

# **Efficiency & sustainability of gender equality mechanisms in Western Balkans**

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## **WHAT I WOULD LIKE TO SPEAK ABOUT?**

- **WHAT HAS CHANGED GLOBALLY AFTER BEIJING 4TH UN CONFERENCE ON WOMEN?**
- **WHAT IS „WESTERN BALKAN REGION“ GEOGRAPHICALLY AND POLITICALLY AND HOW IT HAS CHANGED FROM 1999 TILL TODAY?**
- **WHAT HAS CHANGED IN THIS REGION WITH REGARD OF THE STATUS OF WOMEN FROM 1990 TILL TODAY?**
- **HOW THESE CHANGES HAVE INFLUENCED ESTABLISHMENT, THE DESIGN, MANDATE, EFFICIENCY AND SUSTAINABILITY OF THE GENDER EQUALITY MECHANISMS IN TODAY'S „WESTERN BALKAN REGION“ COUNTRIES, T.I. CROATIA, BIH, SERBIA, KOSOVO, MACEDONIA, ALBANIA?**
- **WHAT HAS WORKED, WHY THE POSITIVE TREND IS IN DANGER?**
- **HOW DO WE GO FROM HERE?**

# **WHAT HAS CHANGED GLOBALLY FROM BEIJING TILL NOW?**

- **THE WORLD HAS NOW SEVERAL GLOBAL DEVELOPMENT LOCOMOTIVES AND POWER CENTRES, INSTEAD OF JUST ONE IN 1995 – USA.**
- **ECE REGION ITSELF HAS THREE:USA, , JAPAN, ENLARGING EU AND RUSSIAN FEDERATION,**
- **GLOBALLY THERE ARE ALSO EMERGING SUPER POWERS: CHINA, INDIA, BRAZIL.**
- **PROGRESSING FROM BOOM TO BUST, NEOLIBERAL GLOBALISATION MADE THE RICH RICHER, THE POOR POORER. CONCENTRATION OF WEALTH IS TODAY AT THE LEVELS OF PRE WORLD WAR I – THE FIRST DECILE OF GLOBAL POPULATION OWNS 95% OF GLOBAL WEALTH**

**WOMEN IN THE DEVELOPED WORLD GOT DIVIDED IN THE TINY MINORITY OF THOSE WHO “MADE IT”, AND MAJORITY OF THOSE WHO – MUCH BETTER EDUCATED, MUCH MORE OFTEN EMPLOYED, GLOBALLY MOBILE FOR THE FIRST TIME IN HISTORY, HAVE LOST AN IMPORTANT PART OF THEIR ALREADY GAINED ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, AND EVEN PERSONAL RIGHTS.**

**PARADOX: WHILE WE HAVE STRONG BACKLASH IN SOME MOST DEVELOPED COUNTRIES – USA, UK, IN SOME POST WAR CONFLICT AREAS AND SOUTH AMERICAN COUNTRIES ACTIVE WOMEN STRIVE FORR PROGRESS IN GENDER EQUALITY: SOUTH AFRICA, RWANDA, WESTERN BALKANS, ARAB SPRING COUNTRIES**

**THE GLOBAL CONSENSUS ON HOW TO DEAL WITH GENDER EQUALITY IN BEIJING WAS MADE IN THE CONTEXT OF HOPE THAT WE ARE GOING TO BUILD A GLOBAL CIVILISATION BASED ON INDIVISIBLE HUMAN RIGHTS FOR ALL.**

**IT WAS IMPLEMENTED IN THE BLEAK REALITY OF WAR DONE AND NEOLIBERAL PATTERNS OF TRANSITION, IN NEOLIBERAL DISRUPTION OF THE EUROPEAN SOCIAL MODEL, ESPECIALLY AFTER THE OUTBREAK OF THE FINANCIAL CRISES 2008, WARS AGAINST TERRORISM FROM 2011, AND FROM 2014, WITH THE UKRAINIAN CRISES IT SEEMS THAT A NEW ERA OF GEOSTRATEGIC CONFLICT, SIMILAR TO THE TIMES OF COLD WAR, IS DEVELOPING.**

**AMBITIOUS BEIJING PLATFORM FOR ACTION ENDED UP IN CONSERVATIVES' LED GENDER MAINSTREAMING AND IN BROKEN PROMISES OF MDG!**

**GLOBAL FINANCIAL, ECONOMIC, DEMOGRAPHIC, FOOD, ENERGY AND CLIMATE CRISIS, MORE AND MORE COMBINED WITH THE POLITICAL CRISES OF FAILING DEMOCRACY, IS A DANGEROUS THREAT BUT ALSO A GREAT WINDOW OF OPPORTUNITY FOR NEW PROGRESS IN GENDER EQUALITY**

**WHAT WE WILL MAKE OUT OF IT DEPENDS ON THE ABILITY OF PROGRESSIVE, ACTIVE, ORGANIZED WOMEN TO MAKE A DIFFERENCE IN POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC DECISION MAKING ABOUT GLOBAL, REGIONAL. NATIONAL AND LOCAL FUTURE DEVELOPMENT.**

**GENDER EQUALITY MECHANISMS IN WESTERN BALKANS AS ANYWHERE ELSE ARE THE INDISPENSIBLE TOOL IN OUR ENDEAVOR, THEREFORE IT IS IMPORTANT TO SEE TO WHICH EXTEND THEY ARE A PART OF THE CHALLENGE AND TO WHICH EXTEND THEY ARE A PART OF THE SOLUTION.**

## **„WESTERN BALKAN REGION“**

### **1. Stability Pact defined 12 armed conflict troubled transition countries in the SEE :**

- **1999 –former Socialist Yugoslavia: Slovenia (war started and ended in 1991) ,Croatia, BiH, Serbia& Kosovo, Montenegro (war started in 1992 and lasted till 2000, Macedonia (internal conflict started in 2001 and ended in 2001), plus: Hungary, Romania (violent conflict start of transition in 1989), Moldova (Russian paramilitary forces occupied 1/3 of the Moldovan territory Transnistria in 1992 and stayed there till today), Bulgaria, Albania (Pyramidal Scheme chaos and armed political conflicts started and stopped in 1997)**

### **2. EU enlargement process diminishing problematic SEE region:**

- **2004 - Hungary, Slovenia, became EU member states, „Western Balkan Region“ diminished to: Romania, Moldova, Bulgaria, Albania, Croatia, Serbia, Montenegro, Kosovo, Macedonia, BiH,**
- **2007 - Bulgaria and Romania became EU member states, „Western Balkan region“ has shrunk to Croatia, Serbia, BiH, Kosovo, Montenegro, Macedonia, Albania, and Moldova**
- **2013 – Croatia has become EU member state and we are down to the „Western Balkan Region“ as of today: BiH, Serbia, Kosovo, Montenegro, Macedonia, Albania, Moldova – in different stages of becoming EU member states or very close to the EU.**

## **Common features of these 12 now only 7 nations:**

**Former socialist countries with dictatorial strong one party state, GENDER EQUALITY PROCLAIMED AS A CORE VALUE OF THE MAINTREAM COMMUNIST, SOCIALIST POLITICS**

**Women rather emancipated, litterate,well educated, employed, used to a modest but universal communist welfare state; secular states with freedom of abortion and state supported family planning (exemption Romania)**

**Huge ideological backlash:women asked to become again „queen of the home, mother of the nation“ This role has fit perfectly in the nationalistic mainstream politics and practice of rape as a weapon of genocide, called ethnic cleansig.**

**Marraed by direct or spill over effects or open armed conflicts which have destroyed the rule of law and nearly all previous ECONOMIC BASE, political and social institutions of these nations;**



## **Common features of these 12 now only 7 nations:**

**Post conflict, half developed modern societies in transition, illiberal democracies with weak rule of law, deindustrialised, with high levels of organised crime, poverty, unemployment, destroyed welfare state. Women were the most numerous group of the losers of war started transitions. Communist forced equality became neoliberal forced and evergrowing inequality, forced collectivism replaced by egoistic individualism within ethnicity&religion, as the only collective identity.**

**Heading from one party led state economy to parliamentary democracy with free market economy with a desire to join EU**

**Strong presence and in several states, direct interference of intergovernmental agencies (UN, OSCE- ODIHR, EU, CoE and global international financial institutions and NGOs) ) in these countries process of „democratic nation building“**

**Strong presence of international actors with explicit mandate to promote gender equality values, structures and policies**

# Gender equality mechanisms - state of art in 2005



## Gender Landscape in SEE



SEE Countries - Territories	Ratified Optional Protocol to CEDAW **	Equal Opportunity Act or Antidiscrimination Law enacted	Gender Quota Rules		National Gender Equality Mechanisms			Ombudsmen for Gender Equality		Women in Decision Making Positions		
			National	Local	Government	Parliament	Local	Enacted	Installed	% of Local Women Councillors	% of Women MP-s	Number of Women Ministers
Albania	yes	yes	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	n/a	5.7	1
Bosnia and Herzegovina	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	no	7.9	16.7	1
Bulgaria	no	yes	no	no	no	no	no	yes	yes	n/a	26.2	5
Croatia	yes	yes	no	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	15	23	4
Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia	yes	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	no	8.4	18.3	1
Moldova	no	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	15.09	16	1
Romania	yes	yes	no	no	yes	yes	no	no	no	8.9	10.7	2
Serbia & Montenegro / Montenegro	yes	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	8.9	10	2
Serbia & Montenegro / Serbia	yes	no	yes	yes	no	yes	yes	no	no	6.55	11	2
UNMIK / Kosovo	no	Pending*	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	Pending ***	Pending ***	28	35 after elections (26 current)	1

# Gender Equality Mechanisms

## 1999/2005/2014

	1999	2005	2014
<b>CEDAW ratified</b>	<b>8/12</b>	<b>12/12</b>	<b>7/7</b>
<b>CEDAW Optional protocol ratified</b>	<b>0/12</b>	<b>8/12</b>	<b>7/7</b>
<b>Law on Gender Equality/or antidiscrimination law</b>	<b>0/12</b>	<b>7/12</b>	<b>7/7</b>
<b>National Gender Equality Machinery in place</b>	<b>4/12</b>	<b>11/12</b>	<b>7/7</b>

## SPECIFIC ADDITIONAL GENDER EQUALITY MECHANISMS

Mechanism	Cro	BiH	Ser	Kos.	Mac	MN	Alb
Engendered constitution	no	x	x	x	no	no	no
Action plan for UN Security Council Resolution 1325	no	x	x		x	no	no
Istanbul Convention Ratified	no	x	x		no	x	x
Legal quota for legislative elections	weak	weak	x	x	x	weak	weak
Big cross cutting w. coalitions	x	x	x	x	Now weak	no	no
Women MPs caucuses	no	x	Str.	Str.	Now weak	weak	weak

**HOW WE MADE IT?**  
**CREATIVE, HOME MADE STRATEGY, STRONG INTERNATIONAL**  
**SUPPORT 1995-2008**

- **EU BASED SISTER PARTY SOLIDARITY AND REGIONAL PARTY COOPERATION – CEE NETWORK FOR GENDER ISSUES FROM 1994 – CREATING CONTAGION EFFECT**

**CREATING POLITICAL WILL**

**NARROW FOCUS: CREATE A STREAM - POLITICAL EMPOWERMENT OF WOMEN, ESTABLISH GENDER EQUALITY MECHANISMS, PUT IN PLACE STRONG LEGAL FRAMEWORK,**  
**REGIONAL GENDER EQUALTY MECHANISM – STABILITY PACT**  
**GENDER TASK FORCE 1999 -2009 – TRANSFER OF BEST PRACTICES IN THE SEE REGION**

- **SANDWICH STRATEGY**
- **BIG NATION WIDE CROSS CUTTING COALITIONS**
- **PARALLEL ELECTORAL CAMPAIGNS**

## **WHY THE PROGRESS IS NOT SUSTAINABLE?**

- **WEAKENING OF INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT – SUBMISSING GENDER EQUITY TO AUSTERITY – CLOSING DOWN OR DEGRADING GENDER EQUALITY MECHANISMS IS A PREDOMINANT TREND; WITHERING OF THE TOP DOWN PRESSURE – TRADITIONAL EXTERNAL DONORS ARE LEAVING, EUROPEAN UNION DOES NOT HELP ENOUGH, NATIONAL STATES ARE NOT READY YET TO TAKE OVER**
- **WEAKENING OF THE BOTTOM UP PRESSURE - FALLING APART OF BIG WOMEN COALITIONS IN CIVIL SOCIETY AND OF THE EFFECTIVENESS OF WOMEN CAUCUSES OR GENDER EQUALITY COMMISSIONS IN THE PARLAMENTS**
- **MAJORITY OF ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE WOMEN DISAPPOINTED BY MAINSTREAM LABOR PARTIES, TU, EU, ABSTAINING FROM VOTING.**
- **CONSERVATIVE, POPULISTS, RADICAL RELIGIOUS WAYS OF DEALING WITH GENDER EQUALITY ISSUES – TURNING WOMEN BACK TO PRIVACY AND ECONOMIC DEPENDENCE OF THEIR PERSONAL MALE KEEPERS**
- **BACKLASH FROM MALE DOMINATED PARTY LEADERSHIPS - NEW FORMS OF TOKENISM, OPEN AND HIDDEN ATTACKS ON QUOTAS AND WF**
- **THE HURDLE OF WOMEN UNFRIENDLY ELECTORAL SYSTEMS**
- **POLITICAL CLIENTELISM AND TAMING OF NGO-S**
- **BACKLASH FROM THE MEDIA**

# **WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?**

## **WE HAVE TO BECOME:**

- **AMBITIOUS**
- **STRATEGIC**
- **PRAGMATIC**

# **AMBITIOUS**

- **IN THE HISTORY OF HUMANKIND THERE WERE NEVER SO MANY EDUCATED, AT LEAST PARTIALLY ECONOMIC INDEPENDENT, ORGANIZED, PUBLICALLY ACTIVE, POLITICALLY EXPERIENCED AND WELL CONNECTED WOMEN AS WE ARE NOW**
- **WE NEVER KNEW BETTER WHAT WE NEED - JUST LOOK INTO ALL REQUESTS AND COMMITMENTS FROM THE UN WORLD CONFERENCES IN THE NINETIES: DISARMAMENT, INDUSTRIAL GROWTH BASED ON NEW GREEN TECHNOLOGIES,, INNATE RIGHT TO HAVE ACCESS TO DECENT, FAIRLY PAID JOB, LIFE LONG LEARNING, CLEAN WATER, HEALTHY AND SUFFICIENT FOOD, ROOF ABOVE THE HEAD, EDUCATION, HEALTH CARE, SOCIAL SECURITY IN THE OLD AGE FOR ALL THE PEOPLE OF THIS PLANET - ALL WE HAVE TO DO IS TO RADICALIZE THEM AND PUSH MUCH STRONGER FOR THEIR REALISATION**
- **WE NEVER HAD CLEARER IDEAS AND KNOWLEDGE HOW TO GET WHAT WE NEED – GLOBAL AGREEMENT ON MINIMUM NET AND SOCIAL WAGES, MINIMAL CITIZEN’S INCOME ,WORLD WIDE USE OF ILO CONVENTIONS AND TRIPARTITE SOCIAL DIALOGUE, FIRM IMPOSING OF CORPORATE RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE WORKERS, COMMUNITIES AND CLEAN ENVIRONMENT, TOBIN TAX ON PURE FINANCIAL TRANSACTIONS,GLOBAL AGREEMENT ON PREVENTION OF GLOBAL WARMING, REORIENTATION OF THE SAVINGS FROM FINANCIAL CASINO INTO GREEN AND SUSTAINABLE PRODUCTION OF GOODS FOR BASIC NEEDS OF HUMANKIND.**
- **ALL WE NEED TO DO IS TO STEP OUT OF THE RICH MEN’S SHADOW AND TO ACT AS REAL PARTNERS IN SEEKING FOR THE INNOVATIVE SOLUTIONS**



## STRATEGIC

- **MANYFOLD GLOBAL CRISIS FORCES PEOPLE, WOMEN EVEN MORE THAN MEN, TO STEP OUT OF THEIR POLITICAL IMMOBILITY, AND TAKE COLLECTIVE ACTION IN ORDER TO PROTECT THEIR JOBS, THEIR HOMES, THEIR HEALTH, THEIR CHILDREN'S FUTURE, THEIR OLD AGE SECURITY, THE LIFE ON THIS PLANET**
- **THE DOGMA OF ALMIGHTY FREE MARKET IS DEAD, IT IS PRIME TIME TO USE WOMEN'S CIVIL SOCIETY AND ALREADY CREATED POLITICAL LEVERAGE, TO ENTER THE MECHANISMS OF SOCIAL DIALOGUE, TO TRIGGER CONSENSUS BUILDING ON THE MAIN POLITICAL ISSUE: REDISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH AND POWER, TO USE PUBLIC POWER AT DIFFERENT LEVELS TO GET WHAT WE NEED**
- **EQUAL REPRESENTATION 50-50 OF WOMEN IN ALL ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL DECISION MAKING BODIES HAS TO BECOME OUR URGENT NUMBER ONE REQUEST**

# PRAGMATIC

## REFRAIN THE SANDWICH AT ALL LEVELS AND TAKE ACTION

- **REFRAIN THE TOP OF THE SANDWICH** IN ORDER TO GET CONCRETE SUPPORT FOR POLITICAL EMPOWERMENT OF WOMEN FROM THE EC – FORGE AN INFORMAL COALITION BETWEEN WOMEN NGOs AT THE REGIONAL LEVEL, CONNECT THEM TO STUDENTS AND YOUTH ORGANIZATIONS AND WOMEN'S NETWORK IN ACCADEMIA AND TU, AND ALL WOMEN EU PARLIAMENT PARTY FAMILY ORGANISATIONS WHICH WANT TO JOIN – FORM A MINIMAL WOMEN'S COMMON ACTION PLATFORM ON PARITY, EQUAL PAY, SECURE, DECENT JOB FLEXIBILITY, BALANCE OF FAMILY AND WORKING LIFE, ZERO TOLERANCE AGAINST VIOLENCE, SOLIDARITY WITH MINORITY WOMEN.
- USE SPECIALIZED NGOs AND FORM EXPERT WOMEN GROUPS AT EU, BALKAN AND NATIONAL LEVEL FOR ENGENDERING EC AND EUROPEAN COUNCIL AND NATIONAL GOVERNMENTS' ANTI CRISIS AND ECONOMIC RECOVERY MEASURES
- **REFRAIN THE BOTTOM OF THE SANDWICH**: USE EUROPEAN INSTITUTE FOR GENDER EQUALITY AND OTHER EC MECHANISM FOR GENDER EQUALITY IN ORDER TO ENABLE GENDER BUDGETING AND GENDER EQUALITY SCREENING OF CRUCIAL ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, AND PERSONAL HUMAN RIGHTS POLICIES IN EU AND FUTURE EU MEMBER STATES AND USE EWL AND TU NATION WIDE WOMEN'S NETWORKS TO TAKE NECESSARY ACTION AT BALKAN, NATIONAL AND LOCAL LEVELS
- **USE BEIJING +20 PREPARATORY REGIONAL AND GLOBAL LEVEL MEETINGS TO REBUILD GLOBAL CONSENSUS ON HOW TO RADICALIZE AND IMPLEMENT CEDAW AND BEIJING COMMITMENTS IN THE FRAMEWORK OF RESOLVING GLOBAL CRISIS AND RECESSION BY CONSENSUAL REDISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH AT EVERY LEVEL – FAMILY AND WORK PLACE LEVEL, LOCAL, NATIONAL. REGIONAL AND GLOBAL.**