**

The World Bank offered the Republic of Macedonia financial help in the form of credit to completely reform the health sector and the sector for labor relations. Subsequently the Ministry of Employment and Social Affairs drafted a proposal to amend the Law on Labor Relations. However the draft proposal drastically reduced workers' rights. All the proposed changes also affected the rights of women. It was proposed that maternity leave be reduced from nine months to three - six months that the 2 days leave granted for those donating blood be eliminated that annual holidays be reduced etc.

We realized that we had to embark on a campaign in order to prevent the adoption of these proposals.

**The goal** was to prevent the adoption of the law (or rather an amendment to the Law on Labor Relations) which if adopted would significantly reduce the hard-won rights of workers.

**Target group** The government parliament the Law-Making Commission Ministry of Labor and Social Policy.

**The message** STOP THE CUTBACKS (of workers' rights)

### Strategies

- 1 Campaign kickoff
- 2 Press conference
- 3 Mobilize local media to report on the campaign thereby mobilizing the public
- 4 Letter writing - seeking support applying pressure
- 5 Conversations with government representatives (members of parliament and people from the Ministry) and lobbying against changes
- 6 Publishing our own newsletter the 5<sup>th</sup> issue of VEZILKA dealt exclusively with this problem

### Successes achieved

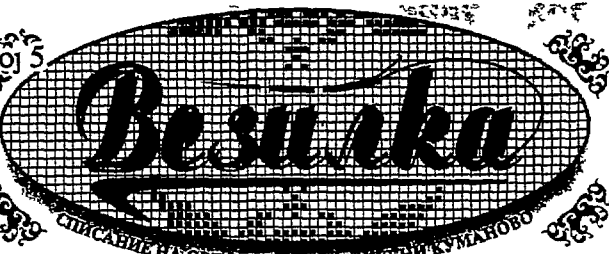
- a) Maternity leave remained at nine months
- b) Those donating blood were ultimately given the right to be absent from work one day
- c) Instead of being eliminated the 7 days of absence allowed for personal reasons was reduced to 5 allowable days
- d) Annual leave was not reduced from 18 to 12 but from 18 days to 15

All in all the evidence suggests that our campaign was well conceived and well-run. The means used to convince and apply pressure were effective and the people's representatives had to respect the public's opinion.



ГОДИНА I Број 5

ТРИМЕСЕЧНО  
СПИСАНИЕ  
ОКТОМВРИ 97



СПИСАНИЕ НА ОРГАНИЗАЦИЈА НА ЖЕНИ КУМАНОВО

## ПОСЛАЈАВАТА ЗА ИЗМЕНА НА ЗАКОНОТ ЗА РАБОТНИ ОДНОСИ

### КАМПАЊА 97 - СТОП ЗА ....

СКРАТУВАЊЕ НА ПОРОДИЛНОТО БОЛЕДУВАЊЕ БОЛЕДУВАЊЕТО НА РАБОТНИЦИТЕ БЕНЕФИЦИЈИТЕ НА КРВОДАРИТЕЛИТЕ И НА ГОДИШНИОТ ОДМОР БЕА ТЕМА НА ПРЕС КОНФЕРЕНЦИЈАТА ШТО ЈА ОДРЖА О Ж КУМАНОВО

Жените од целиот свет се еднакви се раѓаат живеат растат да нараснат да родат да доенсат на свет нов живот да го подигаат новиот расток и повторно истата репродукција. О Ж како невладината Организација смета за потреба да реагира по најновите најавени предлози на Владата поточно од Министерството за труд и социјална политика зашто се рестриктивни и ултимативни во однос на досегашните права кои ги остваруваше граѓанинот од ЗРО Претседателката Јагода Глигорова образложувајќи ја иницијативата за оваа конференција истакна дека на брзина и неаргументирано се донесени одлуки. Не се направени анкети и анализи преку кои ќе може да се согледа каде и како да се направат промени а она што се предлага најмалку му треба на граѓанинот. Во ваква состојба кога државата е во транзиција која во себе носи несакани последици како што се исклучително тешка состојба зголемен број на невработени и друго секако дека овие предлози од страна на МТСП нема да дадат позитивен ефект. Нашето залагање ќе биде одлагање и повторно разгледување на предложените мерки пред Парламентот за кои имаме бројна поддршка од др НО.

На прес конференцијата зеде збор и д-р Митевска Даница – специјалист по школска медицина – и даде детално образложение од стручен аспект какви сè несакани последици ќе има врз раниот раст на детето – скратувањето на породилното боледување. Овој нехуман чин директно ќе се одрази во првите месеци од животот на бебето преку доењето. Од

друга страна ќе повлече зачестени инфекции преку раното прихранување дополнително обезбедувани услови за организирано згрижување на бебињата во јасли. На овој начин со ново оптоварување жената ќе биде ставена во ситуација да избира помеѓу мајчинството и работното место намалување на natalitetot кој од друга страна ќе ја наруши демограф-

останам рамнодушна на предлозите или гласините дека на жената ќе и биде скратено породилното боледување од девет на шест или три месеци.

Имено ќе тргнам од, за мене основниот фактор кој со оваа скратување ќе биде загрозен а воедно кој е многу важен за развојот на здраво и безгрижно дете – доењето. Познато е дека на нашите простори поголемиот број жени за разлика од жените на запад, сè уште ги дојат своите новороденчиња (до девет па дури и до единаесет или дванаесет месеци) за што јас лично а и медицината тврди дека е позитивно тргнувајќи од фактот дека мајчиното млеко е за бебињата а не кравјото. Второ – финансиските средства – кои не секогаш дозволуваат некои мајки да можат редовно да купуваат вештачка храна. Скратувањето на боледувањето ќе го попречи нормалниот и бесстресниот процес на доење од кое верувам многу мајки ќе се откажат. Постојат цела низа негативности кои ќе се создадат на шлта на мајката и детето меѓу кои и многу големиот проблем на згрижувањето на бебето кое ќе биде навистина проблем кога се работи за шестмесечно беба. Мене како на идна мајка ми останува, сепак да се надевам дека малку подлабоко ќе се размисли околу оваа скратување на правото на жената да користи девет месеци породилно боледување имајќи во обзир дека законот сè уште јавно не е донесен. Во случај доевте месеци да останат навистина би била среќна и благодарна.

Славица Ламбаша

### КАМПАЊА '97 СТОП

ЗА



СКРАТУВАЊЕ НА  
- ПОРОДИЛНО БОЛЕДУВАЊЕ  
- БЕНЕФИЦИЈИ НА КРВОДАРИТЕЛИ  
- БОЛЕДУВАЊЕ НА РАБОТНИЦИ  
- ГОДИШЕН ОДМОР

ОРГАНИЗАЦИЈА НА ЖЕНИ КУМАНОВО  
НА ОПШТИНА КУМАНОВО И ДР ОПШТИНИ

ската карта а пак таа води кон губењето на македонскиот народ.

За таа цел и ние (направивме мала анкета) замоливме една идна мајка да го каже своето мислење по предложените мерки од страна на МТСП.

Тргувајќи пред сè од моето поранешно искуство како мајка на веќе осумгодишно дете а сега и мајка која очекува второ не можам да

*I know full well, as do my compatriots, that struggle creates strange bedfellows. When disagreements arise, we try to work through them. Or, we part company and change strategies. But I do not doubt my leadership, nor that of our other women.*

Haunani-Kay Trask,  
Hawaiian sovereignty advocate



IX  
COALITIONS

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# COALITIONS

**C**OALITIONS are associations of many organizations and/or individuals who all wish to solve a specific problem in the same manner. Within coalitions every organization/individual maintains its autonomy.

## WHAT MAKES COALITIONS SIGNIFICANT?

### 1 NUMBERS

The more people that are involved in a certain project the more significant it becomes.

### 2 DIVERSITY OF PARTICIPANTS

Coalitions are much more successful when they gather groups that otherwise don't have the same area of activity or interests (religious, ecological, feminist groups, peace groups).

### 3 EXCHANGE OF KNOWLEDGE AND SKILLS

Different groups bring an array of talents, knowledge, and skills. Together they can achieve a great deal.

## HOW CAN A COALITION BE SUCCESSFUL?

- Avoid formal structures
- Respect the procedures within organizations
- Delegate responsibility
- Make decisions as a group
- Constantly exchange information

## HOW TO SELECT THE RIGHT TOPIC OR PROJECT FOR A COALITION

1. Choose a significant problem that will motivate people and invite them into a common action. Otherwise, no one will want to join since each group is already overburdened with too much work.
2. Set timelines for the action which will produce noticeable results in as short a time as possible.
3. The long-term goals of the coalition should be symbolically represented.
4. Build long-term contacts and relationships for future common activities.
5. Give participants encouragement. Master new skills.
6. A broad spectrum of the public should be addressed. Produce eye-catching messages to attract attention.

## RELATIONSHIP DYNAMICS WITHIN COALITIONS

Coalitions are complex. In every coalition you will find a common goal and the desire for combined activity, but also disagreements about how to take specific steps. These tendencies are simultaneously present, making this form of association endlessly dynamic.

TENSION occurs at various levels.

### 1 COOPERATION AND CONFLICT

#### a Determining the means for arriving at the goal

There can be disagreement in choosing a strategy.

#### b Coalition partnership

Problems can arise regarding leadership, decision-making, and work style.



### c Internal dynamics

Tensions may arise over differences regarding the division of funds individual contributions or representation of the coalition Since tensions are an inevitable part of the dynamics of coalitions it is wise to apply the models of non violent conflict resolution to these situations

## 2 MIXED FEELINGS ABOUT BELONGING

Members of a coalition are burdened by a double bond They are responsible to the coalition and to their home group/organization Tension may also arise because of the conflict of altruistic motivations and and thoughts about ones personal interest Take steps to avoid competition between organizations that are in the coalition Agree upon common actions and watch out for topics or relationships that could jeopardize solidarity

## 3 AUTONOMY

A coalition must have enough autonomy to take up independent actions and must have its own credibility at a number of levels Within the coalition a decision should be reached about what sanctions are taken against members who violate an agreement There should also be agreement on the procedure for including new members and on the selection of those who will represent the coalition in public

## 4 MEANS OR MODEL

A coalition can be a means for achieving a specific goal or some type of change but it can also serve as a model of organizational activity

## 5 UNITY AND DIVERSITY

Members are bound by common if not completely identical goals and interests In a coalition diverse beliefs must be reconciled and a feeling of unity must be established with respect to the goal strategy demands decision-making and evaluation

- If you are representing diversity promote it in practice - include as many different types of groups as possible thereby avoiding paternalism inequality and tokenism

- Common activities can be of varying intensity and can be referred to by different names If all members agree to more intensive common work then what we have is co-operation

## DIFFERENT FORMS OF JOINT ACTIVITY

Depending upon the strength (or weakness) of the links between associates who have come together to achieve a specific goal we can in principle differentiate between

**cooperation**  
ties of weakest  
intensity

**coordination**  
ties of middle  
intensity

**collaboration**  
ties of strong  
intensity

In *cooperation* there are informal short term work relationships Information is exchanged related only to the current project In this type of association there is no division of powers nor funds

*Coordination* presupposes a somewhat more formal relationship a plan and division of labor. It opens the way for communication but everyone maintains his/her own powers. The issue of power can be problematic but funds and credit for achievement are shared.

*Collaboration* demands a more lasting relationship. It's necessary to build a new structure determine a joint mission and pledge complete involvement. This type of association is characterized by extensive planning and complete communication at all levels. Each party invests its own funds and reputation. The division of powers can be inequitable but the partners invest and share jointly.

There are still other forms of joint activity.

An *association* requires unification and integration. Established associations may already be working as semi official organizations.

A *commission* is for the most part named by an official body and has an advisory or executive role for a strictly defined task.

An *advisory committee* gives suggestions and support to all participants in a specific action.

A *confederation* is the unification into an association of a few organizations with the goal of achieving a specific objective.

A *federation* is an agreed upon unification in which each member relinquishes a part of his/her own powers to a central authority.

A *network* is made up of individuals or groups united in a loosely structured group.

A *partnership* demands the unifying of two or more groups who jointly invest funds and share any profits and/or losses.

A *working group* is an independent unit which arises within one or more organizations composed to perform a specific task. They often are created on the demand of a supervisory body which does not participate in its work.

*Rivalry*, mutual competition can become a form of joint activity which mutually motivates and leads to more efficient achievement of the goal.

## CASE STUDY - CREATING A COALITION OF WOMEN'S GROUPS IN CROATIA

Topic	Proposed new abortion law
Location	Croatia
Date	1995
Leader of the action	B a B e (Be Active, Be Emancipated) Women's Human Rights Group
Case study by	Vesna Kesic

B a B e has on a few occasions called together and coordinated coalitions of women's groups in Croatia. The reasons for such gatherings have been diverse from the signing of various public statements to joint activities in advance of the 1995 Parliamentary elections and the 1997 local elections to the writing of the Shadow Report for the UN committee on the Convention to Eliminate Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) in January 1998.

Analysis of these cases provides very good insight into what coalitions can do and what their power and advantages are but also into what types of problems appear during the building/creating of coalitions in areas that don't have a strong tradition of these forms of public activity (advocacy and lobbying) coming from the civil sector.

The coalitions were called together and created on the basis of intuition and the accumulated experience of our work in women's groups. At the time in which coalitions first began to be formed in this region there had been no visits by groups or individual trainers in lobbying and public policy advocacy nor availability of any guidebooks with descriptions of procedures, strategies and necessary skills. In a few instances individual activists studied in the USA or acquired a partial look into the experiences of civil society groups internationally. This knowledge was added to our experience but not in a systematic way. The experiences of the Women's Ad Hoc Coalition can be educational because they are being evaluated from the perspective of the knowledge which has been acquired subsequently, the kind of knowledge which has been included in this handbook.

### **The Coalition was first organized around a petition for the right to safe and legal abortion sent to the government and the Parliament of the Republic of Croatia in May 1995**

During 1995 a public debate heated up regarding the draft proposal for a new law on abortion which the Ministry of Health was preparing to be sent into parliamentary procedure. Information regarding the contents of the new law and changes with respect to the existing law reached the public sporadically. Most of this came from statements and interviews given by the Health Minister, all of which took place under the increased pressure from conservative church and other pro-life groups. As early as 1990 these groups had, with the support of the ruling party, created an atmosphere encouraging the prohibition of abortion and in favor of an ethnic pronatalist politics and the general reduction of women's reproductive rights. Up until then these rights had been fairly well regulated by the existing 1978 Law on Abortion.

The voice of women and women's groups or other advocates of freedom of choice and the promotion of women's reproductive rights was almost completely missing in the public realm. The exceptions were the individual voices of proclaimed feminists. It seemed as if two beliefs ruled. One, found among 'ordinary' women, was that the right to choice, which includes legal abortions, was a right already acquired which no one could take 'from us'. The other view was that there was nothing anyone could do in that realm anyway. Activists from women's groups knew that something had to be done and that our right was very much in jeopardy in the new political and social climate but they couldn't figure out how to respond.

The idea to begin a petition campaign originated at a workshop on women's rights which B a B e organized for graduates of the Women's Studies program in February 1995 in Trakošćan. The workshop which created abundant positive activist energy finished with the conclusion that immediate action was necessary on this issue. A petition for legal abortion seemed like a good tactic. In May when it became evident that the Law was ready to be introduced in parliament and that it would in whatever version it was passed curtail existing rights and maybe even take away the right to abortion B a B e decided to assemble women's groups and begin to act. Representatives of Zagreb women's groups were invited to the initial meeting while groups outside of Zagreb were also kept informed.

The foundation for creating a coalition was already in place a well connected network of women's groups in Croatia which until then had never appeared in the form of an association of such wide proportions. It was decided that the gathering of signatures for the right to safe and legal abortion would be the means of action. The goal of that action was never explicitly defined but it was understood to keep abortion in Croatia legal and accessible and to indirectly promote women's reproductive rights and women's human rights more generally. At the initial meeting it was decided that non-governmental women's groups would participate in the action as well as mixed NGOs that wanted to support the action and even women's organizations within political parties that wanted to show their solidarity with the cause. Dates for gathering signatures were selected May 27-28 1995.

The contents and presentation of the petition were drawn up at the B a B e offices and a preliminary version was given to the remaining groups for suggestions and possible changes. A logo was created - three connected women's symbols in a somewhat distorted shape. This would continue as the trademark for the Ad Hoc Coalition during the 1995 and 1997 elections. The methods for carrying out the action such as setting up and decorating the booths and displaying additional visual and written materials and the methods for encouraging the public were left to the groups themselves.

At the time we weren't able to count on the good will nor even minimal politeness and least of all free publicity from the leading media. Therefore we advertised the action on local radio stations (in Zagreb on Radio 101). We took out paid advertisements. The full text of the petition with the original design was placed in all the daily papers. This advertising of the action became a new very successful space for the further gathering of signatures. Signed petitions clipped out of the newspapers continued to arrive from all over Croatia days after the end of the action. We took maximum advantage of the receptivity of the friendly media to announcements (Arkzin Zaposlena Feral Tribune) and for detailed reporting after the action (Arkzin and Zaposlena).

The action of gathering signatures was carried out on the set dates all day long at six locations in Zagreb as well as in Split Rijeka Mali Lošinj Karlovac and Osijek. The action of gathering signatures at workplaces and at other public gathering places was carried out by some groups especially by women's groups within political parties that joined the coalition - The SDP Women's Forum and the HSL Women's Forum.

The success of the action exceeded all of our expectations. After the first two days we had accumulated approximately 13 000 signatures at our booths. At the headquarters we awaited the results and counted them as if it was the Eurosong contest Pula 478, Zagreb 7600 etc. The media coverage was also good if at times controversial. *Večernji list* gave more space to right-wing groups with signs reading "Genocidal witches" than to the substance of our action. After about 10 days while results continued to arrive from newspaper petitions and from workplaces, the count passed the 20 000 mark!

We then organized a press conference in those conditions and at that time for a majority of the media that was still the surest way to reach the public since the messages were for the most part not interpreted nor substantially falsified. Our presentation was recorded in all the important media and *Novi List* published the statistic regarding the 20 000 signatures in FAVOR of the right to legal abortion on the front page.

Follow-up action was agreed upon following a quick consultation without the regular involvement of all coalition participants. B a B e as the initiator of the action carried out the follow-up on our own. The results of the petition along with an accompanying letter were sent to all leading state institutions, a large number of parliament representatives, parliament committees and political parties.

In the meantime we established contact with the health minister Dr Hebrang who agreed to receive our delegation with the results of the petition (we brought all the papers wrapped with a rose-coloured string) as a symbol of the verification of the action. We asked that he inform the public about the meeting. During the meeting with the Minister we didn't forget to lobby - we demanded that the results of the petition be taken into consideration during further work on the draft proposal of the law on abortion, and asked that he give us the draft proposals of any other laws which relate to reproductive rights (laws on the adoption of children, medically-aided fertilization, sterilization). We also asked that in the expert commission referred to in the law - in which there were representatives from all possible institutions including a large number of people from the church and a predominantly male group - there also be included representatives of non-governmental women's organizations. The Minister adopted a good portion of the demands aside from including women in the commission.

**Results of the action** Although the organizing of women's groups into a coalition and the action of petitioning were implemented without worrying about the basic rules of creating coalitions (defined goal, strategies, duration and purpose of the coalition, its mandate and fundamental rules of functioning) the action was more than successful at two levels. First we achieved the uniting of women's groups and their gathering around a common short-term and long term goal, and secondly we elicited massive public response and increased visibility of women's groups and their views.

The basic goal of the action and coalition was also achieved. Abortion is still legal in Croatia. As of March 1998 the Ministry of Health has not yet sent the draft proposal of the law into parliamentary procedure. However that doesn't mean that they won't do it. We must remember that we have never secured women's rights so thoroughly that we don't have to be constantly on the alert and ready to organize new actions.

### Comments

- 1 What was the basic message of this public policy advocacy campaign?
- 2 Which elements of advocacy were used? Which weren't?
- 3 Which form of coalition would have been the most successful in this case?
- 4 How would you have organized this campaign?
- 5 Which elements of lobbying would you have used?

## PRAVO NA SIGURAN I LEGALAN POBAČAJ

# PETICIJU POTPISALO 20.000 GRAĐANA

Procjenjuje se kako je peticiju Grupe za ženska ljudska prava potpisao podjednak broj muškaraca i žena ● Žene moraju odlučivati o roditeljstvu bez sugestija sa strane i zadiranja u duboku intimu

**ZAGREB** — Peticiju za pravo na siguran i legalan pobačaj, što je pod koordinacijom Grupe za ženska ljudska prava »B a B e« organiziralo dvadesetak nevladinih ženskih organizacija, potpisalo je oko 20 tisuća građana — posljednji su, iako još nepotpuni podaci. Podsjetimo, peticija je provedena 27. svibnja u povodu prijedloga novog zakona o pobačaju kojim se »krši osnovno žensko ljudsko pravo — pravo kontrole nad vlastitim tijelom i životom«. Organizatori akcije, prema informacijama s jučerašnje konferencije za novinare, procjenjuju kako je podjednak broj muškaraca i žena stavio potpis pod zahtjeve za pravo na siguran, dostupan, besplatan i legalan pobačaj, zdravu, lako dostupnu i besplatnu kontracepciju, te slobodoumni spolni odgoj i informacije o sprečavanju trudnoce.

Organizacije za ženska prava najviše je zasmetala zakonska odredba prema kojoj bi se žena prije pobačaja trebala obvezno savjetovati s liječnikom, socijalnim radnikom i svećenikom. Iako je u međuvremenu ta odredba ublažena, pa žena može odabrati liječnika ili svećenika, ženske organizacije tvrde kako odluku o roditeljstvu može donijeti samo žena. Protiv savjetovanja nisu, ali nezavisnog koje bi žena pohodila po slobodnoj odluci i želji. Takva savjetovašta u Hrvatskoj djelovala su do prošle godine, no, ukinuta su zbog nedostatka sredstava, a uvedeno je obvezno savjetovanje u bolnicama. Žene nisu maloumna bica i »moraju moći donijeti odluku o roditeljstvu bez sugestija sa strane i zadiranja u duboku intimu« slazu se aktivistice ženskih organizacija.

Komentirajući najnoviji program demografske obnove, Vesna Kesic, koordinatorica »B a B e«, kazala je kako je puno uljuđeniji i civiliziraniji od Bakovičeva prijedloga prije tri godine. Također smatra kako bi se takav program trebao prožimati kroz rad više ministarstava, a ne samo jednog, te dodaje kako i dalje postoji opasnost da je program demografske obnove »egocentrična politika«.

**G. GALIĆ**



# ZA PRAVO NA ŠIGURAN I LEGALAN POBAČAJ

PETICIJA VLADI I SABORU REPUBLIKE HRVATSKE

490  
1995

## Žene Hrvatske očuvajmo svoja stečena prava!

Prijedlog novog zakona o pobačaju, tzv. "Zakon o nasilnom prekidu trudnoće" propisuje ženama "obavezno savjetovanje s liječnikom, socijalnim radnikom i svećenikom" pri odlučivanju hoće li roditi. Istodobno skraćuje se rok za legalni pobačaj. U odnosu na postojeći Zakon koji ženama i obiteljima osigurava pravo samostalnog odlučivanja o rađanju, Prijedlog krši osnovno žensko ljudsko pravo - pravo kontrole nad vlastitim tijelom i životom.

Žene Hrvatske zahtijevaju:

- pravo na siguran, dostupan, besplatan i legalan pobačaj
- zdravu, lako dostupnu i besplatnu kontracepciju
- slobodoumni spolni odgoj i informacije o sprečavanju trudnoće

Zbog nelegalnog i nesigurnog pobačaja u svijetu godišnje umire 250 000 žena. Pravo na izbor je pravo na život! Zahtijevamo visoke socijalne i zdravstvene standarde za svoja reproduktivna prava i za svoju zeljenu i sretnu djecu.

Ženimo pravo da odlučuje kada, koliko puta i s kime će rađati priznaju i osiguravaju i brojne međunarodne konvencije i ugovori. Konvenciju UN o eliminaciji svih oblika diskriminacije protiv žena (CEDAW) ratificirala je i Republika Hrvatska. Novi prijedlog zakona suprotan je odredbama i duhu te Konvencije kao i standarduma naprednog svijeta.

Ime i prezime	Adresa	Podpis
1 GILJANA ŠPORKIĆ	NAJEŠKOVIĆEVA 11.	Šporkić
2 GABRIANO PAHOR	NEŽNANOVA 1	PaHOR
3 VILI MATULA	BAKAČEVA 3	Matula
4 MIRENA KATONA	PRERAĐUČEVA 4	Katona
5 DRAŽEN FERENČIĆ	FRATEŠČICA 61A	Ferenčić
6 MIRNA STOKALO	NALJEŠKOVIĆEVA 11	Mirna Stokalo
7 DRANKA TRLIN	BAKAČEVA 3	Trlin
8 ĐARKO MALČEVIĆ	Z RAVNICE 11	Malčević
9 GORDANA ŠTOKALO	NOVA ULS 77B	Štokalo
10 ŠIMŠ SKELIN	Z RAVNICE 10	Škelin
11 Vlasta Prudec	NOVA ULS 77C	Prudec
12 Coucette Stokalo	NALJEŠKOVIĆEVA 11	Coucette Stokalo
13 DAVOR PAHOR	10 RAVNICE 11	PaHOR
14 KRISTINA PEŠIĆ	GRAČANSKO DOLJE 67	Pešić
15 JORAN RUŽIĆEVIĆ	GRAČANSKO DOLJE 67	Ružićević
16 DAMIR VRZEL	GRAČANSKO DOLJE 73	Vrzec
17 KRISTINA PEŠIĆ	GRAČANSKO DOLJE 73	Pešić
18 HERKA ŽUBAJ	NALJEŠKOVIĆEVA 11	Žubaj

## CASE STUDY

### Prof Dr Marina Blagojevic, BELGRADE PROTESTS

Various sociologists have referred to the existing condition in Serbia as a 'destroyed society', 'anomie', 'anarchy', 'chaos', 'regression'. This is the end point in a series of destructive processes which began as early as the 1970s and culminated with the 1990s war and UN sanctions. In the academic community there is growing agreement that Serbia has not yet entered the transition phase. A high degree of institutional destruction is both the consequence of the general social condition as well as a significant brake on social reconstruction. The only clear processes are the crystallization of the power elite and the atomization of the masses.

Today the citizen and student protests of 1996-97 which lasted several months don't seem to have produced any visible change. On the contrary they uncovered the full impotence of an undeveloped civil society and showed that it can't be created overnight. Additionally they revealed that putting pressure on institutions is of no use if real institutions don't exist or rather if that which does exist is a type of mask. The 'mafia-ization' of the state and constant pressures from the authorities have given birth to fear and impotence in the mass public. This leads to a condition which can be called a kind of civil war (as Encesberger uses that concept). The society is constantly blackmailed by the state through the manipulation of social insecurity and through denial that there is a problem.

In this type of atmosphere the manipulation of Kosova is real and inescapable. One more war will serve to strengthen the mafia and the band of war profiteers and to further retard the democratic transformation of Serbia and the re-allocation of the public wealth for the benefit of the impoverished majority. Research shows that only 1-5% of the Serbian population became rich during the 1990s and that all others have become poor. It is estimated that approximately 50% of the population is below the poverty level and the same percentage are involved in the 'gray economy'.

Many similarities exist among countries in transition but there are also many differences. Specific factors which have influenced the present condition in Serbia are:

- 1 the collapse of Yugoslavia
- 2 war on the territory of the Yugoslav Successor States
- 3 UN sanctions

As a result of internal and external pressures Serbia has not completed its process of democratization. The process which was very powerful during the late 1980s today in the late 1990s is weak and seems almost completely unfeasible. It looks like things have moved backwards. Even economic indicators show that we are daily moving farther away from where we were. The collapse of the former Yugoslavia was structured in the last few decades. It began with the "ethnification of institutions" (the economy, education, science, the legal system, the media, communications) before the war and was completed through the physical elimination and persecution of minorities during the war. One of the paradoxes of the present situation we can see in the degradation of social security capital and democratic transformations. It's a vicious circle. The whole system of basic ethical norms is in question. The cynicism of the official media in which obvious lies are shown as the truth is an excellent example of the destruction of morals. The vulgarization of traditional customs and national culture, and of



## REALITY

the Serbian Orthodox religion, is the next example of the weeds with which the population is being suffocated. The goal is clear: preservation of social atomization and disorientation. The hypocrisy and double standards of the international community with respect to various problems in the crisis only assists in maintaining a state of chaos. A good example of this was the introduction of UN sanctions which in fact aided in the homogenization of the Milošević regime and affected the civil population, hastened the brain drain (approximately 400 000 people left the country) and intensified the anti-western attitude of ordinary people.

Serbia in the 1990s is a very centralized state, with an absurd legal system which exploits individual citizens and pushes them to the edge. For example a new tax law was rescinded because of the "chaos" it produced.

The Belgrade civil and student protests took place from November 1996 to March 1997. They were intense, spontaneous, extensive, and represented a reaction to the obvious negation of the results of local elections in numerous cities throughout Serbia including Belgrade. This clear fraud, shameful and cynical provoked spontaneous protests throughout Serbia. Two simultaneous waves began in Belgrade - a citizen wave led by the Zajedno ('Together') coalition of opposition political parties, and a student wave which the youth started independently stressing their independence with respect to political parties.

During the course of the protest as many as 500 000 people gathered at some of the locations. Maybe one of the most significant characteristics of both protests was the make-up of the participant group - the majority were from the urban middle class. Parents and children protested together. In the last six years there have been various anti-regime demonstrations organized in Belgrade. One of the strongest occurred in 1992. It also took place on two tracks: students of Belgrade university protested on one and an opposition coalition on the other. The similarities between the events at that time and those of 1996-97 are clear. Many people sensed *deja vu*. Of course people came to the second time with experience and new circumstances made them more prepared (students, citizens, opposition leaders, even scholars). The experience of the earlier protests aided in improving the articulation and organization. One of the "secrets of success" and duration of the protests certainly came from the process of learning how to offer various forms of civil resistance. This doesn't happen overnight. It relentlessly pushes toward the creation of a new political culture of diverse political structures.

Although it's exceptionally difficult to describe the present political situation and the consequences which resulted from the protests for the purpose of this text I want to firmly establish a few points despite the risk that they might not be clear to people from the outside. Serbia in the 1990s is characterized by a high degree of anarchy, disintegration of institutions accompanied by the parallel intensification of the process of centralizing power in the hands of Slobodan Milošević. The process of disassembling the former system was much quicker than the process of building a new one (Lazić, 1995) so that Serbia was caught up in a spiral of bad political decisions and even worse consequences. The majority of the population was systematically exposed to brainwashing thanks to the media. Without prior knowledge of democratic traditions, without a developed sense for expressing critical opinions, and driven into the darkness of their own private lives, fighting for survival, people usually couldn't find enough courage, knowledge or moral integrity to speak openly about the real reasons for their misfortune.

An important feature of the 1996-97 protests was the concentration on the problem of anarchy, the lack of rights, the non-existence of a state based on the rule of law and the high

degree of political voluntarism. One of the messages sent during the protest will serve as an illustration. The graphic design an arrow which points forward in direction meaning - not left, nor right but straight ("pravo") ahead! The word for straight (pravo) in Serbian has a few meanings: direction, justice, law, legal system. This message exactly and concisely represents the very essence of the 1996-97 protests - the demand to determine the rules of the game. On the other hand, the slogan of the 1992 student protests was 'Enough!' It arose at the beginning of the civil war and it expressed all of the desperation and helplessness of young people as well as their readiness to demand a change in the power-holders' frightening politics. The slogan 'Pravo' unveils a completely different spirit and tactic. The 1992 student protests remained at the university, lasted a few weeks and were subsequently snuffed out with the help of pro-regime political factors. The 1996-97 student and civilian protests took place on the streets and were noticed by everyone. They weren't snuffed out but on the contrary they exploded. The energy of the desire for change of Serbian politics spilled out onto the streets of Belgrade and other Serbian cities. The sophistication of the 1992 student protests, which were first transformed into an exciting cultural event and then extinguished, served as an insight into the truth that it is necessary to ensure the support of the wider population.

The strategy and organization of the 1996-97 protests was something new; it surprised the power-wielders and even the participants themselves. The message 'Pravo' marked the first existence of a powerful articulated political will. Students and citizens 'walked' for days, even in terrible weather, even though "walks" were forbidden and a powerful police presence intimidated the people on the streets, prepared to provoke conflicts. The power of the revolt was appropriate to the clarity of the goals and strategies.

It's also important to stress that the strength of this protest gave people a sense of encouragement - people found others who were similar to themselves. They recognized friends, neighbors, acquaintances and they even "found" themselves on the street. From the onset of the war, through long years of isolation and suffering, people stopped believing that there were people out there who thought like them. The protests brought the joy of recognizing the possibility of belonging to a different Serbia - a Serbia which does exist and which will exist as a part of the rest of the world.

Nevertheless, it is necessary to add an epilogue here. More than a year after the end of the protests, many of the "walkers" have ambivalent and confused feelings related to what happened and what is currently happening on the Serbian political scene. The "Together" coalition no longer exists. A part of the coalition decided to take part in the elections while others decided to boycott the elections. At first glance it seems as though all the energy expressed during the protests is gone with the wind, but deeper political and sociological analysis would easily confirm that what is now happening is a result of previous structural factors which can't be changed overnight. Anarchy, the "mafia-ization" of the country and fraudulent privatization can't disappear as a result of street demonstrations, regardless of their duration, noisiness and charm. The lack of rules has affected even parts of the opposition as well as all other segments of society, particularly those which aren't in a position of power. The deep transformation of all institutional forms is essential at this level. Protests in and of themselves don't solve the problem, even though they create substantial pressure and force some changes.

We can now return to defining the essence of the 1996-97 protests. Movements have meaning when they lead to institutional changes. Institutional changes certainly demand a more long-term process, less attractive and noticeable than loud public protests. Nevertheless, it would seem that that is the only correct path. It's important to stress that a large majority of those who actively participated in the protests, including the author of this text, during those

# POLITICS

months discussed for hours on end everything that was happening holding round-table discussions, panel discussions informal talks about the nature style significance and effects of the protest. The participants themselves developed mutual understanding they were disciplined self-controlled responsible citizens. The protests weren't violent and they were reminiscent of old folk festivals owing to the fact that people knew what they were doing.

Protest participants - students citizens, opposition leaders - clearly articulated their attitudes and not a single serious objective researcher can dispute the significance of this self-awareness.

The author of this text found herself in a multiple role during the protests: sociologist, researcher, university professor protesting alongside her students and alongside other citizens who were protesting as a result of their own civil convictions. It was in fact as a result of this multifarious role that the author considers herself qualified to give an objective picture, a serious scientific analysis and dispassionate description of the events. However she would like to stress that the objective sciences, with their scientific methods are completely helpless in predicting these types of events. Not a single social indicator existed prior to November 17, 1996, that pointed to any type of sound shattering the complete silence. But "a miracle occurred!" That type of miracle can't be predicted nor explained by academic sociological knowledge which ignores the activist perspective. Possessing power brings with it the capability of foresight. The war in the former Yugoslavia was predicted by those who caused it, those who had the power to instigate it. The relationship between foresight and the possession of power should never be ignored.



## COALITIONS

However activism also gives power Thanks to activism, we equip ourselves for a greater level of awareness of future events While academic sociological knowledge allows a static structural general look at a dynamic social movement such as a protest an activist approach understands and provokes social changes by consistently analyzing the efforts in the building of a civil society Remembering these efforts is an important part of strengthening future civil initiatives

Serbia has nonetheless become a different place following the 1996-97 protests even though the Together coalition disbanded six months later even though the prospects that the existing structure of power will even more successfully consolidate and even though a new war in Kosovo is in sight The change isn't noticeable since it hasn't yet materialized in an institutional form and is not yet accessible to objective analysis' The key change is actually activist experience - the wonderful feeling of the power of influencing and changing the existing structures With time, it will transform itself into wisdom



# FUNDRAISING FOR PUBLIC POLICY ADVOCACY

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*Ready money is Aladdin's lamp.*

Lord Byron, English writer

# FUNDRAISING FOR PUBLIC POLICY ADVOCACY

**A**fter you have determined your goals and planned out your strategy you are left with one more task - gathering funds for the campaign. Often finding funds runs parallel to developing the strategy of public advocacy. You have to set realistic goals, determine target groups, come up with convincing messages, build coalitions and reliable relationships. Simultaneous to your action, you must launch into budget planning and searching for funding.

This part is often experienced as the 'unwanted intruder' in the warm home of public policy advocacy. However, without the required resources, all our efforts are futile and it is consequently important to begin the funding search from the very beginning. Develop it from the outset as a parallel process. If someone on your team is skilled at fundraising, let them deal exclusively in this area.

## Caution

Don't allow yourself to become completely dependent upon a particular foundation, endowment or government. They can place conditions on your work or there can be conflict of interests which will cause you to lose funds when their interest is drawn to something else.

## Additionally

**ALWAYS COLLECT MORE MONEY THAN YOU ACTUALLY SEEMINGLY NEED FOR A PARTICULAR ACTIVITY!**

## Since

- a Unexpected expenses are always possible
- b Count on the possible growth of your organization
- c Don't forget that you have to spend money searching for those very funds

## HOW TO RAISE FUNDS

There are numerous ways of finding funds - adhere to one which works, be creative and have fun.

A few proposals for ways to raise the needed money **through your own work**

- membership fees
- donations
- holding dinners, concerts intended for the collection of funds
- auctions
- produce, sell, be venturesome
- ask for scholarships from funders and international agencies
- enter scholarship competitions and win

**Donations** can be diverse. Individuals and organizations may

- give money
- invest their own work
- donate office equipment
- offer professional help
- give administrative support
- provide space

**Potential providers of funds may be**

- individuals
- the private sector (and multi-national corporations)
- philanthropists, agencies, endowments, foundations
- governments, city administrations

# FUNDRAISING FOR PUBLIC POLICY ADVOCACY

Find out as much as possible about the funders. They almost always set certain conditions and priorities. Determine carefully whether their plans significantly differ from yours. If their conditions aren't in accordance with your mission, don't take their funds.

Laws which regulate donations differ from country to country. Before beginning an action, do some research about how donations are regulated by the laws of your country.

## Verify the following

- Which laws regulate this issue?
- Are there any obstacles or do any prohibitions exist for the financing of public policy advocacy or other political actions?
- Do any limits exist (e.g. amounts)?
- Are donations subject to taxation?

## FUNDERS - YOUR TARGET GROUP

Before a meeting with a funder, you need to find out a lot of information - who they are, what interests them, what presentation style they like. Only in this manner will you know how to prepare yourself for success.

Funders like to help when they see

- An organization that is well-run and well-organized
- Financial stability - They might therefore ask to see your latest financial report
- Examples of already successfully run campaigns
- A good strategy
- That which makes you special, different from similar organizations
- An explanation as to why your activity is important
- The purpose of their contribution
- Information about you and your members, particularly about successes

If you're just starting out, you have to show a solid and convincing strategy of achieving realistic goals.

## SOME GENERAL SUGGESTIONS

- Find out which organizations the funder has already supported, how much they received, and what their primary interests are. Their annual report should contain that type of information.
- Don't accept any scholarships nor help for achieving goals which aren't in your plan of activities.
- Remember that all those who give funds, particularly foundations, have their own programs (pragmatic and ideological).
- Avoid becoming dependent on one source of funding; expand your network of funders.
- Enlist the help of a fundraising expert. She can be outside the group but must be held accountable to you.
- As in public policy advocacy, interpersonal relations are also key in fundraising. Invest time and energy to get to know people who can help you.
- Seek specific support from specific funders for concrete, not general, goals.
- Also seek financial contributions from your members, that also offers a solid sense of belonging to a specific project.



# FUNDRAISING FOR PUBLIC POLICY ADVOCACY

## BUDGETING

Your first challenge, as the leading individuals in a project responsible for gathering funds is writing up a realistic budget based on a good strategy. Make use of the same rules as in public policy advocacy: direct the message, determine the audience, influence, build coalitions and associations.

### Consider

- How much money will you need to implement each of the planned activities?
- How much do you need to cover each element of activity? DON'T FORGET TO INCLUDE A PLACE IN THE BUDGET FOR EXPENSES RELATED TO FUND-RAISING

Every BUDGET must contain the FOLLOWING ELEMENTS

- office expenses (rent, equipment, paper, telephone, fax, mail )
- miscellaneous (unexpected expenses) - what is their percentage in your budget
- salaries for personnel + tax
- programs, events (conferences, lunches, meetings)
- printing and distribution of specific documents (brochures, advertisements )
- fund raising (meetings, promotions, documents )

Divide the budget among individual funders. Define what funds you are going to seek from whom and in what amount.

For example, ask yourself if someone could provide office space or equipment. Maybe some other foundation could supply the funds for a conference or a publication.

**REMEMBER THE GOLDEN RULE** - search for more money than you will spend (in accordance with that, request/set a higher amount than what is dictated by the actual budget)

## STRATEGIJA NALAŽENJA SREDSTAVA

### AN EXAMPLE OF A CAMPAIGN BUDGET

## WOMEN'S HEALTH, 1998

Type of expense	Necessary funds in \$
<b>A Office expenses</b>	
1 Rent	2 000
2 Office equipment	1 000
3 Equipment	1 000
4 Telephone fax modem	1 000
5 Postage	200
6 Other (10%)	500
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>5 700</b>
<b>B Salaries, fees</b>	
1 1 person part time	4 000
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>4 000</b>
<b>C Programs</b>	
1 Coalition meetings	500
2 Trip to one conference	600
3 2 press conferences	100
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>1 200</b>
<b>D Printing and distributing of materials</b>	
1 Reports	400
2 Printing of abstracts(for the media etc )	100
3 Brochures	150
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>650</b>
<b>E Fund raising</b>	
1 Auction (women s health)	1 250
2 Donations	250
3 Material for funders	500
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>2 000</b>
<b>TOTAL BUDGET</b>	<b>13 550 \$</b>

Each type of fundraising requires a specific strategy worked out in detail. Following the example worked out in this guidebook, attempt to draw up your own table for the allocation of collected funds.

Example of a

## FUND-RAISING PLAN FOR A CAMPAIGN FOR WOMEN'S HEALTH

SOURCE OF FUNDS	STRATEGY	PERSON RESPONSIBLE	DEADLINES	PLANNED FUNDS
Funders organizations that deal with women's health care (CEDPA UNIFEM )	Individual personal contacts with responsible individuals to see what they can donate	coordinator	January 15	\$ 5 000
Foundations Ford Foundation Soros for programs and events	Send a short one page letter with a request for their support. if they re interested send more information	executive director	first letter by January 15 next one by March 1	\$ 5 000
Membership fees for regular and associate members	Send information regarding future activities and remind them about the membership fee telephone them personally after	head of the office	letter January 1 calling January 15	\$ 500
Our own actions (auctions fund raising concerts )	Send invitations to the artists advertise the events secure the logistics	individual responsible for public relations	invitations April logistics April advertisements April June	\$ 4 000
Donations companies private medical offices	Written information immediately thereafter personal contacts series of telephone calls	executive director	meeting January tel calls February	\$ 1 500

If you compare the planned budget and the timetable for fundraising for the campaign, you'll see that a goal has been set to raise \$16,000 which is \$2,450 more than is needed. It is always a good idea to allow for unplanned expenses and possible increase in costs. Therefore, always seek a little more than is needed.

## REMEMBER

Be persistent

Find out as much as possible about the funders and the manner in which they make decisions. Invite them to come and see your work.

- If they turn down your request, find out why they did so. Ask whether they would be willing to support you for a smaller amount.
- Develop good relations with the funders.
- Inform them regularly about actions and progress.
- Let them know exactly how much their money helped you.

## CASE STUDY

Topic            **Opening a counseling center for elderly women**  
Location        **Split, Croatia**  
Date             **1997**  
Implementer   **Womens Group Split**  
Case study by **Edita Bačić**

We decided to embark on a campaign which would ultimately result in the opening of a counseling center for elderly women. We did this for several reasons: we already had abundant experience working with elderly women; the population of Split was aware of the poor living conditions (lack of space) experienced by elderly citizens; and we had established a very good working relationship with the staff of the Zenta retirement home which was willing and ready to back our activities. At the time there was no such counseling center in our city. We wanted to attract the attention of the public and speak out about the problems faced by elderly women. Our future center would have to be accessible to the residents of retirement homes but also to all elderly citizens (female and male) of Split.

Since the project was demanding we planned it in several phases:

1. Opening of a library in the Zenta retirement home
2. Opening of a counseling center for elderly women in the retirement home
3. Opening access to the counseling center to women who don't reside in retirement homes

Each phase represented a separate **short-term goal** with a one-year timeline. We have accomplished our **first short-term goal**, the opening of the library, and we have now entered into the second phase of the project: the Counseling Center for elderly women residents of the retirement home. When we can begin the implementation of the third phase of the project, we will have realized the long-term and ultimate goal of the project. This order of implementation seemed to be the most logical. By opening the library, we acquired space for further activities connected with work with women (public events, exhibitions, counseling). This in turn leads us toward becoming co-creators of free-time activities for the women of the retirement home.

Planning a campaign required defining the target groups to whom we wanted to direct our message. In our case these were the women for whom the project was intended, their families, retirement home staff, and the city authorities. We immediately established contact with the retirement home personnel. By making periodic small donations and participating in various activities (organizing trips to the theater for retirement home residents, participating in celebrations, etc.) we had gained the confidence of the director of the retirement home and of other personnel so that they accepted our proposal.

The second step was to research the wishes and needs of the retirement home residents. We analyzed their age structure, former professions, and other factors to identify their true interests and a field of common activity. All women who showed interest in getting involved in the project were included, including a retired librarian who accepted the role of running the future library. To develop closer ties and begin to lobby the city authorities, we made use of personal connections. Because many of the positions in local government were filled by candidates of the Liberal Party, the path was in some respect easier. However, this also raised our expectations.

Having analyzed the groups to whom we wanted to target our message, we decided to use the following message as our action motto:

#### **DONATE A BOOK TO A RETIREMENT HOME—IT'LL BE WAITING FOR YOU'**

We wanted to send an understandable and universal message. Our intention was also to coax people into thinking about their own futures (when they might face similar problems) and to act on their sense of civic consciousness.

We considered it of extreme importance to prepare ourselves for our first public appearance and the opening of our project. We decided that our first public statement would be made on the occasion of the opening of the library.

We could use that opportunity for:

- attracting the attention of the media
- inviting members of local government
- affirmation of the idea and sending our message
- influencing the local community and pointing to a common problem

In this first phase of publicizing our project, we tried to find **points of common ground**. We decided to leave any sensitive issues for later when the project would already have public support.

While still in the planning stage, we began to think of possible alliances with other non-governmental organizations. We presented our plan to various groups and began to co-operate with Stope Nade (Footsteps of Hope), who supported our action of opening the library and also donated a number of books.

We initiated the second phase of the project (**Counseling center for retirement home residents**) by investigating the conditions experienced by NGOs in our local community. We initiated several meetings to which we invited representatives of various groups so that they could learn more about each other's programs and so that we could attempt to find a common field of interest.

During meetings with experts (psychologists social workers and cultural workers) whose professional help we constantly needed we learned about other people with whom we could closely cooperate

To maintain more frequent contact with potential partners we began to hold regular meetings every two months these were transformed into an ongoing seminar on the theme **"The politics of advocacy at the local level"** Offering potential partners our knowledge of advocacy in the form of workshops and round-table discussions we solidified our partnership and our joint activity was mutually useful We are able to count on future joint activities (ad hoc or more permanent coalitions)

Budget planning and fundraising are always the most difficult parts of any activity although it doesn't have to be this way Planning a project and bringing an idea to life require much more effort It is this fundraising aspect of the project with which we are the **least satisfied** Many people part with their money with much difficulty

So far we have taken the following steps

- We have sent the project proposal to all previous donors
- We have searched directories for foundations which deal with this problem and have sent requests to them
- We have contacted all current NGO friends requesting that they direct us toward the right funders' addresses
- We sent an application to a competition of the Split City Council which was accepting citizens initiatives
- We appealed to book stores and publishers
- We appealed to friends and acquaintances

We have received financial support for the first phase of the project By means of e-mail local newspapers private contacts letters etc we have begun to gather books Books have been donated to us by citizens publishing houses friends and businesses we continue to add to our stock every so often in connection with events such as holidays book days etc Many people have offered and have given their support

Now we need to ensure funding to cover the costs of the professionals who will work at the future counseling center We currently have a few individuals who have expressed their willingness to help out on a volunteer basis

We have also received answers from some foreign organizations (involved in the same type of work) that are willing to send their members in order to educate our members This may be an opportunity to learn their secrets of successful fundraising

### Comments

- 1 Analyze the topic message and target group of this public policy advocacy campaign
- 2 Create a story with a personal human component and data upon which you can build your message
- 3 Develop a budget proposal and fundraising strategy for this campaign
- 4 Identify all possible funding sources (foundations endowments etc) you can approach
- 5 How would you raise a portion of the funds for the campaign through your own actions (auctions membership fees etc)



**Ženska inicijativa: Otvaranje  
knjžnice u Domu umirovljenika u  
Splitu**

ZAPOSLENA no 28/1997

## **Poklonite je - čekat će Vas!**

**P**ola godine trajale su pripreme za provođenje akcije pod nazivom Poklonite knjigu Domu umirovljenika tamo će vas dočekati! Početkom srpnja prvih 300 knjiga udomljeno je u splitskom Domu umirovljenika na Zenti. Ovaj projekt započela je na inicijativu jedne od svojih koordinatorica gđe Edite Bacic. Ženska grupa iz Splita a pripomoc su pružili humanitarna organizacija Stope nade te antikvarijati u vlasništvu Marijana Sore i Janje Gelic. Akcija se nastavlja i dalje dopisima upućenim potencijalnim donatorima te usmenim zamolbama da se na simboličan način kupnjom odnosno poklanjanjem barem jednog naslova podupre ova humorna i korisna zamisao.

Velebno zdanje Doma na Zenti i njegov ravnatelj g Vucica objerucke su prihvatili projekt i izasli mu ususret prostorno i organizacijski. Uz pomoc tamosnje socijalne radnice i angaziranjem jedne od stanovnica Doma umirovljene knjiznicarke knjiznica je vec započela s radom po svim pravilima struke. Edita Bacic koja je voditelj knjiznice na splitskom Pravnom fakultetu i dobra vila ovog projekta kaže: Ovo je tek jedna od etapa otvaranju Centra za savjetovanje žena treće životne dobi i njihovih obitelji. Iako smo mi iz ženske grupe još uvijek u nekim srednjim radnoaktivnim godinama uvjerenja smo da već danas trebamo stvoriti prostor za

dane koji neupitno dolaze i ženi starije dobi treba osigurati mogućnost da djeluje na određenoj intelektualnoj razini da se osjećaju ispunjeno i korisno. Konačno knjiga uz edukativnu i zabavnu ima i terapijsku funkciju. Misija naše Grupe općenito i jeste osnaženje žene u emocionalnom pravnom i materijalnom smislu. U tu svrhu iznalazimo razne nacine i modele djelovanja. Ova novorođena knjiznica kao i druga kulturna događanja dio su zahtjevnog programa koji će nam omogućiti da tu misiju uspješno obavimo barem na ovoj našoj gradskoj razini. Iako je sve krenulo od žena i za žene korisnici knjiznice su svi stanovnici Doma.

MARICA ZANETIC MALENICA

*Experience is the name everyone  
gives to their mistakes*

Oscar Wilde, *Englishman's Boy*



EVALUATION - HOW TO MEASURE  
PROGRESS IN ADVOCACY

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*BEST AVAILABLE COPY*

# EVALUATION - HOW TO MEASURE PROGRESS IN ADVOCACY

**N**othing succeeds like success!

Constant evaluation and adjustments during the course of public policy advocacy are the best path to success

Adaptation creativity and persistence are characteristics of successful advocacy. If one strategy doesn't give results another one will or the next or maybe the next. Persist as long as it takes to reach your goal.

Do your own annual assessment of your advocacy activities. If you desire complete objectivity allow a qualified expert to evaluate your work.

Evaluate

your work and your organization

- coalitions in which you have taken part
- messages you have created
- changes in the decision-making process which you have influenced
- the public which has accepted your messages

Remember - changes take time and reaching a goal is like a long climb up a spiral staircase. Reaching the top demands a lot of energy, time and persistence.

The process is never finished actually. When it seems as though you have reached a goal, new challenges are already waiting for you around the corner.

An evaluation questionnaire must contain the following topics:

- advocacy activities
- messages - to whom have they been directed, how were they communicated
- the use of data and research
- coalitions
- influence on decision-making
- general organizational topics

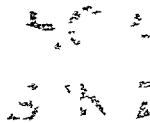
Apply the questionnaire every 6-12 months. It can help you to mark the progress made and to improve activities.

## STRUCTURE OF THE EVALUATION QUESTIONNAIRE

Your evaluation questionnaire **must** contain the following elements:

### I. ACTIVITIES - GOALS

- a) Are your activities running smoothly or have you encountered obstacles?
- b) What are the obstacles and how can you overcome them?
- c) In what way can you accelerate your progress towards the goal?
- d) Will the building of new coalitions or better contacts with the media help the visibility of your efforts and goals?
- e) If your goals aren't realistic, can you change them? Can you transform them into more realistic, more accessible goals through compromise or negotiation? Do you need to abandon some of them?
- f) How much does the actual change in public policy coincide with your goals? Have you reached your goal completely, partially, or not at all?



- g) Is there is a chance of getting somewhat closer to the goal within the next time period (e.g. the new session of Parliament) or is it better to completely give up on the goal and commit to some other advocacy action? What are the pros and cons of such a decision?
- h) Does the change in policy represent a real advance with respect to the problem with which you are dealing?
- i) If you reached the goal partially or completely has it brought the types of results which you had expected?

## **2 COMMUNICATION - SENDING THE MESSAGE**

- a) Has your message reached the intended audience? If it hasn't how will you succeed in this respect?
- b) Has the public responded positively to the messages sent?
- c) Which message was successful? Why? Which wasn't and why? How can you strengthen the messages which weren't sufficiently clear?
- d) Which means of delivering the messages worked? Which didn't and why? Which means can you change or improve?
- e) Did you get media coverage? Was it useful for your efforts? How can you improve relations with the media?

## **3 DATA AND RESEARCH**

- a) How much did the use of data and research strengthen your activities?
- b) Was the data presented clearly and convincingly? How can your presentation become more successful?
- c) Has advocacy opened new questions and elicited new research? Do you need new data? If yes is it easily available to you or do you have to begin further research?

## **4 THE DECISION-MAKING PROCESS**

- a) How much is the very process of decision-making better and more open following your action?
- b) Will it now be easier to contact those who make decisions? Why or why not?
- c) How many new institutions, organizations and people are now involved in the decision-making process?
- d) What elements can you improve in your own decision-making process?

## **5 COALITION-BUILDING**

- a) How successful was your coalition (e.g. by number support received)?
- b) Did all information reach all partners in the coalition equally? How can the exchange of information be improved?
- c) Is there any unresolved conflict in the coalition? How can you identify and resolve it?
- d) Did a high degree of cooperation exist between members of the coalition? How can it be improved even more?
- e) Did the coalition lose or gain members? What can you do to win over new members and prevent the loss of old ones?
- f) How much did your networking strengthen advocacy efforts? How can you expand your network?

## **6 ORGANIZATIONAL TOPICS - MANAGEMENT**

- a) Is your advocacy process fully funded? How can you find additional funds?
- b) Is your accounting efficient? Can you deliver the funder information on short notice as to how the funds were spent?

- c) Could you have spent the money more efficiently?
- d) Which logistics can you improve and how? Have all planned activities run smoothly? If not why?
- e) Have you and your organization come out of the process invigorated or insecure? Where might you find stronger support?
- f) Do you have to reduce your goals or possibly increase them in order for your efforts to become more far-reaching?

### **CASE STUDY**

Topic           **Domestic violence - Project Rea Silvia**  
 Location       **Republic of Macedonia**  
 Date            **1997**  
 Implementer   **HAESE - Humanitarian Association for Emancipation, Solidarity and Equality of Women**  
 Case study by **Mjellma Mehmeti**

Having decided to conduct a campaign against family violence against women we set the following goals

- a) to produce and publish a study on domestic violence
- b) to research the attitudes of the student population towards the problem
- c) to awaken public awareness regarding the scope and depth of the problem
- d) to make the problem of domestic violence well-known
- e) to promote the world wide achievements in the struggle against violence against women

We determined the timeline for the campaign. It was limited to three months from June to September 1997.

We divided the activities into two parts. In the first phase, with the help of a sociologist we created a questionnaire which we could use to examine the attitudes of the student population. The questionnaire contained both open ended and closed questions. Four students were responsible for polling students of Cyril and Methodius University. Five hundred students from various faculties were polled. The data was coded with the expert help of psychologists who analyzed and interpreted the results.

After that we could enter the second phase of the project - preparing to produce Rea Silvia's book. Noting the characteristics of those polled (age, gender, socio-economic status, previous education, family size, etc.) we used a model adapted to the Macedonian environment. While the experts sorted the data, we established contacts with a large number of Macedonian non-governmental organizations as well as with institutions and individuals who deal with the problem of domestic violence. We sought their help and co-operation in writing a book which would include all relevant data at our disposal. Helping us with their contributions were SOS Telephone, The Children's Embassy, statistical data from the Centers for Social Work, numerous attorneys, etc. We made use of the Internet and used data from the National Domestic Violence Hotline USA's website.

We received material from the Minnesota Human Rights Advocates with data for Albania, Romania, and Bulgaria, as well as data from the Albanian NGO Reflexiones. A useful resource were international documents such as "Strategies for dealing with the problem of domestic

violence of the United Nations and the UN Resolution Against Violence Against Women (48/104) Declarations and Platforms for Action adopted in Beijing

We then planned the structure of the book. We decided on the following contents:

- Introduction - basic data regarding Rea Silvia's project
- General information about domestic violence - data from the Internet
- Comments on various approaches to defining domestic violence
- A survey of data and experts' comments
- Comparing various statutes and regulations - Macedonia, Croatia, Albania, Bulgaria, USA, Canada
- Recommendations about possible ways to reform the legal system
- Information and data from the SOS Telephone of the First Children's Embassy - Medasi from Skopje
- Information and data from the SOS Telephone Crisis center of the Open Society Institute - Macedonia
- An analysis of how the media treat the problem of domestic violence with a survey of newspaper attitudes

The final stage of the project was to use the media to present the book and the problem to the public. Since we had already planned 16 days of activism for November, we decided to organize a national campaign against domestic violence which we called Šapat (Whisper).

The goals of the campaign were:

- a) to raise the level of public interest for the problem of domestic violence
- b) to promote a heightened sense of responsibility by the institutions dealing with women survivors of domestic violence
- c) to present data we gathered in Macedonia and compare them with those of other countries

The campaign was supported by other women's non-governmental organizations and the key organizers were the Union of Women's Organizations of the Republic of Macedonia, the Organization of Women of Macedonia, the League of Albanian Women of Macedonia, the UMAM Center, the SOS Telephone for Women and Children Victims of Violence, Skopje, the SOS Telephone for Victims of Violence, Kumanovo, and Daja - Roma Women's Organization of Kumanovo.

Along with the publishing and presentation of Rea Silvia's book, we printed brochures and posters, held round-table discussions and seminars, and involved the media.

HAESE was successful in coordinating the groups in a serious activity, awakening the public awareness to begin contemplating the problem of domestic violence. Everyone clearly saw how important it was to gather and analyze information, and we developed an awareness of how important it was to actively include NGOs. Their own self-awareness was also developed since they became competent in addressing the serious problem of domestic violence.

Rea Silvia's book will remain a lasting tool for public policy advocacy against domestic violence.

## Comments

- 1 What were the goals and the messages of this campaign?
- 2 Which were the target groups?
- 3 How much did the gathering and collecting of data strengthen public policy advocacy?
- 4 Make a suggestion for raising funds for this campaign
- 5 Put together an evaluation questionnaire for this campaign

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## THOUGHTS REGARDING OBSTACLES TO PUBLIC POLICY ADVOCACY IN THIS PART OF THE WORLD

It's obvious that much more work has to be done in the area of promoting the basic values of democracy. In the public there is a tendency towards a naive understanding of citizens' duties - you simply vote and wait for miracles to happen. But that only gives political parties a monopoly on creating policy regulations and laws. If we add to this the collapse in the value system, an uncertain future for the young and old, an undeveloped legal system, a lack of democratic traditions, and self-censorship and fear, there is not a lot of room for optimism. Political leaders and the bureaucracy most often protect the interests of the elite within their own ranks and lobbies. Those who would even be open to public policy advocacy and citizens' initiatives most often keep quiet out of fear for their own jobs.

Citizens recognize the situation but don't believe that anything can be changed. Individuals who were dissidents during the former regime are no longer outside of power but are involved in it or desire it. Thus the paradoxical situation arises where the public has less experience in public activity than its own leadership. Many old party functionaries have maintained power even in the new system, often continuing to apply the methods of communist bosses and remaining non-accessible and non-accountable to the public.

***The lack of individuals who are prepared to take active part in monitoring our elected officials is clearly evident.*** The distorted perception that fosters a passive role for the individual must nevertheless someday disappear. Of course eliminating our tolerance towards old attitudes while simultaneously building trust in new institutions will require time and practice.

The lack of active cooperation and participation of citizens can be observed in the unequal division of power, resources, political will, and skill necessary to influence decision makers in decision making arenas. In the recent past the participation of citizens in committees, associations, etc. was verbally supported while there simultaneously existed a tacit agreement that different viewpoints should be exorcized. That mode of thinking is still not foreign to us. On the contrary.

Citizens have seen the futility of raising their voice. They have no hope that anyone will hear them. Those who make decisions experience the few citizens who attempt to be active in this sphere as an unpleasant but easily eliminated obstacle.

Naturally it is extremely difficult for the average citizen to think of how s/he can help the authorities collect information to make rational decisions. Apart from the lack of a tradition of participatory democracy, the recent past also demonstrated the lack of rule of law enforced by a just, professional, and independent judiciary. Because of this the public hesitates to use legal mechanisms which allow it to participate, even when those mechanisms formally exist.

It is evident that there is a great need for the empowerment of little people by educating them for democracy. Citizens must develop the abilities and skills of influencing decision-makers but also feel encouragement to enter into the arena of decision-making motivated by the need to demystify and open up of public space for issues related to the public welfare.



Since we are interested in the promotion and opening of new space within democratic processes, we start from the following questions WHICH DEMANDS FOR ABILITIES AND COMPETENCE DOES DEMOCRACY PLACE ON THE CITIZENRY? HOW ARE THEY TO BE DEVELOPED? WHICH WELL THOUGHT OUT APPROACHES ARE NECESSARY FOR THE CREATION AND SUPPORT OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF A MODERN CIVIL SOCIETY?

Of course the answer to those questions will vary just as certain conceptions of democracy differ in their fundamental precepts

The conservative view reduces citizens to the role of promoting absolute trust in and obedience to leaders The citizenry is considered something undefined broad irrational and uninformed All competence for democratic development is expected to lie in the hands of the elite

For those with the vision of a participatory democracy the obstacles to the development of democracy don't lie so much in the lack of citizens initiatives as they do in the concentration of political and economic power in the hands of a few power-wielders

For those of us who work in non-governmental sector neither of the two previously mentioned perspectives is completely true We can blame and criticize institutions which don't have the aptitude to develop participatory democracy but we know very well that the active involvement of citizens doesn't appear even in those instances where there is open opportunity for participation and when a defined political space does exist

Consequently the development of an influential and effective citizenry efficiently and democratically organized demands the investment of effort skill and attention to specific strategies of empowerment

AN EMPOWERMENT STRATEGY can be divided into three levels keeping in mind that they are not mutually exclusive The best approach is to combine them

**The first level** is directed towards the building of political efficiency and skills of public policy advocacy necessary to enter the decision making arena

**The second level** requires concentration on organizing a wide circle of citizens groups which can enter the political arena

**The third level** calls for the empowerment of the citizenry so that it can deal with important issues The basic strategy for this is political education

Informed advocates can influence the political process of decision-making by voting lobbying writing letters associating sending petitions The goal is to achieve an as efficient as possible involvement of as large a number of citizens as possible in the decision-making process Those who publicly advocate are often professional activists or alternative experts who acquire their competence through the successful raising of funds mobilization of people drawing in experts

Starting from the assumption that obstacles to citizen participation do exist the question becomes how to overcome them and influence the decision makers In order to re-democratize the political system the process of empowering becomes a process of mobilizing those members of the community who are not in a position of power During the process of organ-

izing the previously unorganized citizens to enter the decision-making arena organizers acquire a great amount of experience in building the art of participation

There are numerous examples of movements which were successfully developed through raising awareness informing and educating such as the Greens women's groups and human rights activists

By giving information and stimulating those who don't have power those citizens become motivated by an analysis of the world in which they live Thus citizens learn to speak and act to protect their own rights and interests by creating free space in which there is an atmosphere of respect independence and building a vision of a better world

People have to be made literate politically economically ecologically technologically

There are different theories on how to conquer helplessness although the need for the development of new networks and organizations associations individuals from various sectors who can work together towards the same goals is present in all of them The stress is always on cooperation

Even in the NGO sector there exist obstacles and the tendency to close oneself off in one's own ghetto But you have to get out and offer people programs outside of the circle of those who think alike The first step to change must come from the base from those who have become aware of their personal position and want change

Cooperation at all levels - local regional national and international - is necessary and unconditional

Miriam Kervatin

## FURTHER READING:

Gaventa J **Citizen Knowledge, Citizen Competence and Democracy Building**, working paper for PEGS conference 1995

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Sharma R **An Introduction to Advocacy Training Guide** Support for analysis and research in Africa (SARA) Academy for Educational Development

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# THE STAR PROJECT OF DELPHI INTERNATIONAL

Strategies Training and Advocacy for Reconciliation  
Women for Social Change in the Yugoslav Successor States

The STAR Project supports non nationalistic women's organizations in the Yugoslav Successor States by providing encouragement, technical assistance and financial support. STAR assists its local partner NGOs to build democratically run organizations that combine service provision and advocacy for social change to promote interethnic tolerance, regional cooperation and reconciliation.

From 1994-98, core funding from the U.S. Agency for International Development has been significantly augmented by funds from the United Nations High Commission for Refugees, the World Bank, private foundations and individuals.

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