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**Ženske v politiki v državah Zahodnega Balkana**  
**Women in politics in the countries of the Western Balkans**

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## **Women in politics in the countries of the Western Balkans**

### **Abstract**

After the fall of socialism, and in the course of the great regime transformation, the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, especially those in the Balkans, articulated and introduced a number of democratic changes. Most of them also provided at least a formal-legal framework for the fair and equal participation of all citizens in the political process. The ideological transition from socialism to post-socialism contributed to various different definitions of women's role in society, and subsequently to a different approach in the attempts to create democratic reforms. In this research we explore the situation in the countries of the Western Balkans regarding women's political presence. Almost twenty years later, many of the Eastern European and Balkan countries, some of which are already members of the EU and others candidates, are still facing the phenomenon of gender inequality in the public sphere, in politics, and particularly in the political representative bodies at the various levels (local, national and European). All of these countries face the problem of a weaker female presence in decision-making bodies and in political processes. Gender balance in political structures is of crucial importance for the development of any democracy and a subject of interest for the international actors in terms of imposing policies and good practices. International documents as a form of external pressure emphasise gender balance as one of the main principles of establishing democracy. In recent years, these Central and Eastern Europe countries have faced both internal pressures (e.g. the development of the government and nongovernmental organisations and strengthening of the civil society by the market economy) and external pressures (Europeanisation, and harmonisation with the European legislation), for equal women's presence in political representative bodies. On the one hand, the transformation and democratic development is linked to the modern democracies, freedom, and equality; on the other hand, the pressure to adapt to patterns of market economy and democratisation following the collapse of socialism and in some instances the outbreak of war, has limited the opportunity for women to achieve a greater presence in public life and in political processes. The formal equality, which involves simply 'adding women' to the existing paradigms, is an inadequate response to women's inequality, and is not enough to change the cultural, traditional and religious beliefs that typecast women as inferior to men. Despite the existence of a significant framework of institutional changes in post-socialistic countries, the equality in the law is simply insufficient, though vitally necessary nonetheless. The historically inferior position of women, the all-too-often unfavourable cultural and traditional context and the social roles must be taken into account. The visible paradox is that these countries permanently deal with the problem of incorporation of mechanisms for equal opportunities, which are determined by the requirements of the EU, CE, OSCE and UN, but the results and effects remain unsatisfactory, and sometimes even disappointing.

Patriarchal political culture, traditionalism, a dominant collective ideology as a remnant of the socialist regime, nationalism, democratic deficit in terms of institutional solutions: all these

things were reflected as initial elements from transition to modernisation of the `patriarchal` Balkan. Women`s position in these post-socialist countries is reflected negatively, not only in the political life, but also in the other spheres of social life. The barriers of stereotypes and prejudices need to be overcome so that both genders are able to contribute equally to and benefit from economic, social, cultural and political developments within society. The socio-cultural consequences remain on future civil social transformation of these societies. Across the region of the Western Balkans, women continue to face discrimination and lower levels of political presence across various areas, such as: unequal employment, education, domestic violence, politics, and decision-making bodies. These facts have also been noted by the UN monitors and are mentioned in the UN Reports and HDR from 2011.

In this research we analyse women`s political presence, the effect of socio-economic, cultural and institutional factors that impact on the position of women in public/private spheres in the three selected case studies from the Western Balkans (Macedonia, Serbia and Croatia), as well as the impact of globalisation and Europeanisation processes on the positive changes in these countries. The main idea of the research is to explore the influence of the variables, especially the impact of cultural and socio-economic factors as the key determinants of gender inequality in post-socialistic countries. The following are considered important variables of influence on the position and role of women in the public and private sphere in the three case studies: specific tradition; historical, economic and political conditions; dominant political culture; as well as the influence of war. The main focus of the research is to identify the factors which influence the political presence of women in post-socialist (i.e. transition) countries from the Western Balkan in the period 1990-2009. The process of transition and the changes in the selected countries are primarily reflected in the normative and legal approach and the establishment of a formal framework. Despite the institutional changes and the processes of eliminating the legal barriers to the political inclusion of marginalised groups, the problem remains that women are underrepresented in political decision-making bodies. One of the key issues is attaining the institutional prerequisites for encouraging women`s presence in political life. Taking into account the socio-cultural composition, multiethnic societies, historical and transitional contexts and the development of democracy, the Western Balkan countries are very similar. Although there is progress in terms of the institutional and positive changes which have arisen due to the impact of the process of Europeanisation, Western Balkan countries still need to re-organise their societies in addition to overcoming the traditional perceptions and gender-divisions. The empirical findings of the research show`s deep differences in the presence of different social groups and an unequal gender presence in political life in the Western Balkans. These differences are certainly determined by socio-cultural and economic factors, which prevail over the institutional factors. As a result of the political exclusion of women in these countries, the following subsequently arise: a lower degree of education; a lower rate of employment; economic dependency; a patriarchal model in the home and family; and transition as a process is characterised by a connection between the processes of re-traditionalisation and repatriarchalisation of women`s political status. During the disintegration of the SFRY, and the

numerous conflicts and wars, gender equality and gender rights were overshadowed for almost a decade. As a result of these conditions, women were politically excluded from the public life in general and from the decision-making processes in political life.

The paper begins with certain specific theoretical concepts which are connected to the individual variables regarding the influence of different factors` on the political presence of women. The research focuses on a comparative analysis of three countries of the Western Balkans, with particular attention to several aspects especially important in relation for these countries, such as, the transition from socialism to democracy, the effects and influence of the transition processes, the influence of war an historical development in post-socialist Balkan countries, as well as the EU integration processes and the influence of external players on the former socialist republics as an external pressure to introduce democratic values. As a factor influencing women's political presence, we will consider institutional factors (electoral systems, political strategies – electoral and voluntary quotas; the influence of political parties), socioeconomic factors and cultural factors. One especially important aspect is the change in the electoral systems - proportional representation as well as the introduction of legal and party quotas for promoting a stronger female presence. Despite the general positive effects, the institutional changes are nevertheless overshadowed by the dominant culture in all three countries. In the case of the Western Balkans, the period of democratic experience is quite short, so the intensity of influence from the socioeconomic factors is quite high. The analysis shows that the positive influence of the institutional factors still does not alter the patriarchal matrix of established relations and role-division n these societies. The empirical findings show that the real inclusion of women in decision-making processes is still determined by the existing dogmas and the dominant perceptions and by the local culture. None of the Western Balkans has managed to achieve a gender balance at the higher level of decision-making in government structures; although the new liberal democracies have managed to include gender issues in the social agenda, mainly as a result of the EU integration process. The institutional changes within the researched case studies of Macedonia, Serbia and Croatia represent a potential force for an increase in the inclusion of women in politics. The positive increase in the political presence of women has so far been due to the continuous legal efforts – legislative changes, positive strategies, institutional changes which were mainly imposed by a range of declarations and directives by the international bodies. In this direction, the positive strategies of introducing electoral quotas, as well as changes to the electoral systems, from a system of majority representation to proportional representation, have behaved as a mechanism for encouraging a stronger presence of women in national parliaments. Legal quotas in these countries have taken effect especially after the introduction of sanctions for breaking them. However, the research shows that, in these countries, it is necessary to introduce measures to eliminate traditional perceptions of the social roles of men and women in order to overcome these dominant stereotypes, dogmas, traditionalism and patriarchy, which are the main obstacles for the political inclusion of women. Within the political parties, voluntary quotas have had a positive impact. The introduction of electoral quotas and the requirement of a minimum number of female candidates on the candidate lists at the national parliamentary

elections have proved to have had a particularly positive influence in the Western Balkans. However, the presence of women in political decision-making positions, especially in executive government, is either non-existent or in certain cases is a result of the pragmatic requirements of the political parties. Although efforts are being made, especially from the non-governmental sector, to increase the political presence of women, the position of women in these post-socialist countries is reflected negatively not only in the political life, but also in the other spheres of social life. The repatriachalisation processes and the changing reproductive roles of women in these societies towards the emancipation model represent a challenge for the new democracies of the Western Balkans. The situation is particularly critical on the labour market as a result of the burden of transition, military conflicts and poverty, which have led women back to the private sphere. The empirical findings show that cultural factors and the dominant value matrix overshadow institutional factors. In Macedonia, despite the introduction of quotas, women are still ranked in lower positions on candidate lists. Unblocked lists in Serbia provide change in the order of candidates who will win seats in the parliament. In Croatia, an extended adaptation period has been granted all parties in order to implement legal changes/quotas, during the following three successive elections. All of these facts point to the negative influence of cultural factors due to the dominant perceptions in the Western Balkans which place the woman in the home and family, or in the private sphere. In Croatia, and Macedonia, and later in Serbia, despite the EU integration processes, which have resulted in legislative and institutional changes which have increased the number of women in national parliaments, the analyses demonstrate that this numerical increase still does not satisfy the criteria of a political presence. The influence of positive strategies is especially important. Despite the theoretic arguments against the application of legal quotas, they did not have any negative effect on the male presence in these countries with a short democratic development; rather, they seem to encourage women to participate in political developments. In other words, positive measures have tended to offer equal opportunities for both genders. It is still evident that prejudices about gender and the position of women in political life in general are present in different modalities within all three case studies. Socio-cultural factors derive from historical and political conditions, culture, religion and dogmas which are expressed as dominant perceptions in society. In these conditions of economic strife and cultural stereotypes, a certain degree of gender equality was achieved mainly as a result of the countries' international obligations and pressure 'from the top - to the bottom', as well as the social pressure especially from the non-governmental sector and female organisations. The role of NGOs has been of particular importance as social actors raising people's awareness, which, with the help of the state and international actors, has informed the general public about women's rights, and has also provided support mechanisms for the evaluation and implementation of gender policies.

## **Povzetek**

### **Ženske v politiki v državah Zahodnega Balkana**

Po padcu socializma in v času velike preobrazbe režimov je v državah Srednje in Vzhodne Evrope, zlasti v tistih na Balkanu, prišlo do večjega števila demokratičnih sprememb. Večina jih je zagotovila vsaj formalno pravni okvir za pravično in enakopravno zastopanje vseh državljanov v političnih procesih. Ideološka tranzicija iz socializma v postsocializem je prispevala k številnim različnim definicijam vloge žensk v družbi in posledično k različnim pristopom pri izpeljavi demokratičnih reform. V tej raziskavi se ukvarjamo s trenutnim obsegom politične prisotnosti žensk v državah Zahodnega Balkana. Skoraj dvajset let pozneje se veliko držav Vzhodne Evrope in Balkana, nekatere izmed njih so že članice EU, druge pa kandidatke, še vedno sooča s pojavom spolne neenakosti v javni sferi inpolitiki, in še zlasti na različnih ravneh političnega zastopanja (lokalni, nacionalni in evropski). Vse te države se soočajo s težavo slabše zastopnosti žensk v organih odločanja in v političnih procesih. V političnih strukturah je uravnoteženost med spoloma ključnega pomena za razvoj demokracije in predmet zanimanja mednarodnih akterjev v smislu uvedbe politik in dobrih praks. Mednarodni dokumenti kot oblika zunanjega pritiska poudarjajo enakost med spoloma kot eno temeljnih načel pri vzpostavitvi demokracije. V zadnjih letih se države Srednje in Vzhodne Evrope soočajo z notranjimi pritiski (npr. razvoj vladnih in nevladnih organizacij in krepitev civilne družbe s tržnim gospodarstvom) in z zunanjimi pritiski (evropeizacija in usklajevanje z evropsko zakonodajo) pri vzpostavitvi enake zastopnosti žensk v političnih predstavniških telesih. Po eni strani sta preobrazba in razvoj demokracije povezana z modernimi demokracijami, svoboščinami in enakostjo; po drugi strani pa so pritiski po prilagajanju vzorcem tržne ekonomije in demokratizacije, ki so sledili padcu socializma in v nekaterih primerih vojni, omejili priložnosti za ženske po doseganju večje zastopnosti v javnem življenju in političnih procesih. Formalna enakost, ki vključuje le »dodajanje žensk« k že obstoječim paradigmam, predstavlja neustrezen odgovor na žensko neenakost in ni dovolj za spremembo kulturnih, tradicionalnih in verskih prepričanj, ki postavljajo ženske v inferioren položaj. Navzlic obstoju pomembnega okvirja institucionalnih sprememb v postsocialističnih državah, enakost pred zakonom enostavno ni dovolj, čeprav je nujno potrebna. Pri tem pa je treba upoštevati zgodovinski inferiorni položaj žensk, neugoden kulturni in tradicionalni kontekst ter družbene vloge. Opazen paradoks teh držav je v tem, da se stalno ukvarjajo s težavami glede vključevanja mehanizmov za enake možnosti, ki jih določajo zahteve EU, CE, OVSE in ZN, vendar pa rezultati in učinki niso zadovoljivi. Včasih so celo pod pričakovanji.

Patriarhalna politična kultura, tradicionalizem, prevladujoča kolektivna ideologija kot relikv socialističnega režima, nacionalizma, demokratičnega deficita, kar zadeva institucionalne rešitve: vse to predstavlja začetne elemente prehoda »patriarhalnega« Balkana v modernizacijo. Položaj žensk se v teh postsocialističnih državah odraža negativno, ne le v političnem življenju, temveč tudi na ostalih področjih družbenega življenja. Zatorej je treba preseči stereotipe in predsodke, da bosta lahko oba spola enakovredno prispevala in pridobila iz ekonomskega, socialnega,

kulturnega in političnega razvoja družbe. Znotraj regije Zahodnega Balkana se ženske še vedno soočajo z diskriminacijo in nizko stopnjo politične zastopanosti znotraj različnih področij, kot so na primer: neenakost pri zaposlovanju, izobrazba, politika in organi odločanja. Neenakopraven položaj so opazili tudi pri organizaciji za spremljanje ZN in ga predstavili v poročilih ZN in v Human Development Report iz 2011.

Namen te raziskave je analizirati prisotnost žensk v politiki, vpliv družbeno-gospodarskih, kulturnih in institucionalnih dejavnikov, ki vplivajo na položaj žensk v javni/zasebni sferi v treh izbranih študijah primerov iz Zahodnega Balkana (Makedonije, Srbije in Hrvaške), kakor tudi vpliv procesov globalizacije in evropeizacije na pozitivne spremembe v teh državah. Glavna ideja te raziskave je raziskati vpliv spremenljivk, še posebej vpliv kulturnih in družbeno-gospodarskih dejavnikov kot ključnih determinant neenakosti med spoloma v post-socialističnih državah. Spremenljivke, ki so pomembno vplivale na položaj žensk v javni in zasebni sferi v treh omenjenih študijah primera, so naslednje: specifična tradicija; zgodovinski, ekonomski in politični pogoji; prevladujoča politična kultura; vpliv vojne. Glavni cilj raziskave je prepoznati dejavnike, ki so vplivali na politično prisotnost žensk v postsocialističnih (t. i. tranzicijskih) državah Zahodnega Balkana med letoma 1990 in 2009. Proces tranzicije in sprememb v izbranih državah se primarno odraža v normativnem in pravnem pristopu ter v vzpostavitvi formalnega okvirja.

Kljub institucionalnim spremembam in procesom odpravljanja pravnih ovir pri politični inkluziji marginaliziranih skupin ostaja problem majhne zastopanosti žensk v političnih organih odločanja. Ena izmed ključnih težav je izpolnjevanje institucionalnih predpogojev za spodbujanje prisotnosti žensk v političnem življenju. Države Zahodnega Balkana so si glede družbeno-kulturne sestave, večetničnosti družb, zgodovinskega in tranzicijskega konteksta ter tudi demokratičnega razvoja med sabo zelo podobne. Vendar kljub opaznemu napredku pri institucionalnih in pozitivnih spremembah, do katerih je prišlo zaradi vpliva procesa evropeizacije, se morajo države Zahodnega Balkana še vedno soočiti s potrebno reorganizacijo družb, poleg tega da morajo preseči tradicionalne poglede glede delitve vlog po spolu. Empirična dognanja raziskave kažejo na velike razlike glede prisotnosti različnih družbenih skupin in neenako spolno zastopanost v političnem življenju Zahodnega Balkana. Omenjene razlike determinirajo socio-kulturni in ekonomski dejavniki, ki prevladujejo nad institucionalnimi dejavniki. Posledice politične izključenosti žensk v teh državah so naslednje: nižja stopnja izobrazbe, nižja stopnja zaposlitve, ekonomska odvisnost, patriarhalni model doma in v družini; tranzicija kot proces je zaznamovan s povezavo med procesom re-tradicionalizacije in re-patriarhalizacije ženskega političnega statusa. V času razpada SFRJ in številnih konfliktov ter vojn so bile spolna enakopravnost in pravice zanemarjene za skoraj celo desetletje. Posledice teh razmer so ženska izključenost iz javnega življenja na splošno in iz procesov odločanja v političnem življenju.

Na začetku naloge so predstavljeni določeni teoretični koncepti, ki so povezani z različnimi individualnimi spremenljivkami, ki vplivajo na politično prisotnost žensk. Raziskava se osredotoča na primerjalno analizo treh držav Zahodnega Balkana, še posebej pa se posveča več



vidikom, ki so zlasti pomembni v teh državah, in sicer vidikom kot so: tranzicija iz socializma v demokracijo, posledice in vplivi tranzicijskih procesov, vpliv vojne, zgodovinski razvoj v postsocialističnih državah Balkana, kot tudi procesi integracije v EU in vpliv zunanjih akterjev na socialistične republike kot je zunanji pritisk po vpeljavi demokratičnih vrednot. Kot dejavnike, ki vplivajo na politično prisotnost žensk, bomo upoštevali institucionalne dejavnike (volilni sistem, politične strategije – volilne in prostovoljne kvote; vpliv političnih strank), socio-ekonomske dejavnike in kulturne dejavnike. Zlasti pomemben vidik je sprememba volilnega sistema – sorazmerna zastopanost kot tudi predstavitev pravnih in strankarskih kvot za spodbujanje večje prisotnosti žensk. Ne glede na splošne pozitivne učinke so institucionalne spremembe še vedno v podrejenem položaju glede na prevladujočo kulturo v teh treh državah. V primeru Zahodnega Balkana predstavlja demokratična izkušnja precej kratko obdobje, torej je intenzivnost vpliva socio-ekonomskih dejavnikov zelo močna. Analize kažejo, da pozitiven vpliv institucionalnih dejavnikov še ne spremeni patriarhalne matrice vzpostavljenih odnosov in delitve vlog v teh družbah. Empirični izsledki kažejo, da je dejanska vključenost žensk v procese odločanja še vedno determinirana z obstoječimi dogmami in prevladujočimi predstavami lokalne kulture. Nobena izmed držav Zahodnega Balkana ni dosegla spolne uravnovešenosti na višji ravni odločanja v vladnih strukturah; čeprav so nove liberalne demokracije uspele vključiti vprašanje spola v socialni program, predvsem kot posledico procesov vključevanja v EU. Institucionalne spremembe znotraj raziskanih študij primerov (Makedonija, Srbija in Hrvaška) predstavljajo potencial za povečanje vključenosti žensk v politiko. Povečanje politične prisotnosti žensk lahko pripišemo dolgotrajnim pravnim prizadevanjem – spremembam zakonodaje, pozitivnim strategijam, institucionalnim spremembam, ki so jih večinoma vpeljali s pomočjo deklaracij in direktiv s strani mednarodnih organov. Tovrstne pozitivne strategije, izražene z uvajanjem volilnih kvot kakor tudi s spremembami od večinskega k proporcionalnem volilnemu sistemu, so bile način ali vrsta mehanizma za spodbujanje večje prisotnosti žensk v nacionalnih parlamentih. Pravno določene kvote v teh državah so bile učinkovite, zlasti po uvedbi sankcij glede njihovega kršenja. Kakorkoli, raziskava kaže, da je v teh državah treba sprejeti ukrepe za odpravo tradicionalnih predstav glede družbenih vlog moških in žensk, z namenom preseganja prevladujočih stereotipov, dogem, tradicionalizma in patriarhalizma, kar so tudi glavne ovire pri politični vključenosti žensk. Znotraj političnih strank so prostovoljne kvote imele pozitivne učinke. Vpeljava volilnih kvot in zahteva po minimalnem številu ženskih kandidatk na kandidatnih listah na nacionalnih parlamentarnih volitvah so na Zahodnem Balkanu imele zelo pozitiven učinek, vendar pa je trenutna prisotnost žensk na pozicijah političnega odločanja, še zlasti v izvršni oblasti, ničelna ali pa je v določenih primerih rezultat pragmatičnih zahtev političnih strank. Čeprav so prizadevanja po povečanju politične prisotnosti žensk v teku, zlasti s strani nevladnega sektorja, pa se položaj žensk v teh postsocialističnih državah odraža negativno, ne le v političnem življenju, ampak tudi na ostalih področjih družbenega življenja. Proces ponovne patriarhalizacije in spreminjajoča se reproduktivna vloga žensk v teh družbah, ki stremi k emancipatornemu modelu, predstavljajo izziv za nove demokracije Zahodnega Balkana. Razmere so še zlasti kritične na trgu dela zaradi bremena tranzicije, vojaških spopadov

in revščine – razmere, ki so ženske popeljale nazaj v zasebno sfero. Empirični izsledki kažejo, da kulturni dejavniki in prevladujoča matrica vrednot še vedno prevladujejo nad institucionalnimi dejavniki. V Makedoniji so kljub uvedbi kvot ženske še vedno nižje rangirane na kandidatnih listah. Odprte kandidatne liste v Srbiji zagotavljajo spremembo vrstnega reda kandidatov, ki bodo zasedli mesta v parlamentu. Na Hrvaškem so podaljšali obdobje adaptacije vsem strankam za izvajanje pravnih sprememb/kvot, in sicer v času naslednjih treh zaporednih volitev. Vsa ta dejstva kažejo na negativen vpliv kulturnih dejavnikov, ki so posledica dominantnih predstav na Zahodnem Balkanu, ki žensko vidijo v okviru doma in družine oziroma zasebne sfere. Analize kažejo, da na Hrvaškem, v Makedoniji in tudi v Srbiji kljub procesom vključevanja v EU, ki so rezultirali v pravnih in institucionalnih spremembah, ki so povečale število žensk v nacionalnih parlamentih, številčno povečanje ne ustreza kriterijem politične prisotnosti. Vpliv pozitivnih strategij je ključnega pomena. Kljub teoretičnim argumentom proti vpeljavi pravnih kvot te niso imele nobenih negativnih posledic na moško prisotnost v državah s kratkim obdobjem demokratičnega razvoja – prej so spodbudile ženske k udeležbi v politiki. Z drugimi besedami, namen pozitivnih sprememb je bil ponuditi enake možnosti za oba spola. Predsodki glede spolnih vlog in pozicije žensk v družbenem življenju na splošno so še vedno na različne načine prisotni v vseh treh študijah primerov. Socio-kulturni dejavniki so posledica zgodovinskih in političnih pogojev, kulture, religije in dogem, ki se kažejo kot prevladujoče predstave v družbi. V teh razmerah gospodarskega razdora in kulturnih stereotipov je bila dosežena določena stopnja enakosti med spoloma v teh državah kot posledica mednarodnih zahtev in pritiskov »od zgoraj navzdol« kot tudi socialnega pritiska predvsem s strani nevladnega sektorja in ženskih organizacij. Vloga nevladnih organizacij kot socialnega akterja je bila ključnega pomena pri ozaveščanju, ki je skupaj z državnimi in mednarodnimi akterji ozaveščala javnost glede pravice žensk in tudi zagotovila mehanizme podpore pri evalvaciji in implementaciji spolnih politik.

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## TABLE OF ABBRIVIATIONS

AESE	Assosiation for Equality, Solidaruty and Emancipation
AP Vojvodina	Autonomous Province Vojvodina
BCHR	Belgrade Center for Human Rights
Beijing 5+	Beijing Platform for Action
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women
CEE	Central and Eastern European Countries
CESI	Center for education, counseling and research
COE	Council of Europe
CPRPO	Center for Political Research and Public Opinion
DA	Democratic Alternative
DOM	Democratic Renewal of Macedonia
DOS	Democratic Opposition of Serbia
DPA	Democratic Union of Albanians
DS	Democratic Party
DSS	Democratic Party Serbia
DUI	Democratic Union of Albanians
DZS (HR)	Croatian Bureau of Statistics HR
EC	European Commission
ECHR	European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR)
ECHRFF	European Convention on Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms
EEC	European Economic Community
CEE	Eastern European Countries
EU	European Union
Eurostat	European Statistical Office
EVS	European Value Survey
FAW	Forum of Albanian Women
G17plus	Political Party in Serbia G17+
GDP	Growth Domestic Product
GEA RS	Gender Equality Act in Republic of Serbia
GEA HR	Gender Equality Act in Republic of Croatia
GEO	Gender Equality Ombuds person
HDI	Human Development Index
HDR	Human Development Report
HDSSB	Croatian Democratic Alliance of Slavonija and Baranja
HDZ	Croatian Democratic Union
HGS	Croatian Civic Party
HNS	Croatian National Party
HR <sup>1</sup>	Croatia
HSLs	Croatian Social Liberal Party
HSR	Human Security Report

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<sup>1</sup> The countries are abbreviated according to the EU rules (with exception of Macedonia). For the sources from the WB, data and figures we also use the nomenclatory by WB and OECD (MKD, SRB, HRV).

IDS	Istrian Democratic Assembly - Pula
ILO	International Labor Organization
IPU	Inter-Parliamentary Union
IRFR	International Religious Freedom Report
LCY	League of Communists of Yugoslavia
LDP	Liberal Democratic Party
LEO	Law on Equal Opportunities in Republic of Macedonia
LP	Liberal Party
LP	Liberal party
LSV	League of Social Democrats of Vojvodina
MWL	Macedonian Women`s Lobby
MK	Macedonia
NAP RS	National action plan for improving the position of women enhancing gender equality in Republic of Serbia
NAPGE MK	National Action Plan for Gender Equality in Republic of Macedonia
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NN HR	Official Gazette of the Republic of Croatia (Narodne Novine)
NPAEUL MK	National plan for adopting EU legislation in Republic of Macedonia
NPGE	National Plan for Gender Equality
NPPGE HR	National Policy for the Promotion of Gender Equality in Republic of Croatia
NSIPW RS	National Strategy improving the position of women promoting gender equality in Serbia
NS	New Serbia
NSDP	New Social Democratic Party
ODIHR	Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights
OECD	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
OMC	Open method of coordination
OSCE	Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe
PCG	Polity coding
PDP	Party for Democratic Prosperity
PUPS	Party of United Pensioners of Serbia
RMGEP	Report about the monitoring of gender equality policies in Republic of Macedonia
RRMMDG	Report of the Republic of Macedonia for the Millenium Development Goals
RS	Serbia
RWO	Roma Women Organization
RZSS	Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia
SSP RS	Stabilization and Association Agreement in Republic of Serbia
SSP HR	Stabilization and Association Agreement in Republic of Croatia
CCA MK	Stabilization and Association Agreement in Republic of Macedonia
SDP	Social Democratic Party
SDPS	Sandzak Democratic Party
SDSM	Social Democratic Union of Macedonia
SDSS	Independent Democratic Serbian Party
SDU	Social Democratic Union
FRY	Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia
SGC	Serbia and Montenegro
SL SRJ	Official Gazette of FRY (Sluzbeni List)

SNS	Serbian Progressive Party
SP	Stability Pact
SP	Socialist Party
SP GTF	Stability Pact Gender Task Force
SPO	Serbian Renewal Movement
SPS	Socialist Party of Serbia
SPS	Socialist Party of Serbia
SRCEDAW	Shadow Report to the Convention on Elimination of All forms of Discrimination Against Women in Republic of Macedonia
SRS	Serbian Radical Party
SRY	Socialist republic of Yugoslavia
UCHR	Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR)
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNICEF	The United Nations Children's Fund
UNMIK	United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo
URR RS	Gender Equality Directorate Republic of Serbia
UWOM	Union of Women`s Organizations of Macedonia
VMRO-DPMNE	VMRO- Democratic party for national unity
WB	World Bank
WVS	World Value Survey
ŽMH	Croatian Women Network
ДЗС (МК)	State Statistical Office in Republic of Macedonia
PM/ИМПРЕ	Report on the monitoring of gender equality policies in Republic of Macedonia 2007
МИНРЗС СРБ	Ministry of Labor and Social Policy in Republic of Serbia
МТСП МКД	Ministry of Labor and Social Policy in Republic of Macedonia
Сл. Весник на РМ	Official Gazette of the Republic of Macedonia (Sluzben vesnik na Republika Makedonija)
Сл. гласник РС	Official Gazette of the Republic of Serbia (Sluzbeni Glasnik Republike Srbije)
Сл. лист АПВ	Official Gazette of AP Vojvodina (Sluzbeni List Autonomne Pokrajine Vojvodine)



# 1 INTRODUCTION

## 1.1 Subject of Research

The democratic development of countries implies respecting the principle of equality, as well as presence and representation of all citizens in society, including the marginalized groups regarding social, gender or ethnical divisions (Hughes 2011; Antić Gaber 2011; Lovenduski 1993). The central postulate of democracy is based on equal presence of citizens and their active involvement<sup>2</sup> in the public and political life.<sup>3</sup> It leads to the correlative ratio of degree of presence of citizens in the public life as a necessary condition for establishment of democracy.<sup>4</sup> Understanding gender differentiation means analyzing the degree of presence of women in political life, which represents a reflection of the main indicators such as openness, democratic rule and development of societies. The democratic forms of presence, presence, involvement, social movements, feminist movements (the reasons for their appearance as the focus in the feminist theories), in most of the cases direct the estimations of the degree of participation of different social interests (Pitkin 1967; Phillips 1991) in correlation to the degree of development of democratic societies. Therefore, the democratic deficit is identified as under-representation of the interests of specific groups in society (Phillips 1991). This leads to the need of incorporating gender perspectives in political processes (Lovenduski and Norris 1993). The modern ideal of the European democracy, unlike the antique democracy, has the intention to promote the principle of universalism in the basic human rights and freedoms.<sup>5</sup> The sexist paradigm of division and especially imbalance in the presence of genders in positions of social and political responsibility has been present throughout different periods of time (Mullally 2006). On the one hand, social roles are clearly characterized regarding only rationality, without taking into account the gender division of roles in society.<sup>6</sup> On the other hand, neglecting to identify the “sexual nature”, leads to its shifting from the domain of rule of law towards the essence of universalism, which is mostly based in the abstraction of gender division, and explained through the universality of human rights (Squires 2006). Regarding the

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<sup>2</sup> Active involvement in the public and political life considering to the formal and legal democratic rights and freedoms which belong to all citizens, regardless the levels of specific elements within the population such as women or minority groups. (Sodaro, 2004)

<sup>3</sup> Feminists point out the “political”, setting it in the public instead of private life. Political life usually entails activities taking place in the public sphere, governmental institutions, political parties, interest groups, public debates... Private life includes family life and personal relationships which usually belong to the private sphere. (Heywood 1992, 242).

<sup>4</sup> The development of modern countries leads towards the development of political bodies, institutions which lead to further establishment of liberalization of the political development and democracy, which Dahl identifies with the term >>polyarchy<< which he uses to precisely explain the pluralism in the political sphere (Dahl 1999, 306).

<sup>5</sup> The essence of the universalism ideal is overcoming the individual identity, replacing it with a universal abstract form.

<sup>6</sup> The principle of universalism has been refuted precisely due to promotion of basic human rights, without paying deeper attention to the structure of society based on gender diversity.

fact that women account for a half of the world's population, and with that for a half of the electorate as well, it can be noticed that they still represent a marginalized group in the decision-making structures (Burnet 2011; Biquelet et al. 2012; Antić Gaber 1998). The index of women's presence in political and public life represents a basic index for measuring the degree of democratic development, whereas women's absence in these areas puts a question mark on the existence of democratic society<sup>7</sup> (Philips 1995).

Nowadays, despite the institutional changes and processes of elimination of the legal barriers for political exclusion of marginalized group, there is still a problem of under-representation of women in political life (Hughes 2011; Bird et. al. 2011; Cederman et. al. 2009; Paxton and Hughes 2007). On the one hand, one of the key issues is the degree of overcoming the institutional prerequisites for encouraging women's presence in political life (regarding descriptive and substantive representation as well, (Pearson 2011; Mansbridge 2011). On the other hand, the issues regarding the still existent gender imbalance in the decision-making structures and power positions on a national level are yet again re-actualized. The androcentric<sup>8</sup> definition of women's status from marginalization to emancipation and involvement in the public space, without doubt, directs the issue towards establishment of institutional basis for the solution of the problem (Jogan 2000). Gender balance in political structures is of crucial importance for the development of democracy and a subject of interest for the international actors in the direction of imposing politics and good practices. International documents as a form of external pressure emphasizes the gender balance as one of the main principles in establishing democracy (Zippel 2006; Baldez 2011). A lot of researchers have researched the causes for under-representation of women in politics, indicating the institutional, socioeconomic and cultural factors of (Kunovich 2012; Hannagan et al.2012; Burnet 2011; Hughes 2011; Hayes 2011; Beckwith 2011; Kann 2011; Cowell-Meyers 2011; Holli and Wass 2010; Boix 2010; Kreuzer 2010; Cusack, Iversen and Soskice 2010; Tremblay 2009; Dahlerup 2012; Matland and Montgomery 2003; Fink-Hafner and Krašovec 2004; Fink-Hafner et al. 2011; Antić Gaber 1998, 1999, 2011; Lovenduski and Norris 1993). Others have worked on the concepts of political presence and models for solving this problem. A third group has analyzed the relationship between the type of representation (descriptive-formal or substantive) (Pearson 2011;

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<sup>7</sup> Representative democracy, in which there are no (or very few) women candidates, is not a real democracy or it is qualified as incomplete democracy. The absence of women in politics comes from social circumstances of male domination in patriarchal societies, economic power or unequal education.... (Antić Gaber 1998).

<sup>8</sup> Androcentrism is an orientation or a collection of beliefs which the culture, history and social relationships estimate exclusively from a male point of view and completely ignore women perspective and relationships (Vidanovic 2006)

Mansbridge 2011). At the same time, globalization indicates more and more new research of the influence by Europeanization and international pressure to achieve gender balance on a national level (Fink-Hafner and Krašovec 2000; Skjeie 1997; Rodin 1997; Fink-Hafner et al.2011; Lovenduski 1999; Nordlund 2003; Krook 2004; Dahlerup 2006; Baldez 2011).

**Subject of study in the doctoral dissertation** is identification of the factors which influence the political presence of women in post-socialist (i.e. transition) countries from the Western Balkan<sup>9</sup> in the period 1990-2009. Generally, democratic changes took place towards the end of the 80s` in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, in the countries of Eastern Europe, as well as on the Balkan. These changes triggered further alterations of the legal, economic social and political system. These changes reflected mainly in the establishment of parliamentary democracy, multiparty system and political pluralism, numerous democratic values as the complex of human rights, freedom of speech, free democratic elections, civil freedoms, ethnic rights... In these new political conditions it is necessary to change women`s position in the public and political life. The process of transition<sup>10</sup> and the changes in the social and political structure are reflected mainly in the normative and legal approach and the establishment of a formal frame. The basic importance of these countries` economic and political system was their civil concept, which was based on the idea of the freedom of speech, civil and individual rights. This is especially reflected in the identification of the fundamental values of the system. Gender equality, set high on the postulate of formal and legal guarantee was simply not enough to change or retraditionalize the existing relationships in society connected to the dominant male culture. Empirical research<sup>11</sup> indicates that gender equality has proven to be more of a formal equality »de jure« as opposed to »de facto« real presence of women in the political and public life. The real social differentiation, the socioeconomic and political prevailing which took place in the post-socialist i.e. transition countries displayed a different reality. A reality expressed through deep differences in the level of presence of different social groups and unequal gender presence in the political life and

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<sup>9</sup>The Balkan includes the region from west towards east: Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia, Montenegro, Kosovo, Albania, and Macedonia. All of these countries were part of the Former Yugoslav Federation (SFRY) with the exception of Albania (Antić Gaber in Lokar 2006). The term Western Balkans, is used by the European Union to define the countries from SFRY, minus Slovenia, plus Albania, in a political sense from Southeastern Europe, i.e. the countries which are not members of the Union (Western Balkans: Enhancing the European Perspective, Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament and the Council. 2008-03-05. Retrieved 2008-04-08). These countries all have different status regarding membership in the EU. Croatia got the status a candidate member in EU in 2004, accession negotiation 2005, accession contract 2011. It is expected that in January 2013 it will receive the status of a full-fledged member of EU (Ministarstvo vanjskih i evropskih poslova 2013). Macedonia received the status of a candidate member in 2005 (Секретаријат за Европски прашања на РМ 2013) but there is still no date for negotiations (due to the name dispute of RM with Greece; European Commission, Bilateral relations - The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, 4 June 2008). Serbia commenced the accession process in 2005, but due to the unfulfillment of the criterion for collaboration with the Hague Tribunal they signed the Association and Accession Agreement in 2008 which will become valid in 2012. Serbia became an official candidate member in 2012 (Vlada Republike Srbije, Kancelarija za Evropske integracije 2013).

<sup>10</sup> The term transition has been explained from many points of view, from structural (macro) to individual (micro) levels of action. The use of this term leads to two main points: establishment of pluralistic parliamentary democracy and market economy. The fulfillment of these two criteria leads to modernization of the former socialist societies (Jogan 2000, 2011).

<sup>11</sup> Strategy to integrate gender equality in the Balkans, Program Canadian international development agency (CIDA), 2010

movement cycle (Antić Gaber and Lokar 2006). It appears that the transition, better known as "transitional destruction" in post-socialism (Hann 2002) represents a category which contributed for a poignant disintegration of the Balkan. Therefore, the dominant fact for all countries on this territory is the reluctance to change in a positive direction, bearing in mind that even the most basic social factors which followed triggered destructive processes which greatly affected the atomized, primary family communities (Đurić-Kuzmanović 2002). On the one hand, the political transition was the impetus for the establishment of the democratic system. Unemployment and huge economic problems overshadowed the effect these changes were supposed to have (Brumbauer 2002). The wars which took place on the territory of former Yugoslavia became the strongest influence factor in all aspects of social life, leaving consequences in the economic, social, demographic and political (Ramet 2002; Byrne 1995; Davidović 1999; Cederman et al. 2011; Angrist 2012). The connection to the democratization processes and the transfer from the dominant socialistic authoritarian regime to democracy, determine the level of democratic development, the economic stability of the country and the level of democratic transition within the post-socialist countries (Ansell and Samuels 2010; Przeworski et al. 2012). Fink-Hafner (2005) points to several factors (non-institutional – socioeconomic environment, social division, dynamics of shaping power; and institutional – constitutional election of political systems, type of electoral systems...). All of these have their influence on the transition from socialism to democracy or models of transition which have their influence on the success level of the countries. On the other hand, the religious and ethnical intolerance and the war actions in these state members of the so-called Stability Pact Region,<sup>12</sup> the transition and the democratic consolidation<sup>13</sup> as well as the challenges of globalization, all reflected the new dimension of development. Research conducted after the cold war (Levitsky and Way 2010) point to the importance of international pressure for political reforms and transformation during the transition processes within democratically unstable societies (former authoritarian regimes). Therefore, gender equality and presence of women in the political life and public life in general, in the Western Balkans, as post-socialist countries, is certainly casually determined by these factors.

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<sup>12</sup> The Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe was formed in 1999 in order to prevent conflict regions and to provide an encouragement strategy for the countries from South Eastern Europe in order for them to be able to establish democracy, peace, rule of law, respecting human rights and economic stability. The simulative frame for regional cooperation and integration of these countries in EU and NATO has a crucial importance (Stability Pact 2013)

<sup>13</sup> The term consolidation is used regarding the different roads of democratic and political development through the processes of transition, transfer from authoritarianism to democracy, from one-party to multi-party system....(Matland and Montgomery 2003; Gal and Kligman 2000). Within the EU, consolidation is used to denote adoption of new legal instruments: Vertical direction of incorporating the new instruments within the basic; Horizontal direction, a parallel line of incorporating the new instruments relating to the same matter into a single instrument (EU legislation – Glossary 2013)

The period of post-socialism regarding the female gender is marked by “enormous reduction of the political presence of women in public life, increased feminization in the processes of impoverishment, refugees crises due to war conflicts, clear changes in the reproductive politics and cultural identity (Kligman 1992). The relationships on the Balkan change very slowly, especially regarding the gender/sex roles (Lokar 1992; Hann 2002). According to Lokar (2001), as a result of the political exclusion of women in these countries the following issues occur: lower degree of education, lower employment percent, economic dependency, the model of patriarchal enclosure within the home and family is dominant in almost 90% of the female population there. As in all other countries in transition, on the Balkan as well, the transition as a process is characterized with connection between the processes of retraditionalization and repatriarchalization of women`s political identity and status (Jogan 2011). Almost twenty years later, a lot of post-socialist and transition countries, some already members of the European Union, are still facing the phenomenon of gender inequity in the decision-making political processes and a lower degree of political presence of women at a time of democratic consolidation (Montgomery 2003; Antić Gaber and Lokar 2006; Jogan 2011).

## **1.2 Subject - Theses of the research**

Starting from the theoretical concepts of the constructivist approach<sup>14</sup> (Townes 2010), the concept of culture (Hannagan et al. 2012; Hansen et al. 2011) and gender equality (Lombardo, Meier and Verloo 2009b) the present dissertation will be directed towards discovering the reasons for under-representation of women in politics within post-socialist countries in the Western Balkan. According to the categorization by Ann Phillips (1995, 1998) this dissertation applies the term “presence” as the most adequate solution for the numerical representation of women in the authorities, as opposed to the research of descriptive and substantive representation (Mansbridge 2011; Pearson 2011). During their analysis of the political presence (Phillips 1995), representation of interests or substantive participation (Mansbridge 1996), a lot of researchers focus on the reasons for under-representation of women in politics in accordance to the influence of the social and political variables (Kunovich 2012; Hughes 2011; Hayes 2011; Beckwith 2011; Tremblay 2009; Matland and Montgomery 2003; Squires et al. 2009; Krook and Childs 2010; Antić Gaber and Ilonzski 2003; Antić Gaber 1998, 2011; Lokar 2009; Fink-Hafner and Krašovec

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<sup>14</sup> The concepts are elaborated in the theoretical part

2004; Fink-Hafner et al. 2011; Norris 2004; Lovenduski and Norris 1993). Democracy requests that a political body should comprise of all social layers, among which the marginalized groups as well (Hughes 2012). In the Eastern Europe countries, the ideological transition from socialism to post-socialism has contributed for different definitions of woman`s role in society, and with that a different approach in the attempt to create democratic, evolutionary reforms, as opposed to previously established rules of state control and imposed equality, top-down<sup>15</sup> (Leinert Novosel 2007).

In order to conduct the research regarding the influence of the factors on the political presence of women in politics, the present dissertation will use comparative analyses of three case studies from the Western Balkans. Starting from the historic and transitional context, as well as the level of democratic development, the comparative analysis refers to three countries: Macedonia, Serbia and Croatia. First and foremost, the goal of the research is to study the formally legal frame of the countries and its harmonization with the European legislative regarding equal opportunities (Acquis Communautaire),<sup>16</sup> development of policies regarding institutional changes as a result of the Europeanization influence (Radaelli 2003; Grabbe 2002, 2006; Walby 2004), as well as identification of socioeconomic and cultural factors which influence the political presence of women in the researched countries. As useful tools this scientific work will use the data from the national and international relevant reports (above all EU, COE, and UN), analysis of relevant documents, as well as comparative analysis of the statistical data in order to describe the situation. The theoretical part elaborates the current research regarding the influence factors on the political presence. Furthermore, the analysis describes the conditions in the researched countries in the transition period and during the establishment of democracy, development policies and institutional changes, also identification of the institutional, social, economic and

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<sup>15</sup> Data from 1987 identify 13,2% of the women in western capitalist developed societies, as opposed to 26.6% in the socialist countries, which is due to the controlled equality established by the state (Leinert Novosel 2007, 85–102)

<sup>16</sup> The EU law is usually called communitarian law, taken from French Acquis Communautaire. This includes a set of rights and obligations which connect and oblige the member states within the European Union. The communitarian law of EU is not only a law in its most narrow sense but it also includes: contents, principles and political goals of the founding agreements, legislation which is established on the basis of the founding agreements, as well as the verdicts reached by the Court of the EU, declarations and resolutions adopted by the EU, measures regarding the overall foreign and security policy, measures regarding the judiciary and internal policy as well as international agreements made by the EU and agreements signed by member states with third parties in the EU acting domain. Every country which aspires to become a part of the EU must accept the provisions established by the founding agreements and harmonize their legal systems with the common law-legislative of the EU. In order to fulfil their EU integration process the state candidates have to accept the law of the Union, i.e. to make its transposition in their national legislative (33 chapters) (more information at EU legislation 2013)

The EU Council of Ministers, which took place in June 1993 in Copenhagen, established the so-called Copenhagen criteria which comprise of political, economic, and legal criteria. The political aspect includes standards for: 1) the country`s democracy –participation of the citizens in decision-making processes, free elections with secret voting, freedom of press etc; 2)Rule of law - authorities must act only in accordance with the laws adopted in a certain procedure; 3) respecting human rights and the rights of minorities – adopting of principles from the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the European Convention of Human Rights as well as protection and respect for the culture, language and identity of the minorities. The economic criteria include the ability of the country to present a functional market economy and preparedness for the pressure from the competition and the Common Market of the Union Forces. Regarding the legislation criteria all countries aspiring for the EU membership have to implement the so-called Acquis Communautaire in their legislation – European legal acts established within the EU (EU legislation 2013)

cultural factors, their influence, the intensity of their predominance i.e. positive and negative influence, and offering a suitable solution for improving the situation regarding women political presence in the Western Balkans. During the process, a special attention is paid to the specific characteristics of single social orders, including their multiethnic features. In the post-socialist countries, except the processes of transition, poverty, the factor of war influence was also of crucial meaning. This contributed for returning to the closed society and division of male and female roles in the spirit of traditional values (Kasić 2005; Đurić-Kuzmanović 2002; Gallian and Clavero 2007). Bearing in mind the transition level of the countries and the EU integration processes, the present dissertation will also analyze the EU influence as an external factor of pressure on the national policies and institutional changes within the researched countries as candidate members.<sup>17</sup>

During the difficult conditions and processes of the disintegration of SFRY, accompanied by numerous conflicts and war actions, gender equality and gender rights remained in the shadow for almost one decade. As a result of these conditions, especially in the Western Balkans the following issues arose: lack of respect for the rule-of-law concept, poor economic conditions, high level of corruption, poverty index, human development index... These developments lead more and more to the insufficiency of vulnerable social groups. This was also partly due to the inappropriate protection and encouragement of equal opportunities. All of this, resulted in a lower degree of women`s presence in the decision making structures, and the public and political life in general (Lokar 2001; Antić Gaber and Lokar 2006). The influence of this was especially remarkable through the traditional division of gender roles and cultural stereotypes (Đurić-Kuzmanović 2002). Social stereotypes, gender division of roles and patriarchal conscience within the dominant culture, without doubt block the political position of women, displaying a different political reality. The political presence of women in the Western Balkans (Ramet 1999)

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<sup>17</sup> The status `candidate member state` belongs to the countries which have previously applied for membership in the Union and received the candidate membership status. In order for a country to join the EU, it is necessary to fulfil certain economic and political criteria called the Copenhagen criteria (established at the Copenhagen summit 1993). These criteria refer to the democratic rule of the Eastern Bloc countries and include respecting the principles of rule of law, respecting human rights, protecting minorities, free market economy, all criteria in accordance with the political, economic and monetary union. According to the Maastricht Agreement 1992, each member state and the European Parliament needs to give their consent for the acceptance of new members, and according to Article 2, to respect criteria such as civil dignity, freedom, equality, democracy, rule of law, and the rights of minorities. At the European Council in Madrid, 1995, upon the revision of the membership criteria, it is also established that each candidate country must prepare the administrative structure and adjust the national legislative with the legislative of the European Community called *acquis communautaire*. Upon the enlargement of the EU to 27 members, together with Bulgaria and Romania, in 2007, it is also expected that Croatia will join the Union in 2013 (EU enlargement policy 2013)

The process of EU integration is divided in three phases: first the perspective of membership is established – potential candidates; than the country receives the status of a candidate member state (after it has fulfilled the criteria); formal negotiations for accession and integration into the Union (reforms and harmonization of the legislation). With the completion and fulfilment of these phases, the countries must receive consent from all member countries of the Union.

The criteria for EU integration of the Western Balkans were established at the EU summit in Thessaloniki 2003, as a priority for the expansion of EU. The relationships of EU with the countries from the Western Balkan were transferred from external policies to expansion policies and processes (2005). In accordance to the process of Stabilization and association and the speed of integration as well, some of countries from the Western Balkan are already candidate members (Macedonia and Serbia), while some are still potential candidate members (eg. Bosnia and Herzegovina and Albania) (EU enlargement policy 2013)

is a result of the expectations and benefits from modern democracy and the democratic practices. Moreover, towards the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the globalization processes and the efforts by international bodies were intensified in the attempt of solving the issue of inferiority of women in the decision-making processes, especially in the less developed countries.<sup>18</sup> Overcoming these conditions is also part of the EU strategies through hard law (McCrudden and Prechal 2009) and soft law (Walby 2004, 7).<sup>19</sup> Within the soft instruments, the concept, `gender mainstreaming`, is of high importance<sup>20</sup>. It implies encouraging bigger presence of women in political life, and also regarding the distinction of woman`s role in the private and public sphere (Gohrisch et al. 2001). The EU integration process and the influence of EU as an external factor for implementing and harmonization of EU candidate members` legislation with EU legislation, lead to institutional changes within the countries.

From the standpoint of the social movement theory (Beckwith 2000), reinforcing women organizations and their efforts to encourage changes, contribute for emancipation and presence in the public life in general, through their efforts to raise awareness for the woman`s role in society. This dissertation develops from the hypothesis that women`s position and presence in politics in the transition countries and those in the Western Balkan, develop favorably where institutional (systemic) factors encourage bigger presence of women in politics. But, when there is no correspondence between the legal frame and the real situation in these countries, especially regarding the influence of the social and economic factors on women, as well as, the impact of the dominant culture throughout the processes of transitional development in this countries, leads to the predominant male role in the politics in general and the suppressing of the women political presence in the main political processes. If such correspondence or correlation does not exist, i.e. if only legal or formal conditions are provided, the higher level of political presence does not reflect the real favorable position, emancipation and relative equality of men and women in

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<sup>18</sup>Within the UN a Commission on the Status of Women was formed in 1946, whose main function was to regulate legal issues and adopt political, economic and civil rights of women. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights brought in 1948, introduces prohibition of discrimination on the basis of gender for the first time. On the World Conference in Mexico in 1975, within the action program it is established that women`s issues and their further development should not be addressed as marginalized groups, but rather as factors of conscience acting in the social and political life. 1975 is declared an International year of women, and 1976-1985 a UN decade dedicated to improving the status of women, confirmed at the conference in Nairobi in 1985. In this context, of crucial importance are the Committee on Elimination of All forms Discrimination against Women CEDAW (1979), better known as "Women`s Convention" and the Fourth World Conference on Women held in Beijing, September, 1995.

<sup>19</sup> The concept "soft law" is most often used to describe the communication on intergovernmental level, policies and good practices, as opposed to "hard law" which come from the binding force of the contracts, directives and provisions within the EU. Although the hard law illuminates important aspects in the levels of obligation and sanctioning, the soft law still tends to achieve better practical effects. The soft law is opposed to the hard law as a legally binding force and has a special role in the EU integration (Trubek and Trubek 2005; Zeitland and Pochet 2005; Wellens and Borchart 1989; Candi 2001)

<sup>20</sup> The Fourth World Conference on Women (Beijing 1995) introduces the strategy, `gender mainstreaming` as a key point in diminishing the inequality between man and women. `Gender mainstreaming`- relationship between the genders, or gender balance and perspectives represents a process of acceptance and implementation of planned activities including legislation, policies and programs for each level and area, as a conceptual frame, methodology and presentation of good practices (Council of Europe 1998, 2001). In EU according to the definition of the Council of Europe "gender mainstreaming" means: "The reorganization, improvement, development and evaluation of policy processes in order for a gender equality perspective to be incorporated in all policies and by the actors involved in policy-making. It is established by Articles 2 and 3 from the EU Agreement on including gender equality in the overall policy of the Union" (EC 2004)



society. In these circumstances, the woman is not a factor of development and democratic and political progress, but a factor for a slow-down in the development. Her political presence remains on the facade, as opposed to her unequal and unfavorable position.

Hereby, the research begins from the general hypothesis that in co-determining the presence of women in the politics, the social, economic and cultural **factors prevail over the institutional factors. The factors studied in this dissertation are hereby presented in the following outline:**

**Table 1.1: Outline of the factors:**

<b>Institutional factors</b>	Electoral systems; Political strategies – electoral (legal) and volunteer quota; Political parties.
<b>Social and economic factors</b>	Degree of social and economic growth through GDP (Gross Domestic Product); Degree of employment-unemployment (men/women); Socio-demographic movements, HDI (Human Development Index), GEI (Gender Equity Index); Presence in tertiary education (men/women); Women`s organizations
<b>Cultural factors</b>	Political culture – perception of gender roles (patriarchal awareness and stereotypes in society); Level of literacy men/women; Influence by religion and ethical division.
<b>War as a factor</b>	Presence of war and the position of women during war
<b>EU as an external factor</b>	External pressure in direction of institutional changes; Determinant of developmental changes in institutional factors

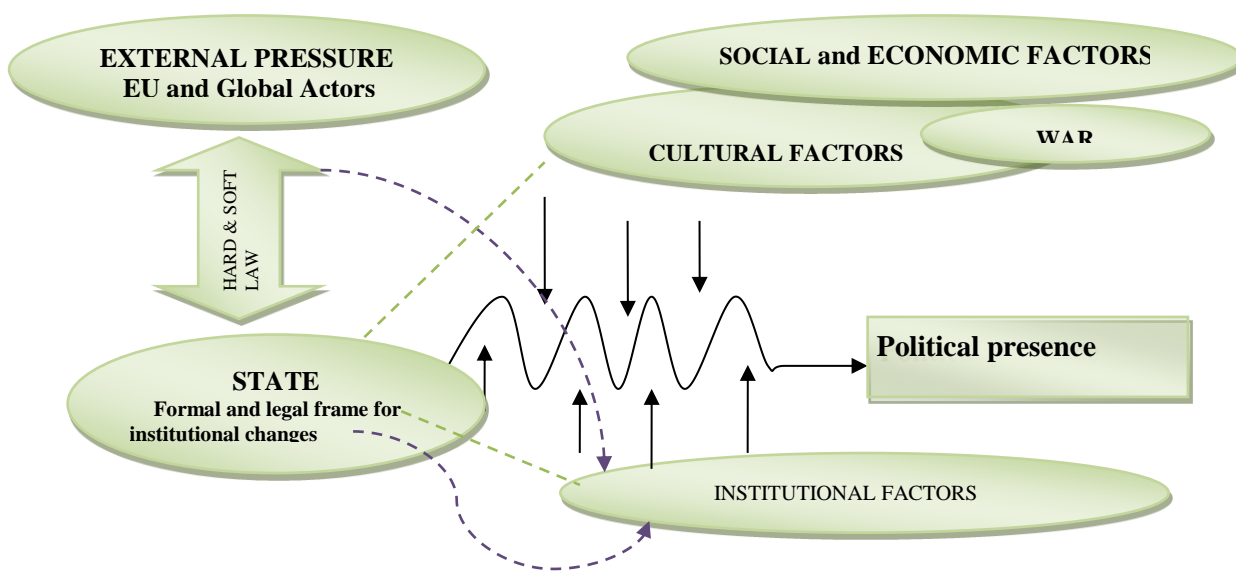
The political presence of women is determined as a dependent variable (which changes in regard to the positive/negative influence of the factors and the level of changes), and the variables explored in this dissertation (the factors) are independent. According to the current analysis and theoretic concepts of positive/negative effect from the individual variables, hereby we start from the following hypothesis:

- The institutional factors, changes as the result of Europeanization (introducing positive strategies, quotas, electoral systems) mainly have their influence in the direction of encouraging political presence of women;
- Lower social and economic development, unemployment of female population, socio-demographic movements, most often have a negative effect;
- The dominant culture, the perception of gender division of roles, patriarchal awareness and

stereotypes in society, level of illiteracy, influence by religion and ethnical division have especially negative influence and mainly deter the processes of emancipation of women and raising the awareness in order to ensure bigger presence in the political and public life.

- Negative influence of war regarding the integration of women in social and political prevailing.

**Figure 1.1: Hypothetical scheme and research model**



In the theoretical part of the research we start from the analysis of the current theoretical elaborations (Kunovich 2012; Hannagan et al. 2012; Burnet 2011; Hughes 2011; Hayes 2011; Beckwith 2011; Kann 2011; Cowell-Meyers 2011; Holli and Wass 2010; Boix 2010; Kreuzer 2010; Cusack, Iversen and Soskice 2010; Tremblay 2009; Dahlerup 2012; Matland and Montgomery 2003; Fink-Hafner and Krašovec 2004; Fink-Hafner et al. 2011; Antić Gaber 1998, 1999, 2011; Lovenduski and Norris 1993; Norris, 1997; Antić Gaber and Lokar 2006) in the direction of analyzing the research subjects and established theses, which prove a causal connection between the variables of influence on the political presence of women in the decision-making process. We start from the operationalization of the institutional factors (Kunovich 2012; Burnet 2011; Hughes 2011; Cusack, Iversen and Soskice 2010; Norris 2004; Matland 2007; 2003; 1993; Dahlerup and Freidenvall 2005; Darcy, Welch and Clark 1994), as well as the influence of the social and economic factors (Clavero and Galligan 2005; Hayes 2011; Kann 2011; Beckwith 2011; Hannagan et al.2012; Dojčinović-Nešić 2000) in relation to the processes of the social and political developments in the Western Balkan countries (Ramet 1999). Set in this way, the theoretical basis includes influence and pressure on the variables

»bottom-up« and »top-down« (Lovenduski 1999) and the impact of the social and cultural factors which prevail over the institutional factors (Đurić-Kuzmanović 2002; Kamenov and Galić 2009; Vasiljević 2003; Leinert Novosel 2007).

On the basis of the current analyses, the established hypothesis directs the research towards the answer to the questions: What are the reasons for the lower level of political presence of women in the three selected countries, case studies of Macedonia, Serbia and Croatia? Are these conditions of marginalization due to the value matrix of the societies, of the inappropriate legislative frame or the process of its implementation? How do institutional factors (electoral system, quotas, parties, institutions) influence the political presence? What is the level of influence from the non-governmental organizations? What is the influence of war? How much and in what way do the external pressure (EU and global actors) influence on the political presence of women?

### **1.3 Research methods**

Using policy-approach to studying the processes of shaping public policy (Fink-Hafner 2009) as a multidisciplinary approach, the use of scientific methods is adjusted to the researched issues, and the special methodological procedures are adjusted to the research findings. For that purpose, the research will include the following methods: literature review and qualitative analysis of the primary sources (such as documents, acts, research reports); comparative analysis of statistical data; comparative method and social science interview.

The doctoral dissertation is based on comparative analysis of three countries: Macedonia (MK), Serbia (RS) and Croatia (HR) which have relatively similar political context regarding democratic consolidation. According to the distribution of the model of conflict and change of regime (Levitsky and Way 2010; Boix 2008; Acemoglu and Robinson 2006; Przeworski et al. 2012), through dynamic analysis of changes, this research is focused on transition from authoritarian (socialist) towards democratic regimes, the changes in the economic model, as well as transition to a multiparty system (Funk and Mueller 1993) within the analyzed countries. While studying the development levels of the formal and legal frame and policies regarding gender equality and with that the political presence of women within the analyzed countries, we apply the approach of **qualitative analysis** of the primary sources: legislative frame, documents, and acts.

In the theoretical part we use the descriptive method, an overview of the existent literature regarding the analyzed countries, and a description of the influence of the institutional, socioeconomic and cultural factors on the political presence of women within the existent research on this topic. The use of descriptive and explicative approach - serves to detect the distinctive features of the issues connected to the subject of research. After being used in the overview of literature, the same approach will be used when analyzing the domestic and foreign literature regarding women in politics and the factors of influence; EU regulations regarding equal opportunities, reports, and encouragement strategies for bigger presence of women in politics and decision-making processes, analyses, monographs, reports from state departments and non-governmental organizations which relate to the reality of the situation in the countries of the Western Balkan, case studies (Macedonia, Serbia and Croatia).

A lot of research until now has proved the connection between the institutional (political) factors and the political presence of women (Hughes 2012; Kenworthy and Malami 1999; Norris 2004; Norris and Lovenduski 1995) including variables of influence such as electoral system, political parties, positive strategies in the electoral legislation and the political regime. Socioeconomic factors, most often analyzed as a determining variable for the political presence of women (Matland 1998, 2005; Norris 2004; Inglehart and Norris 2003; Rule 1988). Cultural factors regarding the dominant values, standards, beliefs, religion, gender division of roles are all variables of the positive and negative influence on the political presence of women (Norris and Inglehart 2001, 2003; Paxton and Kunovich 2003).

In the analyses of the developmental politics and formal legal frame within the countries, studying the factors and their influence on the political presence of women in the researched case studies, we use the qualitative analysis of **primary and secondary resources** (relevant literature and studies connected to this field of study, relevant legislative, documents and programs). The analyze of the factors and their impact on the political presence of women within the researched countries, we also apply a **comparative analysis of statistical data** collected from the national statistical offices and the statistical offices at the European and international level (Eurostat, Worldbank, OECD, WGI). Also, statistical data available in the current relevant empirical analyses were used. Aside the primary qualitative resources (literature, legislation, documents), and **quantitative data** (statistical data) we also used **quantitative** data from international and European public opinion surveys (EVS-European Value survey, WVS- World Value Survey),

especially regarding the analysis of the influence by the cultural factors (opinions, dominant values and awareness) within the analyzed countries. When describing and positioning the countries regarding the political presence of women in national parliaments and executive authorities within the researched countries (level of education, employment/unemployment rates), the quantitative data are - dominant (national statistical data, Parquota survey 2008, EVS, Eurobarometer 2009; Inter-parliamentary Union - IPU 2008; Freedom House 2007; HDR; WB; Eurostat; OECD) as the basis for a further qualitative analysis. Statistical data in accordance to the gender are used to obtain the real image in all social, political and economic aspects. The mixed method (Bejarano 2011; Borrego, Douglas and Amelink 2009) of application of both the qualitative and quantitative approach, as well the combination of gathering data techniques (interview) and analyses of the three case studies (Ingram 2010; Tremblay 2006), the cognitive invention of the value matrix and the perceptions of gender roles (WVS, EVS) provide a basis for an in-depth analysis of the complex linkage of the institutional, socioeconomic and cultural factors to the political presence of women.

Also, in the elaboration of the shift from socialism/post-socialism and democracy, we apply the **dynamic approach to the study of changes**<sup>21</sup> in social and political context, in developmental policies and institutional changes as a result of the processes of Europeanization and external pressure, changes in the reality of the political presence of women in the researched countries, as well as economic and cultural differentiations. The dynamic method allows analysis of the changes within a social frame or within different societies (Verloo 2005). According to Peinado and Serrano (2012) the dynamic analysis can follow changes in the evolution of the social and cultural context. Thompson (2008) applies the dynamic analysis within a simulation model, in relation to cultural changes, perception and tradition. During the research, the dynamic analysis of changes refers to the period from 1990 to 2009.

- **Selection criteria for the case studies (MK, RS, HR)**

The research shall apply a comparative analysis of three countries (transition, post-socialist countries) in order to be able to provide explanation for the reasons of the poor presence of women in politics, decision-making governmental bodies in the period from 1990 to 2009.

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<sup>21</sup> This approach analyses change, oscillations of the transformation and modification of current forms, changes in the social and political context, which depending on the qualitative and quantitative approach provide analyses of either individual or social perception. Social dynamics, in accordance with the structural and functional differentiation lead to the adaptability of the newly established system (Parsons 1955)

Starting with the model of similarities and differences (Schlosser and De Meur 2009), the preliminary review of the relevant literature regarding the variables, as well as, quantitative data and relevant empirical research which relate to the political presence of women, shows similarities in reference to several criteria within the chosen countries.

**Figure 1.2: Outline of the dominant criteria (similarities) in the choice of countries (Macedonia, Serbia, and Croatia)**

General historical and geopolitical conditions

Period of transition socialism/post-socialism and the establishment of democracy, period of social, political and economic transition

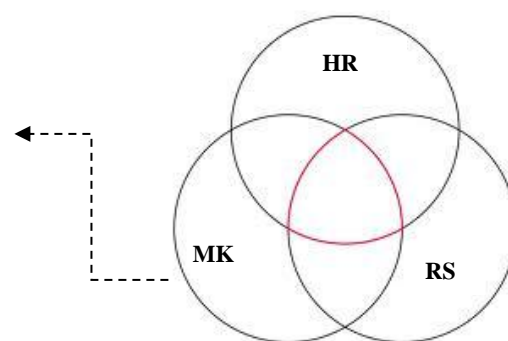
Party system, Electoral system,

Socioeconomic development

Political culture, tradition, religion, ethnical division

Presence of war

External factor, international influences



\* **The model is adjusted according to the models of system analyses (Easton 1965; Berg-Schlosser and Mitchell 2000) the similarities/differences model (Schlosser and De Meur 2009)**

According to Haggard, Kaufman and Terence (2012) this type of research should apply to the model of dichotomous coding of democratic transition (distributive<sup>22</sup> or non-distributive conflict<sup>23</sup>). The dynamics of the transition changes will be analyzed through the data from the analyses (CSP – Center for Systemic Peace, Integrated Network for Social Conflict Research; Marshall and Jagger (2010), Polity IV Country Reports 2010).<sup>24</sup>

The three countries are post-social countries in transition.<sup>25</sup> In the same period, after the disintegration of former Yugoslavia, they established their democratic political systems, multiparty system, parliamentarianism, pluralism, numerous democratic and institutional changes, which are above all interpreted through civil rights and freedoms, freedom of speech, complex of human rights, ethnic and minority rights, multiculturalism, presence of war, generally similar culture and tradition, economic growth and geopolitical context. According to

<sup>22</sup> Distributive conflicts include urban conflicts, class conflicts (e.g. strikes) or rural mobilization and mobilization of ethnical groups.

<sup>23</sup> Transition in a non-distributive conflict indicates to the non-existence of mass mobilizations, or a smaller identity, without any special influence on the changes.

<sup>24</sup> Polity Project is part of the Sociosystematic research including research of peace. "Polity IV Country Report 2010 for Croatia 2010; Serbia 2010; Macedonia 2010. Marshall and Jagger 2010.

<sup>25</sup> Transition in post-socialist former Yugoslav countries (among which the researched cases as well), is very often connected to the pressure factor and control by the "old political elite", regarding the realization of democracy, involvement in war as a factor for slower liberalization process, creating fragile democracies and tendencies for bigger disproportion in the political arena (Fink-Hafner and Hafner Fink 2009).

Tremblay (2008) the geographic diversity is part of the international agenda for encouraging political presence of women in every country. Regarding the electoral system all of the countries went from a majority system, through a combined system, to a proportional system today. Regarding the socioeconomic growth, the human development index, the gender equality index, poverty index, according to HDR 2011, these countries have relatively similar level (with a small differentiation of Croatia from Macedonia and Serbia). Through **comparative analyses of the three states** in reference to their differences and similarities, the present dissertation studies specific variables which determine the presence of women in national politics.

This study of the subject of research is supported by an **interview**, adjusted to the social surveys, which could help discover the reasons for a low level of political presence of women in the Western Balkans. A standard method within the empirical research is the qualitative interviewing, which enables two types of data: factual information and data based on personal experience and the perception of the interviewee (perceptual information). The interview differs according to the type of questions and can be descriptive (describing the processes) and evaluative (evaluation of the interviewee) (Zolner et al. 2007). The interviews allow additional enhancement of the data regarding the influence of the institutional changes (quotas, strategies, EU influence) on the process of encouraging bigger political presence of women in the researched countries, as well the importance of the value matrix, the influence of culture and socioeconomic changes. The interviews improve the empirical data regarding the relation between the influence factors and the percent of women participating in the national parliament, as well as regarding further comparative analysis of the conditions in the three countries. The interviews were conducted with authorized people from state institutions in charge of the process of conducting the equal opportunities policy, with women – representatives (members) of political parties in the three researched countries, representatives of non-governmental organizations, researchers and analysts in this area. The interviews were semi-structured with the use of a previously prepared questionnaire. From the methodological point of view, interviews are based on the interviewee`s personal experience and perception. The goal of the interview is to gather more information about the researched topic and their comparison with the national features of the countries. The interviews were conducted in the period from 2008 for Macedonia (10 interviewees), 2011 and 2012 for Serbia (7 interviewees) and Croatia (5 interviewees). The conversations were led towards discovering the reasons for the poor presence of women, the

influence of the institutional factors, changes, introduction of quotas (legal-electoral and volunteer-party), the influence from the external actors, the influence of the socioeconomic movements and the value matrix of the patriarchal awareness regarding gender stereotypes in politics. During the interviews the ethical provisions of previous acceptance and anonymity in the communication, were respected. The analysis of the interview data were connected to different thematic parts of the dissertation through coding, in relation to the researched issues. Depending on the statements` content the coding enabled their inclusion into the empirical analysis.

**The dissertation consists of six parts.** The first part includes the introduction, the research topic and theses in reference to the subject of research, the methodology and scientific contribution of the dissertation. The second part refers to the theoretical baseline of the dissertation connected to the relevant literature regarding the theoretical research methods which present basis for the theoretical frame of analysis of the influence factors on the political presence of women in accordance to existent research in this field. Through the descriptive method and qualitative analysis, the third part elaborates the developmental period of transition and describes the conditions in the selected post-socialist countries, the war conflicts and establishment of new democracies. The empirical part is placed in the fourth and fifth chapter. The fourth chapter provides an outline of the formal and legal frame within the researched countries relevant for the subject of research, and a comparative analysis of the adopted legislative and development of gender equity policies. The fifth part identifies the factors which influence the presence of women in politics within the three countries and analyses the degree of influence according to the established research hypothesis. The results of the analyses are presented in a synthesized conclusion in reference to the influence of the factors and a general conclusion to the dissertation overall.



## **2 THEORETICAL APPROACHES**

### **2.1 Theoretical concepts for the study of women`s presence**

Nowadays, women account for half of the population and a part of the socio-political life, although less than a century ago, they were completely excluded from the political structures of power and the voting procedures (McBride 2011). Historical changes evolve through the development phases of feminist theories<sup>26</sup>, the theories of representative democracy, participation, contemporary liberal concept of political representation and presence of women in politics, analyzing the connection of the participatory and representative forms of political representation (Squires 2009). Representative democracy includes all social categories such as demographic, gender (Lovenduski 1993). A lot of authors point to the issue of under-representation of women in political ruling structures (Pearson 2011; Kunovich 2012; Hannagan et al.2012; Burnet 2011; Hughes 2011; Beckwith 2011; Cowell-Meyers 2011; Iversen and Soskice 2010; Tremblay 2009; Freidenvall and Krook 2011, Dahlerup 2012, 2006; Matland and Montgomery 2003; Matland 2006, 2005; Squires, Lovenduski & Krook 2009; Krook and Childs 2010; Antić Gaber and Ilonzski 2003; Antić Gaber 1998, 1999, 2011; Lokar 2009; Fink-Hafner and Krašovec 2004; Fink-Hafner et al. 2011; Saxonberg 2000; Norris 2004; Lovenduski and Norris 1993; Lovenduski 1999). The theoretical research of political representation and participation of women (Burrell 1994; Carroll 2002; Dodson 1998, 2006; Gelb and Palley 1996; Gerrity, Osborn, and Mendez 2007; Swers 1998, 2002; Thomas 1994) starts mainly from the political, socioeconomic and cultural factors which influence the political presence of women. Pearson`s analysis (2011b) of the reasons for under-representation of women in structures of power, points to the causal connection of the political involvement and common socialization of experience and perspectives. The theoretical approaches for the political presence, participation and representation of women, mainly begin from the causal connection between the gender concept, disproportion and exclusion of women from the public and political sphere and politics as an institutionalized manifestation (Squires 2006, 2009). The development of the theories is directed towards accepting the traditional beliefs in the equality between men and women regarding their rights of political representation (Sapiro 1998) as well as the differences between

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<sup>26</sup> Analysing of feminist theories, in her work »The Second Sex«, Simone de Beauvoir (1982) attempts to answer the question why all women are politically inferior. She points that »women are not born as women, but later they become women by socialization«. In 1405, Christande de Pisan in Italy, publishes »The City of the Ladies«, a book which describes the role of women in political developments. The basic goal of feminism is improvement of women`s position in society. Feminists research the reasons and the ways for overcoming stereotypes regarding the role of the woman in society, creating a model in a new value matrix as opposed to the conventional determination of what is »political« (Heywood 1992, 258). In short, feminism is a theory and practices which derive from the provisions for equal values between men and women and whose final goal is elimination of all forms of discrimination against women (Wollstonecraft 1999, 47).

descriptive and substantive representation of the deliberative concept (Mansbridge 1999). Regarding the issue of unequal realization of active and passive electoral right, Kymlicka (1999) introduces the category of group differentiation of rights matching the political representation. When analyzing the reasons for under-representation of women in decision-making processes, we start from the theory and concepts of participation, representation, presence, through democracy as a form of civil participation in political and social life (Mansbridge 2011; Pateman 2012).

### **2.1.1 The concept of participatory democracy**

The concept of participatory democracy (Pateman 2012; Pearson and Dancey 2011; Dahl 2000; Pateman 1970; Dahl 1971; Held 1989) represents basis for further elaboration and analysis of issues connected to participation of women in ruling structures, as well as issues of equal participation and involvement in the decision-making processes and processes of political power (Norris 1993; Antić Gaber and Jeram 1999). Theoretical discourses of democracy (Dahl 1971; Pateman 1970; Held 1989; Dahl 2000) lead to questions connected to participation of women in decision-making structures, and in the political life (Saxonberg 2000) and equal representation of genders in politics (Norris 1993; Antić Gaber and Jeram 1999). The analyses of contemporary theories of democracy, as well as participation theories, i.e. participation of citizens in political processes, mark the first step towards further elaboration of the »presence« of women (according to the gender concept of division). According to the usual periodization, the theories of democracy are mainly divided to antique, modern and contemporary (Dahl 1998). The classification of contemporary theories, such as the pluralist theory, the theories of social choice, deliberative theory, and participatory theory arise at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. During the 50s, in the field the theory of democracy, and in direction of the Shumpeterian thesis, Dahl makes a distinction between “madisonian” and “pluralist” theory, but instead of the model of competitive, democratic elitism, he offers the model of pluralist democracy (Dahl 1998). From the procedural aspect of the democracy, it could be said that the consociational model of democracy (Lajphart 1994), represents a basis for a reach analysis in any further debate regarding democracy. Further theoretical discussions are triggered by the issues imposed by the new era, especially regarding the relation democracy – republicanism, as well as the issue of democracy and socialism, with a special emphasis on the communist ideology, negating the

democratic character of the communist order as a consequence, as opposed to the liberalistic vision of democracy (Sartori 1987).

As opposed to the pluralist theories, whose assumptions start from the idea that over-involvement of citizens in the political life of the community could become a problem and has a negative influence on the stability of the community; the theory of participative democracy, advocates the idea for massive involvement and control, i.e. continuous interaction between citizens and the elected representatives in the government. The participative democracy is understood as being compatible with the process of strategic planning and organization of the political order. As one of the contemporary theories of democracy, participatory democracy should contribute for better understanding of rationality in the context of democracy. The theoretical basis of participatory democracy develops ideas for strong involvement of the citizens in political processes, emphasizing the positive sides of the contemporary theory of participatory democracy (Pateman, 1970). According to Pateman, only through complete participation of citizens in the democratic decision is real participation achieved, while local level of participation is the most suitable frame for development of participatory democracy. Participatory democracy means direct participation of citizens in the decision-making process, and encouraging bigger interest in politics. Barber (1984) offers a significant contribution in this theoretical orientation with his suggestion of "strong democracy" which is based on participation, activism and dialogue. In the same context, the theoretical elaborations are headed in the direction of "party-based" model of mutual completion of the representative and directly-democratic instances (Budge 1996). Some theoreticians, such as Patman (1970) believe that direct participation is probably the best solution for less alienation of the citizens and bigger integration of society. On the one hand, the political presence and participation of contemporary societies represent a disadvantage for the representative parties. On the other hand, the total juxtaposition of the pluralist and participatory democracy, lead to the development of the theory of democracy through a combination of elements from different theories "pick-and-mix" conception of procedural democracy (Saward 2001). A lot of theoreticians emphasize the importance of political participation of citizens for efficient functioning of democracies (H. Arendt, C. Putman, G. Almond, S. Verba et al.). They do this by developing the thesis for participatory democracy as opposed to the elitist and formal representation theory. According to Norris (2003), the phenomenon of `participation` has been analyzed from more aspects but

mainly as political involvement or political action. Starting from the belief that the participation of citizens in political life comes from the essence of the concept of civil rights and responsibilities, and is an especially important criterion for identification of individuals with political action, aside the numerous scientific classifications, there are, mainly, two types of political action: activism and political action. On the one hand, political activism represents a set of actions offered by the ruling policy, and is approved by citizens by elections, where they get the chance to express themselves politically. On the other hand, it does include political organizations, which help the mobilization of citizens for political action. Political action not only includes citizen-oriented political actions, such as voting and activities within the party, but also cause-oriented activities such as protests, demonstrations, petitions, strike (Norris 2003). The different degree of participation is undoubtedly one of the central issues in politics in general, but in democracy as well (Della Porta 2003, 64) . Theoretical elaborations of political participation always lead towards analysis and understanding of different factors which determine political presence and involvement (Verba, Schlozman and Brady 1995; Zevin 1999, Zimmermann 1999). Although women account for half of the population, and with that half of the electorate they face low level of presence in the representative bodies (Antić Gaber 1998, 40). Representative democracy with no female candidates (or a low level of presence of female candidates) does not represent true democracy or is an incomplete democracy (Antić Gaber 1998, 38).

### **2.1.2 Concepts of political representation and political presence**

Theoretically speaking, political representation (Mansbridge 2011, 2009, 2003; Rehfeld 2009; Tremblay 2006, 2008; Thompson 2008; Saward 2009; Burden 2007; Besley 2005; Dahlerup 2012, 2008; Lovenduski 2005; Phillips 1995; Squires 2009; Sapiro 1998; Pitkin 1967; Verba, Schlozman and Brady 1995) is explained as representation of different interests of specific groups. In representative democracies, the chosen representatives most often represent the interests of the groups they belong to, or represent (Mansbridge 2011) . Generally, the theory of political representation explains the idea of political representation of the ideas of those who voted or would vote for a certain political group. This formal definition of representation opens a multidimensional nature of representativeness, which as a result of theoretical analysis, divides into substantive and descriptive (Lovenduski 2005). The classic division of the theories of

women`s political representation is mainly defined by Hanna Pitkin (1967), who established them as formalistic, descriptive and substantive representation. On the other hand, in contemporary literature there are three concepts: gyroscopic, surrogate and anticipatory representation (Mansbridge 2003). Gyroscopic representation is connected to the intellectual background of the political representatives. This division is criticized most of the times, due to the fact that it is based on static interests. The second type, called surrogate representation, is a connection of the interests within the community, i.e. the citizens it represents. The basic disadvantage of this type of representation is the assumption of a continuous interactive communication between the voters and governmental representatives. The third type refers to the opinion by representatives which assumes unconditional approval of the policy by the electorate. However, representation is not defined as a passive procedure of unconditional acceptance of beliefs from top-down. It is rather, a dynamic, performative and constitutive process (Mansbridge 2003). For these reasons, the division to substantive and constitutive gender representation is generally accepted. This division has an underlying essential detection of women`s interests during the process of constructing gender relations in within the representative (Squires 2009). While the substantive representation refers to women`s interests, the constitutive uses representatives to represent these interests. Therefore, the main question here is how to constitute gender relations within representative democracy (Squires 2009). Women`s presence in political life, is also part of the efforts of descriptive representation (sometimes called proportional representation). However, this type of involvement of women in political life, matches the proportional ratio of presence and representation of women`s interests (as a group) (Skjeie 1991). Hence, the criticism of the descriptive representation, which claims that not always the representation of a certain group, a political party, in the representative bodies reflects the interest of those who elected them. Feminists point to the fact that certain female representatives in the ruling structures do not always represent the interests of women as a target group. Substantive representation derives from the representatives` decisions, i.e. is focused on the interests of their representation group. Substantive representation is more focused on identification of interests, decisions by representatives, than on the representatives themselves, as followers of a certain group (Lovenduski 2005). Positioning of women`s interests and women as part of the population within the theoretical representation, is faced with great difficulties which arise from the degradation of women in political discourse.

Two reasons could be found in literature for under-representation of women in politics. First, descriptive representation explains the problem in connection to the electoral system and rules within the party as possible barriers (Darcy, Welch and Clark 1994; Lovenduski and Norris 1993, 1996; Norris and Lovenduski 1995; Mansbridge 1999). Second, raising questions such as: if there is a true contribution by elected women in political structures or if their election is merely symbolical (Diamond 1977; Thomas 1994; Norris 1996; Tremblay 2009; Carroll 2001). Feminist theoreticians suggest that political presence of women is not merely the number of elected women, but also representing women as a special group (Phillips 1995; Lovenduski 1997).

According to Norris and Lovenduski (1989) there are two arguments regarding the number of increase of women in politics: symbolic and substantive. The symbolic argument is based on the representation theory, according to which the representative bodies should function as a public forum for all citizens in the society. This means that it is necessary to put efforts in order for women to be equally represented. The substantive argument indicates the essential difference coming from the bigger number of women and representation of elected women and interests (Norris and Lovenduski 1989, 106-115). According to Sapiro (1998), interest is the basis for a group political representation and differentiation of the number of women within the representative bodies (a symbolic argument) and representation of their interests (a substantive argument). In post-socialist and transition countries, all attempts to equally represent men and women always lead towards descriptive, numeric and not substantive representation (Dahlerup 2006; Beckwith and Cowell-Meyers 2003).

Ann Phillips (1995) synthesizes almost all points of view and arguments in favor of bigger representation of women in representative bodies. According to her, there are three arguments for political under-representation of women: the justice argument, the interests' argument, and the argument of revitalization of democracy (Phillips 1998). These arguments originate from liberal theories. In favor of the proportional representation of women is the argument which confirms the injustice of the representation monopoly and the unequal distribution, which are indicators of structural discrimination. The problem appears when political indifference is mistaken with gender roles, ethnic minorities, classes and sexes (Phillips 1998). In order for equal representation to be achieved, Phillips (1995) emphasizes the special interests of the groups which are not always very well presented. The special interests of women come from

their specific position in society, and are presented on a very intuitive level. There are several conditions regarding representation: first, women have special and different interests; second, these interests cannot be adequately presented by men; and third, the election of women provides an opportunity for these interests to be presented. Hence, using the **concept of political presence**, Phillips points to marginalized groups in society, encouraging bigger presence of women as an argument for revived democracy and its improvement, dispersion of power and change of balance between participation and representation (Phillips 1995).

The concept of political presence - Anne Phillips (1995, 1998) starts from the mechanism of responsibility in representative democracy. According to her, women are a specific group based on mutual interests (such as: the equal opportunities rights, social rights, economic rights). Consequently, this group articulates and represents these special interests in the segregation of the representative bodies. Phillips points to the complexity of these interests, not as gender interests but rather as variation of interests between men and women (Phillips 1995, 68). Still, factors such as social, ethnic or religious groups, and the ideological division (left and right) can surpass gender interests. Therefore, women do not represent the interests of their group, but of all citizens. According to Phillips, key elements of political presence, as a numeric determination of the number of men and women in the decision-making structures, are: the need to deal with exclusion and intensive efforts to improve under-privileged groups by adopting more political options (Phillips 1995).

Starting from the basic theoretical concepts, it can be said that literature dealing with political representation, participation and presence of women, so far, is the subject of interest for liberal and contemporary politicians. So far, some researcher, (Kunovich 2012; Hannagan et al.2012; Burnet 2011; Hughes 2011; Hayes 2011; Beckwith 2011; Kann 2011; Cowell-Meyers 2011; Holli and Wass 2010; Boix 2010; Kreuzer 2010; Cusack, Iversen and Soskice 2010; Tremblay 2009; Jasiewicz 2008; Meier 2008; Rueschemeyer 2009; Saxonberg 2000; Norris 2004; Lovenduski and Norris 1993; Saandsbury 1993; Lovenduski and Norris 1993; Leijenaar 1997; Norris, 1997; Saxonberg 2000; Farrell 2011; Fink-Hafner and Krašovec 2004; Fink-Hafner 2004), have indicated relevant aspects of influence of the political presence of women as the institutional, socioeconomic factors, as well as the type of political culture.

### 2.1.3 The concept of gender equality

According to Lombardo, Meier and Verloo (2009b) gender equality as a concept is a part of theoretical analysis, but it also has its practical application within different states, political actors on institutional and non-institutional level, as well as variations between national and international organizations. They make the distinction among the four processes/meanings of gender equality: fixing a certain meaning, stretching it, shrinking it or bending it to some other goal (Lombardo, Meier and Verloo 2009b). The specific meaning of the concept `gender equality` is usually related to policies of equal opportunities, positive action, and policies of gender equality. EU policies which are in the same direction include the policy for balanced presence of men and women in the decision-making structures, state policies and legislative. The level of gender concept is dependent on the features of political cultures, ethnic groups and religion in the countries. Hence, the political level and democratic development contribute a lot for the modeling of the concept, extension or adaptation/adjustment to the conditions (Walby 2005c; Verloo 2006; Squires 2006). Walby (2005c) emphasizes the different way in which gender recognition and modulation of policies depend on ethnicities, races and social layers in the. Bacchi (2009) makes the distinction between four differentiations creating intentional strategic framing and unintentional framing<sup>27</sup> and interaction between agency and structure. Intentional/action framing is created by actors (political subjects) attempting to change the perception of the gender equity issue, while the unintentional framing explains the actors` dependency on the structure, which is actually a hegemony discourse. The discourses are indicated as conceptual patterns connected to specific historical, institutional and cultural concepts. The institutional positioning of discourses is made in relation to the different levels of power. (Bacchi 2000). Discursive analysis leads towards the relationships between ideas, language and power. Public policies as a discourse are based on the assumptions that social and public issues have to be constituted in a discourse as social categories, bearing in mind the objective viewing of the issues and the context (Bacchi 2000).

In fact, creating the differential framing Bacchi (2009) analyzes the explanation forms or cognitive structuring according to the traditions and context (Bacchi 2009). Within the social movement theory this framing has been explained as an intention to achieve a certain political

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<sup>27</sup> The differentiation between intentional and unintentional framing matches the discourse within the context (historical, social, cultural and political).



goal, connecting and reconstructing them with the social and political reality. Bacchi points to the influence of positive practices and adaptation of the social and political context pursuant to the discourse policies (Bacchi 2009). During the discourse analysis Bacchi indicates the distinctions between the discourse as socially-psychological focus regarding speech, and politically-theoretical focus with individual meaning regarding social development. Bacchi's concepts (2009) are called open signifiers in literature, while Lombardo's concepts (2009) open or travelling concepts regarding the application of the gender concept. Within the discourse analysis of the gender concept as policies, during different social and political contexts, there are variations in relation to modeling, adjustment and narrowing (Lombardo et al. 2009); for instance, in relation to differentiations in different countries regarding the adaptation of their policies to EU policies. These frames are especially relevant in the analysis of structural obstacles regarding gender inequity in politics in different countries (Bacchi 1999).

This theoretic approach provides further elaboration and analysis of the researched cases (MK, RS, and HR) which are relevant due to variations in incorporating the concept of gender inequity, its modulation and stretching in accordance to the needs and circumstances. This is especially true from the aspect of Europeanization and external influences in the process of adjusting the legislation and good practices.<sup>28</sup>

#### **2.1.4 Socialist and post-socialist approach**

According to Ghodsee and Faludi (2012), the analysis of the ideologies' influence starts from the differentiations of the women's status in the Eastern European (communist) socialist regimes, their dissolution and their status in the new democratic society. The international feminist policy from the Eastern Bloc communism carries a special meaning. The analysis of the ideologies' influence starts from the differentiation of the women's status during the cold war between the East and the West, regarding the political and economic system. This analysis was in relation to gender equity and women's liberation from patriarchal restraints. Directly and indirectly, women in these countries benefited from the powerful narrow-mindedness of the left ideology regarding the established welfare state, the redistribution and the historical imperative of women's formal education reflected through female, top-down organizations (Ghodsee and Faludi 2012). After the fall of the Berlin wall, the new global changes put an end to ideology in a way, or at least end to history. Twenty years later, it seems that the resistance policy is prevailing in the place of

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<sup>28</sup> More in the section elaborating the external factors

global neoliberalism. Different political ideologies (socialist or capitalist) have a different interpretation of women's position in society regarding social and political systems (Leinert Novosel 2007). According to Burčar (2009) the comparison between socialism and post-socialist western models of capitalist patriarchy discovers that availability of economic, political and social resources and their influence are of great importance for the emancipation of women. They also influence her dependency and conditionality on the systematic, social and political contexts, the economic system and differences creating inequity gap. The socialist model of women's emancipation, which was controlled by national policy, is a clear indicator that the type and power of individuals ultimately depends on the structural factors which lead to specific identity, and with that to another type or nature of economic and social groups. Capitalism brought a different perspective, identity and preoccupation for women, in accordance to their different economic level (Burčar 2009). Socialism tried to loosen the patriarchal relationship by formal, economic emancipation of women. As opposed to this, capitalism in all of its forms, including the neoliberalism, usually deepens patriarchy even more (Cooke 2006). The transition from socialist to capitalist model of socioeconomic organization leads to repatriarchalization of society (Jogan 2000). This is reflected in the strength of the old dichotomies from the public and private sphere and the revival of conservative ideologies which exclude women from the public space and suppress them in the artificially designed private sphere of the home and family (Burčar 2009). In this forced redomestication of women, where the capitalist country with its social system has a direct role in the systematic reshaping of the women's identity, it is necessary to reconstruct the manner of gender differentiating (Burčar 2009). As a result of the control mechanisms the socialist regimes offered formal equality which led to decrease in the number of women in the representative bodies with the new democratic orders and no state intervention. Within liberal democracies, conventional beliefs begin from the reflection of opinions and preferences of the electoral body. According to the concept of democracy, transition is a shift from one system to another, especially to democracy which leads to the concept of gender equality in society. The complex overview on democracy within theoretical analysis gives a global framework of conceptualization and following of western democracies. In this conceptual mix, the theory of transition and comparative politics pays special attention to gender imbalance as part of the dynamic changes in transition (Alvarez 1990). According to Jogan (2011), in the 20s` of the twentieth century, the term `transition` was the term most widely used to denote the

important developments which took place after the fall of the Berlin wall, within socialist or communist countries. This term was most often used to denote the positive changes in political context. The old parliamentary democracies in Western Europe are a binding link at the transfer of socialist countries towards pluralist parliamentary democracies, market economy and modernization. Due to this, transition is most often marked as Europeanization (Jogan 2011). During these processes of political democratization, the elements of sexism and gender inequity have gotten the least attention. The issue of male-biased policy is one of the key reasons for the unequal legal and political presence of men and women (Jogan 2011). The transition did not bring any gender neutral platform, i.e. the democratization processes were not equally directed towards different gender groups. This imposed the need for retraditionalization, as a differentiating process between the universal prevailing of sexism (androcentrism) and global repression of the capitalist order (Jogan 2011). According to Connell (2005), neoliberal regimes pay least attention to gender equality. He emphasizes the countries from Western Europe as the most dramatic example for this. Through reductionism and dehistoricization as means for managing expectations, Jogan (2011) points out that without multiple differentiation of the real development of societies in accordance to the differences in development strategies, post-socialist countries remain in the formal model of democracy. The issue of political exclusion in new democratic societies is most often interweaved with the electoral system, but also with the citizens' approach towards political presence according to their social order (Kunovich 2012). The analysis of the issue of equal presence starts from the formal equality rights on which liberal democracies are based, but it is necessary to emphasize gender equality as a specific categorization (Sandeau 2003, 16). Theoretical analysis in the first half of the twentieth century emphasize women's political under-representation (Duverger 1955), electoral systems as an influence factor on the number of women in representative bodies, as well as women's presence (Stacey and Price 1981). During the second half of the twentieth century, for the purpose of achieving power within the representative democracy, especially the left-oriented (socialist) develop alternative ways for action which in one part lead to a complete separatism of women (Young 1990). Specific analyses for feminist movements in the social and political life were made by: Barbič 1978; Mirčev 1989; Mirčev 1984, towards the end of the 70s, on the territory of former Yugoslavia. The establishment of representative democracies also leads to the establishment of the right to vote as a general and equal right for all citizens (Antić Gaber 1999).

The right to vote has double meaning: on a symbolic level (formal equality of men and women) and on an instrumental level (opportunity to participate in politics, the decision-making processes and power) (Antić Gaber 1998). Previous analysis of the reasons of under-representation of women in political structures refers to the degree of socialization of men and women and women's orientation towards the private sphere (Rinehart 1992). Also socialist models of behavior between men and women (Hills 1981; Hayes 2011; Kann 2011; Beckwith 2011; Hannagan et al.2012;) political culture, political system and electoral systems as influence factors (Rule 1987, 1994, 1996; Lovenduski and Norris 1993, 1995; Darcy, Welch and Clark 1994; Antić Gaber 1998; Tremblay 2006; Kunovich 2012; Burnet 2011; Hughes 2011; Cusack, Iversen and Soskice 2010; Boix 2010).

### **2.1.5 Constructivist concept and rational choice institutionalism**

Based on Ann E. Towns' concept (2010) the constructivist approach of international relations and stratification of the states, represents upgrading of the structural, institutional and cultural theories regarding the political status of women. It creates a constructivist frame of profiling policies and institutional concepts as specific measures (laws, electoral quotas) in order to oppose global hegemony and male domination in politics. Towns (2010) offers a frame of accepting certain norms, policies and variables regarding the political status of women, which is always connected to the stratification and the level of democratization within the countries. On the contrary, many developing countries have progressive policies, norms (electoral quotas). The connection between the measures against women's exclusion to the level of democracy, means creating international norms and translational applicability. Towns connects the need for legal measures against the minimal number of women in the representative bodies and the variations of inequity. International research regarding special cases of increase in the number of legal (electoral) quotas and policies, shows that the political status of women is the key element for the social rank of the country within the international system. From the aspect of rational choice institutionalism (Norris 2004), formal rules generate bigger presence of women in politics and bigger development. The theory of rational choice institutionalism is based on the relationship between formal regulations (part of the constitution, electoral legislation, and electoral regulations) and the political behavior. This theory is based on the hypothesis regarding the rules in political systems, like the electoral system, the size of the electoral districts, electoral models

and the existence of electoral legislative quotas for women, as factors which structure the political actors' behavior<sup>29</sup>, as well as the hypothesis regarding the feedback by political actors for the formal rules. Formal regulations influence political actors in the manner of their candidature process, and they can be used to encourage bigger political representation of women's interests, i.e. bigger presence of women on the candidate lists. Norris (2004) suggests special punitive measure for imbalanced representation in the candidatures, with a majority electoral system, or introduction of legal, electoral quotas (direct measures) protected by legal sanctions. The hypotheses of these theories rely on the influence of political actors as a variable on the one hand and the electoral body (emphasizing the differences in electoral systems/models), special normative rules for running as a candidate and voting, the relations between political parties and programs, on the other hand (Koch 2002; McDermott 1997).

### **2.1.6 Culture and cultural modernization theory**

So far, a lot of researchers (Hannagan et al. 2012; Hansen et al. 2011; Norris 2004; Sapiro and Conover 1992; Sanbonmatsu and Dolan 2007; Burns et al. 2001) have analyzed the relationship and the influence of culture on the political status of women (as voters, activists, candidates) as well as the gender dynamics of political behavior and interests overall. The American National Elections Studies (ANES) show variable relation of culture dimensions and political behavior (Conover and Sapiro 1992; Sanbonmatsu and Dolan 2007). On the other hand, individual morality and the ethical concept are strongly connected to gender roles and their reflection on the electoral behavior of the voters (Hansen, Kanthak, Victor 2011). According to Hannagan, Schneider and Greenlee (2012), inductive approaches of political behavior of men and women are always connected to political psychology on the one hand, and traditional perception of gender roles on the other hand. Putnam and Campbell (2010) emphasize the connection of the social capital and citizens to religion, which influences political behavior. The cultural theories and approaches towards religion and politics are based on social values and relationships. (Olson 2012). Actually, the representatives of cultural modernization oppose the rational choice institutionalism which overlooks the non-institutional influence factors on political behavior regarding the political presence of women and their representation. According to (Norris 2004) deep traditional norms and values can have a strong influence not only on the political actors, but

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<sup>29</sup>Political actors (political parties, politicians)

on dependant variables (citizens) as well. Regarding the manner of voting, even when there are open lists of candidates, the influence of the cultural norms of behavior prevails. On the other hand, this is refuted by the rational choice institutionalism. The cultural modernization of society can lead to transformation of social capital and social modernization. Political culture is transferred through the processes of socialization and adoption of social norms and values. Moreover, it is claimed that electoral models may have short-term, limited capacities, but such reforms influence the cumulative effect of political behavior (Norris 2004). Hence the differences in the social level of development. The theories of cultural modernization differ in relation to the micro and macro level of analysis (materialism and post-materialism theories) (Inglehart and Baker 2000; Inglehart and Norris 2003; Grendstad 1997). The transfer from materialism to post-materialism brings changes in the needs regarding civil freedoms, quality of life, political presence, raising the level of education. All this leads to fundamental transformation of the political values (Inglehart et al.2002). The process of modernization has great influence on democratization and the increase in proportional representation of women in politics (Welzel et al. 2002). The level of education and economic growth of societies is especially important in relation to gender balance in the political life (Newton et al. 2005). Cultural changes and economic growth have a great influence on the political status of women in societies (Inglehart et al. 2002). According to Norris (2002), the predominant values in societies can be secularly-rational (small influence by religion) or traditional (special influence by religion). On the other hand, political culture, socialization and values regarding the role of the woman and family are defined as norms of political orientation and behavior (Burns, Schlozman, and Verba 2001; Almond and Verba 2000). A lot of researchers confirm the fact that the nature of society (level of development), the economy (employment/unemployment) and family (culture) have a causal connection to the position of women in social and political relations (Carroll 1994; Wolbrecht, Beckwith, Baldez 2000; Poole and Rosenthal 1997, Sanbonmatsu 2002; Kaufmann and Petrocik 1999).

### **2.1.7 The concept of patriarchalization, gender roles and stereotypes**

According to Beckwith (2011), male domination and bigger absence of women from the political and ruling structures is dominant in every aspect. This is due to the mystification of gender roles and the perception of women`s interests (Burns, Schlozman, and Verba 2001). The political

presence of women is headed in a different direction in different countries, depending on the level of social growth and the citizens' perceptions (Beckwith 2011). However, the focus of the development of the perception of women regarding their position in the family is of great importance (Vickers 2006). Political presence is conditioned by recognition of women's interests and preferences, but of men's as well (Dovi 2009). Mark E. Kann (2011) claims that the development of liberal societies is connected to patriarchal rules as the bases of social relations. The role of the woman is connected the family and its interests (Lyons 2006). In patriarchal families, it is still evident that the role of the woman is still perceived within her reproductive function and the care for the children (Hessinger 2005). The role of religion is to influence the subordination of roles and further education (Horowitz 2006). According to (Dubber 2005; Lyons 2006) patriarchy is closely connected to women's social role, and even more to their political presence. Under-representation of women in political structures is always under the influence of the public opinion, perceptions and especially gender stereotypes (McGraw 2003; Lawless and Fox 2010) as a key reason for women's exclusion from politics. Researches in USA (Alexander and Andersen 1993; Huddy and Terkildsen 1993), indicate the conditioned position of women's behavior in political life by multiple stereotypes regarding gender roles and political candidates and their interaction with gender roles (Beckwith 2011). Stereotypes are an especially important reason for certain kind of behavior (especially regarding elections – voting) and are connected to and depended on the variations of the group they belong to (Kimmel and Aronson 2004). Furthermore, predominant perceptions display preference and predetermination of female roles (health, education) and male roles (outside jobs, army...) even among candidates in political, decision-making structures (Alexander and Andersen 1993; Huddy and Terkildsen 1993; Lawless 2004; Fox and Oxley 2003). On the basis of their research Sanbonmatsu and Dolan (2009) conclude that in politics, gender stereotypes are a key point in the voters' preferences. Even candidates recognize gender stereotypes as a tool for addressing a certain group. Huddy and Capelos (2002) test the parallel model which suggests connection of the gender to a party's preference, perception and voting (Kunda, Sandclair, and Griffin 1997). The cognitive process and stereotyping, influence voters and political parties (Fazio 1995; Zaller and Feldman 1992). Gender stereotyping (Dolan 2004) is a powerful tool for influencing people's perceptions on male and female roles in societies, the relationship between voters and political parties, the relationship of parties and specific groups according to stereotyping and the group's

perception. This definitely determines women`s role in political life (Rahn 1993; Huddy and Capelos 2002; Koch 2002; McDermott 1997).

### **2.1.8 The concept of external factors influence**

The globalization processes imposed the need of countries to collaborate and work together in order to solve various problems in the international community (Fink-Hafner 2010). There are different points of view in literature regarding the following issues – when, how and in what way are policies transferred from one country to another or to several other countries. Special attention is paid to two concepts: policy transfer and diffusion. Policy transfer is a concept of importing policies, programs which exist somewhere else (in other countries) (Rose 1991; Bennett 1991; Dolowitz and Marsh, 1996; Dolowitz, 1997; 1998). The concept of diffusion focuses on innovation policies and programs transferred from one governmental level to another (Berry and Berry, 1990; Rogers, 1995). Diffusion is more of a general concept, where structural factors and modernization influence the acceptance of new policies (Rogers 1995). According to Dolowitz and Marsh (1996), the concept of policy transfer is a process of accepting policies, administrative regulations or institutional development. On the other hand, Bennett (1991) calls this process – a concept of political convergence, which exists in accordance to the similarity of public policies, structures and processes among nations. Dolowitz (1998) and Stone (1999), claim that public policy transfer is a process of including institutions, ideas and ideologies among countries. There are two forms of public policy transfer: voluntary and coercive (Dolowitz and Marsh 1996). Through voluntary transfer, policies are accepted willingly and usually as a result of dissatisfaction by the current political policies (Rose 1991; Dolowitz and Marsh 1996; Dolowitz 1998). Actually, there is a natural predetermination of countries to accept new, compatible policies on the basis of other countries` experiences (Bennett 1991). The media have a key role in the process of globalization and transfer of policies and ideas from one country to another (Dolowitz 1997; 1998). According to Dolowitz and Marsh (1996) there are direct and indirect ways of transfer regarding coercive forms of policy transfer. Direct forms of pressure refer to the regulation policies which are established top-down by supranational bodies and organizations which have direct pressure power on member states, especially in the period of transition in post-socialist countries (Dolowitz, 1998). Coercive forms of transfer of public policies are especially characteristic for the adjustment of developing countries, transition countries i.e. post-socialist countries (Grabbe 2002). According to Bennett (1991, 228),



European Union practices a form of pressure - policy-pusher, through transposition of directives on a national level within candidate member states. On the other hand, Dolowitz and Marsh (2000) point to the indirect coercive form which is in fact voluntary, but still indicates the necessity of public policies transfer due to the development of the region. For instance, the concept `gender mainstreaming` as gender equality promoting policy (a concept established at the Beijing platform for action 1995, signed at the UN Fourth World Women Conference), represents voluntary policy transfer, and transfer of practices within state and non-governmental organizations – NGOs, imposed by supranational bodies (Daly 2005).

Regarding EU influence and Europeanization as a frame for policy transfer, Radaelli (2003, 2004) starts from the effects from EU policies, which indisputably lead to convergence (in the case of horizontal Europeanization mechanism) but still have great influence (Radaelli 2003, 41). Literature dealing with the Europeanization concept relies on the analysis of the vertical process of adaptation of the member states as a result of the pressure from the union and policy transfer on a national level (Radaelli 2003, 40). This approach has given a special contribution to the effects by hard policy instruments, but showed weakness regarding the soft policy (Trubek and Trubek 2005). On the other hand, literature deals more with encouraging horizontal mechanisms for policy transfer (Radaelli 2003). Horizontal mechanisms develop through soft instruments (Knill and Lehmkuhl 1999, 3), but also through diffusion of ideas and discourses regarding the meaning of good policies and practices especially through OMC<sup>30</sup> (Open method of coordination) (Radaelli 2003, 40). Regarding the gender balance policies EU plans hard, but a lot more soft instruments, such as the concept of `gender mainstreaming`, which is especially important but never implemented in hard instruments. Gender mainstreaming was introduced as a concept within the United Nations (1980), and was established as an element of EU policies with the Amsterdam Agreement (1990) (Walby 2005c). This element leads towards systematical incorporation of gender equality on a national level (Mazey 2001). The concept of `gender mainstreaming` is accepted within EU as a voluntary form or soft policy (Walby 2005c). Its implementation depends on the OMC concept (Woehl 2007). Research regarding this concept within the member states of EU, and the candidate members shows different variations of taking action and policies (Daly 2005; Bacchi 2005, Verloo 2005), and different degree of implementation (Walby 2004). Also, the European strategy *`Roadmap for Equality between*

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<sup>30</sup> More for OMC see: Fink-Hafner and Lajh 2010

*Women and Men` 2006-2010* (Commission of the European Communities, 2006) was implemented and evaluated through OMC. In fact, the negotiation and deliberation processes rely on Europeanization and encouraging horizontal mechanisms for transfer of European policies and OMC (Rubery 2003).

The influence of EU on Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) is related mostly to post-communist (post-socialist) transformation, from different aspects, such as institutional development, changing the socialist legislation and creating liberal democracies, market economy, stabilization, policies of good practices... The EU agenda for CEE imposes the adaptation conditions and fulfillment of the criteria (firstly Copenhagen 1993) as obligatory for the candidate members through *acquis communautaire*.<sup>31</sup> The typology of Europeanization mechanisms traditionally refers to policy transfer in the Union, firstly through hard law transfer, in CEE countries (Sedelmeier 2001; Batt and Wolczuk 1999). This typology of public policy transfer, institutional changes, cognitive and normative structures (Radaelli 2003, 30), influences the political structure of candidate member states. Post-socialist transition means political and economic change (Goetz 2000). Europeanization mechanisms in the accession of new member states in EU refer to institutional transformation, changes and public policy transfer, legislation changes, technical assistance, monitoring, advice, pre-accession processes and negotiations (Grabbe 2002). Legislative transposition *acquis* and the harmonization with EU legislation are necessary conditions which candidate members must fulfill. This can happen through vertical and horizontal harmonization (Radaelli 2003; Knill and Lehmkuhl 1999). Candidate members in the Union cannot be included in bottom-up processes. This means that they are merely consumers and not creators of policies (Grabbe 2002). In order to conduct faster adjustment, aside the forms of coercive transfer of public policies from EU or hard laws transposition, the candidates for the Union should also accept the soft (voluntary) instruments of public policy transfer and good practices (Brusis 1998). According to Fink-Hafner and Lajh (2010) after the enlargement on 2004, EU requests for new candidate members are even more demanding, especially regarding the countries from the Western Balkan due to the features of the region (war factor).

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<sup>31</sup> The EU Council of Ministers held in June 1993 in Copenhagen established the so-called Copenhagen Criteria. They consist of political, economic, and legislation criteria. The political part includes standards for: 1) democracy – participation of citizens in the decision-making processes, free elections with secret voting, freedom of press, etc.; 2) Rule of law – power must be exercised only pursuant to the laws adopted during a certain procedure; 3) Respecting human rights and minorities rights – adopting principles from the United Nation's Universal Declaration of human rights and the European convention on human rights, as well as protection and respect of the minorities' culture, language and identity. The economic criteria include functioning market economy and dealing with pressure by the competition and the forces of the Common Market of the Union. Regarding the legislation criteria, all countries striving to join the Union must implement the so-called *Acquis Communautaire* in their legislation- European legal acts established within EU (European parliament 1993).

External factors of influence on the democratic development of the countries within the international community are the United Nations Organization<sup>32</sup> (UN) 1945, The Council of Europe (COE) 1949 and the European Union<sup>33</sup> (EU). All of these organizations, regardless international or regional, have their own influence on the domestic legislation, especially regarding the incorporation of norms related to the political rights of women, either through coercive forms or voluntary manner of adopting policies (Baldez and College 2011). After World War II, the Western concept of individualism as opposed to the Eastern collectivism leads to the creation of binding international norms regarding the political rights and civil freedoms. International legislation is a key element in the establishment of liberal (representative) democracies. Active and passive right to vote are both part of the countries` constitutions. Basis for the political position of women are the discrimination prohibition, political rights and freedoms (Rex 1997). Analysis of European experiences show that within the countries from Western Europe, the awareness for gender equality and presence of women in politics is developing spontaneously as a linear policy, bottom-up, which later develops into state feminism, top-down. CEE countries, on the other hand, develop these processes from a strictly controlled policy, top-down, until they establish liberal and democratic societies (Leinert Novosel 2007). European experiences show that combined coercive processes (bottom-up/top-down) have a positive influence on gender balance and women`s representation in politics (Lovenduski 1999). In the Western Balkans the external factors influence is especially important, above all hard and soft instruments used by EU to encourage gender balance, as opposed to the predominant political culture of repression of women out of the political sphere (Nordlund 2003; Krook 2004). The concept of Europeanization develops as a result of the influences by the EU integration processes on national systems. The Europeanization concept develops as a result of the influence by EU integration processes on the national systems, through modification and authorities transfer on a supranational level, as well as through convergence of creating politics within the Union and member states (Lombardo and Forest 2009) . This, top-down, approach is not a reflection on the effects from Europeanization, but it also means encouragement of bottom-up processes. As opposed to top-down or EU influence on the national

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<sup>32</sup>The creation of UN, marks the fromal begining of the oricess of universalisation of human rights. The constitutive act of UN, the UN Charter expresses the belief that the effective international human rights protection is one of the bases for keeping peace and security. The convention (CEDAW) represents the basic document used by international community in order to improve women`s position in all social spheres.

<sup>33</sup> European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) and the European Economic Community (EEC) were formed in 1958 by six member states. With the Maastricht Agreement the European Union (EU) was formed. The constitutional basis of EU was established with the last changes on the Lisbon Agreement which became valid in 2009. With the Maastricht Agreement from 1993, the European Union was formed (EU) (Piris, Jean-Claude 2010).

systems, social and discursive approaches to the concept of Europeanization (changes and adaptation), are a lot more complex than a simple reaction to the EU (Radaelli 2004). These approaches start from the cognitive dimension, beliefs and expectations from the domestic actors, which lead to changes of preferences and strategies (Caporaso 1999). Krizsan and Popa (2008) define the process of Europeanization as adoption and institutionalization on a discursive level. Radaelli (2003, 2004), focuses on paradigms, ideas and good practices for understanding cognitive dimensions of Europeanization. According to Radaelli (2004), Europeanization does not only mean convergence, but it also means that the state itself can have a different reaction to this process through different ways, depending on the political surroundings, the constellation of relations between the political actors and resources. Regarding gender equality, EU policies impose harmonization, *acquis communautaire*, in relation to different areas. Europeanization develops on a vertical level, starting from EU towards member states and horizontally between states. Radaelli emphasizes the importance of the process of Europeanization on a national level in every country. The completion of this process through the longitude analysis of specific political development segments, is called Europeanization by Radaelli, from inside-out or bottom-up (Radaelli 2003, 50–52). This approach shows the manner in which actors adapt outside the hard-law (Radaelli 2004, 9) through lobbying strategies and network connection of the policies and practices within the countries and civil society in the decision-making process (Lombardo and Forest 2009). Jacquot and Woll's model (2003) emphasizes the importance of the interactions between actors and their consequences. This includes strategic mobilization and cognitive adaptation of the actors developing the concept of political benefit for transformation of the resources and their adaptation in political practices. They develop three types of benefit: cognitive, strategic and legitimating as a way of legitimating of national public policies (Jacquot and Woll 2003). EU creates cognitive and normative frame of socialization of the national actors who will further exchange ideas, power and policies (Radaelli 2004).

### **2.1.9 Social movement theory**

The social movement theory is a phenomenon from the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and it is a model of representation of marginalized groups (Weldon 2011b) or a corrective of the inert bureaucratization (Mirčev 2008). It starts in the USA through the feminist movement led by Betty Friedan, with the purpose of forming reform programs and a network of influence (Barlow and Clarke 2002). As a result of modernization and globalization, unlike traditional,

social movements from the end of 20th century, reflect the post-materialistic matrix of values (quality of life, protection of the environment, women`s rights, free sexual orientation etc.) (Richardson 1995). The social movement theory is very often applied in the analysis of certain movements (feminist movements for instance: Beckwith 2000; Ferree and Hess 1994; Lovenduski and Randall 1993). Research on this topic (Rochon 1990; Rochon and Mazmanian 1993; Giugni 1995) very often analyses the connection between NGOs, activities and organizations and the state (Bashevkin 1994, 1996; Gelb 1989; Banaszak, 1996). Some analysis provide explanation for the interaction between the level of democracy in societies and the structural responding to women`s movements within them (Lovenduski 1986; Kaplan 1992; Dorlos and Monk 1996; Walby 1997 and 1999; Lewis 1997). Usually, almost all research indicate the connection and the influence of women`s organizations and movements on national policies, and also on international practices directed towards establishing integrated policy of gender equality on all levels of the social and political life (Sawer 1990; Eisenstein 1996; Dahlerup 1993).

According to Mazur, McBride and Hoard (2012) women`s movements are crucial in promoting women`s interests and policies of gender equality. This is conveyed through promotion of the idea for women`s rights and especially the encouragement of bigger presence of women in the public and political life. The meaning of women`s movements is essential due to the promotion of women`s interests in society and achieving changes in public policies. Researchers of women`s movements (Dahlerup 1986, Kaplan 1992) in comparative international perspective show a systematic conceptualization regarding the influence on governmental policies (Weldon 2010, Tripp and Kang 2008). According to Snow, Soule and Kriesi (2004) the analysis of the classic social movement theory defines groups as movements of collective organizations, non-institutionally structured on the basis of cultural or social interests. Throughout history women`s movements and groups influence the achievement/ adoption of new policies within the states, most often in unconventional ways (Ferree and Mueller 2003, Banaszak 2010). It is evident that post-socialist countries follow two simultaneous trends – one of the decrease of woman`s importance and presence in the private sphere, and the other being the important influence from NGOs and women`s movements on the patriarchal structure of raising the awareness in the political life.

**Table 2. 1: Comparative overview of the theoretical frame and approaches**

The concept of participative democracy	The concept of gender equality	Constructivist concept and Rational Choice Institutionalism	Cultural concept and cultural modernization theory	Patriarchalization concept, gender roles and stereotypes	Social movement theory
<p>Basis for further discussion related to women's participation Pateman (2012); Pearson and Dancey (2011a); Nylen (2003); Dahl (2000); Pateman (1970); Dahl (1971); Held (1989)</p> <p><b>Political representation</b> Representing the interests of the groups Mansbridge (2011); Rehfeld (2009); Urbinati and Warren (2008); Tremblay (2006, 2008); Thompson (2008); Dahlerup (2012); Lovenduski (2005); Phillips (1995); Squires (2009); Sapiro (1998); Pitkin(1967); Verba, Schlozman and Brady (1995)</p> <p><b>The concept of political presence</b> Numeric analysis of the presence of women in politics according to the categorization by Ann Phillips (1995, 1998).</p>	<p>Establishment of policies of equal opportunities, positive actions and gender equality. Practical application within different countries, political actors on institutional and non-institutional level and variations between national and international organizations. (Lombardo, Meier and Verloo 2009b; Bachi 2009)</p>	<p>Theories of <b>institutional analysis, constructivist frame</b> of policies`profilation. Accepting norms, political variables regarding the political position of women Towns (2010). Rational Choice Institutionalism as a model of formal rules - relation between the formal regulations (constitution, electoral law, electoral regulation) and political behavior. Norris (2004)</p>	<p>Relation <b>culture (religion)/ political presence</b> of women, gender dynamics of political behavior and interests. Hannagan (2012); Hansen et.al. (2011); Norris (2004); Sapiro and Conover (1992); Sanbonmatsu and Dolan (2007); Burns et.al.ugi (2001).</p>	<p>Relation <b>patriarchalization/ social role of women and political presence.</b> Perceptions/ gender stereotypes as a key reason for women`s exclusion from politics McGraw (2003); Lawless and Fox (2010); Dubber (2005); Foster (2006); Lyons (2006).</p>	<p>Classical <b>Social Movement Theory.</b> Movement of collective organizations, non-institutional, structured on the basis of cultural or social interests. Influence from women`s movements on the achievement of equal opportunities policies. Sawyer (2006), Outshoorn (2010), Ferree and Mueller (2003), Banaszak (2010); Snow et.al. (2004).</p>
	<p><b>Concept of external factors influence and Europeanization</b></p>				
	<p>Direct <b>coercive forms</b> on national policies by supranational bodies and organizations. <b>Eu influence on candidate members</b> (especially in the period of transition of post-socialist countries) Dolowitz (1998). The concept of Europeanization as a frame of public policy transfer, vertical and horizontal process Radaelli (2003, 2004); Fink-Hafner (2010); Bennett (1991); Grabbe (2002); Bacchi (2005); Verloo (2005); Walby (2004);</p>				
	<p><b>Socialism/Post-socialism</b> Influence by ideologies, differentiations on woman`s position in East-European socialist (communist) regimes, their dissolution, transition and women`s position in the new democratic societies (Ghodsee and <u>Faludi</u> 2012)</p>				

## **2.2 Theoretical approach for the study of influence factors on political presence of women**

Theoretical research and analysis regarding the influence factors for political presence of women (Kunovich 2012; Hannagan et al.2012; Burnet 2011; Hughes 2011; Hayes 2011; Beckwith 2011; Kann 2011; Cowell-Meyers 2011; Holli and Wass 2010; Boix 2010; Kreuzer 2010; Cusack, Iversen and Soskice 2010; Tremblay 2009; Jasiewicz 2008; Meier 2008; Rueschemeyer 2009; Freidenvall and Krook 2011, Dahlerup 2012, 2010, 2009, 2007, 2006, 2005; Matland and Montgomery 2003; Matland and Taylor 1997; Matland 2006, 2005; Squires et al.2009; Squires, Lovenduski & Krook 2009; Krook and Childs 2010; Antić Gaber and Ilonzski 2003; Antić Gaber 1998, 1999, 2011; Lokar 2009; Fink-Hafner and Krašovec 2004; Fink-Hafner 2004; Fink-Hafner et al. 2011; Saxonberg 2000; Norris 2004; Lovenduski and Norris 1993) indicate several aspects of influence: institutional factors, level of social development, cultural factors, level of patriarchalization and the influence of stereotypes within the political culture. Viterna et al. (2007) indicate the reasons for under-representation of women in national parliament, which accounted for 16% (IPU 2006) until 2006. Likewise, Kenworthy and Malami (1999) emphasize the importance of the influence from policies and cultural factors. They also point out that the level of economic growth does not have direct influence (Kenworthy and Malami 1999). Paxton (1997) stresses the importance of electoral systems, religion, and tradition as key factors regarding the position of women in the social and political life. Pursuant to the model of pressure (bottom-up/top-down) regarding the gender balance in politics, a lot of countries have found normative solutions. Although some research (Lovenduski 1999, 47) show the positive influence of the institutional factors, still the political presence of women does not depend exclusively on these factors. The influence from social, cultural and especially patriarchal determinants is great (Hayes 2011; Kann 2011; Beckwith 2011; Hannagan et al.2012;). However, scientific literature emphasizes the fact that institutional factors are the impetus for encouraging bigger presence of women in political ruling structures (Kunovich 2012; Burnet 2011; Hughes 2011). A lot of researchers (Cusack, Iversen and Soskice 2010; Kunovich 2012; Boix 2010) agree that the electoral systems (models) and electoral (legal and voluntary) quotas (Burnet 2011; Hughes 2011), hold a key role in the increase of women`s political presence. Matland (1998) analyzes the variations of women`s presence in national parliaments in developed democracies. He determines the percent of women in national parliaments as a dependent variable, while independent variables are the following: political factors (electoral models, level of democracy,

age of acquisition of the right to vote); socioeconomic factors (education, employment rate, economic growth, women`s movements); and cultural factors (dominant religion, tradition, ratification of CEDAW, geographic position). Norris (2004) makes the distinction between socio-cultural and institutional factors and provides detailed analysis of the interaction between the two. Some researchers tackle the dilemma regarding the manner in which the institutional factors (as an independent variable) are supposed to influence the political actors, and furthermore, the influence of political actors on the voters (as a dependant variable) regarding their voting behavior and perception (Norris 2004). Mainly, the first group of factors relate to the legal norms and regulations for encouragement of political actors, parties and even citizens (regarding their voting behavior), while the second groups consists of socioeconomic and cultural factors which relate to the economic development of societies and deeply settled norms of behavior, in accordance to the political culture in societies.

### **2.2.1 Institutional factors**

According to Trambley (2006, 2008), the factors which influence the political presence of women are political rights (dynamic change of receiving the right to vote and its influence on the proportion of women in the representative bodies), political regime, electoral systems, political parties, quotas, structure of national parliaments etc. Other researchers (Diaz 2005; Norris 2004), point to other variables influencing the increased presence of women in the decision-making structures, positions of presidents or prime ministers, studying the political structure, political establishment, structure of parliament, length of mandate, number of political parties, dominant ideology, characteristics of the electoral list, size of electoral units, electoral model and type of lists (open or closed). The quotas as factors for bigger political presence of women have their own effect and influence on the marginalized groups (Towns 2010; Dahlerup 2006). Some researchers analyze the degree of influence by different institutional or structural factors. Matland (2002), Schwindt - Bayer (2005) for instance, suggest that multiple-party system has a positive influence on the increase of political presence of women, regarding two-party or single-party system. Norris and Inglehart (2001) point to the ideological division of parties and their positive or negative influence. The influence of proportional electoral systems in the analysis of the political presence of women is bigger than the one regarding multi-party systems (Matland 2002). Trambley (2006) shows that in the countries with bigger democratic practices the percent of women`s presence in representative bodies accounts for 19.6%, while within the countries



with lower democratic tradition they account for 15.7%.<sup>34</sup> These researches indicate the positive influence of institutional factors and egalitarian understanding of gender roles in countries with longer democratic tradition, i.e. secondary meaning of socioeconomic indicators. In countries where democracy is in its beginning, there is bigger influence from the socioeconomic factors and gender roles in society. Hence, in the countries where the concept of gender equality is not dominant, the proportional electoral system is essential (Leinart Novosel 2007).

According to the current theoretical analysis of the correlation of variables of influence on the political presence of women, this dissertation shall analyze the influence of political parties, electoral systems, political strategies, legal (electoral) and voluntary quotas within the section elaboration institutional factors.

### **2.2.1.1 Political parties**

According to Panebianco (1988), political parties represent organizations acting in the electoral arena, whose most important goal is achieving the biggest voting support. Fink-Hafner (2001) talks about the parties` functions, such as: connection of the rulers and the ruled, aggregation of different interests, shaping collective goals in society, structuring of votes, integration and mobilization of citizens, regulation of public functions officials, shaping public functions, socialization of citizens, socialization of elites. According to Krašovec and Deželan (2011), parties do not function in a vacuum, but rather they are open towards different segments in the environment, adapting their own party programs to the electorate`s needs. Parties most often adapt to the environment within their party programs and activities as formal documents for bringing the party closer to the interests of its members, supporters and the electorate (Klingemann et al. 1994). According to the goals of political parties, the electoral support by the electorate and the program are based on the competition (Krašovec and Deželan 2011). The connection between parties and political presence of women in national parliaments, and even within the party itself, is most often analyzed through the content and structure of the party`s programs and their ideological orientation. Political parties have a key role regarding the presence of women, due to the power of the party (Burrell 1994; Darcy, Welch and Clark 1994; Caul and Tate 2002), providing women`s representation (Lovenduski 2005), as well as due to development of strategies for selection of candidates (Gallagher 2000; Antić Gaber 1998;

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<sup>34</sup> analysing 89 countries around the world classified according to (Freedom House) Gastil index 2005, in relation to the different duration of the democratic practices.

Krašovec 1999; Dahlerup 2006; Norris and Lovenduski 1995; Norris 1993; Norris 1997; Lovenduski 1993, 2000). Political parties are one of the key factors for the explanation of political presence of women, most often as `gatekeepers` (Norris and Lovenduski 1995; Norris 1993). According to Norris (1997), the political system is determined by the general context, the requests process marks the period from aspiration to nomination, while parties have a key role in the candidate offer. Tremblay and Pelletier (1995) suggest four levels of achievement of political power: eligibility, requirements, selection and election. Selection of candidates represents a really important feature of political parties (Young 2000; Burrell 1994). Due to the insecurity of party leaders, who most often see a risk (Carroll 1994) in the nomination and support of female candidates, organization of women in interest groups is becoming more common. In the USA for instance, a lot of analyses point to the very important role of political parties in the context of political presence of women and the positive influence on their descriptive representation (Gustafson, Miller and Perry 1999; Jennings and Farah 1981; Clark, Hadley and Darcy 1989). The role of the parties is indicative of the different types of electoral systems (majority or proportional), type of candidate lists especially in proportional systems (open or closed) (Sanbonmatsu 2010). The party`s influence within the closed voting lists is very evident regarding the selection of candidates, as opposed to the open lists, where the influence is directed to the voters (Norris and Lovenduski 1989). According to (Beckwith 1992) regardless the political system, the selection of female candidates always depends on the political parties` will in the end. Some political parties become more and more aware of the political under-representation and therefore they adopt strategies, programs and affirmative action to overcome this issue.

Regarding the manner of candidature Norris and Lovenduski (1995) analyze four models of selection of candidates: patronage model (characteristic for traditional societies which is based on acquaintance with the person, as opposed to formal criteria); meritocratic model (characteristic for industrial societies, through objective criteria, trainings, programs for strengthening female candidates); affirmative action model (measures for achieving parity, targets and quotas for encouraging female political presence) and radical model changes in the electoral system). Therefore, special attention is paid on the strategies which political parties undertake in order to improve women`s presence and their role in the party in general. According to Lovenduski and Norris (1993), Lovenduski (2000) there three types of strategies in

the political structures of the parties: rhetorical strategies (according to which through political platforms and the actions of political parties' leaders the need for social balance is expressed, by encouraging more women, and ethnic minorities as the first step for achieving effective changes); strategies of affirmative (positive) action (whose intention is encouraging candidates through education sessions, financial support, as a meritocratic model of eliminating political barriers and encouraging bigger presence of women in political structures); positive discrimination strategies (they refer to measures for ensuring a certain number of candidates within certain social groups, in this case – women within the party or on the candidate lists). These strategies can be found in three variations, as quotas, on different levels (20, 30, 40, 50 percent of representation), as different levels in the selection processes (party, parliamentary, electoral or reserved parliamentary seats) and as variations of positive discrimination strategies (the quotas can be established by legislation or by internal party regulations). Party quotas have especially important influence for women's inclusion within the party structures, but also for the further selection of candidates (Caul 1999, Matland and Studlar 1996). Reserved seats within parliamentary bodies are in fact the strongest measures in securing balance and representation by specific ethnic, religious, language minority groups which also guarantee inclusion of women. The basic argument against these measures is the limitation on the number of candidates by the electorate (Lovenduski and Norris 1993, Lovenduski 2000).

Antić Gaber (1998) analyzes political parties' influence on the presence of women in the parliament. He starts from the ideological orientation of parties, the manner of organization (centralized, decentralized), the type of party (national, regional), the size of the political parties, the party system, the candidature procedures and special strategies for promotion of women within the party. Whether the parties are interested in women's interests depends on the party ideology (Galligan and Tremblay 2005). According to the ideological orientation, most often the left-oriented parties are more adaptable to these strategies. (Lovenduski 2000; Squires 1996; Dahlrup 1998). Threlfall (2005) connects the fact that political parties are a key factor for achieving gender equality, to the ideological matrix of parties (especially left-oriented which use for positive actions strategies) but also the special influence of the women's lobby within the parties and out of them as well. Regarding women's role right-oriented parties emphasize the importance of the social role of mothers, workers and especially religion connected roles, while left-oriented parties have a more egalitarian approach and they support gender equality

(Beckwith 1992). The distinction between left-oriented and right-oriented parties can be seen through the measures which left-oriented parties take over as anti-discrimination forms, affirmative action or strategies for the solution of the problem of under-representation (Tremblay and Pelletier 2000, 2001; Young 2000). On the other hand, Lovenduski and Norris (1993) consider that the ideologies of parties does not always have a determining role in relation to women`s issues, that is to say that these issues are more often used to ensure bigger support by the electorate. According to them, political parties have a couple of principle dimensions: the power of the party, conventional measurements in accordance to the number of seats in parliaments and the position of parties according to the ideological spectrum. Regarding the ideological orientation, green parties are the most prone on adopting positive strategies for encouragement of political presence of women. After them come the socialist parties and social democratic parties. Although right-oriented parties support these strategies they still aim towards fair and open competition (Lovenduski and Norris 1993). Liberal and smaller parties usually do not have formal rules (quotas and strategies), but analysis show their inclination towards political presence of women (Antić Gaber 1998).

The correlation between the variables of political presence of women show that the biggest influence comes from the length of representative mandates, women`s quotas, number of political parties regarding pluralism, organization of parties (Tremblay 2006.) In centralized parties, most often the leader creates possibilities for female candidates, while in decentralized parties, in order for women`s positions to be improved it is necessary to create pressure on all levels of party organizations (Caul 1999). In their research Dahlerup and Freidenvall (2008) use a survey to detect the relations of political parties regarding the inclusion of gender quotas. According to this survey the ideological matrix of parties carries an especially great importance for theory attitude towards gender quotas and increase of the number women in representative bodies. This analysis shows that left-oriented political parties have the most positive trend of willingness to introduce quotas, although lately right-oriented parties as well start introducing voluntary quotas (Dahlerup and Freidenvall 2008). However, the intention for this is based on overcoming electoral crisis and ensuring more votes from the electorate (Norris 2000). On the other hand, Matland and Montgomery (2003) analyze the relation between ideological division of parties and their influence on the political presence of women as a more complex mixture of elements which not typical for both ideological matrixes. Namely, they point out that in some

post-socialist countries, unlike the right-oriented parties, the left-oriented parties are not very open towards female candidates due to the dominance of male presence.

Fink-Hafner, Krašovec, Deželan and Topolinjak (2011) provide an analysis of the influence from political parties on political presence of women in post-socialist countries, i.e. in the period of transition. According to, the transition from a communist political system to a liberal-democratic one, is reflected in the modernization of the parties, increase of the number and power of the parties which see women`s position in politics from a strictly pragmatic aspect. In these countries, different factors have a different influence on the organizational development of political parties as organizations in the electoral arena, both in their internal and public action. Key characteristic influence factors on the behavior of the parties in the transition period are the organizational development of parties (bureaucratic, centralized, professional, internally hierarchical, and oligarchic) as well as the attitude of parties towards the surrounding (environment). During the process of institutionalization, the shift from solidarity system to interests system was reflected in the pragmatic approach on the position of women in political parties, in order to satisfy the needs of the personnel and develop. The new predominant values and political and cultural factors have a great influence on changing women`s social role, voters` will, society`s structure, creating distinction between the resources influencing the active presence of women in politics and the selection of candidates. On the other hands, parties as internally heterogeneous organizations coordinate women`s interests (e.g. within women`s organizations, initiatives for introducing quotas etc.). Yet, regarding the role of women within parties, the pragmatic needs of the parties always come first, unlike the secondary meaning of the ideological value matrix (Fink-Hafner et al. 2011). Research regarding selection of candidate indicate that women have smaller chance of achieving higher positions on the lists (Htun and Jones 2002) especially due to the fact that party leaders do not support female candidate as much (Cheng and Tavits 2011; Tremblay and Pelletier 2001; Matland 2005; Kunovich 2003). The negative effect of the competition between parties can be overcome by electoral quotas on a national level which offer opportunities to increase political presence of women (Krook 2009) and voluntary-party quotas as predetermination of parties to increase the number of women on higher positions in the party, but on the candidate lists as well Kittilson (2006). The latter are a result of external factors regarding the dissemination of public and political mechanisms for increasing political presence of women (Topolinjak 2009).

When analyzing institutional factors, political parties will be analyzed as players in the electoral arena and their influence on political presence within the researched countries.

### **2.2.1.2 Quotas**

Democracy regimes throughout the world gradually include legal measures for overcoming gender barriers and increasing political presence of women. Quotas are most often defined as affirmative measures for achieving certain percentage of political presence of specific groups within a society (Dahlerup 2006, 19). Application of quotas for increasing the representation of female population derives from the political theory of representation. Using Pitkin's model on political representation, Schwindt-Bayer and Mishler (2005) suggest that increase in the formal and descriptive representation of women also increases legal tools for achieving gender equality. On the other hand, quotas are a loose and unpredictable form of representation, whose primary goal is to increase the number of women in national representative bodies, which does not mean that they will really represent women's electorate (Phillips 2004). Most often, quotas are used to increase political presence of women, and to solve the issue of under-representation in the decision-making structures (Antić Gaber 1998; Dahlerup 2006; Squires 2006; Phillips 1995). In order to eliminate unequal distribution of genders in the political life, states on an international level, introduce legally incorporated quotas or conditions for the creation of candidate lists in the representative bodies (Dahlerup 2006; Htun 2004; Krook 2009). Quotas differ according to variations of the level they are incorporated on, constitutional, legal or party level (Hughes 2012). Researchers and theoreticians, work on cases of double barrier regarding the intersectional conceptualization of sexism, racism, ethno-nationalism which creates more types of barriers (Crenshaw 1991; Glenn 1999). Sometimes a woman can be a part of both a minority group and a less represented group. The American theoretician Melani Hughes (2012) names the model of combination of quotas for these categories of marginalized groups 'tandem quota systems', while the combination of national quotas 'mixed quota systems'. Generally speaking, quota policies are designed for descriptive representation 'numeric equation of legislative bodies and the electorate it represents regarding different genders, races, ethnic groups (Paxton, Kunovich, Huges 2007). Some researchers point to several types of gender quotas depending on their adoption, obligatory role and sanctions (Norris 2004; Lovenduski 2005; Dahlerup 2006; Krook et al. 2006). More than a third of the world's countries regulate political representation on a national level with legislative quotas (Hughes 2012). Some countries use legislative quotas to

ensure certain number of seats in the parliament. They use specific electoral regulations, specific party lists or special mechanisms for direct appointment. They also demand that political parties apply gender representation in their candidate lists (Htun 2004). Quotas can be designed as gender or as neutral, but they have to ensure a certain percent of political presence most often not more than 60% or not less than 40% for both genders. Neutral quotas usually determine the maximum percent for both genders in order to achieve equality in the countries (Dahlerup 2005, 142; Freidenvall et al. 2006, 69). Dahlerup (2006) makes the distinction between two dimensions of the quotas system: according to the level on which they are assigned (constitution, electoral law or party statute). Legal (legislative) quotas in different countries are determined by the constitution or the electoral law which determines gender composition on the candidate lists. Voluntary party quotas are adopted within political parties. The second dimension refers to the level of selection and nomination. The system of quotas intends to alter gender composition regarding the potential candidates, candidate lists and elected candidates (Dahlerup 2006, 19). Krook (2009) analyzed the concept of gender quotas and indicated several key points: voluntary party (the new criteria for selection of party candidates; influence on the composition of the party lists; internal party sanctions due to failure to fulfill the criteria); legislative quotas for selection of candidates in national parliaments and soft quotas within political parties on voluntary basis (informal targeting and recommendations in the selection of candidates; new criteria for membership in party bodies; rare sanctioning due to failure to fulfill). Depending on the electoral systems quotas have different module of application in the nomination process. In proportional electoral systems candidate quotas are most often used to create party lists, though a predicted percent of presence by marginalized groups (gender quotas). In majority electoral systems or mixed systems, quotas are mainly very poorly accepted, due to the complexity of proportional candidature in the electoral districts where only one candidate can be (only a third the countries in the world with a majority electoral system apply some kind of quotas, while proportional systems this measure is more than usual) (Dahlerup and Freidenvall 2005; Dahlerup 2007; Norris 2004; Krook et. al 2006). In the countries with a mixed model (majority and proportional) quotas are usually applied only on the proportional candidate lists. National gender quotas which regulate representation on a national level also vary depending on the needs of the political parties. It happens very often that women candidates are placed very low on candidate lists or on lists in less important electoral regions. Some quotas include rules for allocating places on the

electoral candidate lists (Ballington 2004). The type of the quota that will be incorporated in the electoral law depends on the country itself, the political system, the geographic region, parties' ideologies, electoral models (Dahlerup 2006; 2007; Htun 2004). The ideological matrix is a prerequisite for the acceptance of the quotas, which showed that left-oriented parties apply quotas a lot more than the right-oriented (Caul 1999; Dubrow 2010). New democracies and less developed democracies usually incorporate national quotas of proportional representation on the candidate lists or the number of seats in parliaments, but also proportional representation in the electoral models (Dahlerup 2006; Htun 2004). In post-socialist countries and East-European countries introducing quotas in order to increase the presence of women in decision-making structures has a very important meaning. The introduction of quotas in these countries was imposed due to the need to harmonize national laws with European legislation. Although, quotas were initially introduced within parties in Western Europe, in 1970s they grew to become legislative quotas incorporated in a large number of democratic societies around the world (Dahlerup and Freidenvall 2005). Research shows that introducing quotas raised the attention above traditional gender roles (Krook and O'Brien 2010). Today, western democracies display a model of voluntary or willing introduction of party quotas, while the transition countries still identify quotas as constitutional (incorporated in the constitution amendments), legal (in the laws), and even more often party (within party acts) (Krook 2004, 2005; Dahlerup and Freidenvall, 2005; Dahlerup 1998, 2005, 2006). Matland (2005) suggests that semi-democratic societies tend to incorporate even more measures for raising the level of democracy within these countries. International influences are very important in the application of quotas in order to increase in the number of women in political structures, in the introduction of gender equality policies and the establishment of national bodies, agencies or the so-called national machineries for encouragement of gender equality (Chappell 2002; Baldez 2002, Mazur 2012). Legislative quotas regarding women refer to the legally determined exact percent of female candidates on the party lists, or even more – predetermined place (rang) on that list. Due to a large disproportionality or 'exclusion of women from politics', post-socialist countries introduce quotas more often, as legal solutions for encouraging women's presence. Aside the legal solutions for introduction of quotas regarding marginalized groups, within the political parties themselves there are internal regulations and procedures - such as voluntary quotas, in the creation of electoral (candidate) lists or within the party organization (Matland 1993; Caul 1999).



Despite the positive influence of the quotas, theoreticians still criticize the connection between the descriptive and substantive representation, pointing out that the presence of the under-represented gender in parliaments, is not necessarily a predetermination for the representation of women`s interests (Young 1994). Dahlerup and Freidenvall (2005) offer a list of positive and negative arguments for or against the introduction of quotas.

**Table 2.2 Positive and negative arguments for the introduction of quotas**

Arguments against the introduction of quotas	Arguments for the introduction of quotas
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Political representation marks the representation of ideas not social groups</li> <li>• Political presence only for the most capable/the best</li> <li>• Disrespect for principle of equal opportunities</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Representation of groups in national parliaments</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Quotas lead to discrimination</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Equal political presence</li> <li>• Women`s right to equal political presence</li> <li>• Gender quotas are not discriminating, on the contrary they have a positive influence on overcoming political exclusion of women as population</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Facing the autonomous selection of candidates by parties</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Encouraging political parties to include women in candidate lists</li> <li>• Domination of male candidates and exclusion of female population as opposition to democratic values</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Opposite of democratic values</li> <li>• Electing female candidates for their abilities, not for their gender</li> <li>• Refuting other groups</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The need of female presence and equal presence in political life</li> <li>• Women`s interests are represented best by women</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Irrelevance</li> <li>• Symbol of communist, imposed emancipation</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Quotas provide a numeric balance</li> <li>• Equal status of men and women in political life</li> </ul>

Source: Dahlerup and Freidenvall (2005)

Women participating in politics articulate different political priorities, they have different needs (Bratton and Haynie 1999; Schwindt-Bayer 2009) and they vote differently (Swers 2002b) from men. Despite this fact, the countries` policies put more and more efforts to overcome the problem of low political presence of women in the decision-making structures (Squires 1996). Since 2008, more than 100 countries have incorporated quotas (Krook 2009). It can be concluded that in general quotas encourage women`s presence in politics (Krook 2009). However, beside this fact the substantially lower representation of women in higher political positions of power is still evident (Bird et al. 2011; Cederman et al. 2009; Paxton and Hughes 2007; Hughes 2012).

### 2.2.1.3 Electoral system

According to Lijphart (1994) electoral systems structure the elections` organizational framework, establish the electoral law, and predetermine electoral procedures, techniques and ways of transforming votes into representative bodies. The creation of electoral systems started with the establishment of the right to vote for men in the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Women gained this right in two stages (after World War I and after World War II). Electoral systems can be

realized as majority or proportional representation, setting different voting formulas, system of quotas, shaping constituencies and election threshold (Antić Gaber 1998). Different electoral systems (majority, proportional or mixed) have different influence on the party system, but also on the composition of representatives from different groups in the decision-making structures, among which from marginalized groups as well. Starting from the analyses of direct and indirect influence of the electoral system on the presence of women (Rule 1994; Reeve and Ware 1992), Antić Gaber (1998) explains the majority electoral system (through two types of relative and absolute majority) and the proportional electoral system as a system of proportional ratio between the parliamentary seats and the received votes. The proportional system is present in almost all stable democracies (except Great Britain and France) and it has positive influence in the representation of small groups in societies (Antić Gaber 1996). The majority system, on the other hand, is not inclined towards representation of women or any marginalized group (Rule 1987; Lovenduski and Norris 1993; Darcy, Welch and Clark 1994). Antić Gaber (1998) suggests certain elements of the electoral system which influence women's presence. For instance: the size of the electoral district, election formulas, manner and structure of voting, election threshold and size of the parliament. The size of the electoral district (uninominal or plurinominal) has a special influence on the election results and the distribution of mandates. Current analyses show the positive influence of plurinominal districts on the political presence of women (Darcy et al. 1994; Rule 1994). Regarding the electoral formula Antić Gaber (1998) provides analysis of the majority electoral formulas, partly proportional formulas and formulas of proportional representation. In relation to the manner of structuring the voting process (Siemieńska 2003; Matland 2005) preferred voting shows bigger positive influence on female candidates than categorized voting (for one party only). Election threshold determined as the minimal support which the party must receive in order to ensure its mandates in parliament can be legal or real threshold. According to Matland (2006) key factors for the political presence of women in representative bodies are: the size of the parliament, the size of the electoral districts and the election threshold. Bigger electoral districts usually have positive influence on the election of female candidates and are adaptable to the system of quotas. Generally speaking, higher threshold also has positive influence on the presence of specific social groups, national minorities, female groups or marginalized groups (Lijphart 1994; Antić Gaber 1998). According to analyses, the increase in the number of seats in parliament in certain countries is followed by

an increase in the number of women. In some other countries this is not the case and the decrease in seats in parliament also makes it very probable that the presence of women will also decrease (Antić Gaber 1998). Although a lot of researchers have pointed to the positive influence of proportional electoral systems on the encouragement of women's presence, unlike the majority systems (Matland 2005; Tremblay 2006; Arscott 1995; Duverger 1955; Matland and Studlar 1996; Rule 2001; Shvedova 2005; Lovenduski and Norris 1989; Studlar and Welch 1991) still, an ideal electoral system encouraging women's presence does not exist (Antić Gaber 1998). However, as a result of the possibility to offer more than one candidate on the candidate lists, proportional systems are more adaptable in solving the issue of under-representation of women in national parliaments (Lovenduski and Norris 1989). A lot of researchers have analyzed the influence of open or closed candidate lists, indicating the advantage of choosing individual candidates from the open lists, or the advantage of fixed order of candidates in the closed lists (Salmond 2006; Schmidt 2009; Caul 2001; Htun and Jones 2002; Matland 2006). For instance, Matland (2005) explains the positive influence on women's presence in representative bodies through closed lists of proportional representation Meier (2008) and Schmidt (2008), on the other hand, analyze the forms of open, flexible or closed lists and the intensity of their influence on political presence of women. In the analysis of the case in Poland, Kunovich (2012) concludes that most often in post-socialist countries with a proportional electoral system, where there are open candidate lists, the effects are unexpectedly positive. While some researchers claim that open lists provide possibility for overcoming stereotypes and encouraging bigger presence of women in national parliaments, others point to the variability of the effects on the type of lists in post-socialist countries and unexpected positive effects from the open lists (Kunovich 2012). Researches come to the conclusion that there are crucial differences in the mode of listing within the proportional electoral system (Salmond 2006). Closed lists offer the possibility to choose a political party and provide group representation of candidates and winning mandates according to the candidate's place on the list (Rauino 2007; Schmidt 2008). Open lists offer bigger possibility to increase the political presence of women in representative bodies, due to the voting rules and voting for a certain candidate from a given list (Htun and Jones 2002; Holli and Wass 2010; Meier 2008; Grofman and Lijphart 1986; Rule and Zimmerman 1994; Tremblay 2006). The difference between open and closed lists is the opportunity to choose a candidate. This is called preferred voting (Karvonen 2004), personal

choice (Shugart 1994), or intraparty voting (Katz 1986). According to Kunovich (2012) the need for change in the electoral models in East-European countries, has appeared in the last decades due to the concerning social structure of parliaments, and especially the absence of women, smaller ethnic or marginalized groups. These conditions led to the creation of special strategies, including the legal introduction of quotas, as well as affirmative action within party structures as the simplest way for achieving gender balance on the electoral (candidate) lists (Lovenduski and Norris 1993). Introducing proportional electoral systems and quotas had an especially positive influence (Antić Gaber 2001; Kostadinova 2002, 2007; Matland and Montgomery 2003; Moser 2001; Saxonberg 2000; Dahlerup and Freidenvall 2005). These mechanisms help the encouragement of bigger presence and representation of regional, ethnic, religion groups, and especially women. Hence, there are many questions and dilemmas regarding the electoral models and the final goal of the electoral system. The most important reason which makes the proportional electoral system better is the possibility to represent smaller social groups and the electorate in parliaments. It represents groups which the majority system fails to represent in national parliaments (Norris 1995; Leduc, Neimi and Norris 1996). Above all, this is possible due to the fact that political parties themselves can create lists to represent certain social groups. On the other hand, parallel to normative solutions, the cultural context of the countries is of enormous importance as a possible medium of influence (by parties) on women and their inclusion in the political life or proportional system which provides implementation of measures (affirmative action, policies and legislative quotas) for female candidates (Lovenduski and Norris 1993). Research regarding the influence of legislative quotas has showed a positive effect and increase in the percent of elected women in parliaments from 7.3% in countries with a majority electoral system to 13.2% in countries with a mixed system, and 17.2% in proportional systems (Dahlerup 2006).

### **2.2.2 Socioeconomic factors**

Aside political factors, socioeconomic and cultural factors (economic context or religious dogma), also have a large influence on women` presence in politics (Galligan and Tremblay 2005). Although, there are many approaches or concepts which analyze the variations of influence on the political presence of women, such as: socioeconomic, cultural approach or the concept of patriarchalization and stereotyping of gender roles (traditional and egalitarian approach), researchers (Diaz 2005; Paxton and Kunovich 2003; Kunovich 2012) emphasize the

special importance of socioeconomic factors<sup>35</sup> on the political presence of women. According to a lot of analyses there are many different variables and factors for the political presence of women, but there is not a single explanation for the quantitative disproportionality between genders in the political structures. Except the institutional and politic factors of influence on the political presence of women (electoral system, reelection, financing campaigns, electoral regulations), Zimmerman (1994) also emphasizes political culture and socioeconomic chances. Shvedova (2005) classifies the reasons for political representation of women as political, socioeconomic and socio-cultural (ideological and psychological). The analysis of the influence of the socioeconomic factors on women`s proportion in representative bodies, points to the importance of institutional factors as a positive correlation between presence, high GDP index, welfare and changes in traditional beliefs and patriarchalization of social values (Matland 2002). According to Matland (1998) the analyses of the differences in the political presence of women in western democracies are based on the political and socioeconomic factors and cultural variables. Starting from Inghart`s analyses regarding the distinction between materialism and postmaterialism, Matland (1998) indicates a disparity between the industrially developed countries and the developing democracies. The correlation between the proportional presence of women in parliaments and the development of the countries differs from one country to another, depending on the historical and political context. Matland (1998) and (Inghart and Norris 2003) emphasize cultural changes as key variables which determine the development of society and which make the distinction between the developed and undeveloped societies. The development of the countries as absolute determinant has a positive correlation with women`s integration in public life and leads towards awakening of traditional values, which further leads to alteration of the attitudes and perception of gender roles. Aside the economic development of countries Matland pays special attention to the presence of women in the labor force and the level of education. He points to the positive influence of presence in the labor force for the political activities of women due to increase in the level of activism and raising citizens` awareness. Therefore, the level of political presence of women is causally connected to the level of education and indicates a positive correlation between the two variables and the narrowing of the gap between men and women regarding literacy, level of education, especially higher education

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<sup>35</sup> Socioeconomic factors are the following: HDI (Human development index), GEI (Gender equality index), fertility rate, GDP (Gross domestic product), the degree of poverty, level of female economic involvement as opposed to male, salary (men/women), percent of professional engagement of women, percent of female urban population, level of education (Tremblay 2008).

(Matland 1998). Matland's analyses (1998) lead to the conclusion that in developed democratic societies the given variables have positive influence on the political presence of women, while in developing countries the progress of socioeconomic variables does not have a direct positive influence i.e. it only shows a symbolical representation of women and ineffective usage of resources. The countries' progress of development leads towards more resources (such as education, paid jobs etc.). All of these help in encouraging women's political activism. However, claims that in less developed countries there is lower political presence of women have been refuted by the latest data from 2006 which say that in certain countries (such as Ruanda for example, which has low democratic development according to the HDR), women account for 48.8% in parliament - a percent significantly higher than the one in many developed European countries (Leinert Novosel 2007). Trambley (2006) also points to the positive influence of the countries' economic growth, higher GDP, low birth rate, high level of education, and labor force in correlation to some structural institutional changes. Leinert Novosel (2007), on the other hand, analyzes this conclusion by showing bigger political presence of women in some less developed countries, besides the huge gap between the formal indicators and real possibilities, and the less impressive data in some developed countries besides the smaller gap between the formal and real opportunities. Kenworthy and Malami (1999) analyze the level of education, labor force, and the level of economic development as socioeconomic factors. According to them, the political factors have a crucial role in the determination of the political presence, pointing out that socioeconomic factors do not hold any special meaning for political presence, i.e. that there is a necessity to change the formal and legal political regulations for encouraging the political presence of women and changing cultural beliefs and perceptions. According to Paxton (1997), socially-structural political and ideological explanations are all variables which influence political presence. The socially-structural factor (such as level of education and employment) influence the political offer of female candidate, while political factors influence the demand, and ideological (cultural) factors influence both supply and demand.

At the beginning of transition, in post-social countries the pressure by international players to make economic changes is very evident (Ferge 1997). According to Burčar (2009) during the transition from socialist towards capitalist order of market economy women had already lost their economic and social rights. Reorganizing the social and political system, leads to changes, regarding the labor segment of workers' rights, the right to salary, maternal leaves etc. These had

all had a negative influence on the financial and economic independency of women, which has also a negative influence on women in the new socioeconomic capitalist patriarchy (Burčar 2009). Today, as an antipode of the influence by socioeconomic and cultural measures, more and more political measures are applied, more laws and mechanisms for encouraging political presence of women in order to overcome the political absence of women. Therefore, this dissertation will analyze socioeconomic factors such as the socioeconomic development through GDP –Gross Domestic Product, employment rate - men/women, socio-demographic movements, HDI – Human Development Index, GEI – Gender Equity Index, tertiary education for men and women, development of women`s organizations and movements.

### **2.2.3 Cultural factors**

Starting from the concepts and theories of culture (Hannagan, Schneider and Greenlee 2012; Swedlow and Wyckoff 2009) it can be concluded that inductive approaches of men and women`s political behavior are always connected to political psychology on the one hand, and the traditional perception of gender roles and dominant religion as factors influencing the political presence of women on the other hand. Observing culture on different levels leads to all domains of human activity (art, science, industry, language, lifestyle, politics, communication...). Although participatory culture is closest to ideal of democracy regarding political behavior, still at the basis of political stability of democracies is political culture which is a mixture of activity and passivity by citizens, i.e. the one that is expressed as a balance between the obligations and acts of the government (Tremblay 2006; Mirčev 2008). Political culture is a model of individual attitudes and orientations, expressed through beliefs, values, symbols for the subjects, institutions, political (Heywood 2004; Della Porta 2003). On the other hand, differences in attitudes, values, and lifestyle among citizens (depending on their age, race, ethnicity, religion...) within a country, points to the existence of subcultures (Della Porta 2003). Contemporary dilemmas and challenges of political culture are especially connected to traditional values and inherited beliefs leading to fragmentation, pluralism and growing moral and cultural diversity (Mirčev 2008). According to Inglehart and Beker (2000) these changes are a result of the spreading influence i.e. the post-materialistic values, which lead to change in traditional values by providing basic material security and standards, i.e. permissive or liberal values and growth of individualism. Norris and Inglehart (2003) point to the influence of traditional social values and religion in less developed countries, as opposed to postindustrial societies with a higher level of

gender equity perception, where adopting new mechanisms (such as quotas) has a positive influence on the political presence of women in the decision-making structures. Traditional theories of modernization show the causal connection between democracy, social transformation, modernization, economic growth, industrialization and expansion of countries. According to the cultural theories, the socially-political linkage is always correlated to the dominant political culture in societies. The correlation between cultural values and political behavior (Gastil et al. 2011; Swedlow and Wyckoff 2009) creates the political culture in societies. Some researchers (Barry 2001; Waldron 1992) emphasize the relation between multiculturalism and liberal democracies with a special accent on the negative influence of multiculturalism on women and ghettoization of minority marginalized groups which leads to intolerance and extremism (Barry 2001, 103–109). Furthermore, research shows the causal connection of culture and identity with the appearance of ethnic conflicts in societies (Fearon and Laitin 1996; Habyarimana et al. 2007). Articulating the cultural concept of multiculturalism as a dimension receives criticism of cultural essentialism and individualism (Mallon 2007). As a result of culture, the shape of traditional values and perceptions of the position and role of women (hence the political presence as well) indicate different levels of stereotypes and different level of patriarchal awareness. Stereotypes are a set of attitudes most often analyzed through social psychology. The concept of gender stereotypes shows an interaction between stereotypes as attitudes and the division of gender roles (Dijksterhuis, Macrae and Haddock 1999; Payne, Lambert and Jacoby 2002) in order to detect stereotypes within the party in the nomination and evaluation of candidates (Conover and Feldman 1989; Hamill, Lodge and Blake 1985; Petrocik 1999) or in the election (voting). Stereotypes as obstacles for the political presence of women (Dolan 1998; Fridkin and Kenny 2009) refer to the gender stereotyping of voters` behavior, belonging to a party and the power of stereotypes to influence perception of candidates (Rahn 1993). Starting from gender segregation these analyses (Dolan 2004; Huddy and Capelos 2002; Koch 2002; McDermott 1997) do not show a clear identification of the issues regarding where and when gender and party stereotypes are connected in the evaluation of candidates (McGraw 2003; Winter 2010; King and Matland 2003). They show identification of candidates by voters indicating the difference between male and female politicians, and their connection to ideological position (King and Matland 2003). Some researchers (Huddy and Terkildsen 1993) use experimental manipulations of gender stereotypes for the perception of male and female politicians and in this



way point to the ideological positioning which are sometimes the most important aspect. Other researchers (Hayes 2009; Fridkin and Kenny 2011; Hayes 2010) work on gender stereotyping of candidates – women; stereotypes within the party and media stereotyping.

Analyses of the concept of cultural modernization (Putnam and Campbell 2010; Legee, Wald, Krueger and Mueller 2002) show the relation between the sociological aspects and individual religiousness, moral traditionalism and political orientation, which appear due to the causal relation between religion and political behavior. In almost every culture, individual behavior and the social matrix are determined by the religious identification of individuals or the dominant religion in the society influencing politics and political behavior (Green 2007; Legee et al. 2002; Putnam 2000; Wald et al. 2005; Djupe and Gilbert 2009). Religious influence on gender relations and values as well as values within the family as a primary community, is reflected on the politically-social discourse (Bacchi 1999). The value matrix of the communities, culture and especially the religious discourse, is reflected in the interpretation of the political context (Yanow 2000). According to Woodberry (2012), the religious influence during the modernization phase of societies, as well as the comparative analyses individual influence by religion on the citizens` behavior is crucial for the perception and valuing of gender equity in societies. Regarding the role of women in society religion is especially characteristic when it comes to analyzing the Islam, due to the reproductive, patriarchal role of Muslim women and the gender imbalance in these societies, as opposed to the egalitarian pressure of western civilization (Ahmed 1992). The democratic progress initiates cultural changes which also influence religion together with all the other social changes (Acemoglu and Robinson 2006; Boix 2003; Reuschmeyer et al. 1992). Religious, moral and cultural factors are directed towards citizens` behavior (Smith 2003; 2010) or according to Weber`s concept towards value-rationalization or instrumental-rationalization (Woodberry 2012).

Within the present dissertation, the indicators` analyses conducted so far shall be the starting point for the measurement of the influence of culture on the political presence of women (Matland 1998; Inglehart and Norris 2003; Kenworthy and Malami 1999; Tremblay 2008). According to (Matland 1998; Inglehart and Norris 2003) cultural variables represent a challenge for encouraging political activism in women. Unlike Inglehart and Norris (2003), in this group Matland (1998) uses the indicators of the illiteracy rate, level of presence in the labor force, pointing to the correlation between the progress of the education scale, presence in the labor

force and the social status on the one hand and the social status on the other hand. Inglehart and Norris (2003) start from the cultural differences in the perception, attitudes and values. Kenworthy and Malami (1999) analyze religion, CEDAW ratification, right to abortion and differences between world regions as cultural determinants for the political presence of women. Paxton (1997) sees the ideological barriers as essential arguments of influence, especially through the religious influence which marks the connection between the egalitarianism and political activism. Within the cultural factors Tremblay (2008) also mentions some other independent variables of influence for the political presence of women such as: women's literacy, percent of women with higher education, gender roles (values and perceptions) as traditional or egalitarian approach and influence by religion. This dissertation will use the level of literacy, the perception of gender roles and religious influence as indicators for measuring the influence of cultural variables on the political presence of women within the researched countries.

#### **2.2.4 War as a factor**

War and the countries' national security, especially the Eastern Europe and post-socialist countries, are a determining factor influencing the position of women (Enloe 2010; Vickers 1993; Zalevski 1995). Very often, researchers (Carpenter 2003; Young 2003; Goldstein 2001; Enloe 2000; Reardon 1985; Cock 1994; Elshtain 1987) suggest a causal connection between the war actors (states as subjects or internal conflict within a country) and the type of militarized violence. Human Security Reports (HSR 2012) analyze countries which are or were at war, and start from the influence of the war on women's position, causes or results from the war, war crimes, war consequences, implications on health, further social development, education etc. Date-Bah (2003) analyzes war consequences for the country, the economic state, social consequences and civil loss, unemployment, migration of the population, socio-demographic consequences on female population (unemployment, single parent). Conflicts mainly create changes regarding the economic role of women. Date-Bah talks about the positive implications from war and indicates the necessity of female labor force (due to absence of men), which influences women's economic independence. Byrne (1996) presents a complete analysis of the war influence on women and their further integration in society (Gender, Conflicts and Development Report, 1995), pointing to the typology of pacifists and eco-feminists, militarization and gender identities, feminist movements and gender relation during a conflict

period as possibilities and transformations According to Mies and Shiva (1993), there are several dimensions of the women`s position during a conflict period: political and legislative position of human rights, demography and health, economic position of women, social relations and organizations, socio-cultural and ideological dimension and individual psychological consequences. The factor of war has different effects of influence for men and women, as well as for the gender balance within ruling structures and gender ideologies. War influence refers to both socioeconomic and political opportunities to transit towards democracy (Fink-Hafner et al. 2005). The effects from the conflict are analyzed through cultural and politically-economic consequences in society, depending on the type of conflict (civil, ethnic, international). Post-conflict rehabilitation has a very important influence on gender relations and roles in several dimensions, as political rights economic, human rights, social welfare, socio-cultural and ideological approach and psychological factors. Political, legislative reflections and human rights reflections have an essential influence on women during a conflict period (e.g. violence – in this case Kosovo), while during a post-conflict period they influence women`s exclusion from the political processes in the decision-making structures. Women who are economically and socially dependant on men during conflicts hold a greater risk of violence and poverty, sexual abuse, refugee crisis and migration (Moran 1994). During negotiations for a peaceful solution of conflicts, women are most often completely excluded, i.e. their active role remains only within the peace movements (e.g.: former Yugoslavia, the Deyton Agreement, where not a single woman was included in the negotiation processes, Jones 1994). In transition countries, in post-conflict periods especially, formal opportunities for presence in the public life appear, but there is still marginalization regarding the higher ruling structures (Mackay 1995). The post-war period brings difficult socioeconomic conditions (Bennet, Bexley and Warnock 1995) which contributes for increasing migrations of population (refugees from Kosovo to Macedonia, in the case of Serbia, Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina most often to the neighboring countries, Byrne 1996).

### **2.2.5 The influence of international actors as external factors**

The European Union and the integration policies are analyzed as an external factor or pressure on the countries regarding gender balance in public life. Some analyses (O`Neill 1996; Fink-Hafner and Krašovec 2000; Skjeie 1997; Rodin 1997; Fink-Hafner et al. 2011) point to the influence on changes in national policies regarding gender equality due to globalization. As a

form of pressure by globalization the normative and instrumental pressure by EU on the candidate members and member states is directed towards legislation of certain instruments (e.g. gender quotas) in the creation of candidate lists for elections on a national, local or European (Fink-Hafner et al.2011). According to Radaelli (2003, 2004), European experiences show that combined processes of pressure (bottom-up/top-down) have a positive influence on gender balancing and women`s representation in politics. Within the Western Balkans a very big importance is given to the external factors, especially hard and soft instruments by EU for encouraging gender balance, as opposed to the prevailing political culture of repressing women from politics (Lovenduski 1999; Nordlund 2003; Krook 2004). Legislative transposition `acquis communautaire` and harmonization with EU legislation are necessary preconditions for candidate members, and they happen through vertical harmonization (Radaelli 2003; Knill and Lehmkuhl 1999). The influence of the European integration processes on national systems as a convergence for creating policies within the union (Lombardo and Forest 2009) has the purpose to incorporate them within the new members in the future. According to Leinert Novosel (2007), although originally analyzed through the egalitarian approach of position and equity today the political presence of women in post-socialist countries is analyzed through the utilitarian approach (by emphasizing the negative aspects of inequity). Transformation and revitalization of new democracies, as opposed to the current controlled policy of female presence in public life, follows the top-down concept regarding the harmonization of the countries` national legislature with EU legislation (Walby 2005c; Mazey 2001; Daly 2005; Bacchi 2005, Verloo 2005). According to Lombardo and Rolandsen Augustin (2011) EU policies on gender equity originate from the Amsterdam Agreement which produced the 2000/43/EC and 2000/78/EC, regarding antidiscrimination measures in many areas. There is a lot of research for EU`s antidiscrimination (Bell 2002, Shaw 2002, Lombardo and Verloo 2009b; Walby 2007; Lombardo and Rolandsen Augustin 2011) in the form of normative solutions hard and soft law according to the binding force within directives<sup>36</sup>, recommendations<sup>37</sup>, resolutions<sup>38</sup> and declarations<sup>39</sup>. On the other hand,

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<sup>36</sup> 75/117/EEC – Directive regarding equal pay for men and women;  
76/207/EC - Directive regarding equal treatment in reference to employment and professions;  
2000/78/EC - Directive regarding general frame of equal treatment in reference to employment and professions;  
97/80/EC - Directive regarding the burden of proof in cases of gender discrimination;  
92/85/EEC-Directive regarding the protection of pregnant women;  
2004/113/EC-Directive regarding the implementation of the principle of equal treatment for men and women in the approach and access of goods and services;  
2000/43/EC -Directive regarding equal treatment of people regardless of their race or ethnicity;  
2002/73/EC-Directive which amends the directive;  
76/207/EEC Directive by the Council regarding the application of the principle of equal treatment of men and women in relation to employment, professional training and promotion and working conditions;

<sup>37</sup> Recommendation 96/694/EC regarding balanced participation of men and women in the decision-making process.

although the European Convention on Human Rights does not hold a legally obligatory form for the EU and the member states, it still carries great importance for the legal establishment of the Union. It also represents an imperative force due to the fact that its provisions have been applied within courts in member states and the European Court, as practice generally accepted in court interpretation of international law (Rodin and Selanec 2001; Rodin 1997). Gender equality and balance in the decision-making governmental structures is a specific goal of the EU, included in all leading EU institutions (Dahlerup 2006). The Gender Equality Map 2006-10 is one of the most important documents and fundamental principles of the Union. The concept of gender equality within the EU, and especially through OMC (Open method of coordination) recognizes the interests of the Union regarding gender equality in almost all mentioned areas, institutions, administrative infrastructure and new possibilities of influence, through the concept of `gender mainstreaming` (Cullen 2010). On the other hand, on a international level, within the UN, the level of meeting women`s interests is measured by ratification check, implementation and respecting the provisions from the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, CEDAW, 1979, International UN conferences (Fourth Worlds conference 1995 and the Beijing Action Platform) which create a special frame of equality and bigger presence of women in the ruling and decision-making structures (Dahlerup 2006). As a form of supranational or international influence regarding the improvement of women`s position in the countries, CEDAW provides reflection of top-down changes, bearing in mind that so far 186 countries<sup>40</sup> have ratified it (Baldez 2011). In order to detect the level of implementation of the provisions regarding the position of women, CEDAW identifies international indicators such as: political rights, education, employment, economic rights, social, health right, conditions for women in rural areas, the right to marriage and family, violence towards women.<sup>41</sup>

Within this dissertation special attention will be paid to the ratification of CEDAW as an international instrument regarding the estimation of the formal and factual position of women in the researched countries on a national level. However, special attention will also be paid to the EU (as an external factor) due to the binding transposition laws and the pressure for institutional

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Recommendation 84/635/EEC regarding the promotion of measures for positive action by women;

Recommendation 87/567/EEC regarding the professional training of women.

<sup>38</sup> Resolution (95/C/296/06) from 05/10/1995 regarding the appearance and representation of men and women in advertisements and media; Resolution (85/C/ 166/1) from 1985 which includes Action program for the implementation of equal education opportunities for men and women

<sup>39</sup> Declaration(19/12/1991) for implementation of the Commission Recommendation regarding the protection of men and women`s dignity at work, including the regulations regarding the prevention of sexual harassment;

<sup>40</sup> among which the three researched countries (RM, RS, HR)

<sup>41</sup> CEDAW emphasizes that women`s interests represent a part of human rights, with a stressed distinction between gender differences, equality and women`s rights, distinction between the stereotyped roles of men and women (Baldez 2011).

and normative changes within national legislation in the Western Balkans (researched case studies within the dissertation – MK, RS and HR) as EU candidate members.

**Table 2. 3: Comparative overview of the theoretical analyses of the influential factors on the political presence of women**

**Institutional political factors**

Political and Electoral System	Political Parties	Quotas
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- <b>Positive effect of institutional factors</b> (Kunovich 2012; Burnet 2011; Hughes 2011; Lovenduski 1999)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- <b>Key role of political parties due to party power</b> in the selection of candidates (Kunovich 2012; Burrell 1994; Darcy, Welch and Clark 1994; Caul and Tate 2002),</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- <b>Quotas affirmative measures</b> for encouraging political presence of women (Burnet 2011; Hughes 2011; Antić Gaber 1998; Dahlerup 2006; Squires 2006; Phillips 1995; Krook 2009; Bird et al. 2011; Cederman et al. 2009; Paxton and Hughes 2007).</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- <b>Multiparty system has a positive influence</b> on the increase of the number of women in politics, unlike the two-party and single-party system (Matland 2002; Schwindt - Bayer 2005)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- <b>Number of political parties, dominant ideology</b> (Diaz 2005; Norris 2004) characteristic for the electoral system (Matland 2002; Schwindt - Bayer 2005)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Quotas are a loose and unpredictable form of representation, whose goal is a <b>numerical balance</b> (Phillips, 2004; (Paxton et al. 2007).</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- <b>Positive effect of proportional electoral systems</b> (Kunovich 2012; Trambly 2006, 2008; Matland 2002; Antić Gaber 1996, 2005; Kostadinova 2002, 2007; Matland and Montgomery 2003; Moser 2001; Saxonberg 2000; Dahlerup and Freidenvall 2005; Cusack et al. 2010; Kunovich 2012; Boix 2010).</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Representation of women (Lovenduski 2005),</li> <li>- <b>Development of strategies for selection of electoral candidates</b> (Gallagher 2000; Antić 1998; Krašovec 1999; Dahlerup 2006; Norris and Lovenduski 1995; Norris 1993; Norris 1997; Lovenduski 1993, 2000; Lovenduski and Norris 1993)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Quotas differ according to the level of incorporation, <b>Constitutional, legislative or part level</b> (Hughes 2012; Krook 2004, 2005; Dahlerup and Freidenvall, 2005; Dahlerup 1998, 2005, 2006; Matland 1993; Caul 1999; Htun 2004; Krook 2009)</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- <b>Manner of voting in propotional election systems</b> – voting for a party (coalition) - positive influence in the case of women nominations (Siemieńska 2003; Matland 2005).</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- <b>Parties as gatekeepers</b> (Norris and Lovenduski 1995; Norris 1993)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- <b>Obligatory role and sanctions</b> have a positive effect in the implementation (Norris 2004; Lovenduski 2005; Dahlerup 2006; Krook et al.2006)</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- <b>Election threshold</b> – higher threshold has a positive influence on women`s presence (Matland 2006; Antić 1998). Ideal electoral system in favor of women`s presence does not exist (Antić Gaber 1998).</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- <b>Selection of candidates</b> (Young 2000; Burrell 1994)</li> <li>- <b>Influence by the party in closed voting lists</b> regarding the selection of candidates, unlike the open lists (Norris and Lovenduski 1989)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- <b>The ideological matrix is a pre-determinant for the application of quotas</b> (left-oriented parties apply a lot more quotas than the right-oriented) (Caul 1999; Dubrow 2010).</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- <b>Open/closed</b> voting lists (Sanbonmatsu 2010; Matland 2002; 2005; Schwindt - Bayer 2005)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- <b>Selecting female candidates depends much on the political parties` will</b> (Beckwith 1992).</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Semi-democratic societies tend to incorporate quotas as much as possible (Matland 2005)</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- <b>Positive effect</b> from the closed lists (Matland 2005)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- <b>Positive influence from party quotas</b> (Caul 1999, Matland and Studlar 1996).</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- List of positive and negative arguments for or against the introduction of quotas (Dahlerup and Freidenvall</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- <b>Positive effect</b> from the open lists (Meier 2008; Schmidt 2008; Kunovich 2012; Htun and Jones 2002; Holli and Wass</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- <b>Ideology of the party</b> (Galligan and Tremblay 2005;</li> </ul>	

- 2010; Meier 2008; Grofman and Lijphart 1986; Rule and Zimmerman 1994; Tremblay 2008)
- **Positive influence from the size of the parliament** (number of seats) and the size of electoral districts (Matland 2006)
  - **Positive influence** from multimember districts on the **political presence of** (Darcy et al. 1994; Rule 1994; Matland 2006).
  - Determination in accordance to the **ideological matrix** (Norris and Inglehart (2001)
  - **Dynamic change of the right to vote** (Trambly 2006, 2008; Matland 2006)
  - **Length of the mandate** (Diaz 2005; Norris 2004)
- Dahlerup and Freidenvall 2005; Tremblay and Pelletier 2005).
  - 2000, 2001; Young 2000). left-oriented parties are more adaptable to strategies (Lovenduski 2000; Squires 1996; Dahlerup 1998; Matland and Montgomery 2003)
  - **The ideology of the party does not have a determining role** regarding female issues (Lovenduski and Norris 1993)
  - **Smaller parties usually do not have formal rules** (quotas and strategies), **but they are more inclined towards political presence of women** (Antić Gaber 1998)
  - **In post-socialist countries**, political parties look at political presence of women from a **pragmatic point of view** (Fink-Hafner, Krašovec, Deželan and Topolinjak 2011)
  - **Party leaders do not support female candidates** (Cheng and Tavits 2011; Tremblay and Pelletier 2001; Matland 2005; Kunovich 2003). The negative effect from intraparty competition can be overcome by **introducing electoral quotas on a national level** (Krook 2009)



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## Socioeconomic factors

## Cultural factors

- The influence of **socioeconomic factors and cultural variables** on the **political presence of women** (Hayes 2011; Kann 2011; Beckwith 2011; Hannagan et al. 2012; Matland 1998; Galligan and Tremblay 2005)
- Beside the economic development of the countries Matland (1998) also pays special attention to the **presence of women in the labor force and the degree of education, emphasizing the positive effect by the level of involvement in the labor force for the political activities** of women as a result of the increased level of activism and raising the citizens` awareness. Matland`s analyses (1998) confirm that **within developed societies the proposed variables have a positive influence on the political presence of women, while within developing countries, the progress of socioeconomic variables does not have direct positive influence i.e. it contributes only for the symbolical representation of women and inefficient use of resources.**
- **The influence of socioeconomic factors on the proportion of women in representative bodies proves that institutional factors are an important influence for the correlation between the presence and higher GDP, welfare, and changes in traditional beliefs and patriarchalization of social values** (Matland 2002).
- Trambley (2006) points to the **positive influence of the countries` economic growth, percent of higher education, labor force.**
- According to Kenworthy and Malami (1999) the socioeconomic factors do not have any special meaning for the political presence.
- **Cultural changes as key variables in determining the development of society** (Tremblay 2008, Matland 1998; Inghart and Norris 2003; Hayes 2011; Kann 2011; Beckwith 2011; Hannagan et al.2012)
- **Culture and value matrix**, traditional values and perceptions of women`s role in society indicate interaction between stereotypes as attitudes and the division of gender roles (Haddock et al. 1999; Payne, Lambert and Jacoby 2002) in order to detect stereotypes within the party during the nomination and evaluation of candidates (Conover and Feldman 1989; Petrocik 1999) or during the election (voting).
- **Stereotypes as obstacles for political presence of women** ( Dolan 1998; Fridkin and Kenny 2009) start from the analysis of gender stereotyping of voters` behavior, party affiliation and the power of stereotypes to influence the perception about the candidates (Rahn 1993).
- Analyses show that candidates are identified by voters as **male and female politicians. Voters also connect candidates to their ideological position** (King and Matland 2003). Some researchers (Huddy and Terkildsen 1993) use experimental manipulations of gender stereotyping in the perception of men and women in politics and they come to the conclusion that the **ideological position** is essential. Other researchers (Hayes 2009; Fridkin and Kenny 2011; Hayes 2010) have come to the conclusions that the most important aspect is **gender stereotyping of candidates – women; party stereotyping and media.**
- Regarding women`s role, **religion** is characteristic in the analysis of the Islam, due to the reproductive, patriarchal role of Muslim women and gender imbalance in these societies, unlike the egalitarian pressure of western modernization (Ahmed 1992).

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## War as a factor

- **War** and the countries' national security, especially Eastern European countries, and post-socialist countries, are a **determining influence factor for women's position** (Vickers 1993; Zalevski 1995).
- Date-Bah (2003) indicates positive aspects from war prevailing, such as the necessity of women to become part of the labor force (due to male absence), which leads to their economic independence.
- Women who are economically and socially dependant on men during a conflict are exposed to a greater risk of violence and poverty, sexual abuse, refugee crises and migration (Moran 1994).
- **The post-war period brings poor socioeconomic conditions** (Bennett, Bexley and Warnock 1995) which leads to **increased migration** of the population (refugees from Kosovo into Macedonia, the case of Serbia, Croatia, most often in the neighboring countries, Byrne 1996).

## External factors (EU, CEDAW)

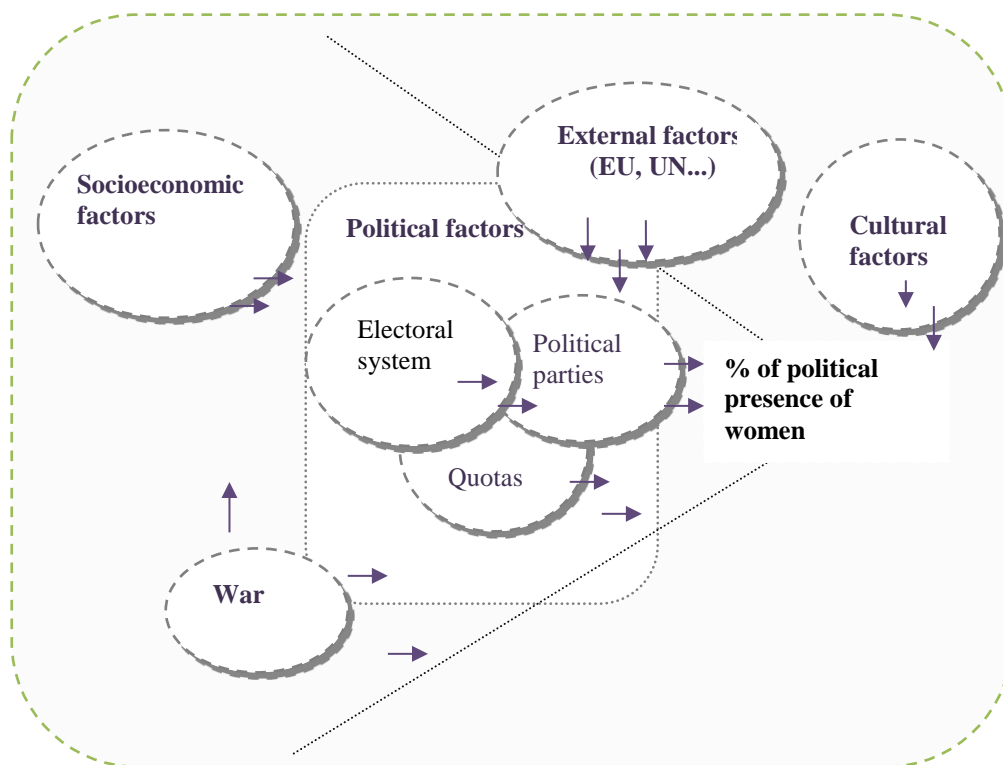
- Analyses so far (O'Neill 1996; Fink-Hafner and Krašovec 2000; Skjeie 1997; Rodin 1997; Fink-Hafner 2010; Fink-Hafner et al. 2011) point to the **influence in the changes of national policies regarding gender equity, due to globalization**.
  - **The normative and instrumental pressure by EU on candidate members and member states is directed towards legalization of certain instruments (e.g. gender quotas)** in the creation of candidate lists for elections on a national, local or European level (Fink-Hafner et al. 2011).
  - Starting from the **Europeanization concept** Radaelli (2003, 2004), suggests that European experiences show that **combined pressure processes (bottom-up/top-down) have a positive influence on gender balance** and women's representation in politics.
  - **The external factors influence is especially important** in the Western Balkans, mostly hard and soft instruments by EU for encouraging gender balance, unlike the dominant political culture of repression of women out of (Lovenduski 1999; Nordlund 2003; Krook 2004).
  - As a type of supranational or international influence in the direction of improving women's position in the countries are CEDAW (Baldez 2011) and European legislation and policies (Dahlerup 2006).
-

### **2.3 Theoretical framework of the doctoral dissertation**

According to the analysis of theoretical approaches, concepts and previous empirical studies regarding the factors of influence on the political presence of women, the present dissertation starts from certain specific concepts which later connect to the elaboration of individual variables. The analysis of literature leads to the conclusion that there are numerous combinations of approaches and variables of influence on political presence. Dominant concepts (such as the concept of presence, gender, constructivist concept, rational choice institutionalism theories, the cultural concept and the theory of cultural modernization, the concept of patriarchy, gender roles and stereotypes and especially important for the researched countries as EU candidate members the concept of external factors and Europeanization) are a starting framework for this dissertation. According to the previous theoretical analyses regarding the study of different factors` influence on the political presence of women, the present dissertation has the purpose of researching the influence, causal connection and predominance of certain variables – factors influencing the political presence of women (using comparative analysis) within the researched countries from the Western Balkan (MK, RS, HR). There are several aspects especially important in relation to this topic the transition from socialism to democracy, the effects and influence of the transition processes, the influence of war as part of historical developments in post-socialist Balkan countries, as well as the EU integration processes and influence from external players on former socialist republics. Pursuant to all previous theoretical and empirical research, this dissertation will analyze institutional, socioeconomic and cultural factors, the degree and intensity of their influence on the political presence of women. As institutional factors the following shall be studied and elaborated: electoral systems, political strategies – electoral (legislative) and voluntary quotas; influence by political parties. Socioeconomic factors to be elaborated: level of social and economic growth through GDP (Gross Domestic Product), employment/unemployment rate (men/women), socio-demographic movements, HDI (Human development index), tertiary education (men/women), development to women`s organizations and movements. Cultural factors include political culture – perception of gender roles (patriarchal awareness and stereotypes in societies), literacy rate - men/women, religious influence and ethnical division. In post-socialist countries the influence of the transition processes, poverty and especially the influence of war have led to a new closure and division of the roles men and women have in the spirit of traditional values (Kašić 2006; Đurić-Kuzmanović

2002; Antić Gaber and Lokar 2006; Gallian and Clavero 2007). Regarding the level of transition of the countries and the EU integration processes, this dissertation will also analyze the influence of war as a factor and the influence of EU as an external factor of pressure on national policies within the candidate members (among which the researched countries).

**Figure 2.1: Theoretical view on the basis of doctoral dissertation**



### 3. ANALYSIS OF THE POST-SOCIALIST PERIOD AND TRANSITION OF THE WESTERN BALKANS (SOCIALISM/POST-SOCIALISM)

The beginning of the fall of communism and the transition towards new democratic orders<sup>42</sup> brought new challenges for the post-socialist countries from Eastern Europe. The events from 1989 signaled necessary changes<sup>43</sup>. Somewhere this meant fierce war conflicts, as was the case with former Yugoslavia (Mirčev and Nacevska 2008). The shift of socialist order, coping with the ideological bloc division of the world and the globalization process, in the last decade of the 20th century, have all created new political configuration (Mirčev 2006).

According to Jogan (2000), the term `transition` leads to two important points: adoption of pluralistic parliamentary democracy and adoption of market economy. Fulfillment of these two criteria leads to modernization of former socialist societies and transition towards democratic order (Jogan 2000). Although political orders cannot be simply classified on the axis: `democracy/non-democracy`, regarding the fact that a lot of factors participate in the `democratic coefficient` estimations<sup>44</sup>. However, some East European (former socialist) countries adapted relatively quickly to the new Western democratic order (EU, above all), others found this more difficult, and a third group – the Western Balkans<sup>45</sup> for example- found this extremely difficult<sup>46</sup> (Funk and Mueller 1993).

Talking about the transition models, Fink-Hafner (2005) points to the influence by determinants such as institutional (constitutional) and non-institutional factors (socioeconomic) which have a negative influence on the democratic transition success level in the countries.

Generally, transition within post-socialist countries from the Western Balkan, faced serious obstacles caused by the need of economic transformation (Milić 1994) and even more by nationalism as a form of support and securing power of the elites within the countries (Ramet 2002). Nationalism within these countries became a gap of further uncontrolled extremist organizations and events (Mirčev 2006). A negative consequence during the process of the creation of the republics was repression and intolerance towards national minorities (Papić

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<sup>42</sup> In his study »The End of History and the Last Man« Fukuyama (1992) claims that due to the changes in the establishment i.e. socialist and communist, for the first time in history, most of the countries in the world and half of humanity live in democracy, at least according to the external system features of the order.

<sup>43</sup> Some of these changes, such as the fall of the Berlin wall signalize transfer to a democratic future

<sup>44</sup> This is especially true for the role of citizens in the decision-making structures, ruling and public opinion

<sup>45</sup> Landc and Stepan (1998) provide an ample empirical material (regarding the stability of the countries, the development of active civil society, rule of law, civil freedoms, free market economy...) which can be used as a value matrix in order to prove demographic deficit within transition countries from the Western Balkan. The democratic transition is finished when a certain agreement has been achieved in political procedures for electing a government on indirect, free and general election (Landc and Stepan 1998, 16) . Starting from Landc and Stepan's (1998) concept, it can be noticed that transition on the Balkan is unlike the set criteria, the existence of which is a precondition for consolidated democracy.

<sup>46</sup> It is obvious that within these countries, all elements of democracy do not function, and yet it is not a nondemocratic society (Mirceev 2006) .

1999a). World reports on human development from the last few years (HDR 2011) show a close and tight relationship between the economic growth and the social and cultural development, i.e. with the policy of human resources development and social capital development.

According to Haggard, Kaufman and Terence (2012) the model of dichotomous coding of democratic transition in a distributive conflict<sup>47</sup> or a non-distributive conflict<sup>48</sup> (Acemoglu, Robinson 2001; Boix 2003) analyzes the state of transition in the researched Western Balkans (MK, RS, and HR). Transition regarding distributive conflict refers to mobilization of public groups (economic, political parties, NGOs) as a threat to governing elites and increased efforts to establish a democratic compromise and mass mobilization<sup>49</sup> against authoritarian elites, unlike the non-distributive conflict models. Factors determining the line of movement of transition countries are the following: armed and political pressures, important influence of external elites (non-institutional), democratization and the redistributive challenges (Haggard, Kaufman and Terence 2012).

Haggard and Kaufman (2012) identify three types of transition: transition encouraged by international pressure (the example of Macedonia), transitions involved in intra-elite conflicts and transitions with predominant authoritarian elites under the control of which democratic redistribution is conducted (Serbia, Croatia). Since 1991, according to the coding model Croatia has been included in non-distributive conflict transitions (Haggard, Kaufman and Terence 2012; PCG- Polity coding<sup>50</sup>). Firstly, transition in Croatia has started with the democratic efforts it put during the first multiparty elections (majority of votes won by HDZ – Croatian Democratic Union). Mass mobilization in this model is defined as a result of former authoritarian government, which later turned into tensions, ethnic conflicts, regional nationalism and separatism. The dissolution of Yugoslavia, forming autonomous regimes caused regional division and efforts to establish independent democratic regimes within the new republics (Woodward 1995, 82-146). Transition in Croatia is detected in two phases (from 1991) and the second phase (2000, domination of the opposition, coalition led by the SDP – Social democratic party). The role of the distributive conflict after the wars in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina

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<sup>47</sup> Distributive conflicts also include urban conflicts, class conflicts (e.g. strikes) or rural mobilization and mobilization of ethnic groups.

<sup>48</sup> Transition in non-distributive conflicts points to the nonexistence of mass mobilizations, or it does not have a big influence on changes.

<sup>49</sup> Mass mobilizations refer to organized collective actions (protests, demonstrations) or spontaneous forms of collective actions (destructive behavior of groups).

<sup>50</sup> Polity Project is part of the Socially-systematic research including peace research. According to the coding rules of Polity IV (Project:Dataset Users Manual) polity coding of transition as a transfer to democracy is marked from 6 in the upper scale to 6 in the lower scale. Marshall and Jagger. 2010. "Polity IV Country Report 2010" *Polity IV Country Reports 2009*, Croatia 2010, Serbia 2010; Macedonia 2010

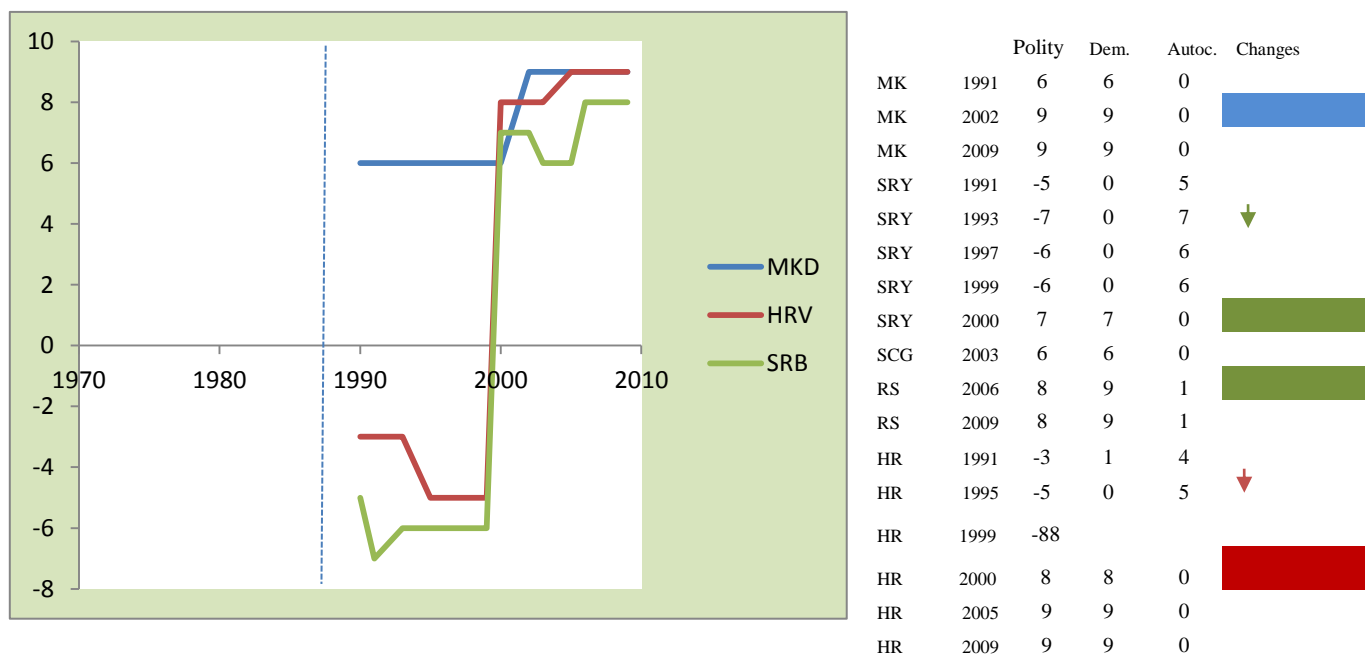
1995 was to offer opportunity for the establishment of democracy (International Crisis Group 2002; Ottaway and Maltz 2001). According to PCG Polity, Macedonia belongs to the non-distributive conflict transitions. As Croatia, after Yugoslavia's dissolution, Macedonia had its first phase of transition (1991) regarding the reforms, multiparty elections, economic changes (because it was impossible to form a coalition majority by the biggest right-oriented party VMRO-DPMNE (Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization – Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity) formed expert government, which was later replaced by the victory of the left-oriented SDSM (Social Democratic Union of Macedonia, former communist party). The second phase was after the war conflict 2001. Mobilization was present (just like in Croatia), but as a result of the presence of international forces (UN) Macedonia was not directly involved in the Balkan wars (UN) (Haggard, Kaufman and Terence 2012; Woodward 1995). After the dissolution of SFRY, in Serbia transition took place in several phases as well, and this led to the creation of statehood communities - originally as a part of Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (1991), later State Union of Serbia and Montenegro (2003), and finally as an independent country (2006). Compared to the rest of the countries in the region, Serbia is faced the most dramatic transition. According to (PCG and Polity) Serbia belongs to the non-distributive conflict transitions, but the role of mobilization is more important regarding the top-down demonstrations (against authoritarian ruling of president Miloshevic). Beside the poor economic conditions, there were also the other aspects to consider, such as: the influence of war on the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina until 1995, mass student protests (1996 and 1997), the war in Kosovo (1998) and NATO attacks on Serbia, until 2000 when the opposition wins the power<sup>51</sup> (Cohen 2001; Tohmppson and Kuntz 2004; Marshall and Jagger 2010<sup>52</sup>).

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<sup>51</sup> Led by the Democratic Oposition of Sebria, later victory of V.Koshtunica

<sup>52</sup> Marshall and Jagger 2010;.Polity IV Country Report 2010 ' Croatia 2010; Serbia 2010; Macedonia 2010

**Figure 3.1: Line of changes to democratic transition in MK, RS, HR (non-distributive conflict transitions)**



Source: Marshall and Jagger (2010); Cheibub et al. (2010); Haggard et al. (2012).

Legend: Democracy (Dem.) - The democracy variables are in a scale from 0 to 10 (according to values of pluralism, political participation). According to this +10 are string democracies, -10 strong authoritarian regimes.

Polity - According to the coding regulations by Polity IV (Project: Dataset Users Manual) polity coding of transition as a transfer towards democracy is marked -10 for authoritarian regimes, monarchies), +10 for consolidated democracies), autocracies are from -10 to -6, anocracies (a mix between democracy and autocracy) are 6, -77, -88 and democracy +6 to +10.

Authoritarian regimes (Autoc.).

The data refer to the type of regime according to the variables of established democracy (dem.), authoritarian regimes (autoc.).

According to Cheibub, Ghandi and Vreeland's research (2010) – coding through CVG transitions, as well as Polity transitions reports – Marshall, Gurr and Jagger (2010), and transition types according to Haggard, Kaufman and Terence (2012), these countries belong to non-distributive conflict transitions.

Note: The year of changes marks the phase of significant changes for the establishment of democracy.

The democracy deficit of transition in these post-social countries, definitely reflected on women's position in these societies. Women's rights and especially their democratic right of presence in the political life is one of the key elements of democratic establishments. As opposed to institutionalization and legislative regulations, the intention should be to realize individual freedom, interests and active involvement in society. Cultural variables, religion, nationalism, ethnicities and traditional stereotypes for the division of gender roles (which were believed to



become marginalized with the development of civil society) developed into a new expansion after the fall of communism (Naisbitt and Aburdene 1990, 334-335). Regarding the redefining the democratic political order Eisenstein (1996) emphasizes the need to diversify functional modalities of democratic orders and social conditions under which these effects of social development take place, and hence women`s position in the public sphere. Hence, Jogan (2011; 2000) emphasizes the need of dehistoricization of transition societies, repatriarchalization of women`s role and strategies for overcoming androcentrism through external pressure for gender balance and equality.

### **3.1 Political developments in Former Yugoslavia, transition socialism/post-socialism**

The main problem with transition and the shift towards democracy definitely arises from continuous marginalization of citizens (Mihailović 2005). Transformation of systems, economy, and culture also led to transformation of civil societies<sup>53</sup> if we bear in mind that citizens are a conceptual part and a precondition for consolidated democracy (Podunavac 1998). Transition in socialist countries after the dissolution of SFRY, from the authoritarianism of the single-party rule to the establishment of democracy and pluralism, was going slowly (somewhere dramatically with war escalations) (Lazić 2000). This was mainly due to the tension coming from minority issues and nationalism which led to serious complications, armed conflicts and wider changes (Ramet 2002). The collapse of communism and the ideological monopoly of communist utopia and orientation towards complete state control on all social aspects of life traced the path for conflict concepts and issues (Funk and Mueller 1993). First and foremost these changes related to the replacement of the regime with a hyper-regulated (command) economy with a free market, pluralism, tendency to establish democracy, but also a fast, controversial road for the privatization processes and transition from social to private ownership (Ramet 2002). The new economic and political system imposed the need of new institutions, most often copied from the West European model, although very often there were hybrid compositions of old and new models and institutions, especially in the legal system (Đurić-Kuzmanović and Žarkov 1998). The promotion of new socially-political values started to change the dominant value system from collectivism to individualism. Political presence based on new

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<sup>53</sup> Sajmon Chambers writes about „bad civil society” (Chambers 2002);, talking about the American democracy Tocqueville suggests that civil society is a necessary element for the existence of democracy.

democratic principles imposed a new perception of society in general. These changes led the former Yugoslav countries towards globalization in economic, but also in a political sense (expansion of the European Union). The dominant optimistic thinking and the great expectations from the prosperity “West European” life, in reality reflected a lot of problems caused by the complex transformation of the political, economic and social structure through the process of the so-called transition<sup>54</sup> of the system (Ekiert and Zielonka 2003; Ekiert 2003). The transition wave was reflected through different forms, and most often the resulting factors were unemployment, poverty, and social inequity, low quality of public services such as health, social protection and absence of rule of law (Rose 1999; Paci 2002). Faced with new challenges, some post-socialist countries (Slovenia, Poland, Hungary) showed good signals of successful transformation (Stulhofer and Sandfort 2005). However, a lot of other countries, especially in the Western Balkans, faced a transitional context of a poorly developed civil society, high degree of distrust in the institutions which are still struggling with corruption, political nepotism or difficult establishment of democracy in general (Rose 1999; Đurić-Kuzmanović 1995). On the other hand, after the dissolution of Yugoslavia, the Western Balkans were especially characteristic as post-socialist countries from the Eastern European region due to the nationalism policy which led to wars. It is interesting to mention that each further analysis of these countries is always placed in this context, especially due to the causal connection between the communism remains in the transition period, than the conflicts and war actions, and at least formal democracy in the end.

In the period before 1990s, the political establishment in SFRY was undemocratic, but still this establishment went through different phases: (1945-1948) Stalinism rule, (1948-1953) introduction of communal and working self-government, (1953-1965) introduction of certain democracy, departization and decentralization, (1974) SFRY republics get strong constitutional authorities and certain elements of sovereignty, while with the same intensity the Federation receives a character of “contracting” federation (Mirčev 2006). The political system i.e. the system of socialist self-government, rule of the assembly (synonym for parliamentary), single-party rule and dominance of the party bureaucracy, indirect election<sup>55</sup>, judicial authority dependant on the executive (as well as the assembly authority) and full “coordination” by the

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<sup>54</sup> The term »transition« is used to explain the process of transformation of the existing political, economic, and social system into a parliamentary democracy and the shift from a command to market economy, free marketbased on private ownership. In Eastern Europe, economic transition mainly means liberalization of the bureaucratic management of the economy, privatization and economic reconstruction.

<sup>55</sup> so-called delegation system, in which lower organs chose the higher ones and create a controleed hierarchy by CPY

Communist Party, was supposed to finally be replaced with democracy. There are numerous resources illustrating these movements and processes (Goati 1989, Baćević et al. 1991; Mirčev 2006; Mihailović 2005; Fink-Hafner et al. 2005; Fink-Hafner and Hafner-Fink 2009; Ramet 2002, 1995...). At the beginning of the 1990s it was becoming more and more obvious that the deep socioeconomic and political crisis of the Yugoslav Federation (SFRY, its economy, the society and internal political order, was about to result in dissolution (Bennet 1995). This process overlapped with the general world communism crisis and the real socialism in the world, and especially in Europe. In order to keep their power legally, political elites of federal units, reached for the most powerful means of political mobilization – ethno-nationalism (Sekelj 1991). The pillar of the political system and establishment –SCP, the monoparty factor of maintaining the unity of the order, the state, the federalism – all have undoubtedly led to an escalating war (Ramet 1995, 2002) which confirmed the thesis that nationalism is the highest form of communism (Milić 1993). According to some analysts (Silber and Little 1997; Lukić and Lynch 1996; Mirčev 2008) the causes for Yugoslavia's break-up are most often related to the weaknesses of the state-planned economy, reproduction and ownership (even when they are substituted with the so-called “self-governed economy and common social labor”), their inferiority regarding free, market, socially conducted economy. Moreover, the life standard of the population, deep development differences, especially among republics, districts, regions and even between social levels. The position of the political elite of the Federation as significantly endangered<sup>56</sup>, was looking for its legitimacy among the nations, ethnic groups, republics and districts with dominant nationalism<sup>57</sup> and ethnic conflicts (Jović 1995). The fundamental process of losing the will for joint life of the state members of the federation was definitely caused by the radical wave of democratic changes in postwar Western Europe. The influence of former Yugoslavia's political idea based on national identity which belongs only to the ethnic relation, and not on the distinction between ethnic republics and peoples, started to represent the final expression of the “spirit” of differences (Hayden 1996). Political ideas of nationalism<sup>58</sup> and ethnicity contributed for a faster disintegration of Yugoslavia (Back and Giddens 2005). At the end of 1990, 88% of the population in Slovenia accepted the option to separate, 1991, 94.3% from the population in Croatia voted for independency, which triggered the break-up of

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<sup>56</sup> The pillar of the political establishment (SKY, federal organs of the Party, State presidency, Federal assembly no longer had the right to legitimately decide and adopt decision or they were completely blocked from the decision-making process (Jović 1995).

<sup>57</sup> Nationalism – pathology of national, negative, hostile relations with members of other nations (Šiber 1989):

<sup>58</sup> Even in Macedonia there was a spread of nationalist ideas, although the population consisted of Macedonians, Albanians, Serbs, Romas and others.

Yugoslavia<sup>59</sup> (Silber and Little 1997; Lukić and Lynch 1996; Bennet 1995; Ramet 2002). On 25<sup>th</sup> June 1991, the Slovenian government declared independence from the Federation and at the same time Croatia declared its independence<sup>60</sup> (Silber and Little 1997). SFRY's disintegration was followed by a war between several ex-republics on the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina. All of this had a very negative effect on the Western Balkans, especially regarding the social aspect of citizens' life as individuals. This reflection was felt through unemployment, or nationalist and ethnocentric (imposed) models of behavior, or through the human, civil and political freedoms and rights and their realization (Funk 1996).<sup>61</sup> On the other hand, this was the basic motive and challenge for the European Union and the international community<sup>62</sup> to impose reforms and preparation for the accession of the Balkan countries in the Union (Meurs and Yannis 2002). Within two existing instruments an adaptation strategy for the Balkan was established: the Stability Pact (SP) and the Stabilization and Association Process (SAP)<sup>63</sup>. The beginning of negotiations for stabilization and accession in EU and signing the Pact (agreement) for stabilization and accession, means fulfilling the Copenhagen criteria<sup>64</sup>, but also meeting political and economic criteria for a positive grade and accession to the Union (Meurs and Yannis 2002; Yvonne , Clavero, Calloni 2007). Therefore, these were very specific measures for adjustment of the support mechanisms by the Union for the Balkan states, in order to help them overcome the post- socialist equilibrium, transition to democracy of societies on an economic, political and social plan and continuation of the European perspective for its enlargement towards Southeastern Europe (Meurs and Yannis 2002).

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<sup>59</sup>The victory of president Tudzman in this period was reflected in Croatia through nationalist rethorics in the pre-election period (Cigar 1996). Meanwhile Croatian Serbs insisted on creating Serbian territorial autonomy within Croatia. In September 1990, on the illegal referendum 567 127 Serbs voted for Serbian autonomy (Ramet 2002). In May, the same year YNA began confiscation of the army's arsenal starting with the Slovenian territorial defense forces, through Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, under the control of Serbia (Bennett 1995)

Slovenia, Croatia and Bosnia declared their sovereignty, while Macedonia under the influence of VMRO-DPMNE then was adopting the concept of political and economic independency of the Macedonian state (Ramet 2002). President Tudzman showed bigger interest to bring back parts from Bosnia and to adjoin them to Croatia according to the agreement from 1939. Slavic Serbs expressed bigger intention to separate from Croatia and join Voivodina (Silber and Little 1997). On the other hand, the self-declared independence of Kraina by the Croatian Serbs was a herald for increased tensions between Serbia and Croatia (Tomic 1993). Yugoslavia's disintegration was expected, bearing in mind the coordinative meetings of the presidents then (among which Gligorov, Izetbegovic, Tudzman) which undoubtedly led to a split-up and independence of the republics outside the Federation (Jović 1995).

<sup>60</sup> Two days later the Yugoslav People's Army (YPA) controlled by Serbs passed the borders of Slovenia with heavy weaponry (Izetbegovic 2001).

<sup>61</sup> There are several important indicators of this condition: (a) severe distortions in public spending within some Balkan entities (Kosovo and Bosnia and Herzegovina) (b) deeper unemployment crisis in the whole region, caused by unsuccessful economic transition which led to a dramatic collapse in socialist industries, without a suitable response by the private sector and (c) growing dissatisfaction with the citizens with the democratic processes and practices, no answers to their requests and a growing trend of economic-social disintegration (Krastev 2002).

<sup>62</sup> If they had not provided solutions for the crisis, most likely the future of the Balkan would have become 'the instability region of Europe'.

<sup>63</sup> At the beginning of 1996 EU formed the so-called "regional approach" with which it included five Balkan countries – Albania, Macedonia, Serbia and Montenegro (SCG), Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia. The main characteristic of the regional approach is improving cooperation between the countries in the region as a precondition for the regulation of certain bilateral relations of EU with each one of them. During 1999 the existing regional policy towards the Balkan was revised. The Stabilization and Accession Pact was established and the regional approach was revised and amended. SAP was intended to be an approach which would offer a perspective for EU membership for the whole region and would give a chance for every country to have a fast improvement if it fulfils the predetermined conditions (EU legislation 2013; Stability Pact 2012)

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid* 22

### **3.2 Social and political conditions in the post-socialist period in Macedonia, Serbia and Croatia (similarities and differences)**

Qualitative analyses of existing research regarding the different variables of influence on the success of transition within different countries (Fink-Hafner & Hachek 2000, 2001; Mirčev 2006; Mihailović 2005; Fink-Hafner and Boh 2002, 2003; Fink-Hafner, Krašovec and Lajh 2005), show that socioeconomic conditions (Lipset 1959, 1994; Huntington 1991), ethnic division (Hall 1993; Gasiorowski & Power 1998), civil society (Linz & Stepan 1996), democratic and political system (Huntington 1991; Hall 1993; Lewis 1997) on the one hand, and the factor of war and international intervention on the other hand, are especially important in the representation of the different levels of realization of transformation and the shift from the old to the new system (transition) within different countries in the same period of time, same historical context and same region (Ugrešić 1995). Fink-Hafner and Boh (2003) suggest a correlation between the variables, such as the low level of socioeconomic conditions which connect with the phenomenon of relatively low development of civil societies. Transition in post-socialist countries and especially in former Yugoslav countries, is very often related to the factor of pressure and control by the “old political elite” regarding the realization of democracy in these societies and especially involvement in war as a factor for absence or deterred process of liberalization and democratization of these societies (Fink-Hafner and Hafner Fink 2009). The first decade of post-communist policy in the Western Balkan is marked by the creation of new countries (independent republics) which characterizes with fragile democracies, tendencies to increase the disproportionality in politics, the creation of semi-presidential system and intensive electoral model (Woodward 1995; Ramet 1992; Seroka and Pavlović 1992). Although the three cases (Macedonia, Serbia and Croatia) all have similar historical, socioeconomic, political and transition context, still, depending on the case they differ in the degree of democratization and especially in their transition or transformative effect and shift to democratic, multiparty system, free market and economy. All of this is obviously very dependent on the factor of war and going back in terms of democracy, international help and involvement as a factor of influence at a time of instability and inability to establish “self-governance” (Fink-Hafner and Hafner Fink 2009). The old ruling elite in Macedonia was not very adaptable to the new circumstances, there was an undeveloped opposition, new political pluralism followed by an ethnic clash, negative influences from the neighboring wars and influx of people due to the refugee crisis, and later (2001) a new

ethnic conflict within the country. In the case of Serbia and Montenegro<sup>65</sup> there was also absolute dominance of the old ruling elite and involvement in the war which resulted in a slow transformation of the old elites, undeveloped civil society and in the case of Croatia involvement in war. In the period 1989-1990, the policy of anti-communist<sup>66</sup> was reflected in the parliamentary elections results, when in Croatia the dominant party was HDZ (Croatian Democratic Union) a right-oriented party, in Serbia the Serbian Socialist Party, and in Macedonia VMRO-DPMNE in coalition with the reform forces (Drakulić 1996; Funk 1996, Woodward 1995; Ramet 1992). On the other hand, in the Central and Eastern Europe countries the economic condition during the nineties showed a GDP average of 4000\$ per citizen (Cohen 1996). In the period 1996-2000, Macedonia and Croatia were relatively free countries, while Serbia (within FRY) was not free during the period of the nineties (Ramet 2002). The dominant force in Serbia was the narrow-mindedness which continued to exist due to the fact that there was no critical, opposed civil public (Ramet 2002). Ethnic feelings, nationalistic spirit, hyperinflation, destructive economic policy, international sanctions, isolation, migration of young population and especially NATO attacks in 1999, all contributed for the collapse of the country, which mostly due to the authoritarian regime. According to the index of Transparency International Corruption Perceptions 2000, the corruption degree in Serbia in the 90s` is the highest in Europe. The political regime of FRY<sup>67</sup> 2000 changed with the coming of the Democratic Opposition of Serbia<sup>68</sup> (DOS), and supported by massive strikes and demonstrations by citizens for changing the ruling regime. Due to the murder of the newly elected opposition prime minister and the declared state of emergency in the country, in 2003 a new opposition government was elected and formed<sup>69</sup>. According to Goati (2001) the elections in Serbia were not only battles for victory, but more of a struggle for fair and free elections, and fight against

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<sup>65</sup> Since 1992 Federal Republic of Yugoslavia included Serbia (together with Voivodina and Kosovo) and Montenegro. On February 4<sup>th</sup> 2003, it was renamed in Serbia and Montenegro. On June 3<sup>rd</sup> 2006, Montenegro declared its independence on the basis of the national referendum held on May 21<sup>st</sup> 2006. Serbia declared its independence on June 5<sup>th</sup> 2006 (Mihailović 2005).

<sup>66</sup> Anti-communist governments in Croatia and in Slovenia as well, declared independence in 1991, which triggered the beginning of the war, firstly in Slovenia and then in Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Until 1989 there was a belief that communist regime in former Yugoslavia will continue to exist (Ramet, S, 1995). However, the political transformation continued to happen. In December 1989, Ivica Račan was elected the president of Croatia and was a representative of the liberal party, as opposed to Družić's center and the conservative choice, admiral B.Mamula (Ramet 1992). During this period, Račan had a vision to introduce a multiparty system and free economy. Milošević (as the Serbian leader) had stressed nationalistic hegemony and state capital. They were natural enemies (Ramet 2002). Meanwhile, multiparty elections in some countries such as Slovenia, and Croatia happened as a result of anti-communist movements. In Croatia, the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ) led by general Franjo Tuđman, won with 41,4% (Drakulić 1996). The elections in Macedonia in November also resulted with the victory of the reform forces, while in Serbia the social party of Milošević won with 64% (Ramet 1992). The first leaders of all former republics which became presidents of independent countries - Momir Bulatović of Montenegro, Milan Kučan of Slovenia, Franjo Tuđman of Croatia, Kiro Gligorov of Macedonia, Alija Izetbegović of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Slobodan Milošević of Serbia – were forced to replace the Yugoslav unity with specific identities, independence, self-determination (Magaš 1993).

<sup>67</sup> led by S.Milošević

<sup>68</sup> Led by Z.Gjinić. Although Milošević was turned to the Hague tribunal, the dominant criminal organizations still existed which led to the murder of prime minister Gjinić in 2003 and declaring an emergency situation in the country.

<sup>69</sup> Led by V.Koštica. The minority government consisted of DPS - liberal G17 plus, SRM and New Serbia in coalition with SPS (S.Milošević's party)

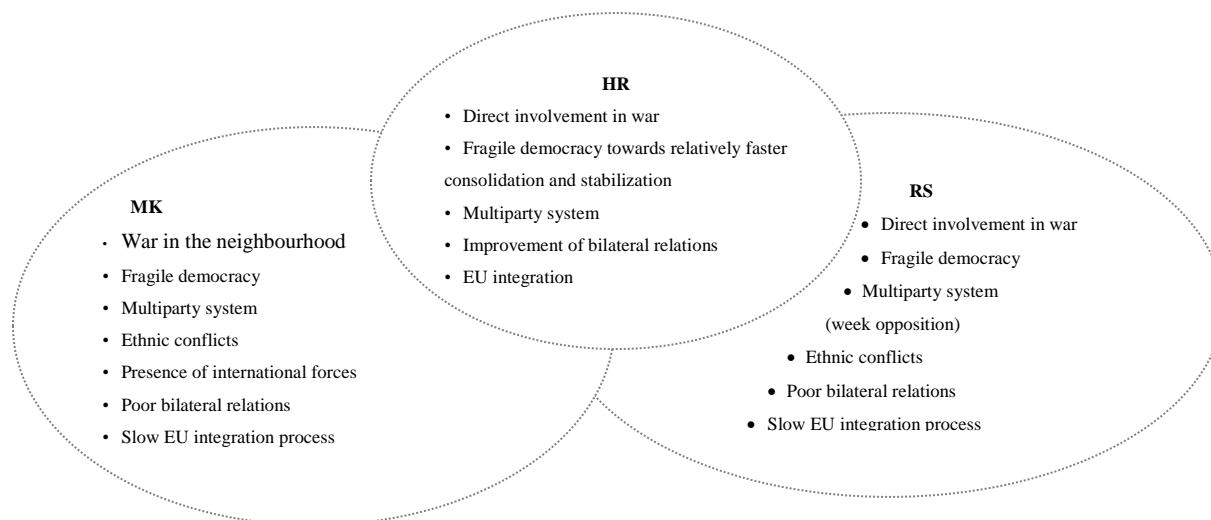
the authoritarian regime throughout the whole territory of federal Yugoslavia. This became even more important after the air attack by NATO in 1999, as a result of the Serbian nationalist policy and the Kosovo issue of conditioned or necessary autonomy (Ramet 2000). Unlike Serbia, in Croatia they opposed civil society was formed previously. Before the establishment of the multiparty system the main opposition parties were founded which were against communist ideology (Drakulić 1996; Funk 1996). Until 2000 the old ruling elite<sup>70</sup> was able to exist on the basis of encouragement ethnic feeling and war actions (Ramet 1992) (HDZ during four electoral cycles) within the authoritarian regime and nationalist populism or democratic despotism (Kasapović 2000; Čular 2000; Vejvoda 2000). SDP was the only political party likely to succeed after the victory at the elections 2000, which was marked as a new beginning of transition and consolidation of democracy (Lalović 2000). Macedonia was one of the republics from the Yugoslav federation which created an independent country in a relatively peaceful and democratic way. The referendum for independence 1991 achieved the majority of votes (95%). On the basis of the referendum results, the Assembly brought the Declaration of Independence 1991, and with the Constitution the same year the formal and legislative frame of the new sovereign country was formed (Mirčev 2008). Although, after the first free elections of the changed ruling party from the old regime (League of Communists of Macedonia – Party of Democratic Transformation) gained more support than the communist in Croatia, still it was not able to control the political life in Macedonia, especially due to the predominance of ethnic policy, and the country was receiving the character of a fragile »incomplete democracy«. The new political parties in Macedonia were more or less defined by ethnic groups` interests. Even the new system could not lead to the consensus for overcoming the polarization into two main blocks: Macedonian and Albanian (Georgievski 1999). At a time of war happening in the neighboring countries and the reflections from it in the political, economic and social life of citizens, as well as the unfavorable bilateral relations with the neighboring countries, especially Greece (due to the refusal to recognize Macedonia) the creation of the new Macedonian country was very difficult. In these conditions, the presence of foreign (international) forces prevented the war conflicts from overflowing into the country. However, this period (transition) towards democracy was burdened by inner interethnic conflicts. In fact, during the process of establishing democracy, Macedonia was faced with several challenges: recognition of the sovereignty and the

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<sup>70</sup> The democratic character was disturbed by so-called ability of the government to choose the time and set the rules for the elections, and control of the media which have a tremendous influence on the creation of public opinion (Ramet 1992).

country's legal subjectivity in EU, UN as a long-term process with great consequences for the country (economically isolated position, faced with constant negation of its identity and independence); the country's economic performances were relatively unfavorable, as well as the standard of the population; the total transition into a modern democracy and market economy took a long time to eliminate the inheritance left by the undeveloped, socialist, single-party, collectivist society and the mentality with a high percent of mixed ethnic population, different social, material and cultural position of ethnic minorities (highly sensitive) as especially important for the functioning of the democratic political order (Mirčev 2008). The last challenge was creating tensions in the political life in Macedonia for a longer period of time, sometimes leading to serious crises (ethnic war, 2001) and also destabilizes the functioning of the social establishment. However, this factor also creates bases for building authentic democratic institutions in a multicultural society. Moreover, the Macedonia's experience so far, had the international support in addition to establish the democratic changes and role of law (Georgievski 1999).

**Figure 3.2: General (comparative) overview of social and political conditions from 1989 to 2009**



Generally, transition was coming along slowly and difficult in all three countries (Croatia, Serbia) or with the mediation of international forces (Macedonia). While the former two were directly involved in war with huge consequences, the latter (Macedonia) was faced with collateral damage, on the one hand due to the reflections from the neighboring war and the influx



of refugees and crisis, and on the other hand due to the refusal (mainly by Greece) to recognize Macedonia's independence and poor relations with the neighbors as a result of the assimilation and expansion policy and finally as a result of its own inner conflict on interethnic level (Mirčev 2008; Fink-Hafner and Hafner-Fink 2009). The three countries are cases of relatively weak democracy from the beginning of transition (See Appendix A7). The real situation regarding dominant perceptions among the citizens within the selected countries, in relation to the opportunities to participate and elect representatives on a national level, as well as the freedom of speech, thought, rule of law and political stability, shows a lower average in comparison with the International range of all states (see Appendix A8). Croatia can be slightly excluded from this because after the war conflict it managed to renew its society and political system very quickly (Ramet 2002). From a formal and legal aspect, the stabilization processes imposed harmonization of the legislation<sup>71</sup> which led to change in the democratic discourse, although for a longer period of time the real implementation in these countries gives a completely different image especially regarding the minorities' rights (Vujadinović et al. 2004.). Yugoslavia's break-up led to a new organization of individual societies and tendency towards Europe, with a huge step towards transition, consolidation and institutionalization of the liberal-democratic order (Silber and Little 1997; Lukić and Lynch 1996; Vujadinović et al. 2004).

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<sup>71</sup> In Croatia and Macedonia since 2000/2001, while Serbia a little bit later 2008, due to the dominant war conflict and the refusal to cooperate with the Hague tribunal

### **3.3 Women`s position in the post-socialist period in Macedonia, Serbia and Croatia**

The political presence of women during the communist regime was called “state feminism” or “top-down feminism” (Jalušić 1999). In the socialist regimes of these countries, equality was guaranteed by the constitution. However, this was only in terms of equality among workers, equality in the right to vote, equality regarding the duty in the function of the Communist party, and a specific social equality was not defined. (Antić Gaber and Lokar 2006).

During the 1990s`, after these countries became independent, the concept of gender equality was not perceived as real equality (Antić Gaber 1999). After the break-up of Yugoslavia, the former members of the federation<sup>72</sup> faced war conflicts, privatization, and market economy, political and religious pluralism. Therefore, all of them, according to the differences in the social and economic development, neglected the concept of gender equality, especially regarding the presence of women in the political life (Jalušić and Antić Gaber 2001). As a post-conflict region, the Western Balkans faced a lot of new political problems, on the one hand<sup>73</sup> and tendency towards EU integrations as a key guiding political element (especially as a necessity for overcoming the nationalistic spirit in the governing of the countries) on the other hand (Back and Giddens 2005). Actually, integration and accession to the European Union represents a unique kind of transition within a transition (Ehrke 2005). The political presence of women in post-socialist countries (in this case the Western Balkans, among which Macedonia, Serbia and Croatia), became a problem not only regarding the introduction of gender equality in all spheres of social life, but also regarding the social and political transformation (Baćanović and Pajvančić 2008). After the fall of the communist regime new democracies showed even bigger nationalistic separatism and xenophobia which were reflected through the discrimination actions against citizens and the social rights of women which guaranteed until then within the old communist regime (Lokar 2001). The creation of new democracies by establishing political pluralism in Eastern Europe, after the fall of communism caused two general social changes: first, the appearance of nationalism, separatism, secessionism and ethno-nationalism, especially towards the minorities (Walby 1990) and second, discrimination regarding civil and social rights, especially against women, rights legally established during the communist regime (Milić 1994; Funk 1996). On the other hand, EU integrations by the post-communist European countries are

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<sup>72</sup> with the exception of Slovenia, which was the most developed country, economically and socially, and therefore joined the EU

<sup>73</sup> Such as the Kosovo status, ethnic conflicts in Macedonia, the war between Croatia and Serbia and the border issue between Croatia and Slovenia;

still facing the challenges to achieve complete gender equality, although key difference is the intensive activation of mechanisms and upgrading the legislation providing equal opportunities, imposed by the EU, as well as supporting women from Europe and feminist networks which work intensively on the application of the basic standards for gender equality.

During the last years a gradual change can be seen in terms of increased decisiveness to solve women`s problems. The improvement in legal and formal gender equity, can serve as a starting point for these changes. Positive effects have shown not only EU strategies, but also the CEDAW<sup>74</sup> strategies (Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women) and the Beijing platform regarding the protection of women`s rights (Beijing, UN Conference on Women, 1995). The main task of the international and national promoters during the transition process within post-socialist countries is improving women`s position in these societies through a new, incorporated, legal aspect in legislation and the election reforms which will encourage bigger presence of women in politics and in the public sphere in general.

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<sup>74</sup> Adopted on the General Assembly of the UN on 18 December 1979, and became valid on September 3, 1981.

#### **4 DEVELOPMENT MODEL OF THE LEGAL AND INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK AND POLICIES PROMOTING GENDER EQUITY**

Before the comparative analysis of the investigated countries in terms of political presence of women and the influence factors, it is necessary to review the legal framework and the development model for the adoption of policies within these countries. According to academic research, in the last 150 years, democratic regimes on a world level did not include positive (affirmative) legal measures which would overcome barriers regarding political presence of women. This created a substantial inferiority in the public life. (Bird, Saalfeld, Wust, 2011; Cederman, Min and Wimmer 2010; Paxton and Hughes 2007). On a global level, women account for 16% of the parliament (Quota project 2012). The average level in national parliaments within the member states of the European Union is 23, 6% for 2007 (EC Report, Women and man in decision making 2008).<sup>75</sup>

In the Western Balkans, former members of the SFRY, women became able to exercise their civil and political rights in 1946 (Baćanović 2010) they even had the right to vote during the Second World War within the exempt countries. Women's inferiority in political life is a global political phenomenon which is socially determined (Philips 1998). Although this issue is still a subject of analysis (Thomson 2002, Ruminska-Zimny 2002, Blackburn and Jarman 2000; Herman and Vinković 2003) and is still a current problem in many societies, they differ in the activities and measures taken in order to overcome it. The analysis of the conditions within the researched Western Balkans indicates certain challenges on the one hand, such as the processes of transition and the shift from a socialist to a democratic regime, and on the other hand changes in the social and political life of citizens (Bebler 2008; Vinković 2006; Petrović 2002). The adjustment and transformation of these countries led to an unequal distribution of opportunities and created differences in the political presence of social groups (Kenny 2004; Leinert Novosel 2003; Barković and Vinković 2006). According to the UN Human Development Reports there is an imbalance in almost every area of social living, especially evident in the low percentage of women in decision-making political structures and in political life in general.<sup>76</sup> Since the 1990s, after the republics proclaimed their independence from the Yugoslav federation, the processes of incorporating formal and legal measures and legislation have moved really slowly. This was due

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<sup>75</sup> Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 2008

<sup>76</sup> HDR, UNDP, 2011; 2010; 2009;

to the difficult transition, the war conflicts and finally due to the stereotypes in relation to these issues in politics (Ruminska-Zimny 2002; Petrović 2002; Barković and Vinković 2006; Antić Gaber and Lokar 2006). In the formal and legal analysis and context, the legislation for promoting civil, political, economic and social rights of women in these countries is set in different phases, with a different intensity, depending on political and especially war fluctuations.

The analysis of the formal and legal framework in all three countries (fundamental rights and freedoms – civil, economic and political, expressed through the Constitution and national legislation harmonized with the International agreements) will be looking at the dynamics of changes in the legal framework development model regarding gender equity, harmonization with European legislation, institutional changes and mechanisms in the period from 1990 (after the break-up of SFRY and the establishment of independence of the republics) until 2009<sup>77</sup> (according to the framework of the research).

#### **4.1 Development model for adopting legal framework and gender equality policies in Macedonia (1990 – 2012)**

In Macedonia, the tradition of formal and legal equal treatment of the sexes is mostly expressed through general equality for all citizens (especially regarding the general right to vote). This tradition begins in the socialist system.<sup>78</sup> Equality as a basic postulate was represented by formal and legal guarantee (equal treatment regarding education institutions, the working process and government structures). However, this equality did not match the reality of the situation (Najčevska et al. 1999). During the 50 years of development of socialism, the problem which received the least attention was raising the awareness for the position and the role of gender in everyday life (private sphere) and also in public life (Duhaček 1993).

The democratic changes in the period after 1991 caused further changes in the legal, economic, social and political system, and introduction of multiparty pluralism in Macedonia.<sup>79</sup> Macedonia

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<sup>77</sup> The development model of the legal framework in all three countries contains latest information from 2012 for certain areas.

<sup>78</sup> The first legal organization of women in the Republic of Macedonia happened after ASNOM (Anti-Fascist Assembly for the People's Liberation of Macedonia), August 1944, when the Macedonian republic was constituted, at the first conference of the Anti-Fascist Women Front on the 14 and 15 December 1944. This declaration establishes equality of women in society, incorporated in social and economic rights of women as part of the universal human rights (Veskovic-Vangeli 1982).

In the period between 1944 and 1990 all Constitutions of the existant Democratic Federal Macedonia, People's Republic of Macedonia, Socialist Republic of Macedonia, proclaimed general gender equity. Constitution of PM 31/12/1946 (Сл. Весник на РМ 1/47); Constitution of SRM, 12/04/1963, (Сл. Весник СРМ 15/63); Constitution of SRM, 25/02/1974g., (Сл. Весник на СРМ 25/74).

Look: Veskovic-Vangeli, V. 1982., *Woman in the Revolution of Macedonia 1941-1945*, Skopje, Institute of National History

<sup>79</sup> The first years of transition were especially difficult for Macedonia, as a result of the influence by unfavourable internal and external factors. The economic distortions and the fall of the market, the direct embargo by Greece, the embargo by UN towards Yugoslavia, as well as political problems regarding the Albanian political parties due to the state and institutional guarantees for the minorities' rights, all had a truly negative effect on Macedonia. regarding the external and regional influences, all problems are connected to Macedonia's recognition as an independent country under its constitutional name – the Republic of Macedonia, which is

proclaimed its independency and sovereignty in 1991. The transition processes and the changes in social and political structure were mostly reflected in the normative and legal approach. The Constitution as the highest legal act<sup>80</sup> guarantees equality, freedoms and rights for all citizens (regardless of their gender, race, nationality, social status, political orientation and religion, Sluzben Vesnik - Official Gazette 52/91). In the **Constitutional provisions**, fundamental rights of the individual and citizen are based on equality (*the citizens of the Republic of Macedonia are equal in their freedoms and rights regardless of their gender...* (Сл. Весник на РМ 52/91, Article 9-50). These provisions guarantee the principle of equality (Сл. Весник на РМ 52/91, Article 50-54), and harmonization with international standards (Сл. Весник на РМ 52/91, Article 118-121). Equality of all citizens is a basic value of the Constitutional establishment which is founded on complete recognition and promotion of equal approach, as the inevitable pre-condition for sustainable development and democratic values (Сл. Весник на РМ 52/91). However, the definition of equality and equity is neutral in its essence.<sup>81</sup> The basic characteristic of the Constitutional system is the civil concept based on the idea of independence, individual rights and identification with the fundamental values of the system. The principal determinants recognizing equality are specified in the legislation and in part of the secondary normative. Since 1991 until today several amendments and alterations of the Constitution have been made (Сл. Весник на РМ 1/92; Сл. Весник на РМ 31/98; Сл. Весник на РМ 91/01; Сл. Весник на РМ 84/03; Сл. Весник на РМ 107/05; Сл. Весник на РМ 3/09) among which the specific Constitutional amendments from 2001 (Сл. Весник на РМ 91/01, 4-18) which were a result of the Ohrid Framework Agreement signed after the war conflict in 2001<sup>82</sup>. Except in the basic values of the constitutional order<sup>83</sup>, equality and anti-discrimination among citizens is treated within the civil and political freedoms and rights department<sup>84</sup> (Сл. Весник на РМ 52/91, Article 9), as well as the rights recognized in the international law<sup>85</sup>. According to the

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continuously very strongly rejected by Greece. Moreover, the war conflicts in the Former Yugoslav Republics (Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia and Kosovo) had a negative influence on the stability of the country and of the whole region in general.

<sup>80</sup> The constitution of the Republic of Macedonia has been changed several times (Сл. Весник на РМ 52/91; Сл. Весник на РМ 1/92; Сл. Весник на РМ 31/98); Сл. Весник на РМ 91/01; Сл. Весник на РМ 84/03; Сл. Весник на РМ 107/05; Сл. Весник на РМ 3/09)

<sup>81</sup> The principle of neutrality of the legal norms enabled elimination of direct discrimination on the one hand, but on the other hand it very often contributed for the unpleasant position of members of certain groups. In the case of political representation this can be seen in the ambivalent principle of political equality.

<sup>82</sup> More about the ethnic conflict in: Ithaca press, 1996. International crisis group, *The Albanian question and Macedonia*, Report n.38, 1998, Norwegian Helsandki Siljanovska Davkova, 2004. *Democracy and Multiethnic and Multicultural Society – Between Demos and Ethnos* and Macedonia on Globalisation, Global Scholarly Publications, New York

<sup>83</sup> Fundamental rights and rights of the individual and citizen known in international law and established by the Constitution; free expression of nationality and fair and justice representation of citizens from all minority groups in the state authorities and other public institutions on all levels; rule of law; division of state government to legislative, executive and judicial, political pluralism, free and democratic elections, social justice and solidarity; local self-government; respecting generally accepted norms of international law.

<sup>84</sup> citizens have equal freedoms and rights, regardless of their gender, national or social background, political or religious orientation..... (Сл. Весник на РМ 52/91, Article .9)

<sup>85</sup> Included in the second chapter of the Constitution (Chapter II) by the name of **Fundamental rights and rights of the individual and citizen, part 1** (Article 9 to

Constitution, in the civil and political rights section, the right to vote, the right to perform public functions, the right to citizenships, and the freedom to associate refer to all citizens<sup>86</sup>. The Constitution of Macedonia incorporates prohibition to discriminate, and sets this prohibition in a much wider context - as a principle of the equality of citizens (Najčevska et al. 1999). Equality is set on a level of general principles, while the gender concept has not yet been incorporated by a specific categorization and definition of gender equity, as is the case with the Constitution in Croatia.

#### **4.1.1 Civil and political rights (legal framework)**

The normative legal framework includes anti-discrimination regulations in several areas (employment, education, health protection, social policy, and human rights), prevention from discrimination and promotion of equality within criminal, civil and administrative legislation.

Political rights and the presence of citizens in political life is an area which has continuously caused improving changes and better legal framework in the last fifteen years (Najčevska et al. 1999). Political pluralism which was introduced after the break-up of SFRY meant complete restructuring of the candidature process and the election of members in the representative bodies, and with it also the political equilibrium of rights (Siljanovska Davkova 2004). The provisions in many laws and by-law acts do not display an unequal treatment of women in any way (Shadow Report to the Convention on the Elimination of All forms of Discrimination against Women CEDAW 2005). A specific inclusion is predetermined within the framework of the legal regulations, through the Election Laws for Members of Parliament, Election of Representatives in the Local Ruling Structures, later the Electoral Code, Law on Political Parties, Law on Civic Associations. Although equality and non-discrimination is incorporated within the legislation, still even until 2002 there was no gender sensitive categorization of equality between genders (SR-CEDAW 2005). Reviewing the normative framework leads to the following points:

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29) which refer to *civil and political freedoms and rights* (right to live; physical and moral dignity; sacredness of freedom; presuming innocence; no punishment for an act which is not punishable by law; right to complain; freedom of orientation, speech and public performance; free approach to the public information media; right to correct the information in mass media; the right to protect a source in the mass media; confidentiality of personal information; confidentiality of letters and other forms of communication; freedom of religious expression; freedom of association for peaceful protests; equal right to vote at the age of 18; right to perform public functions; respect and protection of the privacy of personal and family life; a right to petition state and other public; the inviolability of home is guaranteed; freedom of movement on the territory of the Republic of Macedonia; the right to defend the country; the right to asylum)

<sup>86</sup> The citizens' right to vote is guaranteed with Article 22 the Constitution of the Republic of Macedonia. According to this Article "Every citizen on reaching 18 years of age acquires the right to vote. The right to vote is equal, universal and direct, and is exercised at free elections by secret ballot. Persons deprived of the right to practice their profession by a court verdict do not have the right to vote . Article 23 of the Constitution guarantees each citizen to take part in the performance of public office. These functions include government functions – legislative, executive and judicial. This right can be exercised by citizens without restrictions and for all public functions. This means that every function is available for every citizen without any discrimination what so ever.

**Political and electoral system** – With the Constitution from 17 November Macedonia is defined as parliamentary democracy with triple division of power (legislative, unicameral parliament – the Assembly; executive – Government, President; and judicial). Until 1998, there was a majority electoral system (in two electoral cycles) with 120 electoral districts. In reality, this made it difficult for women to be represented in the parliament. In 1998 the mixed (combined) electoral system was introduced, according to which 35 mandates were allocated according to the proportional, while 85 according to the majority rule electoral system. In 2002 with the Law on Election *Representative Bodies* of the *Units of Local and Regional Self-Government* (Сл. Весник на РМ 42/2002) the proportional system was introduced, closed voting lists and election of Assembly representatives with a mandate of four years. The right to vote<sup>87</sup> (active and passive), is a constitutional, guaranteed right, equal, general and direct (Сл. Весник на РМ 42/2002; Сл. Весник на РМ 52/91, Article 22). The Assembly of the RM is a unicameral representative body. With the Law on Constituencies from 2002 (Сл. Весник на РМ 43/2002) 6 constituencies are formed, and a total of 120 representatives are elected on a national level. The constituencies are created according to the Law on Constituencies (Сл. Весник на РМ 43/2002) and the Law on Voters` List (Сл. Весник на РМ 42/2002), and comprise of 280 000 voters per constituency (+- 3%). The allocation of mandates is done according to the D`Hondt`s method (just like in Serbia and Croatia). In four constituencies the dominant population is Macedonian, while in two Albanian, Roma and Serbian population. There is no electoral censure in Macedonia. This indicates a lack of legal regulations in the election law in the post-conflict period after 2001. According to Jovanović (2004) the redesigning of the electoral system in Macedonia with emphases to the ethnic aspect of the constituencies, has a very important influence and leads towards a territorial division and federalization of the country. Regarding the political presence of women, several laws for encouraging the presence of women in politics have been of great importance (introduction of the proportional electoral system and legal electoral quotas 2002) due to the need of harmonization of the national with the European legislation after the Stabilization and Association Agreement with EU (ССА МК 2000).

• **Political parties** – Legal establishment and defining of political parties in Macedonia starts from the idea of organization and association of citizens in order to exercise common political,

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<sup>87</sup> Every citizen on reaching 18 years of age acquires the right to vote. The right to vote is equal, universal and direct, and is exercised at free elections by secret ballot.



economic, social and other rights, collaboration in the accomplishment of goals and gaining and sustaining power on democratic elections (Сл. Весник на РМ 76/04). The census for the formation of political parties in Macedonia is 500 citizens. According to the Law, in order for the political parties to function it is necessary for them to have a Program and Statute which must not be against the Constitution or laws. In Macedonia, the Law on Financing Political Parties (Сл. Весник на РМ 76/04) proposes a membership fee as a source of financing, financing by physical and legal entities, state and local financing for which a supervision is required. Law on Political Parties (Сл. Весник на РМ 76/04) obliges political parties to put efforts in fulfilling the principle of gender equity in the availability of functions within the political party.

• **Legal (electoral) quotas** – With the introduction of the Law on the Election of Members from 2002, a 30% quota was predetermined for the under-represented gender<sup>88</sup> (Сл. Весник на РМ 42/2002; Сл. Весник на РМ 46/2004). A very important novelty was the fact that for the first time quotas were incorporated as part of political strategies and affirmative measures<sup>89</sup> for encouragement of bigger presence of women in the representative bodies and a proportional electoral system with closed voting lists. The progressive development of the normative framework and the introduction of quotas in the election laws, especially after 2002, resulted in a higher percent of women in legislative (National Action Plan for Gender Equality NAPGE MK 2007). The changes caused by the introduction of quotas was reflected in the increase of the percent of women in the Parliament from 4.2% to 18% (for instance in 1990 – 4.2%, 1994 – 3%, 1998 – 8%, and with the introduction of quotas in 2002 – 18%, and 2006 – 27.5%, Report of the Republic of Macedonia for progress towards the millennium development goals RRM-MDG 2009).

Moreover, the Law on Local Elections 2004 established a 30% quota for the under-represented sex and their positioning in the upper or lower half of the list<sup>90</sup> (Сл. Весник на РМ 35/2004, Article 15a). However, this was not enough to increase and improve the political presence of women. Although, introducing quotas in the legislation had its result, they were still not within the expectations (SRCEDAW 2005). Furthermore, a novelty in this direction is the Electoral Code<sup>91</sup> from March 2006 (Сл. Весник на РМ 40/2006). This code abolishes the 30% quota for

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<sup>88</sup> Each gender should be represented with at least 30% in the candidate lists.

<sup>89</sup> According to Norris and Lovenduski's classification (1995) these measures can be classified in the model of affirmative actions.

<sup>90</sup> Each gender should be represented with at least 30% in the candidate lists for members of Municipality Council and the City of Skopje, in the upper and lower half of the list

<sup>91</sup> With the establishment of the Electoral Code all previous election laws cease to be valid. The provisions of the Electoral Code are applied and it represents a legal

the lists, and establishes: *In the submitted list of candidates for members of parliament in each three consecutive places at least one will be reserved for the under-represented gender* (Article. 64, Paragraph 5). While Article 21, Paragraph 3, introduces a 30% quota for the under-represented sex in election management bodies. (Сл. Весник на РМ 40/2006).

Regarding the political presence in political parties, the Law on Political Parties (Сл. Весник на РМ 76/2004) bans any type of discrimination based on being or not being a member of a political party. This law also guarantees gender equity in the availability of functions within the party.

**Law on Equal Opportunities and Anti-discrimination Laws** – The Equal Opportunities Law 2006 is very important for the development of legislation. This law determines the basic and specific measures for men and women, obligations and duties of authoritative subjects in order to provide equal opportunities, procedure for confirming unequal treatment of men and women, rights and responsibilities of the Official (within the Ministry of Labor and Social Policy - МТСП МКД) responsible for the procedure for confirming unequal treatment, as well as issues important for establishing equal opportunities (Сл. Весник на РМ 66/2006). The basic purpose of this law was promotion of the principle of equal opportunities for both genders in the political, economic, social, educational and other spheres of life (OSCE/ODIHR Preliminary comment for the draft Equal Opportunities Law of the Republic of Macedonia GEND-MK/036/2005). The concept and content of the law are based on the international norms and standards included in most of the international documents adopted by UN, EU, and CE which are the basis for defending the legal framework for regulating the issues and improving the status of women<sup>92</sup> (NAPGE MK 2007). The definition of the term `equal opportunities` comes from CEDAW and it is basically identical with the definition of this term in the legislation of Serbia and Croatia: *Equal treatment of men and women is the absence of any direct or indirect discrimination on the basis of gender. Direct discrimination is each situation in which the person had or could have more unfavorable treatment as opposed to the person from the other gender, while indirect discrimination exists when supposedly neutral regulations, standards or treatments in a certain situation bring a person in a more unfavorable position than the person from the other gender, except in the cases when these regulations, standards or treatments are important, necessary or justified by objective facts not connected to gender.*<sup>93</sup>

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tool for the upcoming elections.

<sup>92</sup> The law is based on: *Principle of equality and respecting human dignity; - principle of inadmissibility of discrimination; - principle of establishing equal opportunities for men and women in the main social developments (gender mainstreaming); - principle of equal treatment of men and women in employment, vocational education, promotion and working conditions; equal treatment in social security; - principle providing each person the opportunity to earn a living by freely choosing their vocation; providing equal working conditions for all workers etc.*

<sup>93</sup> The definition of these terms also is according to the provisions in the Directive 2002/73/EC of the European Union which is an amendment to the Directive

With this Law a Commission for equal opportunities was formed within the Assembly, as a permanent body whose operation is determined by Rules of procedure of the Assembly (Сл. Весник на РМ 66/2006, Article 11). According to this Law, within its legal authority the Ombudsman acts in order to legally protect the equal opportunities for men and women. Changes and amendments to the Law on Equal Opportunities (Сл. Весник на РМ 117/2008)<sup>94</sup> were made in 2008 as a result of the need to harmonize them with EU Directives (2002/73/EC), especially regarding the definitions for discrimination and harassment in European standards, but also due to the need to harmonize the law with the provisions or offences and violations. In 2012 a new Law on Equal Opportunities was brought LEO (Сл. Весник на РМ , 6/2012) which represents a turning point in the processes for gender equality, as a separate gender equity law which includes special measures for equal opportunities of men and women and appoints the Ministry of Labor and Social Policy as a support and regulator of gender issues. In the aspect of expanding the field of discrimination in specific areas, especially according to Directive (EC 97/80), Law on Prevention against Discrimination was brought in 2010. This law prevents and protects against discrimination in the process of exercising the rights established by Constitution, laws and ratified international agreements (hereby the protection and prevention of discrimination refers to all physical and legal entities in the process of exercising their rights and freedoms) predetermined by normative framework (Сл. Весник на РМ 50/2010). Also Law on Social Welfare was brought, which forbids direct or indirect discrimination on the basis of gender in the process of exercising the rights of social protection in public and private institutions (Сл. Весник на РМ 79/2009).

The legal framework, not only encourages the political presence of women but it also foresees anti-discrimination provisions for equality in the criminal, administrative or civil field. In the domain of economic rights, the Law on Labor Relations suggests equality in the employment, work place and salary in the regulation of labor issues (Сл. Весник на РМ 25/2003) .

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76/207/EEC, and which includes a new definition of indirect discrimination and harassment as a form of discrimination included in the regulations of member states in the EU and other countries .

The introduction of these measures is according to Recommendation 96/694/EC for a balanced participation of men and women in the decision-making process and Recommendation 84/635/EEC for promotion of measures for positive actions of women, documents of EU, as well as Recommendation (2003) from the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe for equal participation of men and women in the public and political life.

<sup>94</sup>In the Law on Equal Opportunities for men and women (Сл. Весник на РМ 117/08) Article 4 Paragraph 1 points 4, 5, 6 and 7 are altered and they read: "4. *Direct discrimination* exists when a person is treated worse on the basis of gender than another person, was treated or could be treated in a similar situation 5. *Indirect discrimination* exists when a supposedly neutral provision, criterion or customary right puts persons from one gender in an unfavorable position in comparison to persons from the other gender, except if that provision, criterion or customary right is objectively justified and with a legitimate purpose, and the means of its achieving are appropriate and necessary; 6. *Harassment* exists when there is a negative conduct connected to a person's gender, the consequence or goal of which is violation of one's dignity and creation of an intimidating, hostile, degrading, humiliating and offensive atmosphere; 7. *Sexual harassment* exists when there is any type of unwanted verbal, non-verbal or physical sexual behavior, the consequence or purpose of which is violation of a person's dignity, especially when there is an intimidating, hostile, degrading, humiliating and offensive atmosphere".

Therefore, certain changes were made in the Law on Labor Relations whereas discrimination is eliminated regarding the threshold for determining retirement and the years of experience for men and women. In order to harmonize the legislation with EU directives (75/117/EEC; 76/207/EEC; 2000/78/EC; 92/85/EEC; 2004/113/EC; 2000/43/EC), a new Law on Labor Relations was passed. In the framework of this law equal treatment is proposed, not only in the process of employment but also regarding vocational training and promotion, working conditions, position of pregnant women, mobbing protection...(Сл. Весник на РМ 62/2005). Within the domain of citizenship, laws have special meaning regarding the role of women, such as for example the Law on Family (states equality of men and women in relation to their rights and responsibilities in the family and marriage... Сл. Весник на РМ 80/1992; 83/2004).<sup>95</sup> Laws on Primary Education (Сл. Весник на РМ 103/2008), Secondary Education (Сл. Весник на РМ 44/95) and the Law on Higher Education (Сл. Весник на РМ 35/2008) guarantee equality for all citizens and ban discrimination on the basis of gender... The Court Law guarantees the right of equal availability of all courts and protection of human rights and interests based on positive legal regulations without any discrimination regarding gender . . . (Сл. Весник на РМ 36/95, 45/95; 64/2003; Сл. Весник на РМ 58/2006) . The Defense Law proposes the right of women to be actively included in the military service, equally to men (Сл. Весник на РМ 8/92) . The Criminal Code (Сл. Весник на РМ 185/2011) <sup>96</sup> proposes that violations based on gender should be considered criminal acts and protection against criminal acts against gender freedom and gender moral are foreseen (Сл. Весник на РМ 185/2011).<sup>97</sup> The Law on Sanction forbids discrimination on the basis of the gender of the person underlying the sanction (Сл. Весник на РМ 3/97; 23/99) . The Law on Civil Associations and Foundations suggests that the activity of a civil association shall be prohibited in the case of violating human rights or discrimination regarding gender (Сл. Весник на РМ 31/1998). In most cases these regulations cover only direct discrimination.

Although, analyzing legislation shows the existence of anti-discrimination regulations prohibiting discrimination in certain areas of life, still the reality shows different results. In this

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<sup>95</sup> With the changes and amendments of this law in 2004, it was confirmed that the state provides protection of marriage and family from poor relations and violence. Any type of violence is forbidden in marriage and family. The Law on Family explains domestic violence as the behaviour of a certain member of the family who uses force or threats and causes body injuries...The Provisional Protection Measures of the victims of domestic violence.....(Сл. Весник на РМ 83/2004) hold a central place in this law

<sup>96</sup> Criminal Code (Official Gazette of RM No. 28/91, 24/92, 49/93, 37/96, 80/99, 4/2002, 43/2003 and 19/2004; 185/2011)

<sup>97</sup> with the changes and amendments of the Criminal Code, the definition of domestic violence is set. Domestic violence entails harassment, offending, threatening the security, bodily injuries, sexual and other psychological or physical violence, which is the cause of insecurity, intimidation or fear felt by the spouse.....( Сл. Весник на РМ 185/2011)

direction, the government passes the National Action Plan for Gender Equality<sup>98</sup> (NAPGE MK) , as a strategic document defining the areas of action, indicators and authorities in order to overcome the reality of the situation, which was low level of women`s presence in public and political life (Report on the monitoring of gender equality policies in PM/ИМПРЕ 2007) .

• **Institutional changes (mechanisms)** – Regarding institutional changes, according to the Beijing platform and the Action platform<sup>99</sup>, in 1997 a Department for improving gender equality was formed within the Ministry of Labor and Social Policy. Later on, with the passing of the first National Action Plan for Gender Equality in 1999 and the Act for Systematization and Organization of the Ministry of Labor and Social Policy in 2007, this department changed into Department for Equal Opportunities. Within this department there are the Department for Gender Equality and the Department for Prevention and Protection all forms of Discrimination (NAPGE MK 2007). According to Article 14, Paragraph 3, 4 and 5 from the LEO (Сл. Весник на РМ 6/2012) all ministries are obliged to appoint an official – coordinator, responsible for the establishment and conduct of equal opportunities.

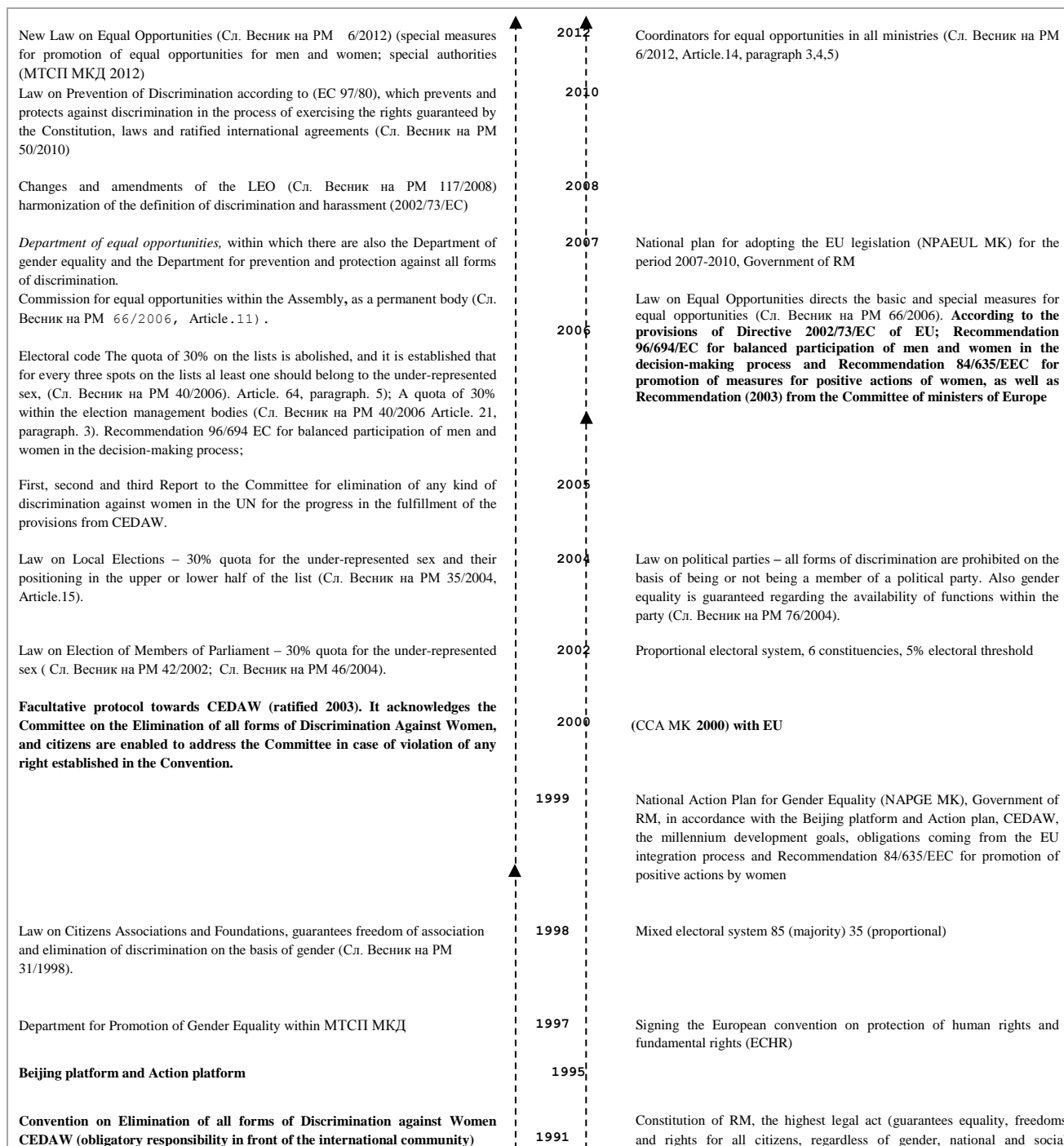
Besides the existence of legal framework for equality, analysis still point to the need to overcome the democratic deficit of lower presence of women in politics, through genuine implementation of laws, acting against and sanctioning inconsistencies. Furthermore, there should be a way to overcome existing stereotypes, and traditional beliefs within the dominant culture (Najčevska et al. 1999).

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<sup>98</sup> This document is a national response to the international obligations of the Republic of Macedonia and effort to unify all attitudes and resources in a coherent framework and a unique period to achieve gender equity. The basis of NAPGE are the Beijing platform and the Action plan, CEDAW, the Millennium development goals, the obligations imposed by EU integration, and other international obligations.

<sup>99</sup> (Beijing Declaration and the Action Platform, Conclusions from the Special session of the General Assembly of the UN in 2000 (Beijing +5)

**Figure 4.1: Macedonia on a national level - Dynamics of the legal framework development and policies for encouraging bigger presence of women in political life**



background, political and religious orientation... (Сл. Весник на РМ 52/91; Сл. Весник на РМ 1/92; Сл. Весник на РМ 31/98); Сл. Весник на РМ 91/01; Сл. Весник на РМ 84/03 Сл. Весник на РМ 107/05; Сл. Весник на РМ 3/09). Equal right to vote for all citizens (Сл. Весник на РМ 52/91, Art. 22); Equal opportunity to perform public functions, without any form of discrimination (Сл. Весник на РМ 52/91, Article. 22).

## 4.2 Development model for adopting legal framework and gender equality policies in Serbia (1990 – 2012)

The legal framework in Serbia<sup>100</sup> is analyzed into two phases regarding gender-sensitive policy (according to the political fluctuations), i.e. period 1990-2003 when there was an absolute marginalization of women and the period after 2003. Although the Constitution of SRY 1992 (Sluzbeni List SRJ, SL - Official Gazette SRY 1/92) envisaged equality of citizens in their civil and political rights (SL 1/92, Article 34) (active and passive right to vote) still, special provisions were not included<sup>101</sup> in relation to gender equality (Branković 2002). Mainly, the conditions in Former SRY<sup>102</sup> were not very positive regarding the political and war influences. This had a very negative influence on the position of women, especially in the political life where they were marginalized (Ramet 2002). In the 90s, the presence of women in government structures was almost non-existent, fall to 1.6% (International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights 2000), unlike the socialism period when they were at least formally present. This negative trend of political presence of women continued during the entire ruling of this regime (mainly specified) as non-democratic<sup>103</sup>. On the other hand, in the same period there was an active participation of female organizations in the civil protest 2000, against the ruling regime (Blagojević 1998). With the passing of the new Constitution<sup>104</sup> 2006 (Official Gazette - Сл. Гласник РС 83/06) new provisions were foreseen which forbid gender discrimination (Сл. Гласник РС 83/06, Article 21) and which guarantee equality (Сл. Гласник РС 83/06, Article 15). However, there was still not a clear definition of the term discrimination (Glas razlike 2007) i.e. it is neutrally defined, without any special emphasis of the discrimination against women, according to Article 1 from CEDAW (UN, Article).<sup>105</sup>

<sup>100</sup> Serbia became independent in 2006. After SFRY break-up in 1992, Serbia and Montenegro continued as Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, later on State Union of Serbia and Montenegro. After the separation of Montenegro in 2006, both countries became independent.

<sup>101</sup> Alternative Report from the Committee, 2007 (The report was done within the regional project *Following and reporting to CEDAW in the Balkan countries Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Montenegro, Croatia, Macedonia, Serbia* initiated by the Danish Centre of Human Rights, and coordinated by the Bulgarian foundation for analysis of gender equality; Voice of Difference – group for promoting women’s political rights.

<sup>102</sup> Serbia and Montenegro as a Federal Country FRY until 2006

<sup>103</sup> Ruling of president S.Milosevic, See p: 85, Analysis of social and political conditions in the post-socialist period – Macedonia, Serbia and Croatia

<sup>104</sup> According to the new Constitution 2006, the Republic of Serbia is a parliamentary democratic republic, based on the rule of law. The government is divided into legislative, executive and judicial (People’s Assembly, Government and Courts) (Сл. гласник РС 83/2006);

<sup>105</sup> Serbia joins the Convention on Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women Serbia 2001, after changing the political regime, but as a country

Aside the gender-sensitive rethorics in certain areas (domestic violence, education, employment), still the new Constitution did not envisaged any specific definition of the gender equality principles regarding political rights, as it was the case with the Constitution of Croatia.<sup>106</sup> In the frame of civil rights, the Constitution envisages certain gender equality measures, (Сл. Гласник РС 34/92 Article 26, paragraph 3). It prohibits forced labor, sexual or economic abuse as well as provisions establishing equality between men and women in marriage and family (Сл. Гласник РС 34/92 Article 62 – 66). According to Pajvančić<sup>107</sup> (2005, 181 – 197; 2005a; 2007; 2008) the Constitution as an instrument of gender equality, contains several gender-sensitive provisions: provisions which indirectly refer to gender equality and set the frame for it<sup>108</sup>, provisions which directly refer to gender equality<sup>109</sup> or regulate certain rights in the gender equality area<sup>110</sup> (Pajvančić 2007, 25 – 57; 2008, 31 – 41). However, the constitutional provisions which guarantee equality and the binding norms regarding equal opportunities policy are of special meaning (Сл. Гласник РС 83/2006, Article 15) as well as measures as instrument for conducting these policies (Сл. Гласник РС 83/2006, Article 21). However, certain flaws are still visible in the constitutional guarantees for gender equality,<sup>111</sup> especially due to the neutral definition of what constitutes discrimination, and bearing in mind that constitutional guarantees must correlate with international resources and standards for gender equality. The analysis of the constitutional provisions show that the traditional framework of the new Constitution is not enough to incorporate the equal opportunities principle, especially regarding raising the awareness for gender equality in all areas of society (Pajvančić 2008).

#### **4.2.1 Civil and political rights (legal framework)**

Until 2002 the legislation in Serbia did not have a clearly defined anti-discrimination framework related to gender (Branković 2002).

**Political and electoral system** – After the SFRY break-up, 1992, Federal Republic of Yugoslavia was formed which included Serbia (together with Vojvodina and Kosovo) and

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successor, the Assembly of SFY takes over all binding international agreements ratified by SFRY (CEDAW,1982), incorporating them in the national legislation, but on a higher level, i.e. only the provisions from the Constitution have a higher status than the international agreements. (BCHR, 2000)

<sup>106</sup> According to the reports for the Convention (CEDAW), there are no public data regarding discrimination in Serbia, no evidence for violations related to discrimination, i.e. this issue is completely excluded from any social, political and legal treatment; Alternative report CEDAW Committee, The voice of difference from Serbia, 2007

<sup>107</sup> Pajvančić, M *in the expert team took part in the creation of the model of the election law and the gender equality law, Gender equality-suggestions.*

<sup>108</sup> The principle of social justice, secular state, direct constitutional and judicial protection of human rights, right to be represented in form of international courts etc. Institutions for protection of human rights.

<sup>109</sup> Provisions guaranting equality between mene and women, ban of all forms of direct or indirect discrimination based on gender etc.

<sup>110</sup> The rights of pregranant women, mothers, reproductive rights, freedom to decide on birth, parents' rights.

<sup>111</sup> Pajvančić (2006) emphasizes that although there are certain tendencies to change the gender neutral definition in the form of constitutional norm (e.g.: everybody, nobody, person) it still does not use proper gender terminology according to the adopted conclusions of the Interparliamentary Union which introduce gender-sensitive language in provisions and legal acts.



Montenegro. According to the Constitution FRY was a parliamentary democracy. The holder of the legislative government was the federal parliament – Skupshtina. It consisted of two chambers – the House of Representatives (Council of Citizens) and the Republican House (Council of Republics). The House of Representatives consisted of 138 members elected on the direct elections; with a four year mandate though a mixed electoral system (60 with majority rule, and 78 with proportional) out of which 108 representatives from Serbia and 30 from Montenegro. The House of Republicans consisted of 40 members (20 from Serbia and 20 from Montenegro), directly elected and with a four year mandates (Fink-Hafner et al. 2005). On 4 February 2003, the country was renamed State Union of Serbia and Montenegro. The House of Representatives – the Assembly had one chamber in the new parliamentary democracy with co-federal order. This chamber consisted of 126 representatives (91 from Serbia and 45 from Montenegro) elected though direct elections with a four year mandate (Fink-Hafner et al. 2005). The executive government was conducted by the President of Serbia and Montenegro (elected directly by the Assembly, with a four year mandate). He was also in charge of the Council of Ministers. Furthermore, the State Union of Serbia and Montenegro got the semi-presidential establishment (Fink-Hafner et al. 2005). On 3 June, Montenegro declared its independence on the basis of a national referendum (21 May 2006), while Serbia declared its independence on 5 June the same year (Mihailović 2005). According to the Constitution of Serbia, from 8 November (Сл. Гласник РС 98/2006, Article 100), and the electoral regulations (Сл. Гласник РС 35/2000) on a national level in the People`s Assembly 250 People`s Representatives were elected with a four year mandate though a proportional electoral system<sup>112</sup> (Goati 2002). From 1990 to 1992 there was a majority electoral system, and the insistence of the opposition in 1992 a combined electoral system was introduced, and then proportional with 9 constituencies. Until 1997 the territory was divided into nine constituencies, which in 1997 were adapted into 29, and in 2000 the whole territory became one constituency (Goati 2002). Due to the situation in Kosovo (as an international protectorate) it is almost impossible to create more constituencies in Serbia, especially because it is impossible to establish elections in Kosovo as a province (Goati 2001). The election threshold during the whole period was 5% (Сл. Гласник РС 35/2000). Until 2006, the State Union of Serbia and Montenegro envisaged representatives from both countries in the

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<sup>112</sup> While in the Assembly of AP Voivodina and Kosovo 120 representatives were elected, through a mixed electoral system in AP Voivodina (majority and proportional) and proportional for Kosovo.

representative bodies on a national level<sup>113</sup> (Kasapović 2003). A very important issue was under-representation of minorities and marginalized groups in the People's Assembly, which was partly overcome by the changes in the Law on Election of People's representatives from 2004. According to this law, the representatives of minorities who did not get 5% of the votes also become part of the parliament. This is determined in a way that the Republic Election Commission during the candidature decides which political parties have the status of parties representing the interests of the minorities (Сл. Гласник РС 18/2004, Article 13). According to the Law on People's Representatives (Сл. Гласник РС 35/2000), in Serbia (as in Macedonia and Croatia) there are closed lists, but in the case of Serbia they are unblocked closed lists<sup>114</sup>, as well as the D'Hondt method for allocation of mandates (Сл. Гласник РС 35/2000).

The basic rights of women for political presence in representative bodies are active and passive rights<sup>115</sup>. In Serbia these entail equal approach to all citizens, i.e. the normative (formal) guarantee is not an obstacle for exercising this right. The right to vote, active or passive, is a constitutional right without any form of discrimination on the basis of gender, and it is incorporated in the election laws in the direction of equal representation and equal opportunities in the performance of public functions (Сл. Гласник РС 18/04, Article 37). The legal framework, where normative acts are passed in order to increase the presence of women in representative bodies, is generally more restrictive (Pajvančić 2005).

• **Political parties** – The Law on Political Parties (Сл. Гласник РС 36/2009) defines them as organizations through which citizens achieve certain political goals in democratic conditions of elections. The minimum census for the formation of a party is 10 000 working age adults, and 1000 citizens representing minorities (Сл. Гласник РС 36/2009, Article 8).<sup>116</sup> Political parties are organized according to the Constitution and state laws. The financing of political parties in Serbia is done by paying membership fees, from physical and legal entities, state or local level supervised by the state (Fink-Hafner et al. 2005). Although the Law on Political Parties in Serbia establishes them as organizations for all citizens, founded freely and voluntarily in order to fulfill certain political goals (Сл. Гласник РС 36/2009, Article 2), it still does not envisage provisions

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<sup>113</sup>In the People's Assembly of R.Serbia 91 representatives were elected, while in Montenegro 35 (a total of 126).

<sup>114</sup> Closed unblocked lists allow parties to determine the order of candidates after the announcement of the results. In this way at least 1/3 of the representatives must be according to the original list (Сл. Гласник РС 35/2000).

<sup>115</sup> Constitutional provisions guarantee equal approach to these rights. Active and passive right to vote, formally and legally guaranteed conditions for every citizen.

<sup>116</sup> Electronic legal base RS. 2013

regulating non-discrimination on the basis of gender, nor provisions for encouraging bigger presence of women in these organizations, such as the example of Croatia.

• **Legal (electoral) quotas** – The basic legal changes encouraging bigger presence of women in politics are introduced in the period 2002-2006 through the election laws for local (Сл. Гласник РС 33/02) province (Сл. лист АП Војводине 12/04 - Autonomous Province of Vojvodina) and republic level (Сл. Гласник РС 18/04) which incorporate 30% quotas for the under-represented gender on the candidate lists. However, results and analysis (e.g. Pajvančić 2005; 2007; 2008; 2010; Antić Gaber and Lokar 2006; Lukić 2000) show that at the elections women abstain more than man in regard to exercising the active right to vote. Research<sup>117</sup> show that one of the reasons for abstention are women`s priorities, which are not in the election platforms. The organized campaigns for bigger presence of women in the elections show good results<sup>118</sup> (Pajvančić 2006; Aleksić and Lukić 2000). Contrary to all other case studies in the present dissertation, these results show lower presence of women in the decision-making structures, but on the candidate lists as well, especially before the introduction of electoral quotas which leads to the formal establishment of the passive right to vote.<sup>119</sup> Basic indicators for the affirmative measures were the experiences before the multi-party elections (1990)<sup>120</sup> and the standards from international documents for gender equality and encouragement of women to take bigger part in the public government organs (Pajvančić 2010). The development model for adopting policies and special legal measures took place in two phases from 2002 to 2004 when 30% quotas for the less represented gender were introduced on a local level, with the Law on Election of Representatives in the Local Government 2002<sup>121</sup> (Сл. Гласник РС 33/2002; Сл. Гласник РС 42/2002; Сл. Гласник РС 100/2003, Article 20-45). Law on Election of Representatives in People`s Assembly 2004 on a national level (Сл. Гласник РС 18/2004, Article 40) and representatives on a province level in the Assembly in AP Vojvodina (Сл. лист АПВ 12/04)

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<sup>117</sup> For example, research done by the agency SCAN RS

<sup>118</sup> This is especially true for the elections in 2000 when the turnout was 74,4% as on the 2007 elections when the turnout was 60,5%. After the elections in 2000, in the People`s Assembly of the Republic of Serbia among the people`s representatives there were 12,4% women.. After the regulations regarding the under-represented gender from the Law on Election of People`s Representatives, from 2007 the participation of women among representatives increased for 21,2% (Pajvančić, 2006)

<sup>119</sup> More about this in the next section

<sup>120</sup> The data regarding the representation of women in the Assembly indicate a drop in the whole region (before and after 1990). In 1986, women accounted for 23.5% in the Assembly in Serbia A step drop of the representation of women was experienced on the first multi-party elections and they account only for 1.6%. In the Assembly of APV in 1986 women accounted for 28.6%, and in 1982 even 29,8%. In the period 1986 – 1990 in Bosnia and Herzegovina women accounted for 24.1%, Slovenia 24%, Serbia 23.5%, Kosovo 19%, Macedonia 17%, and Montenegro 11.2%. (Pajvančić 2006)

<sup>121</sup> The Law was passed in 2002 (Сл. Гласник РС 33/2002; Сл. Гласник РС 42/2002; Сл. Гласник РС 100/2003). The quotas were established only for the candidate lists and not for the seats in parliament. On the candidate lists every fourth place was reserved for the under-represented gender and at least 30% of female candidates (Article 20 paragraph 3). The list which did not fulfil these conditions was considered to have a formal disadvantage and was sent back for correction (Article 20 paragraph 4). If the disadvantage is not fixed the election commission rejects the list. (Article 20 paragraph 5). The distribution of the first third of the mandate of the winning list follows the order on the list (Article 42 paragraph 4). The rest 2/3 mandates are appointed to candidates suggested by the nominator of the list. If this is not done within the legal deadline, then the order of the list is followed (Article 42 paragraph 4). If the mandate ceases earlier it is appointed to the next candidate first in order on the list (Article 45).

30% quotas for the under-represented gender are also envisaged. The first steps for the introduction of quotas were realized through the ideas towards the end of 2000 (before the emergency parliamentary election) although in this period such ideas were quite abstract (Antić Gaber and Lokar 2006). The quotas as an instrument were offered for the first time as a model within the bill on election<sup>122</sup> (prepared within the Centre of Free Elections and Democracy in 2000). Within this model a solution is offered regarding bigger presence of the under-represented gender on the candidate lists (Pajvančić 2007). The development policy in AP Vojvodina was the same.<sup>123</sup> With the changes in 2002 in the Law on Election of Representatives in the Local government envisaged combination of lists, according to which among four men on the list there must be a woman, i.e. 30% in total (Сл. Гласник РС 33/2002, Article 20 paragraph 3). The allocation of mandates belongs to the election lists with at least 3% (for local elections) or 5% (national election) out of the total number of votes. The only weakness of the legal quota determined for proportional lists in Serbia by the Law on Election of Representatives in People`s Assembly 2004 (Сл. Гласник РС 18/2004, Article 40) and representatives in the Assembly of AP Vojvodina (Сл. лист АПВ 12/04) is the possibility to combine the order of mandates. To be more specific, 1/3 of the mandates was determined from the order of the voter`s lists, while 2/3 were determined by the party which has submitted the list, so that every fourth candidate had to be from the under-represented gender (Сл. Гласник РС 18/04, Article 42 paragraph 4). With certain combinations, women can get less than 30% (i.e. the less winning mandates, the less the number of women), while the parties with more mandates; using the special order of candidates (women) can avoid the 30% quota (Pajvančić 2010). Changes in the Election Law did not cause any significant effects at the beginning, regarding the fact that they were applied after the 2003 elections. The quotas provision survived during two elections cycles without their full application<sup>124</sup> (Pajvančić, 2007).

• **Law on gender equality and anti-discrimination laws** – Retraditionalization of the legislation had its significant changes in 2009, as a result of the need to harmonize with European legislation. Three groups of laws are especially important: *General Anti-discrimination*

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<sup>122</sup> Solutions for the quotas include: establishing a quota for the under-represented gender on the lists (50%, and not less than 30%); lists not fulfilling the quotas have a formal disadvantage and cannot pass; reserved seats for the under-represented gender; criteria for distribution of mandates to the winning list is the candidate`s place on the lists well as the candidate whose mandate has terminated.

<sup>123</sup> The election system in AP Vovodina is mixed (Article. 6), and the rule regarding quotas are applied in the pattern of half representatives chosen by proportional election system. The possibility to apply the quota by using the majority system were not used. The effect of this decision was that the 30% quota used only on half of the candidates, actually seemed as 15% taken into consideration the total number of candidates. (Сл. лист АПВ 12/2004).

<sup>124</sup> The law and other provisions regulating election provide (in accordance tot he law) a certain percent of women on the candidate lists. However, on the other hand the possibility to allocate 2/3 of the mandates according tot the choice of the parties makes it possible to avoid the 30% quota for the under-represented gender.

*Law* (Сл. Гласник РС 22/2009) which includes all forms of discrimination, ban and sanctioning, and which sets the legal framework and definition of all forms of discrimination (direct, indirect)<sup>125</sup> as well as special laws regulating discrimination on the basis of personal characteristics (minorities, children, the elderly, physically challenged people). Gender Equality Act - GEA (Сл. Гласник РС 104/2009)<sup>126</sup> is the most important aspect of internal law and the most significant instrument of the gender equality policy. The third group is *subsidiary legislation* which regulates the rest of the areas of social life and is especially important due to their direct connection with gender equality (criminal<sup>127</sup>, family<sup>128</sup>, labor<sup>129</sup> legislation, election law, education, health, social protection, media laws, law on offences etc.). The passing of these laws is one of the preconditions in the process of stabilization and joining the EU. According to some researchers (e.g. Pajvančić 2010; Čičkarić 2009), general weaknesses of the Gender Equality Act are: lack of provisions regulating the application and instruments for implementation<sup>130</sup> and lack of provisions for sanctions<sup>131</sup> in case of violation of the law; this is also true for other laws in case of discrimination.<sup>131</sup> On the one hand, in its content the law is connected to the general anti-discrimination law, and on the other hand is also connected to other laws (which do not include gender equality measures). However, the biggest weakness of the law is the non-existence of provisions for implementation instruments of the law<sup>132</sup> unlike other Balkan countries<sup>133</sup> which envisage control over the application of the law, authorities for the implementation of the law and their responsibilities (Pajvančić 2010). Regarding women's presence in the executive government organs, it is necessary for measures to be passed in the

<sup>125</sup> Regulates the basic models of discrimination especially the indirect discrimination, establishes a system (violations and criminal offences) and types of sanctions (financial, prison)

<sup>126</sup> The law has been withdrawn from the procedure several times. The critics said that it was instrumentalized for daily political purposes of the election campaign (Pajvančić, 2005; 2006)

<sup>127</sup> The Criminal Code of RS (Сл. Гласник РС 85/05, Article 128) envisages punishment for violation of equality. Also, the Criminal Code (in the marriage and family section) envisages a criminal act – domestic violence (Сл. Гласник РС 85/05, Article 194). In the chapter: Criminal acts against gender freedom, the Criminal Code of RS proposes punishments for violation: Rape (Сл. Гласник РС 85/05, Article 178), (including forced action). Sexual relations with a disabled person (Сл. Гласник РС 85/05, Article 179) (abuse, without the use of force) Sexual relations with a child (Сл. Гласник РС 85/05, Article 180); Sexual relations with the abuse of authority (Сл. Гласник РС 85/05, Article 181) (paragraph 2 of Article 181 clearly indicates "trustworthy people" who can easily abuse children: teacher, educator, guardian, step-parent, who abuse their position or authority and have sexual relation or a similar act with a minor. The minor was appointed to this person for the purpose of studying, parenting, care or punishment.); Sexual relations are not allowed (Сл. Гласник РС 85/05, Article 182) seducing, and providing sexual relations (minors (Сл. Гласник РС 85/05, Article.183) facilitating prostitution (Сл. Гласник РС 85/05, Article.184) Showing pornographic materials and child pornography (Сл. Гласник РС 85/05, Article 185). The provisions of these statutes are gender neutral. Criminal charges against gender freedom shall be taken (Сл. Гласник РС 85/05, Article 178-1790) against the spouse and for act (Сл. Гласник РС 85/05, Article 182., paragraph 1), is taken on a proposal. (Alternative Report CEDAW Committee, the Voice of Difference from Serbia, 2007)

With these changes in the law, sexual harassment ceases to be considered a criminal act (Concluding comments of the CEDAW Committee, 38 meeting, My-June 2007, pg. 4 and 5, paragraph 21).

<sup>128</sup> The Law on Family (Сл. Гласник РС 18/05 Ar5 p.1) envisages independency of women in the decision to start a family.

<sup>129</sup> Law on Labor Relations (Сл. Гласник РС 24/05; Сл. Гласник РС 61/05; Сл. Гласник РС 54/09) includes a definition of discrimination including direct and indirect discrimination, as well as a definition on the principle of equal payment for equal work or work with equal value. The Law on Employment and Insurance in Case of Unemployment introduces affirmative action for marginalized groups, especially women.

<sup>130</sup> EG. governmental provisions for the realization of the laws; regulations brought by ministries and which instrumentalize the way the law shall be applied and especially supervision and control over applied laws.

<sup>131</sup> Eg. health, education, family, labor, social, criminal legislation etc zdravstvo.

<sup>132</sup> Eg. regulations of the government, rulebooks, directions and other acts of the ministries.

<sup>133</sup> Eg. Law on Gender Equality Bosnia and Herzegovina; Law on Gender Equality Montenegro.

form of legal acts which will regulate balanced presence of men and women in these structures, as a quotas model (Pajvančić 2006). The Strategic documents (*policy*) adopted by Government, as an important segment for gender equality especially due to their influence on practical realization of the gender equality policies; entail an area which needs a subsidiary strategy approach (special attention to gender equality).<sup>134</sup> On the initiative of the Gender Equality Directorate within the Government, and under the influence of researchers and non-governmental sector a draft document was adopted in 2006 – National action plan for improving the position of women promoting gender equality (2007-2010) NAP RS. The National Strategy improving the position of women promoting gender equality – NSIPW RS (Сл. Гласник РС 15/2009), as a strategic government document for elimination of discrimination was adopted for all areas in 2009. Within this document the activity schedule is predicted for the period 2009-2015.<sup>135</sup>

• **Institutional changes (mechanisms)** – External pressure (recommendations by United Nations, The Council of Europe) is the basic initiated action for upgrading national legislation. A special accent and attention is put on the need to harmonize national with European legislation. Serbia is included in the Stabilization and Association Process from 2000. This country starts negotiations in 2005, and signs the Stabilization and Association Agreement (SSA RS) in 2008<sup>136</sup>. It becomes valid in 2010. Furthermore, changes in the legislation were made and policies and institutional mechanisms for promotion and achievement of bigger equality were adopted<sup>137</sup>. This was reflected in the formation of the Gender Equality Committee within People`s Assembly 2003 (Сл. Гласник РС 57/2003) .<sup>138</sup> On a province level the Gender Equality Directorate<sup>139</sup> was formed within the Assembly of AP Vojvodina (OSCE 2005).<sup>140</sup>

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<sup>134</sup> Eg. Attention to the mere social context in which the document is passed; general estimation of the condition in the area of gender equality; legal framework in which gender equality is realized; setting goals and their realization regarding the importance; selection of fields which were considered most important for realizing gender equality and other.

<sup>135</sup> Here we include: women in politics, the economic position of women, education, health, domestic violence and media. On a province level the Assembly of AP Vojvodina 2004 adopts the Declaration of gender equality, Declaration of gender equality and Declaration on the establishment of Province gender equality agency.

<sup>136</sup> The agreement did not become valid then due to EU`s decision to freeze it until Serbia does not fulfil complete collaboration with the Hague tribunal. After the positive estimation by the main Public prosecutor of Hague Serzha Brammerts regarding Serbia`s collaboration with ICTY, on the meeting of the Council of ministers for external matters of EU on the 7 December 2009, a decision was made to implement the Interim Agreement on Trade and trade-related Matters. After exchange of notes between the two parties, the Interim Trade Agreement became formally valid on 1 February 2010 (Mihailović 2006).

<sup>137</sup> According to EU Directives EY 75/117/EEC; 76/207/EC; 2000/78/EC; 92/85/EEC; 2004/113/EC; 2000/43/EC

<sup>138</sup> Authorities regarding submitting bills and other regulations in relation to gender equality, operationalization and specification of areas significant to gender equality which the Convention on Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women emphasizes (education, health, political life, family...) (Сл. Гласник РС 57/2003)

<sup>139</sup> The Department was formed 2002. There were 20 members and 69 Representatives of the Assmbeiy of AP Vojvodina, (Сл. лист АПВ 23/2002).

<sup>140</sup> The formation of local gender equality mechanisms was supported by the mission of OSCE for Serbia and Montenegro. The program included 30 municipalities (Krushevac, Nish area, Prokuplje, Kikinda, Velika Plana, Zrenjanin, Pozharevac, Zajechar, Valjevo, Uzhice, Knjazhevac, Bor, Kragijevac, Sremska Mitrovica, Novi Sad, the city of Zrenjanin, Beograd, Topola, Arandzelovac, Chachak, Sombor, Subotica,, the city of Nish, Kucevo, Novi Bechej, Aleksandac, Pirot, Jagodina, Loznica). *Gender equality*, (OSCE 2005). Until 2005 more than 20 municipalities were formed in Serbia (Boljevac, Negotin, Kladovo, Majdanpek, Senta, Zhitishte, Kovachica, Nova Crnja, Vrbas, Sechanj, Irig, Sjenica, Prijepolje, Lebane, Medvedza, Tutand, Bujanovac, Preshevo, Priboj, lower municipality of Medijana, Novi Beograd. (OSCE 2005 pg. 22) as well as more than 20 municipalities in AP Voivodina – *The establishment of institutional mechanisms for gender equality and equal opportunities policy in the municipalities within AP Vojvodina*, Provincial Secretariat for Labor, Employment and Gender Equality 2005 (Pajvančić 2010).

In 2003 institutional mechanisms were formed within the executive government. The purpose of these mechanisms is in addition of encouraging the process of implementation of the laws. The Council of Gender Equality was formed as a working body of the Government. It constituted of representatives from the ministries and experts (Сл. Гласник РС 13/2003). The most specific authorities of the Council are proposing measures for promotion and improvement of gender equality and harmonization of the legislation with international documents and their implementation...<sup>141</sup> Another especially important authority of the Council is implementation of the NSIPW RS.<sup>142</sup> Within the Ministry of Labor and Social Policy, there is a Department for Gender Equality (Сл. Гласник РС 44/2007); later the Gender Equality Directorate (Сл. Гласник РС 65/2008). On a provincial level the Secretariat for Labor, Employment and Gender equality was formed as an organ from the directive (Сл. лист АПВ 3/2002, Article 33).<sup>143</sup> The Civil Protection Law (Сл. Гласник РС 79/2005) represents a basis for the formation of the institution Citizens` Protector in 2007 and a deputy for the gender equality issue in 2008.

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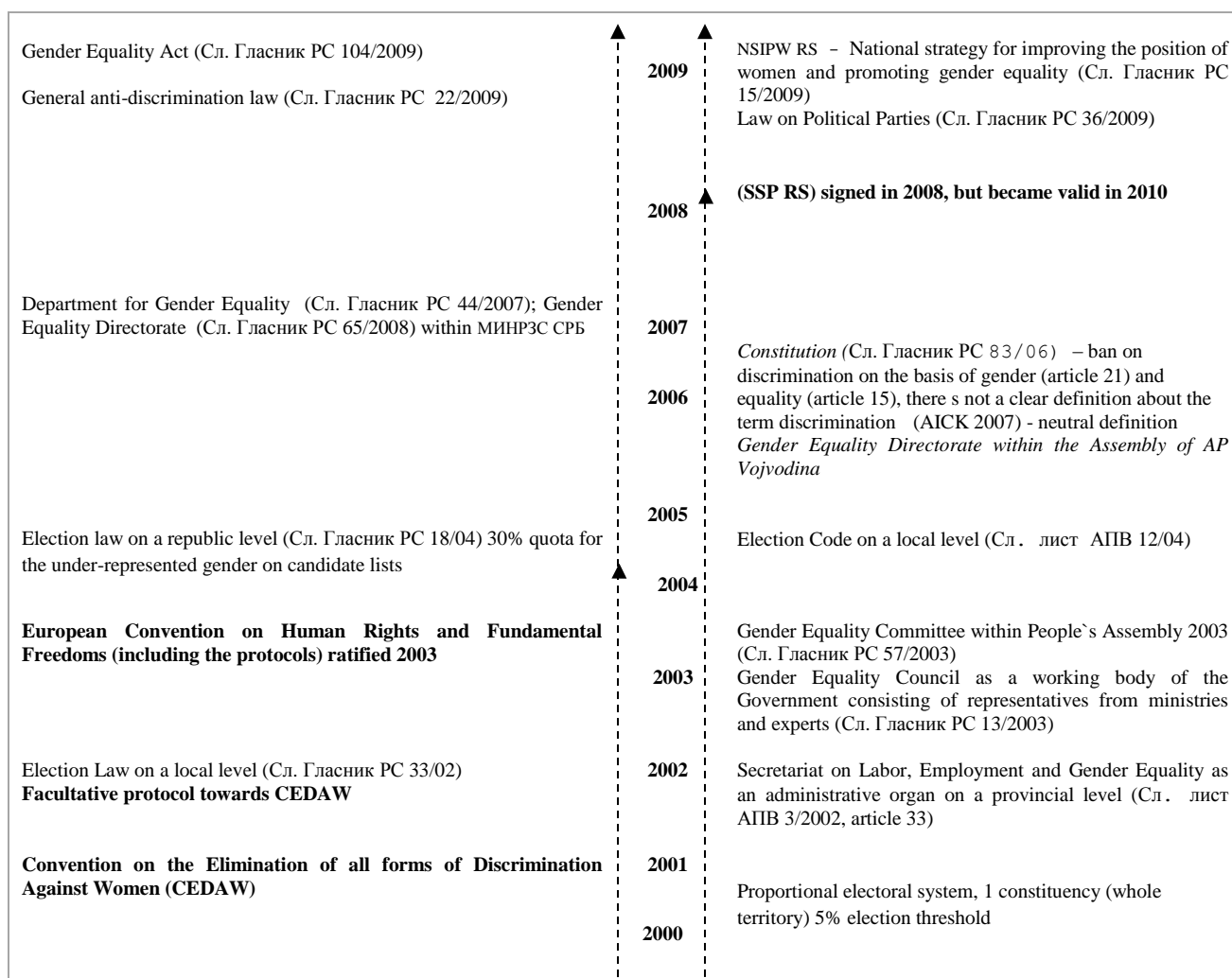
<sup>141</sup> Furthermore, proposing gender equality measures, analysis of the harmonization of national legislation with international conventions on women's rights and initiatives for elimination of discrimination on the basis of gender; initiatives for gender sensitive statistics; the right of women to be appointed to electoral and important positions; analyzing of selection criteria in the selection and appointment of public functions; initiation of measures for elimination of obstacles in the selection and appointment of representatives from the under-represented gender; education of employees in public services regarding gender equality; initiation of programs and proposing measures for enabling women to participate in politics.

<sup>142</sup> Furthermore, creating bills and other documents regarding gender equality, collaboration with other state organs, the organs from the autonomous provinces and the units of local self-government; international collaboration; coordination of the work and enabling professional and administrative – technical support of the Department on gender equality; improving women's position and promoting gender equality and equal opportunities policy; integration of the gender equality principle in all areas; implementation of the recommendations by the UN Committee regarding the elimination of discrimination against women.

<sup>143</sup> Furthermore, authorities regarding the obligations of public administration for gender equality, application of the regulations in this area; application of international conventions; giving directions and opinions regarding the application of gender equality regulations; preparing declarations in relation to gender equality; collaboration with women from the union; NGOs, associations and analysis; collaborations with institutions in the Republic and the Province as well as international organizations dealing with gender equality etc.

-Council of gender equality 2003 in AP Voivodina as an advisory body of the Labor and Employment Sekretariat, Department of gender equality (professional-analytical issues, educational programs) (Сл. лист АПВ 3/2002).

**Figure 4.2: Serbia on a national level - Dynamics of legal framework development and policies for encouraging bigger presence of women in political life**





<b>1997</b>	Proportional electoral system, 29 constituencies
<b>1995</b>	<b>Beijing declaration and Action Platform</b>
<b>1992</b>	FRY Comb/Proportional electoral system, 9 constituencies
<b>1991</b>	Constitution of FRY 1992 (SL FRY, 1/92) gender equality of citizens in their civil and political rights (Article 34).

### **4.3 Development model for adopting legal framework and gender equality policies in Croatia (1990 – 2012)**

After the dissolution of SFRY, Croatia also declared its independence on 25 June 1991 as Macedonia did. According to the Constitution<sup>144</sup> (Narodne Novine NN 56/1990 - the Official Gazette), freedom, national equality and equality in general are basic constitutional values. Although this Constitution, envisaged non-discrimination on the basis of gender (NN 56/1990, Article 14) there was still no specific definition on the term discrimination, i.e. it was neutral. However, unlike the other countries, Croatia has got the most highly developed legal framework regarding gender equality. So far, several changes and amendments have been made to the Constitution<sup>145</sup> (1997, 1998, 2000, 2001, 2010). Very important in this context is the Decision to make constitutional amendments (2000), with which gender equality is incorporated in the basic provisions as the highest value with an included (gender-sensitive) definition of the term discrimination (NN 113/2000, Article 3), and content of the rights and the principle of equality Article 14, paragraph 2.

#### **4.3.1 Civil and political rights (legal framework)**

Unlike Macedonia and Serbia, in Croatia gender equality is set on a very high level. Firstly in the Constitution (in the Constitution of the first two countries the provisions do not envisage gender definition of discrimination); also in the legislation which promotes gender equality in several areas, and regarding the adoption of new policies and mechanisms for their implementation.

<sup>144</sup> Croatia is an independent, sovereign and democratic country. The government is divided into three types: legislative, executive and judicial. Equality of citizens and freedom are the highest values in the Constitution.

<sup>145</sup> (NN 135/1997; NN 8/1998; NN 113/2000; NN 124/2000; NN 28/2001; NN 41/2001; NN 55/2001; NN 76/2010; NN 85/2010)

**Political and electoral system** – According to the Constitution from 22 December 1990, Croatia had a mixed parliamentary-presidential system, with the absolute power of the President as opposed to the dualism of the executive government (Fink-Hafner et al. 2005). From 1990 to 2001 the Croatian Parliament or the Sabor (the Assembly) was bicameral and consisted of two chambers – the Chamber of Deputies and the Chamber of Counties.<sup>146</sup> According to the Law on Election of Representatives in the Croatian Parliament from 2003, all citizens hold active and passive right to vote (NN 69/2003). Unlike Macedonia, Croatia has 12 constituencies (NN 116/1999). The election law envisages a proportional electoral system (NN 116/99; NN 69/03; NN 19/07) in which 140 members are elected by voting on the basis of candidate lists of political parties and independent lists in 10 constituencies (14 of each), while in the eleventh representatives from the diaspora are chosen, and the twelfth constituency includes the whole territory and includes representatives from minorities (NN 69/2003).<sup>147</sup> The lists are closed, with the option to circle the number in front of the name of the political party or independent, with the option to vote for a list (all candidates from the same list) without the option to change their order, which is determined by the party which has submitted the list. 14 representatives from the submitted list are elected from each constituency. The election threshold is 5% for each constituency, and the number of votes is calculated according to the D'Hondt method. The right to vote according to the Constitution of Croatia entails active and passive right to vote, for all citizens. The Law on Political Parties (NN 76/93; NN 111/96; NN 164/98 and NN 36/01) proposes specific measures which approve 10% financial reimbursement for the party for each candidate from the under-represented gender.

**Political parties** – Political parties in Croatia are defined as an expression of the highest form of democratic pluralism according to the Constitution and the Law on Political Parties (NN 76/93). The census for formation of a political party is 100 adult, working age citizens. Political parties are financed by membership fee, sponsorships, publishing. Also public funds are available for those parties which have at least one representative in the Assembly. According to this law in

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<sup>146</sup>The number of representatives in the Chamber of Deputies was from 100 to 160, elected on direct elections with a four year mandate, while in the Chamber of Counties (20 Counties – territorial units and the city of Zagreb\_ 68 representatives (63 from the Counties) and 5 honorary citizens appointed by the President (Fink'Hafner et.al 2005)..

<sup>147</sup> Regarding national minorities, 5 representatives are elected with a majority election system. A candidate from a national majority or many national majorities is elected with the majority of votes in a constituency. Voters who permanently live abroad and belong to Croatia's »diaspora« also have a specific manner of voting. The vote for special lists of 14 candidates. The number of representatives is determined by so-called quotas which are not fixed. Example: in order for a candidate to win a representative seat on the elections, he/she has to win an average of 20 000 votes. There are 110 000 voters from the diaspora on the elections. According to the not-fixed quotas a total of 5 representatives are elected for the parliament.

Croatia for each representative from the under-represented gender there is financial award 10% higher than the award for the rest of the representatives.

**Combination of measures (electoral quotas) with the framework of the Law on Gender Equality and other anti-discrimination laws** – The national legal framework pays special attention to equality and non-discrimination on the basis of gender within human rights, civil and political freedoms. The equality principle is included in the whole legislation, strategic and other documents, acts and regulations. One of the most important changes in the legislation - Gender Equality Act 2003 (NN 116/2003), which was passed as a result of the harmonization of the national legislation according to the Stabilization and Association Agreement (The Stabilization and Association Agreement for the legal order of EU and the Republic of Croatia – SSP HR signed in 2001).<sup>148</sup> Taking into account that 51.5% of the Croatian population are women (State Statistical Office DZS HR 2001) there is a visible need to raise the level of women`s presence in all parts of social life. The act defines and determines the content of the interrelated normative acts – the Constitution, international law, and it also fulfils international responsibilities towards the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women<sup>149</sup> (CEDAW) and is a part of the harmonization process with SSP HR (NN International agreements 15/2001, Article 69 - 91). In Croatian legislation, the law introduces – definition of the indirect discrimination<sup>150</sup> (*disparate impact*) ; Sexual harassment as a form of prohibited discrimination (which includes the terms harassment and sexual harassment according to EU legislation)<sup>151</sup> and finally – the law envisages an opportunity for specific measures to be passed (*positive action, affirmative action*) in order to eliminate the reasons for discrimination (Vasiljević 2003, 127-142). According to Selanec (2003) the adoption of these measures is not only the obligation coming from EU legislation, but they also have their application in the

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<sup>148</sup> The basis for the bill of this law among the rest, was set in the fact that women account for 51,5% of the population of RC, and are under-represented in politics and government. This means that they are rarely employed and when they are they prosper very hard. Beside this, women are often victims of sexual harrasment, domestic violence and other forms of gender discrimination. Therefore, in the last three years the government of RH tried to improve women`s position, offer them equal employment opportunities, participation in politics and sancioning and punishment for domestic violence of which they are most often victims (Rodin 2003 a).

<sup>149</sup> *Fundamental human rights are protected by international documents such as the General Human Rights Declaration of UN, International pact on civil and political rights, Convention regarding discrimination in the sense of employment and vocation Community Charter of Basic Social Rights of Workers, the Convention on Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women, European Convention and European Social Charter. The principal of gender equality was originally included in the statute of the International Labor Organization, before it was taken over in the Philadelphia Declaration (1944).*

<sup>150</sup> In order to identify direct discrimination the statement of the law is not important, nor is the intention of those who wrote it, but rather discrimination measured through objective circumstances. Discrimination, direct and indirect, is protected against by the UN Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women, Recommendation 2002/73/ EC regarding the application of equal employment opportunities for men and women, professional prattice, promotion and vocational education. According tot his Recommendation the persoins subject to discrimination shall be protected by law. (2002/73/ EC);

<sup>151</sup> There are two types of harassment: *quid pro quo*, i.e. with which the victim is asked to perform unwanted sexual relations, and which creates hostile working environment which violation of human dignity. These terms generally come from American literature and are related to sexual harassment at the work place. Sexual harassment can take different forms which can result in sexual abuse. Such examples are: violation of a person`s dignity and integrity, offence, threatening, blackmailing etc (Vasiljevic, 2003.:127–142).

legislation of the EU members, which determines them according to strict rules (Selanec 2003, 99–123). On the other hand, the concept of specific measures is connected to gender sensitive policy (*gender mainstreaming*).<sup>152</sup>

The Gender Equality Act regulates the area of education (NN 116/2003, Article 14) , which is an integral part of primary, secondary and higher education and equal opportunities for both genders, as well as elimination of stereotypes in education on all levels. According to the Convention (CEDAW), the law envisages gender divided statistical data in all parts of register in public administration, state organs and institutions (NPGE 2011). The most important characteristics of this law incorporate gender equality in Croatian legislation; especially due to the values it includes (human rights and freedoms, seats in parliament, authorities and manner of operating of state organs, local organs (Article 82 from the Constitution) . On the other hand, according to the Government`s Decision regarding measures and steps leading to harmonization of Croatia`s legislation to EU legislation (19/07/2001), laws marked as “harmonization laws” offer opportunities to consult European interpretative resources in their implementation, mostly the European Court in Luxemburg (Rodin 2003 b) . Although the Gender Equality Act came from SSP HR, it is still not marked (“harmonization law”), which leads to the conclusion that jurisdiction, should be educated regarding its application (Vasiljević 2003). This law is basically the bedrock and a general ban against gender discrimination<sup>153</sup>. It is especially important because it raises the awareness for gender equality, it influences political parties, and it establishes gender divided categorization and nomenclature of the work places.... Unlike the other two researched countries, in Croatia the Law on Gender Equality was the general principle of the legislation and lead to implementation of measures for protection against gender discrimination, and creation of equal opportunities for men and women in public and private sphere. Moreover, this law envisaged the role of the media, political parties and education in order to promote gender equality, without any special legal measures in doing so (Barković and Vinković 2006) .

A very important aspect is promoting equal opportunities for men and women in political life. According to Article 15 from the Law, political parties are obliged to adopt an action plan every

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<sup>152</sup> The term „*gender mainstreaming*“ is essential and generally accepted in explaining the policy of gender equality in member states of EU. According to the definition for Great Europe this means: »Reorganization, improvement, development and evaluation of the political process in a way that the perspective of gender equality is included in all policies, on all levels, by the actors included in the decision-making process«. This is very difficult to translate term for the Croatian translation is „rodno osviještena politika“ is conceptual basis for improving gender equality in EU. This concept will be mentioned many times in Chapter III – VIII in this Law (Shaw 2002)

<sup>153</sup> family and marital status, sex orientation, gender equality regarding employment, education ,

four years, in order to balance the presence of men and women and to apply methods for promoting equal opportunities (NN 116/2003, Article 15). Political presence of women in public life and bigger presence in decision-making processes, especially on higher positions of power, is part of the activities according to EU policies, the Convention CEDAW, and activities for raising the awareness for gender equality<sup>154</sup> (Rodin 2003). Although there is a significant improvement in this direction political presence of women on a national and local level is still quite low (Leinert Novosel 2003). The governmental Office for Gender Equality is authorized for implementation of the Law. This office is an expert body and has a key role in the coordination of activities, supervision, application of international documents, law and regulations of the Government and the ministries. Beside this, the law also establishes the Institute Gender Equality Ombudsman<sup>155</sup> (NPGE 2011). After the parliamentary elections in 2000 the number of women in the Croatian parliament was significantly increased (from 5.7% to 23.5%), which resulted in the establishment of a Gender Equality Committee in the parliament and Equality Commission in the Government 2001. National policy for promotion of gender equality was adopted 2001-2005 (NN 112/2001).

The amendments of the Law on Gender Equality in 2003 and the new law in 2008 (NN 82/08) which was further harmonized with international standards and EU legislation<sup>156</sup> (2006/54/EC and Rec. 2003/3), introduced the *electoral quotas* for the first time, in order to encourage bigger presence of women in representative bodies and gender balance on all levels. This was the biggest progress of Croatian legislation. They actually took over a definition from the Council of Europe for gender imbalance in the public and political life and this meant the introduction of 40% quotas for the under-represented gender on voters' lists (NPGE 2011). Therefore, the legal framework became more specific by the Law on election of members in representative bodies, local and regional self-government units (NN 44/05). This law obliges political parties as nominators of the lists to act according to the gender equality law. A very important change is the introduction of gender sensitive terminology in the election process, i.e. in the candidate lists within the State Election Commission. However, despite these changes in the legislation the reality still shows a relatively lower presence of women in decision-making structures (Nestić,

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<sup>154</sup> It is the media's obligation to promote contents in order to raise citizens' awareness for gender equality.

<sup>155</sup> The basic authorities of the Ombudsman is supervising the implementation of the Law on Gender Equality, as well as other regulations regarding this area, looks into the cases of violation of the equality principle, cases of discrimination caused on certain individuals by state organs.

<sup>156</sup> extends the basis for banning discrimination in employment, forms independent body for fighting discrimination which redefines the authorities of the Attorney for gender equality, according to the responsibilities and EU legislation

2007). As in Macedonia and in Serbia, the biggest flaw of the Law on Gender Equality is the lack of detailed provisions of its implementation, and especially the possibilities of court protection.

In the area of civil rights, the most important laws which envisage provisions for equality and non-discrimination on the basis of gender are the Law on family (NN 17/2004; NN 136/2004; NN 107/2007), Criminal law<sup>157</sup> (NN 152/2008), Law on Domestic violence (NN 116/2003). In 2003 the Government in Croatia passes a National Domestic Policy (NN 116/03; NN 116/03; NN 114/03; NN 116/03). The purpose of the new Law on Domestic Violence 2010 (NN 137/09; 14/10; and 60/10) was to improve the operation of the authorities for elimination of domestic violence and harmonization with international standards. The amendments to the Law on Criminal Procedure (NN 152/08 and 76/09) from 2009 include provisions for protection against domestic violence. In the field of elimination of domestic violence the National strategy for protection against domestic violence<sup>158</sup> (NN 182/04; NN 126/07; NN 20/11)<sup>159</sup> is of great importance. Regarding employment legislation, one of the most important novelties is the introduction of equal payment (compensation) for equal amount of work according to (75/117/EEC, 207/76/EEC, 84/635/EEC) .<sup>160</sup> Aside equal payment, the law also envisages equal procedure for vocational training based on objective and proportional allocation, without any form of discrimination based on gender (Vasiljević 2003) .<sup>161</sup> The Law on Labor Relations is very detailed in the ban against discrimination in accordance with European standards. It also provides specific definition of the terms direct and indirect discrimination and prohibiting discrimination in general.<sup>162</sup> The changes in the Law on Labor Relations (NN 149/09) according to (2006/54/EC), incorporate provision which proposes that in the case of equal qualification for the job the position should be appointed to the person from the under-represented gender

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<sup>157</sup> (NN 110/1997; NN 27/1998; NN 50/2000; NN 129/2000; NN 51/2001; NN 111/2003; NN 190/2003; NN 105/2004; NN 84/2005; NN 71/2006; NN 110/2007; NN 152/2008)

Amendments to the Criminal law in Croatia are important because they changed the legal position of women regarding domestic violence. The law introduced a measure “restraining order for a certain person and ban on establishing and keeping relations with a certain person (Article 90). From the aspect of preventing domestic violence this was a very important novelty.

Law on Offences - This new law puts the victims of domestic violence in a more favorable position than before. 25 Law expands the authority of the Criminal Court which so far “on its initiative or on the applicant's request begins initiation of litigation” can make the decision to hold a person “caught in disturbing public order, domestic violence... and there is justified cause for belief that this person will do the offence again” (Article 146.)

<sup>158</sup> In 2009 the Government of the Republic of Croatia established Commission for improvement of the protection against domestic violence and created the National strategy for protection against domestic violence (2011-2016) that same year. (Official Gazette 20/11.)

<sup>159</sup> Also Law on Defence was passed which envisages the establishment of Committee on Gender Equality within the Ministry of Defence. The authorities of this committee refer to the equal treatment and status, and to equal opportunities (Article 19.) (23 NN, 58/02; 24 NN, 88/02), than the Law on same-sex communities, within which the legal relations between the partners is regulated (28 NN, 32/02).

<sup>160</sup> on harmonization of the legislation of candidate-members regarding the principle of equal payment for equal amount of work for men and women.

<sup>161</sup> A general framework is envisaged in order to achieve equal employment opportunities (2000/ 78/EC). Also important aspects are the changes to the Law on Labor Relations regarding the opportunity to work half-time – until the child is two years of age of a worker who has had twins, triplets or more children of the same age. A new institute of working at a specific location is established, so that women can spend more time with their families.

<sup>162</sup> A very specific novelty is that fact that during court proceedings the blame is transferred to the employer in case of discrimination according to (97/80/EEC)

(Barković and Vinković 2006). This law is the most important in its aspect of preventing gender discrimination. The European Strategy on employment formulates equal employment opportunities, according to the Lisbon Summit<sup>163</sup> (1997) and EC directives from the Amsterdam Agreement<sup>164</sup> for overcoming gender imbalance (Herman and Vinković 2003).

Also very specific novelty is the Anti-discrimination Law (NN 85/08) which envisages equal opportunities and protection against discrimination on the basis of gender, ethnicity, language, religion, political or other orientation, nationality, race, education, labor, family relations or sexual orientation (Vasiljević 2003a).

• **Institutional changes (mechanisms)** – Several mechanisms were established in order to straighten the institutional framework such as the Committee on Equality in the Croatian parliament 2001, Gender Equality Ombudsman 2003 (as a result of the Law on Gender Equality) and Government Office on Gender Relations 2004. According to the Beijing Platform, the Equality Commission from the Government<sup>165</sup> prepared National Policy for the Promotion of Gender Equality (NPPGE HR) adopted in 1997 (NN – MU 18/97), and came into force in 1999, for a period of four years (NN – MU 6/99, 8/99).<sup>166</sup> On the other hand, with the National Policy for Promotion of Gender Equality (NPPGE HR) 2001 - 2005, Anti-discrimination Committee was founded against all forms of discrimination. It was harmonized with the Facultative protocol of the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW). The committee is a body from the assembly which deal with the equality principle in the legislation (NN 17/01). A gender equality coordinator was appointed within all ministries, in order to improve the implementation of the formal and legal acts.<sup>167</sup> The Law on Gender Equality from 2008 defines the role and status of the municipal equality commissions, the Gender Equality Office in the Government of RC and the coordinator in public administration.

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<sup>163</sup> Article 3 “Goals of EU” paragraph 3 ....overcoming social exclusion and discrimination, promotion of social justice and gender equality... (Treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe, 310/11, 16. 12. 2004); (Walby 2004, *The European Union and Gender Equality: Emergent Varieties of Gender Regime*, Social Politics, Vol. 11, No. 1, Spring 2004, p. 7.)

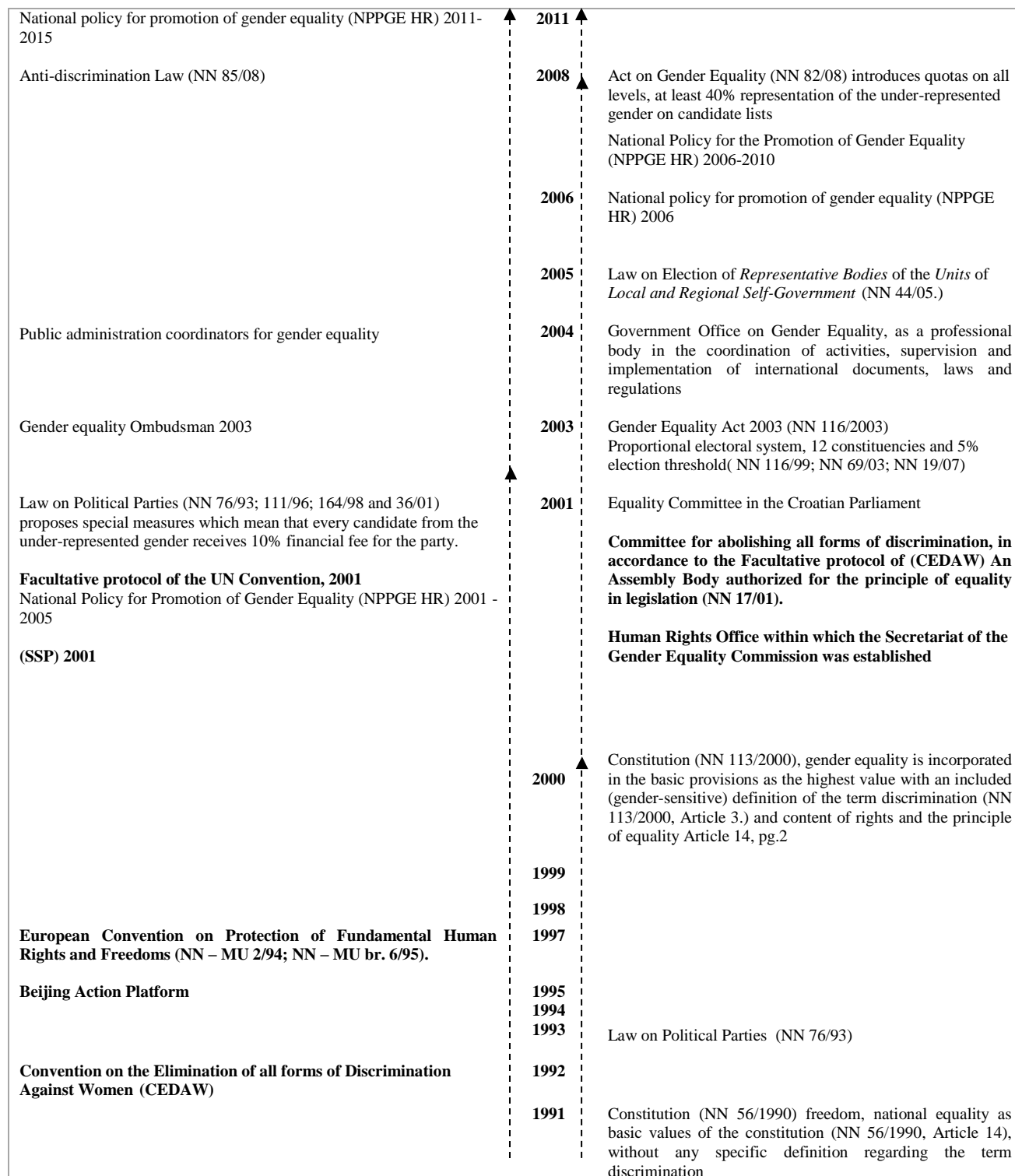
<sup>164</sup> Balancing and harmonization of legislation according to EU.....(*Article 2 of the Treaty establishing the European Community*, OJ C 325/40, 24. 12. 2002)

<sup>165</sup> The Government Commission on Equality issues consists of representatives from the ministries and other state organs, but also representatives from the non-governmental sector.

<sup>166</sup> On the basis of the Beijing Action Platform and the concluding documents of Special meeting of the General Assembly in Beijing +5, this policy has the purpose to through affirmative action create a society here women can exercise their rights to the fullest. According to the *National program*, there are three areas in which women should be enabled to exercise their rights: family, working environment and society. The real position of women in these areas confirms that she is the one who performs the task not that she is the object on which they are fulfilled. Among other things, a National Action Plan for the Roma population is established, which envisages protection of gender equality in Roma families and raising the awareness for their general rights and gender equality.

<sup>167</sup> Undoubtedly, the non-governmental sector had a great influence during all these processes of legislation improvement.

**Figure 4.3: Croatia on a national level - Dynamics of legal framework development and policies for encouraging bigger presence of women in political life**





#### **4.4 Comparative review of development policies for encouraging bigger presence of women in the political life in Macedonia, Serbia and Croatia (1990 – 2012)**

The analysis and dynamics of development policies for encouraging bigger political presence of women in Macedonia, Serbia and Croatia indicate five points of convergence and differences in the development. *Firstly*, the political system and designing the electoral system. *Secondly*, the introduction of quotas in election law in order to encourage bigger presence of women in representative bodies; *Third*, passing the Law on Gender Equality and forming institutional mechanisms. *Fourth*, legal solutions and regulations for encouraging political presence of women in political parties. *Fifth*, dynamics of adopting international regulations and developing the normative framework and the Stabilization and Association Process for accession in EU;

All three countries apply the proportional electoral system for allocation of mandates, i.e. in the development of electoral legislation there is a transition from a majority through mixed to a proportional system. When electing people`s representatives in legislative bodies closed election lists are used with a previously determined order of candidates, D`Hondt method of counting votes, except in Serbia where there are unblocked closed lists (Jovanović 2004). In Serbia, the whole territory is one constituency, while Macedonia is divided into six and Croatia into twelve constituencies. This is most often distributed according to the Law on Constituencies, i.e. in accordance with geographic criteria such as population, or ethnic criteria (in the case of Macedonia). The election threshold in Serbia and Croatia is 5%, while in Macedonia the threshold is not defined, which is an election disadvantage. This manner of allocating mandates in the former Yugoslav republics has proved to quite positive, not only regarding the political presence of women, but also regarding marginalized groups (ethnic, religious) (Bieber 2004a).

**Table 4.1: Political system and design of the electoral system/ dynamics of changes**

Country	Political system	Parliamentary		Electoral system	Type of candidate lists and candidature	Form of voting	Level of mandates Constituency	Method of counting votes	
MKD	Parliamentary	Unicameral-Assembly	120 representatives	1990; 1994. Majority (2 election cycles)	1 candidate/120 C	1 vote	1990; 1994 120 C	1990, 1994, Majority 7% to enter the second cycle	
				1998 Mixed (85 with majority and 35 with proportional)	Closed lists		1998 85 C	1998 Majority (absolute majority 7% for the 2 cycle) and D'Hondt method, electoral census - no	
				2002 Proportional up-to-date	Closed lists		2002 6 C	2002 D'Hondt method, electoral census - no	
RS	Parliamentary	FRY 1990-2003 Bicameral – Assembly (Skupshtina)	The Council of Citizens 138 representatives	Serbia 108	1990 Majority ES 1992 Proportional and majority (60 candidates with majority and 78 with proportional) 1993 Proportional 1997 Proportional 2000 Proportional	1 vote	Until 1997 9 C	1990 Majority ES, 2 cycles	
				Montenegro 30					
			The Council of Republics 40 representatives	Serbia 20			Closed unblocked lists	Since 1997 29 C	1992, 1993, 1997 - D'Hondt method, electoral census - no 2000- D'Hondt method, electoral census - 5%
				Montenegro 20					
		2003	Serbia 91	2003 Proportional	Since 2000 The whole country is one constituency B		2003, 2006. - D'Hondt method, electoral census - 5%		
		Unicameral 126 representatives	Montenegro 35						
2006 R.Serbia	250 representatives - People's Assembly	2006 Proportional to-date							
HR	Parliamentary	1990-2001 Bicameral- Assembly (Sabor)	Chamber of Deputies From 100 to 160 representatives	1990 Majority ES 1992 Mixed ES – (60 with majority and 60 with proportional) 1995 Mixed (28 majority and 80 proportional)	Closed lists	1 vote	Constituency 12 C	Majority	
			Chamber of Counties 68 representatives						
		2001 Unicameral	140 representatives	1999/2000 Proportional 2003 Proportional to-date				1992 - D'Hondt method, electoral census - 3% 1995 D'Hondt method, electoral census - 5%, for two parties coalition 8%, for three parties coalition 11% 2000 D'Hondt method, electoral census - 5%	

Sources: Dukanović 2006; Fink-Hafner, Fink-Hafner et al. 2005;

The introduction of quotas (Burnet 2011; Krook 2006; Antić Gaber and Lokar 2006; Jogan 2001) in many countries was imposed as a result of the intention to increase the number of women in representative bodies and in political life in general. According to Antić Gaber and Lokar (2006), the introduction of quotas has three phases of ideological background in almost all Balkan countries: from 1990 to the Beijing conference 1995 – open rejection; from 1995-1999- partial acceptance of the provisions from the Beijing platform and quotas but within certain political parties, from 1999-2004 – period within the Stabilization and Association Agreement for Southeastern Europe and a phase of gradual acceptance of the quotas, although under pressure (on the one hand in some countries by OSCE, and on the other by SP Gender Task Force GTF)<sup>168</sup> with a special attention to the Western Balkans (Antić Gaber and Lokar 2006). In Macedonia, with the Stabilization Agreement, GTF and Macedonian Women`s Lobby MWL, also helped to form the initiation for the `Gentlemen`s Agreement` in 2000, which was realized as a successful action and a reason for incorporating quotas in election legislation as the only way to increase the number of women in representative bodies (Antić Gaber and Lokar 2006). In this direction, several laws were passed – Law on Members of Parliament in 2002 which envisages a 30% quota for the under-represented sex (Сл. Весник на РМ 42/2002; Сл. Весник на РМ 46/2004), Law on local elections 2004 – 30% quota for the under-represented sex and their position in the lower or higher half of the lists ( Сл. Весник на РМ 35/2004, Article 15a), Election Code 2006 (Сл. Весник на РМ 40/2006) (for each third place on the list, at least one belongs to the under-represented sex (Article 64, paragraph 5). In the same period in Serbia the basic changes in the legislation in order to encourage bigger presence of women are introduced in the period 2002-2004 through the election laws on a local (Сл. Гласник РС 33/02) provincial (Сл. лист АПВ 12/04) and a republic level (Сл. Гласник РС 18/04) - 30% quotas for the under-represented gender on the candidate lists (Pajvančić 2006; Aleksić and Lukić 2000). Unlike Macedonia and Serbia, in Croatia the quotas are introduced through the Gender Equality Act. First measures are introduced within the Law on Political Parties (NN 76/93; 111/96; 164/98 and 36/01) - 10% financial fee for the party for every candidate from the under-

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<sup>168</sup> SP GTF is a regional Southeastern initiative coming from the members of the Stabilization Agreement for Southeastern Europe on the Sarajevo Summit in 1999. Over 150 renowned women, NGOs, governmental actors and political activities from Southeastern Europe as well as numerous supporters outside the region, all expressed their concern for the position of women in the region. On EU's initiative, on 10 June 1999 the Stabilization Agreement was adopted in Cologne. In the founding document more than 40 countries – partners and organizations were committed to put efforts to encourage peace, democracy, respecting human rights and economic prosperity in order to achieve stability in the region of Southeastern Europe.

represented gender. In 2008 the new Gender Equality Act (NN 82/08) additionally harmonized with (2006/54/EC), for the first time electoral quotas were introduced on all levels, in order to increase the number of women in representative bodies for at least 40% representation for the under-represented gender on the candidate lists. The definition on gender imbalance in public and political life from the Council of Europe was incorporated (NPPGE HR 2011). Moreover, the legal framework was specified with the Law on Election of Representative Bodies of the Units of Local and Regional Self (NN 44/05), which obliges political parties as nominators of lists to operate according to the Gender Equality Act. The Gender Equality Act was a general principle of the legislation in the direction of taking measures for protection against discrimination on the basis of gender. Although the quotas were introduced later in Croatia, still Croatian legislation had the intention to establish anti-discrimination laws which guarantee gender equality and raising citizens' awareness (NPPGE HR 2011). Research show that the attitudes of citizens from Croatia and other candidate-members regarding gender equality are generally the same<sup>169</sup> (Perception, experience and attitude regarding gender discrimination in RC; Eurobarometar 2009, Gender equality).

- According to the Laws on Political Parties in all three countries there are exact definitions, Statute and a Program as founding documents, a certain manner of financing, necessary census for the formation... Regarding the measures for encouraging political presence of women and anti-discrimination provisions, in Macedonia the Law envisages prohibition of gender discrimination. In Serbia, on the other hand, there are no provisions in the Law on Political Parties which encourage women's political presence. Croatia has the most developed legislation with measures for each candidate from the under-represented gender 10% financial compensation for the party (NN 76/93; 111/96; 164/98 and 36/01)
- According to the Copenhagen and Madrid criteria, directives, recommendations and resolutions<sup>170</sup> by EU for equal opportunities for men and women which are transpositioning in

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<sup>169</sup> From all people included in the research, 62% in EU and 58% in Croatia think that women and men are not equal. At the same time 64% of the researched people in EU and 59% in Croatia think that there is considerable improvement in the last decade and that gender discrimination has decreased since 10 years ago.

<sup>170</sup> **Directives transferred in domestic legislation**

- 75/117/EEC – Directive regarding the principle of equal payment for men and women;

- 76/207/EC – Directive for equal treatment in employment and vocation; - 2000/78/EC – Directive regarding the establishment of a general framework for equal treatment in employment and vocation; - 97/80/EC – Directive regarding the burden of proof in case of gender discrimination; - 92/85/EEC-Directive regarding the protection of pregnant women; - 2004/113/EC-Directive regarding the implementation on the principle of equal treatment of men and women in the approach to and providing goods and services;

- 2000/43/EC Directive regarding the implementation of the principle of equal treatment of people regardless of their race or ethnic background; - 2002/73/EC-Directive regarding the changes and amendments of Directives; - 76/207/EEC Directive regarding the Council for the implementation of the principle of equal treatment of men and women in relation to employment, educational training, promotion and working conditions.

the domestic legislation, Laws on Gender Equality are passed in all three countries. In Macedonia, the Law on Equal Opportunities was passed in 2006, amendments were made in 2008 (Сл. Весник на РМ 117/2008) due to harmonization with EU Directives (2002/73/EC), and in 2012 a new Law on Equal Opportunities was passed which envisages specific measures for promotion of equal opportunities for men and women (Сл. Весник на РМ 6/2012). In Serbia, although it was withdrawn from procedure several times (Pajvančić, 2005; 2006) the Gender Equality Act was passed for the first time in 2009 and is the most important segment of the internal law and the most essential instrument of the gender equality policy (Сл. Гласник РС 104/2009). In Croatia, the Gender Equality Act was passed for the first time in 2003 (NN 116/2003), as a result of the harmonization of legislation and encouragement of bigger presence of women in all aspects of social life (Rodin 2003 a) . In 2008 a new Gender Equality Act was passed, which includes quotas for the under-represented gender in political ruling structures. Regarding institutional mechanisms, all three countries have Assemblies (Committees) for equality, Government bodies (Department, Commission, Office, Committee) formed throughout several phases and time periods.

- The Stabilization and Association Process to EU was reflected in activities for integration of the Western Balkans within the Union and the need to harmonize the legislation with the European legislation. As a result of the developments<sup>171</sup> in time of transition, war, ethnic conflicts, poor economic transition, ethno-nationalist policy and political (Bebler 2008; Silber and Little 1997; Liotta 2001) all of these process took place very slowly in all three countries. The perception of the international community was that the Western Balkans showed a high level of unfavorable political context regarding gender equality policy (CEDAW Report 2000). The new and freshly established democracies in these countries face the problem of no rule of law (Ruminska -Zimny 2002). This constellation of the developments led to unfavorable conditions for citizens, especially for the position of women (Ruminska-Zimny 2002; Barković and Vinković 2006). Even in 2003, the beginning of integration policy and processes towards the Union could be felt (Pridham 2008). The Stabilization and Association Agreement to EU was signed in Macedonia

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<sup>170</sup> Recommendation 96/694/EC for balanced participation of men and women in the decision-making process; - Recommendation 84/635/EEC for promotion of the implantation of measures for affirmative action by women; - Recommendation 92/131/EEC for protecting the dignity of men and women at work; - Recommendation 87/567/EEC for professional education of women

<sup>170</sup> Resolution (95/C 296/06) from 05/10/1995 for the appearance and depiction of men and women in advertisements and media;

- Resolution (85/C 166/1) from 1985 which includes Action program for the implantation of the principle of equal opportunities for men and women in education.

**Declarations:** Declaration from 19/12/1991 for the implementation of the recommendation by the Commission for protection of the dignity of men and women at work, including the rules for preventing sexual harassment;

<sup>171</sup> abovementioned analysis

in 2000, Serbia 2008 (2010 came into power) and Croatia 2001. This meant formal obligations for harmonization of national legislation with European legislation. The three countries are candidate-members, although only Croatia has commenced its negotiation process (and in 2013 it will become a full member). Macedonia has received the status of a candidate member in 2005, but not a negotiation date (bearing in mind the name dispute with Greece, Mirčev, D., 2006, 2008) regarding the name of the Republic of Macedonia,<sup>172</sup> while Serbia<sup>173</sup> began the process for the SSP RS in 2005, but due to the failure to fulfill of the criteria of collaboration with the Hague Tribunal,<sup>174</sup> the European Commission interrupted the negotiations in 2006 (Back and Giddens 2005; Mihailović, 2006; Ramet 1992). Later, in 2008 Serbia signed the Stabilization and Association Agreement which came into force in 2010. The harmonization and incorporation of European legislation regarding gender equality<sup>175</sup> in the national legislation mean incorporating new gender sensitive legislation (Zippel 2004; Vinković 2005; Adamović 2004), establishment of mechanisms, improving gender equality, raising citizens' awareness regarding gender sensitive issues and especially the European strategy for encouraging bigger presence of women in political life (2010-2015).

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<sup>172</sup> More on the Macedonian-Greek issue, Maleska .M, New Balkan Politics, Skopje 2007

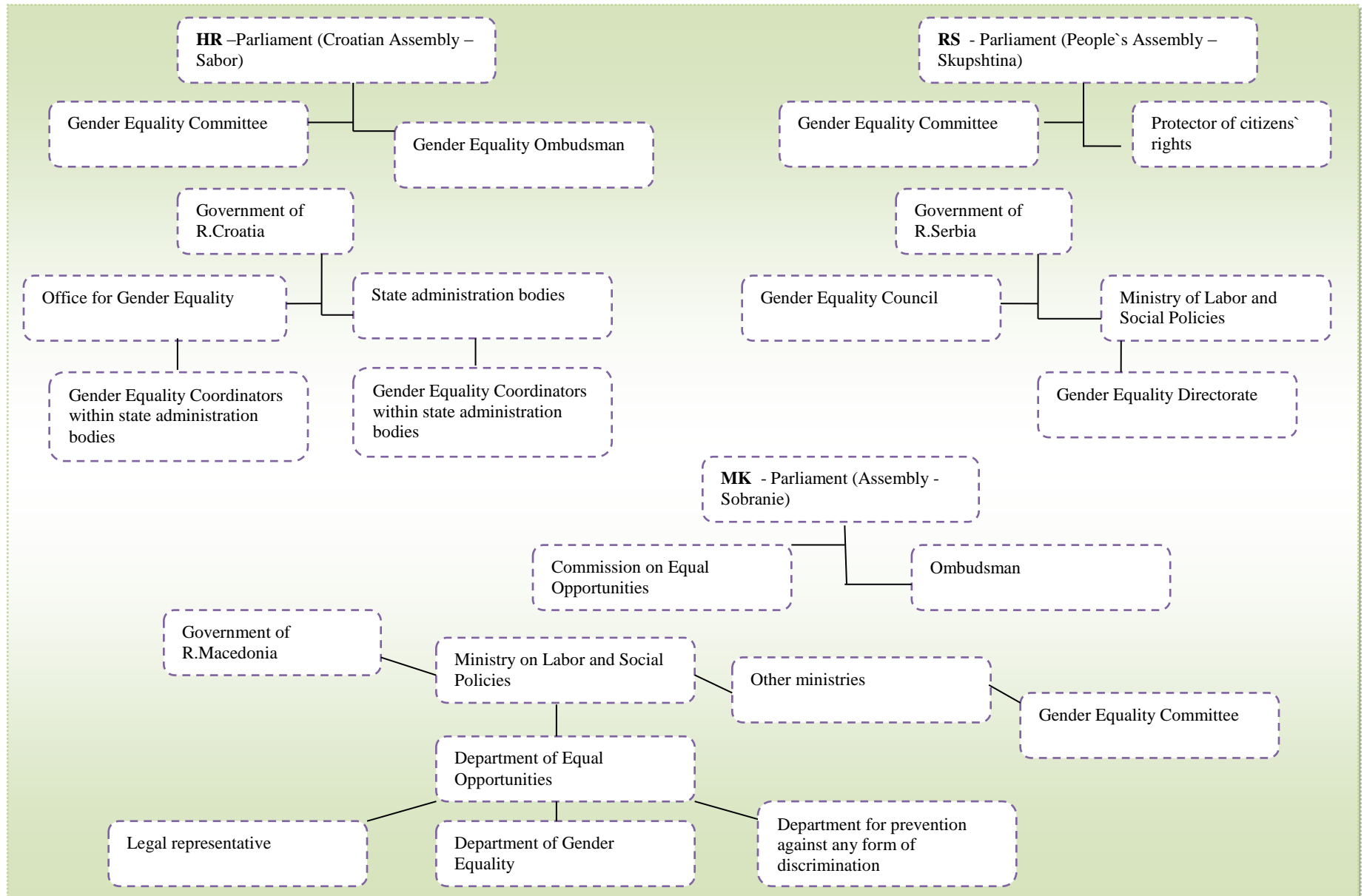
<sup>173</sup> At that time Serbia and Montenegro, as the country successor of SR Yugoslavia

<sup>174</sup> Due to the failure to fulfill of the criteria

on regarding collaboration with the Hague Tribunal, especially as a result of Ratko Mladik being sheltered (accused of war crimes and genocide in Bosnia and Herzegovina); Ramet 1992)

<sup>175</sup> **Directives and recommendations by EU** (2000/43/EC Directive regarding the implementation of the principle of equal treatment of people regardless of their race or ethnic background; Recommendation 96/694/EC for balanced participation of men and women in the decision-making process; - 84/635/EEC for promotion and implementation of measures for affirmative action for women).

**Figure 4.4: Map of the institutional framework for implementation of gender equality on a national level in MK, RS, HR**



Sources : Ured za ravnopravnost CRO 2013; Ministarstvo rada i socijalne politike RS 2013; Министерство за труд и социјална политика 2013

**Table 4.2: Regional review of the legal framework and institutional mechanisms regarding gender equality 1990-2012**

	Law on Gender Equality	Anti-discrimination Law	Quotas on a national (N), regional (R) and local level (L)	Neutral (N) women-biased (W)	Predetermined sanctions	Order rules	Institutional measures and policies	International documents
<b>MK</b>	Law on Equal Opportunities – 2006 (Сл. Весник на РМ 66/2006)  Changes and amendments to the LEQ (Сл. Весник на РМ 117/2008) harmonization of definitions regarding discrimination and harassment with (2002/73/EC)  New Law on Equal Opportunities (Сл. Весник на РМ 6/2012)	Anti-discrimination Law according to (EC 97/80) – 2010 (Сл. Весник на РМ 50/2010)	Law on Election of Members of Parliament - 2002 (Сл. Весник на РМ 42/2002; Сл. Весник на РМ 46/2004) 30% quota  Law on Local Elections -2004 (Сл. Весник на РМ 35/2004, Article 15) 30% quota and positioning in the lower or higher half of the list Election Code – 2006 (Сл. Весник на РМ 40/2006) (for every three places on the list at least one belongs to the under-represented sex) 30% quota in the electoral organs (Сл. Весник на РМ 40/2006 Article 21, p 3)	N	(N) YES	2002 (N) NO	Unit for Promotion of Gender Equality, (МТСП МКД 1997)  (NAPGE МК) – 1999  Commission on equal opportunities within the Assembly – 2006 (Сл. Весник на РМ 66/2006)  Department of Equal Opportunities (instead of a Council) (МТСП МКД 2007)  Equal opportunities coordinators in all ministries (Сл. Весник на РМ 6/2012)	(CEDAW) 1991  Beijing 1995  (ECHR) 1997  Facultative protocol of CEDAW in MK 2003  (CCA MK) 2000
<b>RS</b>	Gender Equality Act - 2009 (Сл. Гласник РС 104/2009)	General Anti-discrimination Law 2009 (Сл. Гласник РС 22/2009)	Local electoral law – 2002 (Сл. Гласник РС 33/02) 30% quota  Provincial electoral law – 2004 (Сл. лист АПВ 12/04) 30% quota  Republic electoral law – 2004 (Сл. Гласник РС 18/04) 30% quota	N	(L) YES	2002 (L) YES        2004 (N) NO	Gender equality council, Government - 2003 (Сл. Гласник РС 13/2003)  Gender equality committee within People's Assembly - 2003 (Сл. Гласник РС 57/2003)  Gender equality within the Assembly in AP Vojvodina - 2005  Department of gender equality – 2007 (Сл. Гласник РС 44/2007); later Gender Equality Directorate - 2008 (Сл. Гласник РС 65/2008) МИНРЗС СРБ  NSIPW RS - 2009 (Сл. Гласник РС 15/2009)	Beijing 1995  (CEDAW) 2001  Facultative protocol of CEDAW in RS 2002  (ECHR) 2003  (SSP) 2010



<b>HR</b>	Gender Equality Act - 2003 (NN 116/2003)	Anti-discrimination law - 2008 (NN 85/08)	Within the Gender Equality Act which obliges political parties to submit voters` lists and act according to the law - 2008 (NN 82/08) 40% for elections on all levels (N; L)	N	2008 (N+L) YES	2008 (N+L) NO	Council for the elimination of all types of discrimination 2001 Gender Equality Committee within the Croatian parliament 2001	(CEDAW) 1992 Beijing 1995
	Gender Equality Act - 2003 (NN 116/2003)						(NPPGE HR - 2001) 2001 - 2005 Gender equality Ombudsman 2003 Office for Gender equality within Government 2004 Gender equality coordinators in public administration 2004 (NPPGE HR) 2006-2010 (NPPGE HR) 2011-2015	(ECHR) 1997 (SSP) 2001 Facultative protocol of (CEDAW) in HR 2001

**Sources:** Law on Election of Members of Parliament (Сл. Весник на РМ42/2002; Сл. Весник на РМ46/2004); Law on local elections 2004 (Сл. Весник на РМ 35/2004); Election code ( Сл. Весник на РМ40/2006); Law on equal opportunities (Сл. Весник на РМ66/2006); Amendments and changes to the Law on gender equality (Сл. Весник на РМ117/2008); Law on equal opportunities (Сл. Весник на РМ 6/2012); Law for Prevention against Discrimination ( Сл. Весник на РМ 50/2010); NAPGE МК 2007; RRMMDG 2009; SRCEDAW 2005; NPAEUL МК 2007-2010

Local election code (Сл. Гласник РС 33/02) Provincial election code (Сл. лист АПВ 12/04) Republic election code (Сл. Гласник РС 18/04); Antidiscrimination law (Сл. Гласник РС 22/2009); Gender equality act (Сл. Гласник РС 104/2009); NAP RS (2007-2010); NSGE (Сл. Гласник РС 15/2009);

Gender equality act (NN 116/2003); Gender equality Law (NN 82/08); Law on prevention against discrimination (NN 85/08); (NPPGE HR - 2001) 2001 - 2005 (NN 112/2001); (NPPGE HR 2011); National memorandum of the Republic of Croatia, 6th European Ministerial Conference on equality between women and men, Stockholm, 2006;

Antić Gaber and Lokar 2006; Leinert Novosel 2009; Rodin 2003; Nestić, 2007; Pajvančić 2010

#### **4.5 Interpretation framework for the development models regarding the political presence of women – transition socialism/post-socialism – MK, RS, HR (1990/2009)**

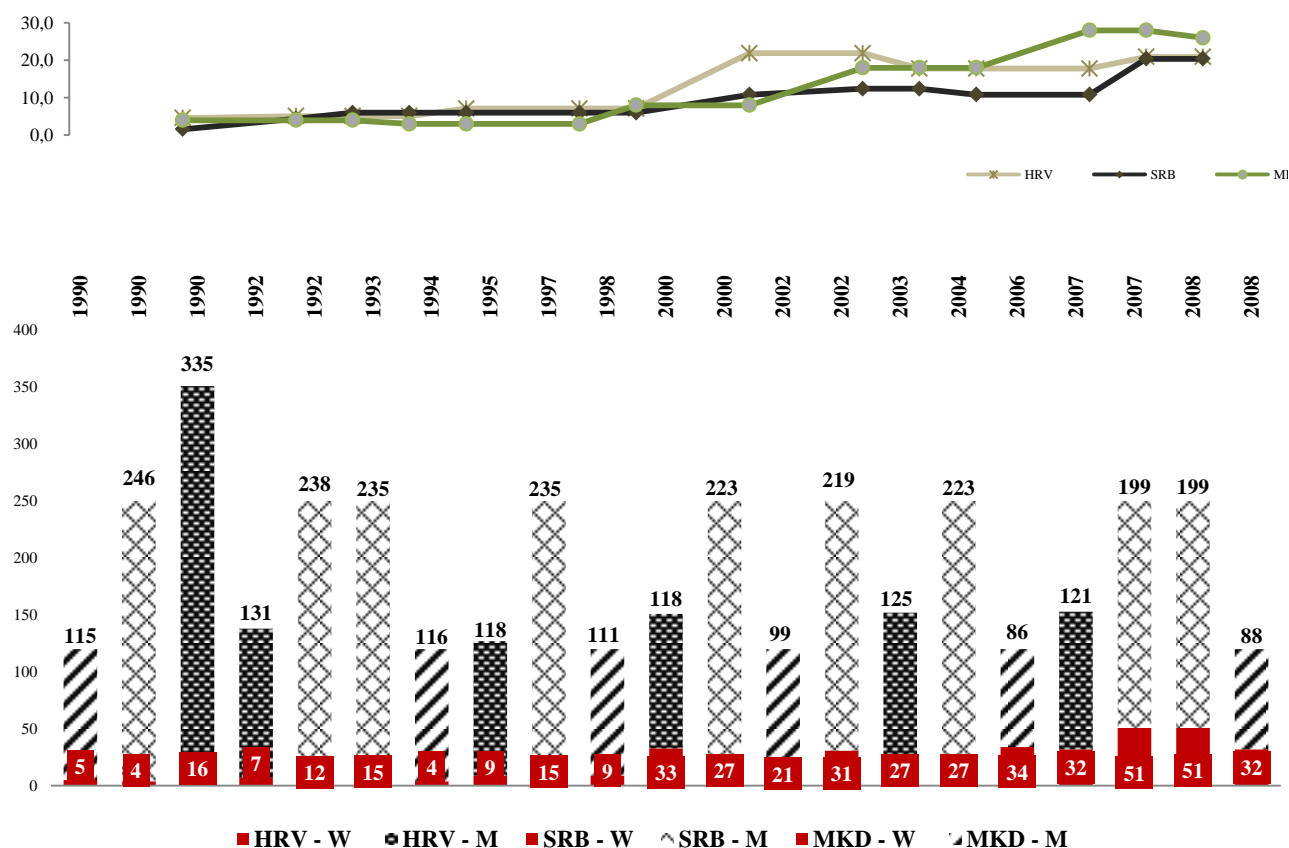
The political changes which arose after the declaration of independence in the individual republics were also reflected in the victory of right-oriented parties (somewhere also conservative and dominantly nationalistic parties)<sup>176</sup>(Woodward 2002; Ramet 1992). These changes were also reflected in the development of the nationalistic spirit of the citizens (Sekelj 1991). In Serbia, the 90s` were a time of hard nationalistic orientation, especially reflected through certain political parties SRM (92%), DU (70%), SPS (66%) (Mihailović 1994). Regarding the political dynamics there is a trend of weaker ideological-value dimension and stronger material dimension at the same time, especially in relation to the change of ethnocentric national component (Mihailović 1994). Although during the communist regime the presence of women in politics could be felt, it was still without any political power. The processes of restructuring political, economic, and social relations in Croatia and Macedonia began towards the 80s` and the beginning of 90s` of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. These radical changes led to democratization of all relations. The war in Serbia, but even more the authoritarian regime slowed down these processes (Ramet 1992). In all three countries, equality as a basic postulate, meant formal and legal treatment, although it did not match the reality of the situation. The right to vote carries double meaning: on a symbolic level (formal equality of men and women) and on an instrumental level (opportunity to approach politics, decision-making processes and power) (Antić Gaber 1998). The drop of the political presence of women to 5 %, after the new elections in the independent countries reflected the reality of the political culture and the newly established patriarchal relations system (Matland and Montgomery 2003). Marginalization and cultural turn of citizenship regarding the transition from socialism to capitalism had a negative influence on all groups, including women (Mihailović 2006; Cohen 1996). Due to the transition process in the direction of institutionalization of the new democratic order in Serbia, Croatia, Macedonia took place in a relatively turbulent dimension, it is inevitable that this region is abundant with violations of human rights, nationalism, criminalization, retraditionalization, clericalism, appearance of non-civilian, retrogressive, antimodernization developments in these societies (Vujadinović, Veljak, Goati, Pavicević 2004). The development of the legal framework in direction of improving the legal (formal) conditions, which meant encouraging factual equality or achieving gender equality in political structures, despite the countries` efforts due to

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<sup>176</sup> firstly in Croatia with the victory of Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ), in Serbia the Serbian Socialist Party (former communist), while in Macedonia the right-oriented party VMRO-DPMNE (Woodward 2002; Ramet 1992;).

the external pressure, it still did not manage to solve this issue, although there was a positive effect. The specific position of women in political life in these countries is conditioned by factors identified as obstacles despite the establishment of formal rules and institutions (Pajvančić 2010). The creation of political rules, political leadership and power proved to be part of the men`s world (Funk and Mueller 1993). The research and comparative review of data show a firm suppression of women in the private sphere, despite the socialism developments and the new radical changes of the democratic order (Leinert Novosel 2007).

**Figure 4.5: Comparative view on the developments and dynamics of changes in political presence in parliament 1990 - 2009** (number and % of women MPs -national level

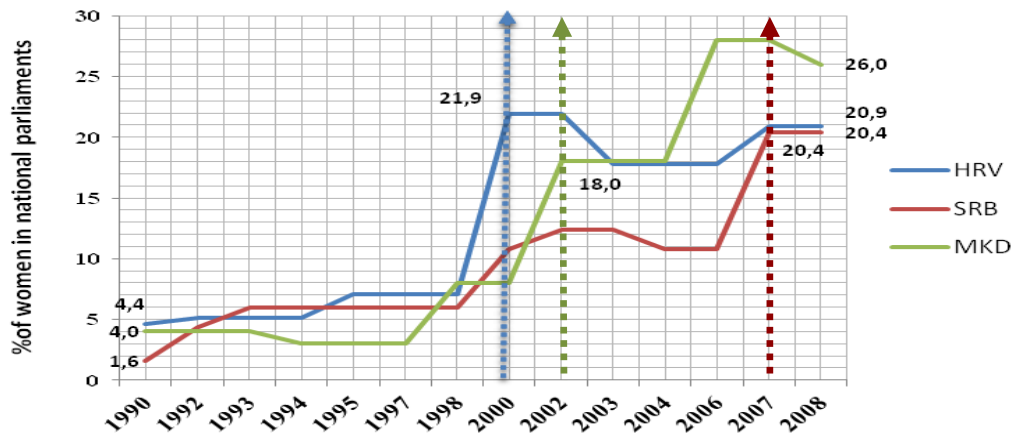


Legend: HRV – W, HRV- M (Croatia Women, Croatia Men); SRB – W, SRB – M (Serbia Women, Serbia Men); MKD-W, MK-M (Macedonia Women, Macedonia Men)

Sources: ДЗС МК 2008, 2010, 2012 (Women and men in Macedonia); DZS HR 2006, 2007, 2012 (Women and men in Croatia); RZSS 2008 (Women and men in Serbia); Note: The linear review refers to the percent of the presence of women. Each point indicates the presence of women in the total number of representatives in the parliaments of the three countries. (WB 2012 – Gender statistics; GID-DB 2009; OECD Development Centre 2013).

After the first parliamentary elections in 1990, the percent of elected women in parliament within the three countries moved from 1.6 in Serbia, 4.3 in Macedonia and 4.6 in Croatia.

**Figure 4.6: Comparative view on the changes of the percent of female MPs**



Source: WB 2012 – Gender statistics; GID-DB 2009; OECD Development Centre 2011.

Note: The vertical arrows mark the years when the number of elected women increased

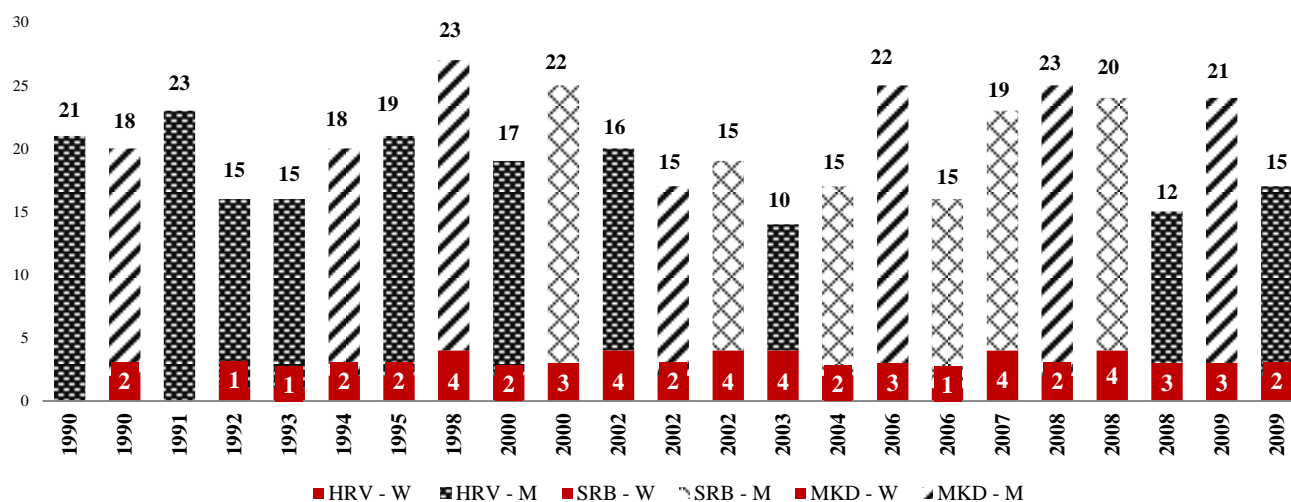
The percentage line is following a trend of increase after the introduction of changes in the electoral system (proportional electoral system), positive strategies and especially after the introduction of electoral quotas for the under-represented gender in accordance with the harmonization with European recommendations. However, despite the formal and legal changes, the percent of political presence of women in national parliaments is still relatively low.

*„.....The democratic transition in the period of post-conflict Balkan led to improvement of the formal frame work in Croatia. However, despite the positive changes the shift from controlled to competitive parliament showed negative effects regarding the position women in public life and a “logical” exclusion of women from political structures on a national and local level, as well as from the decision-making processes....(HR 1).*

The necessity these societies to go through retraditionalization, became an inevitable social concept (Jogan 2011). On the other hand, European integration was even more influential in the creation of a new framework of modern gender equality policies, which in Macedonia became with the (CCA MK) in 2000, in Croatia SSP 2001, while in Serbia SSP 2010. In spite of this intention, the reality of the situation is still indicative of imbalance regarding political presence of women, i.e. the process of retraditionalization and repatriarchalization is preconditioned by social changes such as the slow process of shifting the ideological matrix.

*„.....The experience in parliamentary democracy has shown that political pluralism on its own, is not able to increase women`s presence in politics, and with that in the decision-making structures, despite the existence of general and global provisions of gender equality. We should always bear in mind that the poor presence of women in politics is a complex social occurrence, determined by socioeconomic parameters in society, but also by traditional values and gender roles ..... (MK 1)*

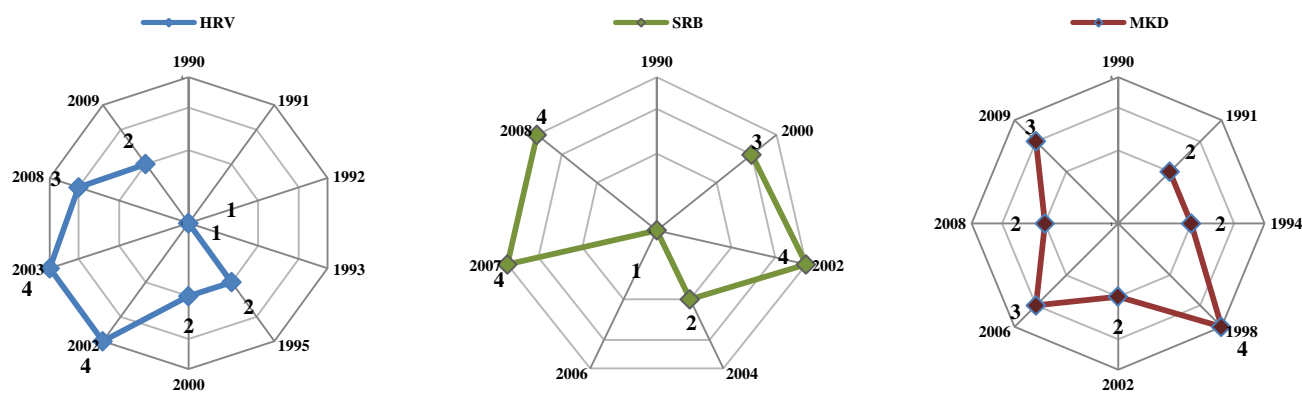
**Figure 4.7: Dynamics of changes in political presence of women in executive government (Members of Government 1990-2009)**



Legend: HRV – W, HRV- M (Croatia Women, Croatia Men); SRB – W, SRB – M (Serbia Women, Serbia Men); MKD-W, MK-M (Macedonia Women, Macedonia Men)

Source: HDR 2008; RZSS 2008; ДЗС МК 2006, 2008, 2010, 2012; ДЗС HR 2006, 2007, 2012; WB 2012; GID-DB 2009; OECD 2012.

**Figure 4.8: Line of changes of the political presence of women in the position of ministers**



Source: HDR 2008; RZSS 2008; ДЗС МК 2006, 2008, 2010, 2012; ДЗС HR 2006, 2007, 2012; WB 2012

„..... Due to the external pressure changes have been made in the election laws in order to increase the number of women in representative bodies. However, the problem is the implementation of these laws. For instance, if we take into consideration the National action plan for gender equality brought by the Government of the Republic of Macedonia in May 2000 as the only document in the area of improvement of the position of women, and its revision with the Law on Equal Opportunities in 2006. This law improves the disadvantages regarding the establishment of a time frame for the envisaged activities and setting an indicative budget for the implementation and following this document's improvement....., (MK 2).

The analysis of the political presence of women and their position in the period of the so-called post-conflict Balkan, leads to the transformation from a post-conflict restoration to democratization of the processes and the beginning of liberal social and economic policies (Antić Gaber and Lokar 2006). The political presence of women during the communist regime, called “state feminism” or “top-down feminism” (Jalušić 1999) i.e. state-feminist imposed model of formal presence and equality of women in government structures provides the answer to the dilemmas regarding higher statistical indicators of political presence of women in Yugoslavia (Antić Gaber and Lokar 2006). The issue which least considered in the 50s` during socialism is overcoming the mental scheme of the setting and role of genders in everyday life, employment processes and decision-making. The shift from socialism to democracy in these countries is reflected in the political presence of women though a decreasing trend from the regional average 30% to less than 10% and in some countries even 5% (Matland and Montgomery 2003). These percents are indicative of the strong influence by conservative nationalistic parties (especially in Croatia) where new parties very often promoted a traditional depiction of women (Kašić 2006). In Serbia, political parties marginalized the role of women not only in political but also in public life setting it in the patriarchal spirit of the traditional role within the home and family (Đurić-Kuzmanović 2002). The focus of interest of feminist movements, especially in Croatia, was directed towards increasing the number of women in politics. This was emphasized by the appearance of new parties, mostly liberal-democratic parties (Milić 1995). In Macedonia, and in Serbia as well, there is a low level of identification of the party with the voters, they are not ideologically divided, but rather these countries have inherited the concept of identification of the party with the party leaders, their personal characteristics and are gender-biased<sup>177</sup> (Terkildsten 1993), as part of these characteristics, which is especially reflected in low level of trust for women leaders (Baćanović and Pajvančić 2008). A very emphasized aspect is the reflection of the real political culture and patriarchal system of values, imposed by the right-oriented political parties and renewing the image of the traditional role of women in society (Drakulić 1996). Although, filled with these paradoxes during this turbulent period of almost a decade, what consists the dominant determinants are poverty, revived patriarchal awareness, chauvinist nationalism and even fundamentalism in different varieties (Milić 1994). These determinants influence the line of movement for the percent of women`s political presence in the decision-making structures.

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<sup>177</sup> Personal characteristics which are gender-biased towards men or women in politics (Terkildsten 1993)

## 5. FACTORS INFLUENCING THE POLITICAL PRESENCE OF WOMEN

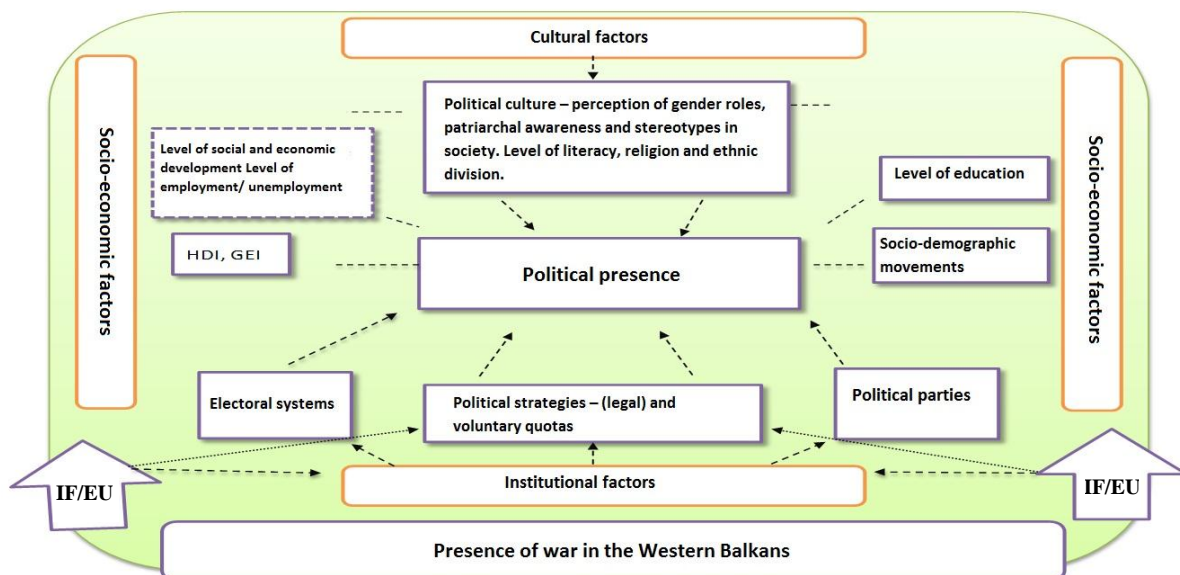
Current theoretical analyses indicate a causal connection between the level of political presence of women and the development determinant processes in the labor force, culture, education etc... Matland (2002) includes these in the indirect effects, as opposed to the direct effects from the institutional factors` advantages such as proportional electoral system, positive strategies – electoral quotas, strategies within the political parties – soft quotas, democracy development level etc... Nowadays, in contemporary conditions of development, despite the legal definition of equality, women are still a marginalized group when it comes to political presence and representation of their interests. Current research points to culture and the traditional or egalitarian concept of gender roles (Leinert Novosel 2007; Diaz 2005; Paxton and Kunovich 2003) as a factor influencing the lower level of political presence of women. Many authors analyze the causal connection between the electoral system, or institutional advantages, quotas, positive discrimination or the constructionist approach (Towns 2012) regarding the political presence of women. Analyses of the influence from the socioeconomic factors indicate a connection between the level of economic growth, poverty index, employment/unemployment and their correlation to the political involvement and presence of women in the decision-making structures (Matland 2002; Antić Gaber and Ilonzski 2003; Fink-Hafner 2004). The positive or negative influence on the political presence of women coming from certain factors cannot be taken as a generally constant dimension of influence within different countries. An example of this kind is the lower level of political presence of women in an economically more developed country according to international indicators (e.g. Slovenia) as opposed to bigger presence (e.g. Croatia) as an economically less developed country (Leinert Novosel 2007). Within the empirical analysis this dissertation aims at testing the model set in the theoretical part of the research and confirming the intensity and effect of the positive/negative impact of the variables/factors as determinants of political presence in the three case studies from the Western Balkan. Upon the analyses of the historical, social and political conditions, the transition from socialism to post-socialism<sup>178</sup> and the theoretical background of the dissertation as factors of influence on the causal dynamics regarding the political presence of women within the researched countries, we begin by analyzing the war as a factor of general distortion in the system of these countries. Then, by analyzing the socioeconomic, cultural and institutional

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<sup>178</sup> Analyzed in part II

factors attempts will be made to determine the degree and intensity of the bigger or smaller influences on the political presence of women.

**Figure 5.1: Outline of the factors and the causal connection to the political presence**



Note: IF - International factors; EU - Particularly EU

The political presence of women within the researched countries cannot be analyzed unless we take into consideration the socioeconomic differentiations of certain factors, such as the life standard, population, employment, education, the influence of war after the dissolution of SFRY. The social, political and historical characteristics, the economic transition and the transfer from socialism to post-socialism, the establishment of a genuine flow and realization of the democratic principles, emancipation of citizens regarding gender roles, as well as the patriarchal heritage emphasizing the civic self-awareness, are all causally connected to the processes of establishment of a legal state and the elements of democracy. The comparative analysis of the statistical indicators and the dynamics of changes regarding the political presence of women, points to a lower level of political presence of women within the three researched countries. Subject of empirical analysis is the connection between culture and citizens' behavior as opposed to the formal and institutional changes. The key role in the creation of the perception for the social relations leads to a discussion about subjectivity and identification, differences and similarities, as well as issues regarding experience and the possibility of subjectivity modulus including the power to define "who is included and who is not in the political developments" (Nixon 1997). The theoretical framework of this dissertation has presented a model of current



research of the basic influence factors. According to the statistical indicators reflecting lower level of presence of women in the decision-making structures, the analyses of the factors in the three researched states MK, RS and HR are based on international indicators envisaged by UN and CEDAW, as a matrix for further elaboration. Focusing our attention towards the reasons for gender differentiation within political activities, and especially the different degree of political presence in the political life, directs us to several issues. The analysis of gender disparity in the public sector and political activities on the one hand, and the issue of social inequality reflected through gender differentiation and the processes of differential selection, on the other hand (Kašić 2006).

The Balkan must be seen through the global comparative perspective in order to understand the structural patterns of discriminating women. Transition as a social process has gained its own political expression in the EU integration process, especially because gender equality is the basis of all founding agreements and documents, emphasizing the principle of equality (Mršević 2007). The basic "role model" (Baćanović and Pajvančić 2008) of the western countries which was supposed to represent an impetus, especially in the process of raising the awareness and overcoming the problem of low level of political presence, has proved to be unsuccessful due to the inconsistent political platform of the political actors generally in almost all Western Balkans. The fall of socialism and the transition towards democratic establishment as a process in itself have imposed certain consequences in the gender differentiation of roles between men and women in almost all social developments. This was expressed especially in the marginalization of one group as a result of all social, economical and war distortions in the societies of post-social Western Balkans. .... *Instead of bringing positive changes regarding women, the fall of socialism led to them being even more closed in the traditional role within the family. This led to a gap between the woman's formal and factual position and it is becoming more of a social and cultural issue than a legal one. It is necessary to act towards removing the burden of traditional limitations of females in general....(RS 1).* It was obvious that the 1990s were the years of transition and post-conflict developments, somewhere even the beginning of new conflicts. All of this imposed the urgent need of introducing the gender equality concept through liberal, democratic principles in social developments within which women were supposed to gain "discursive power" (Freize 1991).

## 5.1 Consequences form the presence of war

From 1989 to 1991<sup>179</sup> with the dissolution of SFRY, the Western Balkan region suffered civil turmoil which was mostly expressed in Kosovo through emphasized nationalist policy. However, at the same time there were the national issues reflected through Serbian-Croatian tensions due to the ethnically diverse minorities in these territories (Ramet 2002). The Serbian-Croatian issue was becoming more evident in the field of “cultural autonomy” leading towards cultural ghettoization (Lukić and Lynch 1996). SFRY’s disintegration was followed by the Serbian-Croatian war on the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina, later NATO’s war intervention in Serbia, the refugee crises from Kosovo to Macedonia, which had its toll ten years later, culminating in a new war ethnic conflict<sup>180</sup> (Siljanovska Davkova 2004; Ortakovski 2000; Ramet 1995; Ramet 2002). All of this had a very negative effect on the developments not only in the Western Balkans, but also in the larger region of ex-Yugoslav republics, and even outside this region in the post-socialist countries of Eastern Europe. During the transition, the Western Balkans were exposed to socioeconomic, social and political losses due to the parallel participation in the war in a direct (Macedonia) or indirect way (Croatia and Serbia) (Fink-Hafner 2005). It is not possible to separate Yugoslavia’s disintegration from the processes of the wider European fragmentation towards the end of the Cold War (Seroka and Pavlović 1992). After SFRY’s break-up, the wars caused socioeconomic crisis in all three countries, poor social welfare, transition and social crisis. Long-term implications were reflected through the prevention of democratic development and establishment of political structures in Croatia, longer and more difficult transition in Serbia, or the need of international interventions for the establishment of democratic political structures in Macedonia (Fink-Hafner et al. 2005). The war continued after the disintegration of FRY 2003, later Serbia and Montenegro<sup>181</sup> with the transition of Kosovo under administrative coverage by the UN mission in Kosovo, which turned into a new civil war with catastrophic consequences and a very unfavorable position of citizens especially regarding their basic rights (Pajvančić and Baćanović 2010; Đurić-Kuzmanović 2002).

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<sup>179</sup> On 25 June 1991, the almost simultaneous declaration of independance by Croatia and Slovenia, led Yugoslavia to a definite end (Seroka and Pavlovic 1992), although only four days before, on 21 June 1991, the current Secretary of State James Baker, during his short visit to Yugoslavia, without listening to the other side informed the Slovenian president Kuchan that the USA will not support unilateral proclamation of independance of Yugoslav republics (Silber and Little 1997). The USA and Europe criticized the attempts by the Yugoslav People’s Army (JNA) to military intervene in the republics which aimed towards independance (Cohen 1996; Tomac 1993; Magaš 1993). Under the domineering control of Serbia, the country `Yugoslavia` expressed its right to protect its borders. This a legitimate and acknowledged principle established by the Helsinki Agreement from 1975, OSCE’s basis (Ramet 2002). In other words, Europe was doomed to a final paradox: 1) according tot the Helsonki agreement, its obligation was to respect the permanence of the borders and by doing this to help maintain the unity of all six republics and two autonomous provinces and 2) peoples’ right to self-determination (Silber and Little 1997).

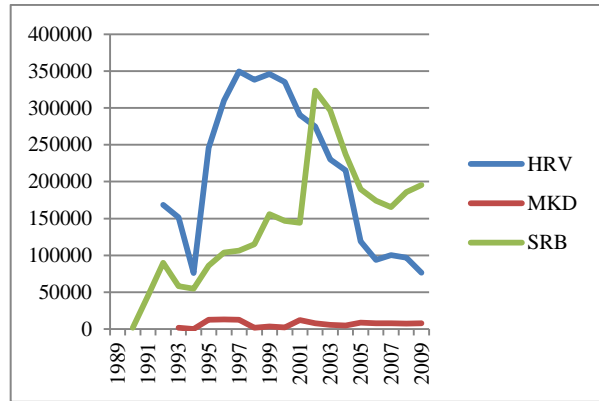
<sup>180</sup> See: Ithaca press, 1996. International crisis group, The Albanian question in Macedonia, Report n.38, 1998, Norwegian Helsinki Committee, Divided Communities, a study of inter-ethnic relation and minority rights in Macedonia, 2001

<sup>181</sup> Serbia and Montenegro are declared independant countries in 2006, after the break-up of the State Union of Serbia and Montenegro, through a referendum in 2006.

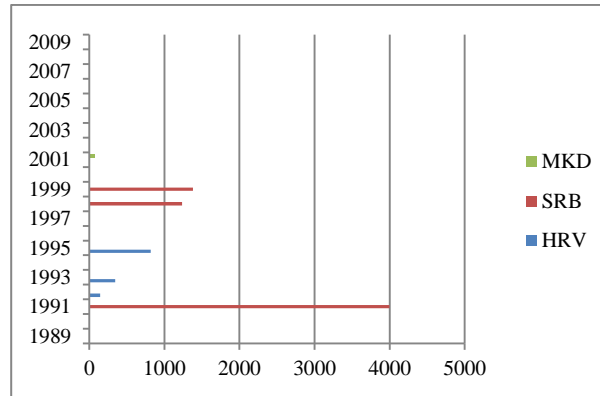
NATO's intervention in Serbia began actively in 1995, in order to disable expansion of the conflict in the region. At the same time, the UN showed lack of political will and institutional means to establish peace between the parties at war during the most brutal conflict in Europe after the Second World War (Pajvančić and Baćanović 2010). Even today, the problem with Kosovo's status is quite evident, and it can implicate not only a war crisis but also a new wave of refugees and deepening of the crisis in the region of Macedonia and Albania (Đurić-Kuzmanović 2002). On the other hand, there is the problem of Serbia, whose EU integration means NATO membership also. All this leads to a clash of the political and also civil orientation, bearing in mind the fact that this is the only country on the Balkan which has been bombarded by NATO (Nakarada 2005). Generally, these developments and the total dimension of the Balkan issue through severe war conflicts were reflected in a large number of victims, prevention to practice the basic rights and freedoms of citizens, poor security, and increase in the frequency of migration in the following years.

**Figure 5.2: Comparative overview of the conditions in MKD, SRB and HRV and the consequences from war**

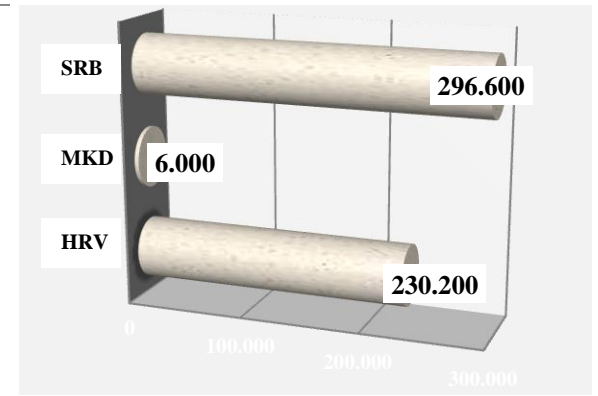
**Movement of the number of refugees in frequencies during war**



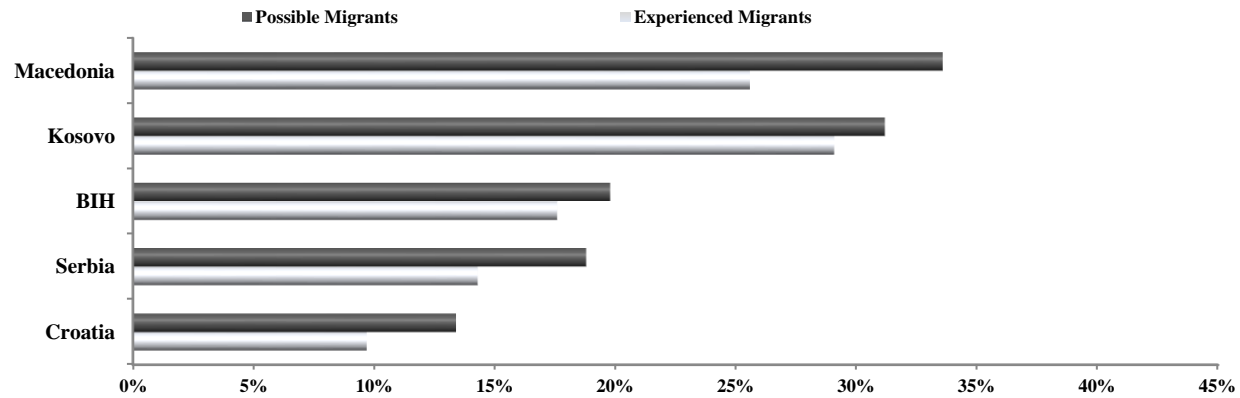
**Number of victims from war**



**Refugees and asylum seekers 2003**



Sources: WB 2012; Baldwin-Edwards 2006; UNHCR 2004



Have any members of your household gone to live in a foreign country permanently or temporarily in the past five years? (%of answers ,yes,).

Ideally, if you had the opportunity, would you like to move permanently to other country or would you prefer to continue living in this country? (%of answers

Sources: Political Capital – Policy Research and Consulting Institute 2011; GBM 2010

The data show that there is an especially increased frequency of refugees during the war in Serbia 1992-1995. During the same period and after the conflict there was a refugee's crisis from Kosovo to Macedonia. The situation is similar in Croatia where in the period of war the number of refugees and asylum seekers was 230 200 people. Almost ten years after the disintegration of SFRY and since they have gained their independence, the overall situation followed by war conflicts and economic crises was reflected on women's position in these societies, not only regarding their exclusion from the public life but also in reference to their role as caretakers which is a result of male absence during the war period. On the other hand, the economic crisis as a result of war is reflected through the disability to function independently not only for women but for all citizens as well. Migrations which were increased by the influence of war represented only a step forward towards a complete collapse of the social core. Despite the activities of women's organizations for their inclusion in the main decision-making developments, demonstrations against war, against nationalistic decisions of the ruling structures especially in Serbia, still women's inferiority remained noticeable.

As a result of these conditions, the intention of the population to migrate continues in the following period. Research by Gallup 2009 shows that there is a tendency migration to other countries, especially evident in the young population. Generally, the dynamics of changes in the conditions on the Balkan during the conflict period and the influence by wars on the territory of former Yugoslavia have had a negative reflection on the position of women, who were especially effected by the violence modules (Byrne 1995; Ramet 2002). Such is the example of Bosnia and Herzegovina, where there was evidence of mass rape between 1992-1995, 20 000 – 50 000 women from the countries involved, accounting for 1-2% of the total female population.<sup>182</sup> There are data for this period indicating a high level of domestic violence. According to an SOS survey – helpline for women and children in Belgrade, one of every eight women is a victim of rape (UNICEF 1999). The data from Macedonia show a similar level of domestic violence on women. For instance, it is considered that one of every four women is a victim of domestic violence (UNDP Report: *The Status of Women in Macedonia*). The classical ethnic and civil war on the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina with the involvement by Serbia and Croatia 1992-1995, has not only caused mass migration of the population and economic spillover effects, but also even bigger number of victims from the current developments. The unsuccessful realization of the Dayton agreement has made similar agreements impossible for Kosovo, Montenegro and

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<sup>182</sup> UNICEF, *Women in Transition*, Florence, The MONEE Project: Regional Monitoring Report, No. 6, 1999, 85.

Macedonia, regarding the fact that there was no international will to revise the Dayton agreement from 1995 (Mirčev 2006). The creation of effective Balkan protectorates remained the only practical option for the stability in the region (Mirčev 2006), at the same time the necessary presence of some form of peacekeeping forces until 2015 is almost certain. Still, until the stability is constant there are no true perspectives for longterm ensuring of the basic human, civil and political freedoms and rights. In Serbia, after the longterm authoritarian policy, the change of the political regime was established with the win of the democratic opposition of Serbia (DOS – led by the Prime Minister Zoran Đinđić). Therefore, the year 2000 was marked by changes, especially through the reforms in the legislation and EU integration aspirations of the country (Mihailović 2005). The parliamentary elections in 2003 and the new government (DSS – Democratic Party of the Serbs; G17 – Liberal political party; SPO – Serbian Renewal Movement and New Serbia in coalition with SPS, led by V.Koshtunica) introduced the beginning of the new democratic regime (Aleksić and Lukić, 2000). The ethnic conflict in Macedonia from 2001 ended with the Ohrid Framework Agreement the same year, which made the country bilingual and bi-national. As a result of almost a decade of ruling of the conservative HDZ, Croatia was also marked by a dominant nationalistic policy of right-oriented government coalitions. Although, formally directed towards establishment of democracy and development of institutions, all three countries: Croatia, Serbia and Macedonia developed a model of inner corruption, post-war economical and political crises which affected the stability of the region. However, the constant long-term presence of a certain form of international security forces in the region, reflected through American and European intervention in former Yugoslavia, changed the dynamics of Europe in general (Ramet 2002). The failure to quickly consolidate, stabilize and establish democratic values, and even European integration in the future is due to the distortion caused by the presence of war, implied on the economic stagnation, social tensions, destabilization, formations of ethnic and religious hatred all reflected through mass segregation of the population. In such conditions, the role of women in these societies is brought to dominant closeness within the private sphere and especially poor social, economic and political position (Lokar 2001). The main roles assigned to women in a war are running everyday chores and the role of the victim: victim of rape, victim of "collateral damage", refugee, displaced person and marginalized (Lokar 2001).

## 5.2 Socioeconomic factors

Current theoretical analyses indicate that the reason for higher level of education, involvement and presence of women in the public sphere in general is the connection between the social and economic development of the country and the correlativity of the development of the civil society (Fink-Hafner and Hafner-Fink 2009). The relatively poor socioeconomic conditions in the Western Balkans are generally due to the direct involvement in war conflicts or indirect, negative consequences of war, as well as the long process of transition. After 2000/01 they began to realize bigger stability in order to create democratic legal order and to be able to integrate within the European Union in the future. The poor socioeconomic conditions and slow development of democracy, as variables of influence, are connected to the phenomenon of relatively low level of development of the civil societies within these countries. According to the West European model the influence of the privatization processes in the transition countries caused general changes in the working conditions and hours (Rosenberg 1991). All of this had a great influence on the political presence of women and the role of women in the public sphere in these societies.

According to Matland`s model (2002) the theoretical analyses of the causal connection between the political presence of women and the socioeconomic conditions, research show positive influence by the economically and democratically developed societies on the political activism, presence of women. According to this model, the tested variables show that within the developing countries, the progress of the socioeconomic variables does not have a direct positive influence, i.e. it only leads to a symbolic representation of women. Inglehart, Norris, Welzel (2002) deal with the socioeconomic development and the transformation processes, which are generally reflected through going beyond the erosion of traditional segregation of gender roles and involving women in the work force, education opportunities and public life. However, there are still differences between the under-developed, industrially developed and post-industrial countries. The level of presence of women in the public sphere in general is connected to the development of the societies. Generally, a lot of research indicate a connection between the level of social and economic development and the processes of women`s involvement in paid jobs, level of education, literacy, equality in the public sphere and with that encouraging bigger political presence. In the analyses of the conditions within the researched Western Balkans, it can be noticed that the poor economic condition and especially the factor of “war” had an absolute negative influence on the fast development and transformation of the social, political

and economic system<sup>183</sup> (Cohen 1996; Magaš 1993). The political and economic transition of the Balkan countries meant reconstruction of the legislative and institutional frame on the one hand, and economic transformation on the other hand (Ramet 1995). Although, there does not have to be a necessary causal connection between transition and economic development, still in this region there was a new equilibrium of great unemployment (Silber and Little 1997). In Croatia, the transition was reflected mostly in the discourse of nationalism, predominance of nationalist throughout the governing of HDZ during the first decade after the independence from SFRY. Also, the economic transition at the same time was reflected through the general poor economic development due to the involvement in war. In Serbia, the modified communist, authoritarian establishment was present for a decade through the nationalist, militant and aggressive regime – an ideal type of a regime which is defined as destructive (Vujadinović et al. 2004). According to Burčar (2009) the transition towards neocapitalist system in the 20th century resulted in a system of state prestructuring of the patriarchy, which further resulted in the loss of previously gained women's rights. Women's role within the family and especially their activity as a 'full time job' (is generally determined by the patriarchal approach towards unequal division of the roles in society) which leads to the connection between the variables of the development of the civil society and the socioeconomic growth. According to the 1991 data, the participation of unemployed women in the work force varies within ex-Yugoslav republics in the following manner: 90% in Kosovo and 58% in Serbia, 63% in Macedonia and 52% in Croatia (for the purpose of comparison in Slovenia 50%) (Đurić-Kuzmanović 2002). These data display women's position as mothers, housewives and unpaid workers in the dominant patriarchal societies. In the marginalization of women in relation to political activism the unequal and independent economic contribution holds a special influence. ....*In general the poor economic conditions cause indifference of women for politics. Current research conducted by NGOs in the Republic of Macedonia, show that women from rural environments and the unemployed also, live in very poor conditions, without the existential minimum, show no interest to be informed, nor are interested in the political developments, i.e. there is general apathy and disbelief that their vote can change something....(MK 5).*

..... *Especially in the case of women from the rural areas, the poor economic condition of the family, poverty and low level of education are the main reasons for indifference for any involvement in the political life...(RS 2),,*

Hereby, in accordance with the economic development trends in Macedonia, Serbia and Croatia,

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<sup>183</sup> European Stability Initiative 2013.

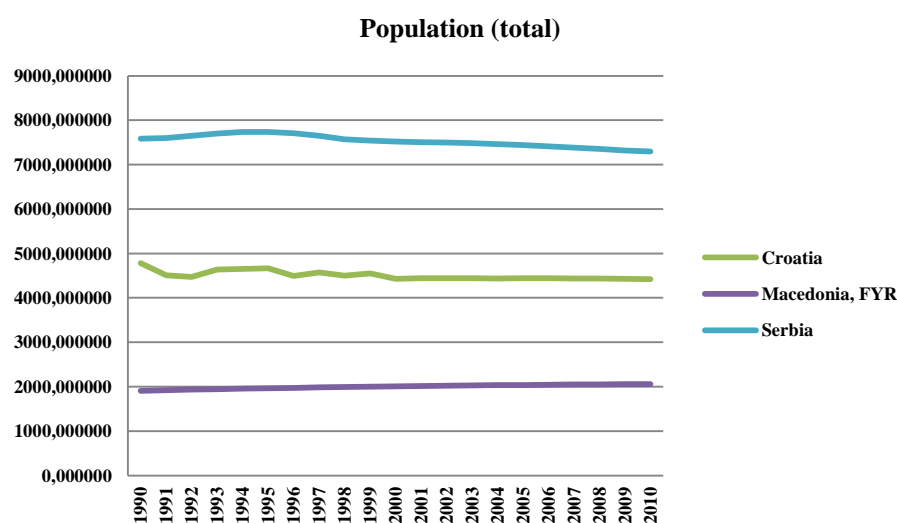


the socioeconomic variables are connected with women`s position in all three case studies. The goal is to analyze the manner and intensity of influence by the socioeconomic factors on the political presence of women. In order to answer this question, first the main socioeconomic, socio-demographic trends within the three case studies must be analyzed, in order to move forward towards analyzing their intensity and determining influence.

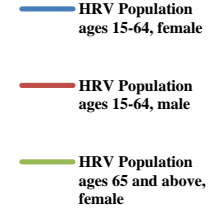
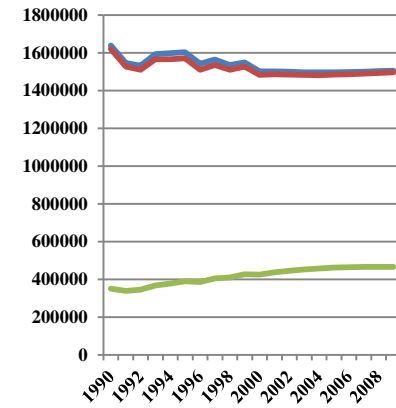
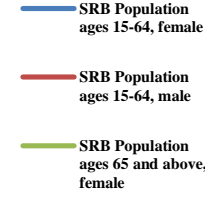
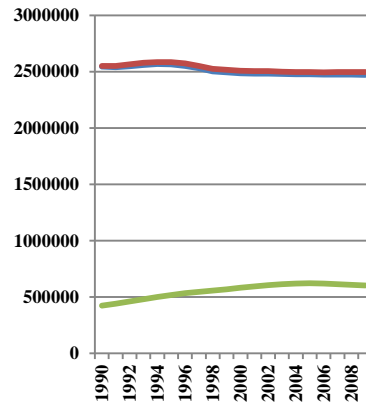
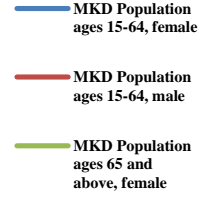
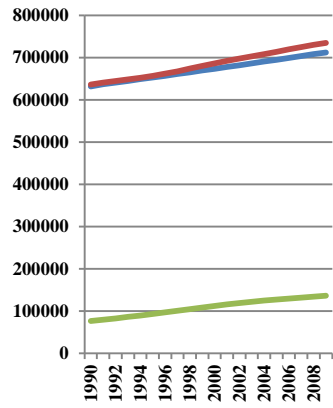
### 5.2.1 Socio-demographic movements, Human Development Index (HDI), level of involvement in tertiary education

Certain current researches show a causal connection and positive correlation between the political presence of women and some socioeconomic, demographic variables, HDI, the level of education... (Matland 2002). The analyses indicate a causal connection between the socio-demographic characteristics of the population or the electorate, such as age, minorities, women/men, rural/urban groups of socialization, migrations... (Betz 1994). Here is a presentation of the indicators for the general socio-demographic data and movements in all three case studies – review of the population trends, population movements and migrations, especially in the young population due to poor economic conditions (Gallup 2009, Balkan monitoring). The Human Development Index (HDI) is the highest in Croatia, and the lowest in Serbia. According to the last census, Serbia has the biggest population, unlike Macedonia where the population number is the lowest in comparison to the other two countries (WB 2012).

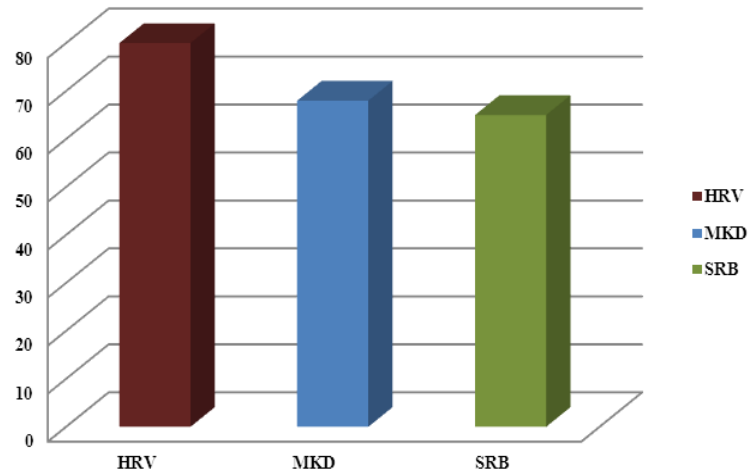
**Figure 5.3: Socio-demographic data, Population and Human Development Index**



Source: World Bank, Gender Statistics, 2012.



### HDI %

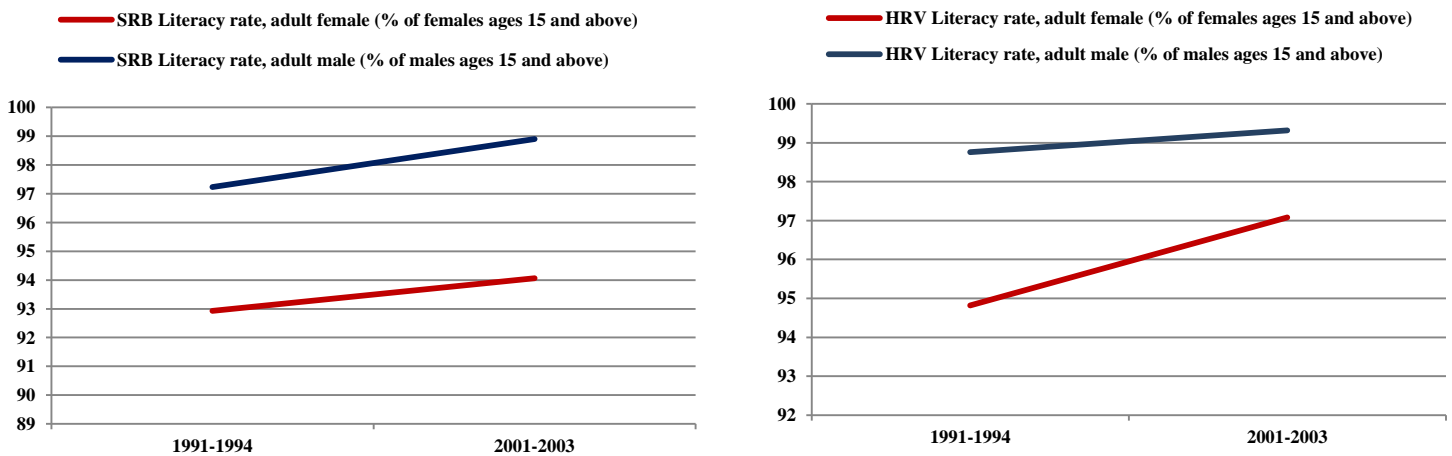


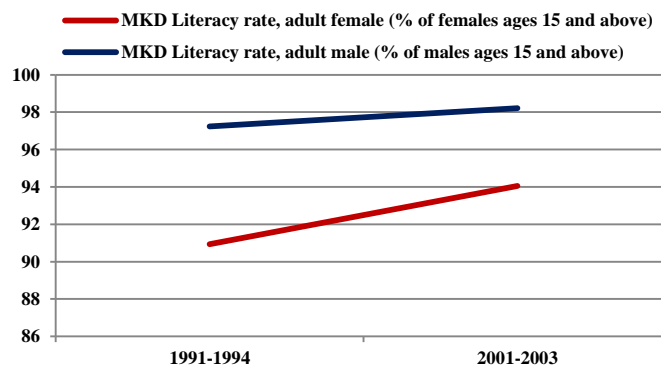
Source: World Bank, Gender Statistics, 2012

Demographic data show an almost identical line of movement of male and female population in the three countries. Although half of the population is women, the political presence in these countries is mainly in the domain of male population. The result of this condition undoubtedly comes from traditional relations and role division in societies. The dominant culture still imposes a mode of behavior typical for the roles in societies. While during the existence of SFRY the situation was different regarding the imposed “state feminism”, after gaining independence, the democratic order and political pluralism were reflected in the even bigger affirmation and dominance of male role and power in the public sphere as opposed to the female role. In the period from 1990 to 2000/01, the researched countries` direct and indirect involvement in war led to different socioeconomic consequences and crises, socio-demographic movements and migrations (see fig.5.2). However, this trend continued to happen within these countries` population due to poor economic conditions (See Appendix A2).

In relation to education, demographic segregations are classified into groups with no education, primary, secondary and higher education. In the same relation the level of education is being analyzed and its impact on women`s activism in public life as well as their political presence. According to Warwick (1998), there is a greater propensity for voting for parties of the extreme right among men, among voters who are either young or old, among those with lower levels of formal education, especially because more educated people are intensively exposed to liberal values. In this way, the socio-demographic variables that we are trying to explore are based on gender, age, formal education, social class (managers, self-employed) and ethnic groups.

**Figure 5.4: Literacy rate adult % of females; % of males**





Source: WB: Gender Statistics 2013.

In the developing countries, in the period from 1970 to 1992 the literacy rate generally increased (from 46% to 69%) (AESE 2006). This was mainly due to international influence. According to the data from the census in 1991, 5.4% from the total population in Macedonia were illiterate as a consequence of dropping out, 75.1% of which were women. This number is a lot higher than the number of illiterate men which was 23.5% (ДЗС-МК 2002). From Macedonian nationality 46.3% were registered illiterate (77.5% of which were women), from Albanian nationality 32.4 (76.7% of which were women), and from Roma nationality 7.9% (72.4% women). The data (figure 5.20) indicate a higher trend of the literacy rate in the male population over 15 years of age, although the legal regulations within all three countries envisages equal approach towards education and no discrimination on the basis of gender (Сл. Весник на РМ 103/2008; Сл. Весник на РМ 44/95; Сл. Весник на РМ 35/2008; NN 85/08). Prejudices and stereotypes which exist in certain ethnic communities influence women to leave the educational process early, especially those from rural areas, „...*In Macedonia, women living in rural areas, coming from lower social class or those from certain ethnic groups such as the Roma and the ethnic Albanians to a certain point, carry the greatest risk of leaving education even in the first stages. The general drop-out rate is on average under 2%, but in the case of the Roma population it is 10%....* (МК 7).

Most often the level of education matches the dominant stereotypical attitudes and preferences of genders regarding their level of emancipation, activism in the work force, and inclusion in the public life. In Serbia, for instance, education determines gender preferences regarding the political presence of women and voting (URR, MRPS - RS 2010). CPRPO's public opinion survey (2010) provides data according to which 14% of women in Serbia who have or have not completed primary education would give their vote for a male candidate, while 57% of the women who have graduated from secondary school or university would not base their decision on gender. The situation is a little bit different with the male population 22% of men with or

without primary education finished would give their vote for a male candidate, while 11% for a female candidate (URR, MRPS - RS 2010). These results show that the population with a higher education votes more for both genders, than the population with lower level of education who usually vote more for male candidates than for women. This situation is linked to the dominant perceptions in the society, and the education is the only way for their overcoming. The situation is very similar in Macedonia, while the data show a slightly better situation in Croatia (see table 5.3 – dominant perceptions and attitudes of the population within the researched countries). Regarding the movement trends of men/women in the tertiary education cycle, numbers show more women than men in higher education (See Apendix A6).

Education as a factor of vertical line movement of inclusion in public life, employment, and emancipation indicates higher degree of education (tertiary education) of women in comparison to men out of the total population with higher education in all three case studies. In Macedonia there is a significantly great disparity between the populations belonging to certain ethnicities. The situation of the Albanian minority is very indicative of these conditions, due to the fact that the presence of Albanian women in higher education is especially low (AESE 2006). *.....This situation is due to the dominant awareness of this population, caused mainly by stereotypes and traditional dogmas which are more dominant in these ethnicities. In Macedonia there is a realistic need of measures which will help the inclusion in secondary education, especially with the Albanian and Roma minorities ....(MK 6),,*

Despite the positive movement trend of the level of education in female population, the choice of profession is still influenced by traditional stereotypes which direct women towards social sciences as opposed to technical skills where men are dominant. For instance, in Serbia at the social sciences faculties female students account for 65% while at the technical faculties they account for 25% (Milić 2008). Macedonia and Croatia have similar data.

**Table: 5. 1: Enrollment rate 2004 -Tertiary education**

	HR %		MK %		RS%	
	W	M	W	M	W	M
Technical sciences	32.1%	67.9%	43.2%	56.8%	35%	65%
Medicine	74.4%	23.7%	73.5%	26.5%	68%	32%
Social sciences	8.7%	17.3%	71.3%	28.7%	70%	30%
Humanitarian sciences	77%	23%	72%	28%	75%	25%
Religious sciences	-	-	14.3%	85.7%	-	-
Total	59.7%	40.3%	64.3%	35.7%	55%	45%

Source: Statistic of Education – Women and Men in Macedonia, ДЗС МК 2006; Women and Men in Serbia, RZSS 2008; Women and Men in Croatia, DZS HR 2006

Gender division can be detected in the field of education which is further reflected in the choice of profession leading to gender division of the roles in societies to men and female. Within the three countries, the biggest percent of employment of women can be detected in the textile industry, health, pharmacy, education, social protection (see table 5.2). Most often, women are employed in low paid job positions, positions which often leave more space and time for family care.

Regarding the political presence of women, it can be noticed that most women in parliaments do have a university degree. Generally the level of education influences the process of nomination and choice of candidates (Matland 1998). For instance, at the parliamentary elections in 1998 in Macedonia, 74.2% of the chosen candidates had a university degree, while only 2.5% were with secondary education only (ДЗС 1998). On the other hand, the educational process has a special meaning regarding the awareness of citizens, preferences i.e. the educational outcome, regardless of sex differences. Gender sensitive educational topics lead to equal valuation of differentiations transmitted from one generation to another and through the culture as patriarchal relations towards women. Education as a factor is one of the regulated areas in EU which envisages positive discrimination and influence towards raising the awareness of the population through the educational process (Eurostat, 2008). According to Eurostat (2008) regarding the connection between the level of education and employment, the employment trend is higher in women with higher education (See Appendix A4).

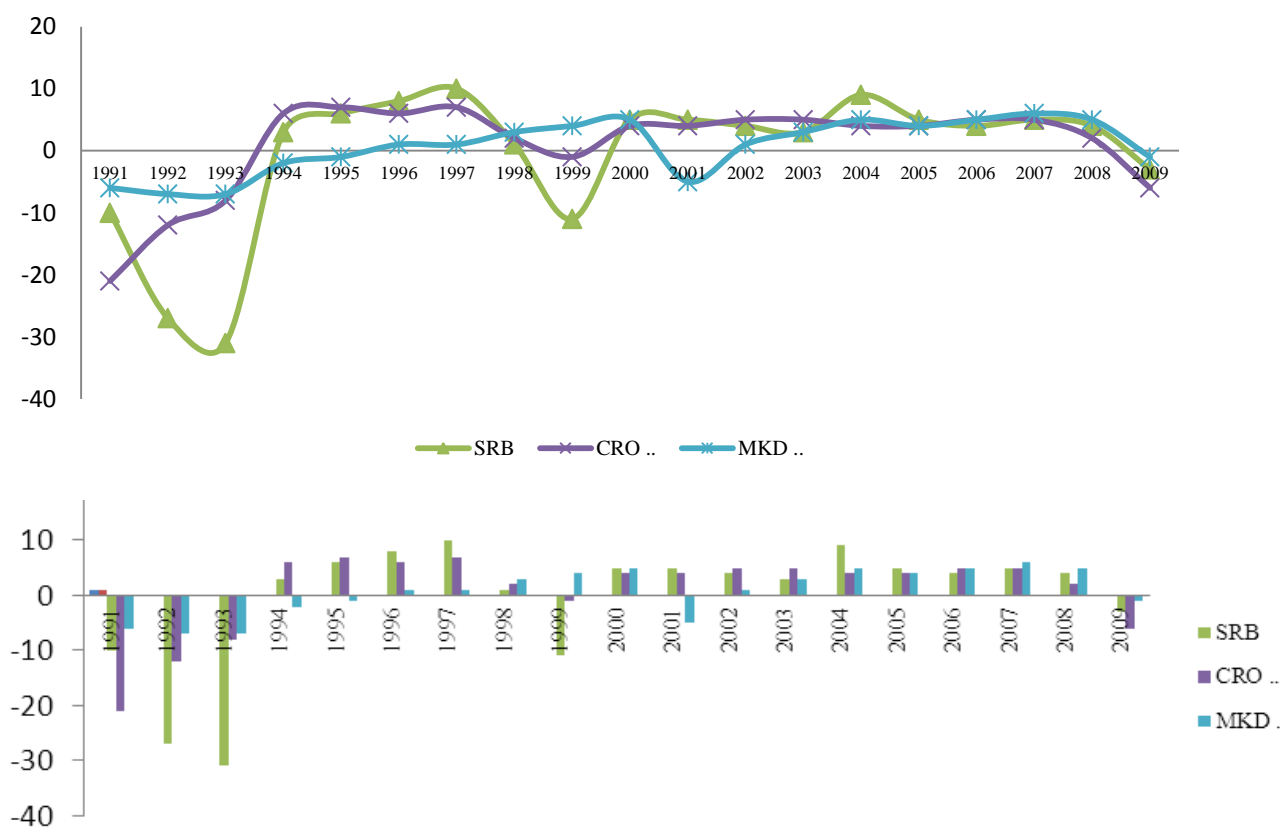
Generally, the problem of unemployment or the lower income of women in comparison to men (eg. within EU member states women`s income is still 17.4% lower than men`s, Eurostat, 2008) is a generative issue even in economically developed countries. Education as a factor, helps the building of perceptions and raising citizens` awareness about women`s role and disparity between public and private sphere.

### **5.2.2 Socioeconomic conditions – Macedonia, Serbia and Croatia**

Inglehart, Norris, Welzel (2002) emphasize that the impact by modernization is reflected in two phases: industrialization, enabling bigger presence of women in paid work within the workforce; and postindustrial phase which contributes for bigger presence and better economic position of women as well as their presence in decision-making structures. According to the model of causal connection, the inter-cultural variations and the economic growth, transition and poor economic conditions in Macedonia, Serbia and Croatia (especially in the first decade after becoming

independent and SFRY's disintegration followed by wars) were a determining factor for further economic independence and generally regarding women's involvement in the public sphere. In relation to the abovementioned quantitative and qualitative data will be used from WB, ILO, Eurostat, RZSS, DZS. As one of the main indicators of economic growth GDP, reflects a movement trend of the economic changes of development within the researched countries.

**Figure 5.5: GDP growth (annual %)**



Sources: WB (2012); OECD (2012)

The consequences from war were most reflected in the economic condition of the countries, expresses through GDP per capita, which in Serbia for instance, decreased most dramatically – for 45% (Cohen 1996). Socioeconomic consequences from war crises appeared in the three countries (See Appendix A3). On the one hand, Macedonia was involved in the crises regarding the international sanctions towards Serbia, and on the other hand there was the Greek embargo due to the refusal to recognize Macedonia as an independent country. All of these led to a negative economic growth until 2002 (Dunčan 1998). The situation was similar in Croatia regarding the process of privatisation, drop in the economic activities during the 1990s (Puljiz

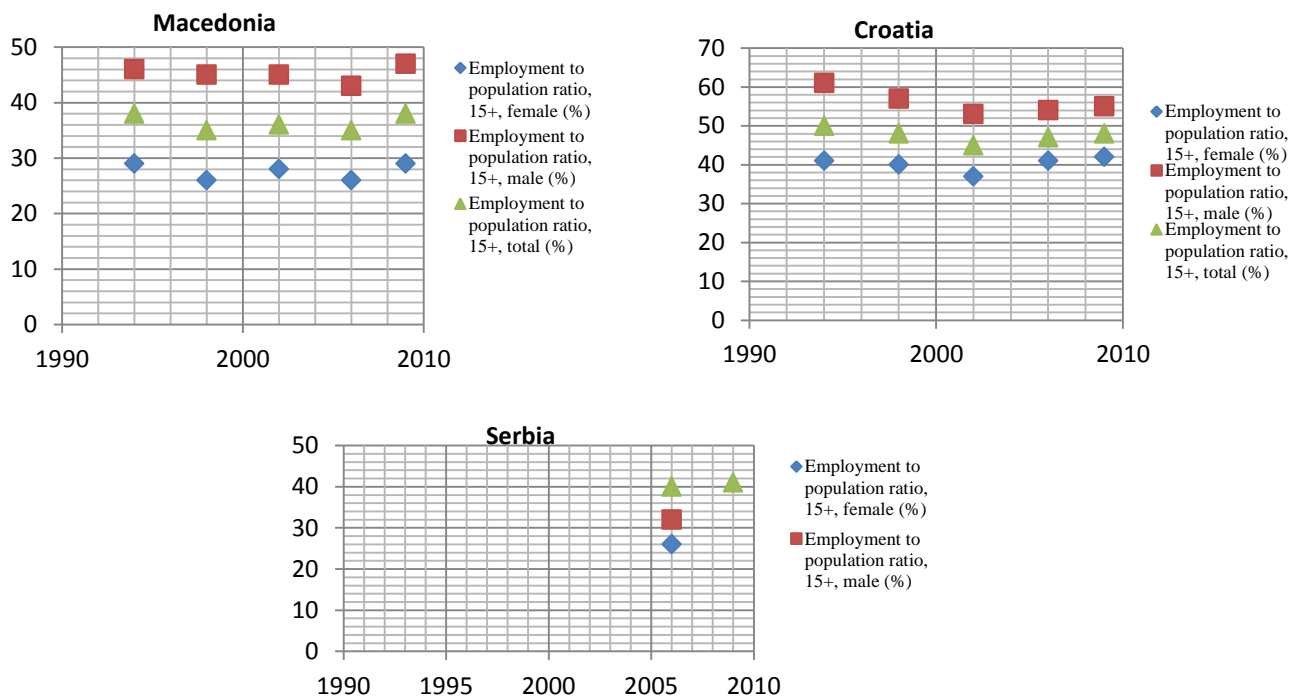
2008). Paci (2002) indicates several reasons for gender inequality in CEE which are previously determined by the economic insufficiency of the transition in this region. The following are considered the most important: change in the gender dynamics profile during the transition, dominant perceptions and beliefs and identification of the countries according to their priorities regarding gender policies. As a result of the socioeconomic changes in Macedonia the gap between the dominant gender perceptions in high positions of power became even deeper. The situation in Serbia is similar. In Croatia, on the other hand, the economic opportunities are more and more connected to gender differentiation.

#### **5.2.2.1 Socioeconomic movements – Macedonia, Serbia and Croatia**

According to the WB Report (2002) the societies remained predominantly patriarchal and gender relations within the household continued to reflect a strong 'male breadwinner' model. „Thus, despite their heavy participation in the labor market, women were seen as secondary workers, often unable to commit themselves fully to their jobs and to pursue their careers because of their double role as workers and main providers of care for the household?„. The beginning of the decade brought a sharp fall in GDP, and enterprises initially responded by hoarding labor, unemployment soon began to rise and real wages dropped (WB 2002). With respect to gender, the concern has been that worsening labor market conditions have had a disproportionately negative effect on women by increasing any pre-existing gender gap in employment and wages (Paci 2002, WB 2002). Economic conditions are directly reflected on the level of employment of the population. There are international differences between developed countries and those with shorter democratic development in regard to the time women had spent doing unpaid household jobs as opposed to the bigger involvement of men in paid jobs (Finch and Munro 2006). Although the level of women`s employment has been growing the last years, research show that the time women spend working at home does not decrease either (Finch and Munro 2006).



**Figure 5. 6: Employment of Women and Men in the selected case studies (population ratio %)**

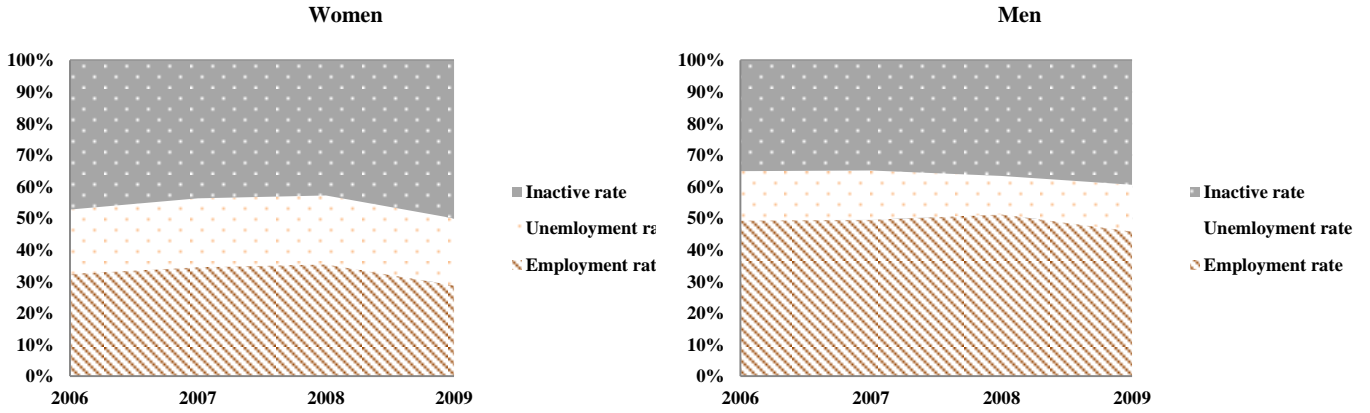


Sources: WB 2012; Eurostat 2011; OECD 2012; ILO 2012.

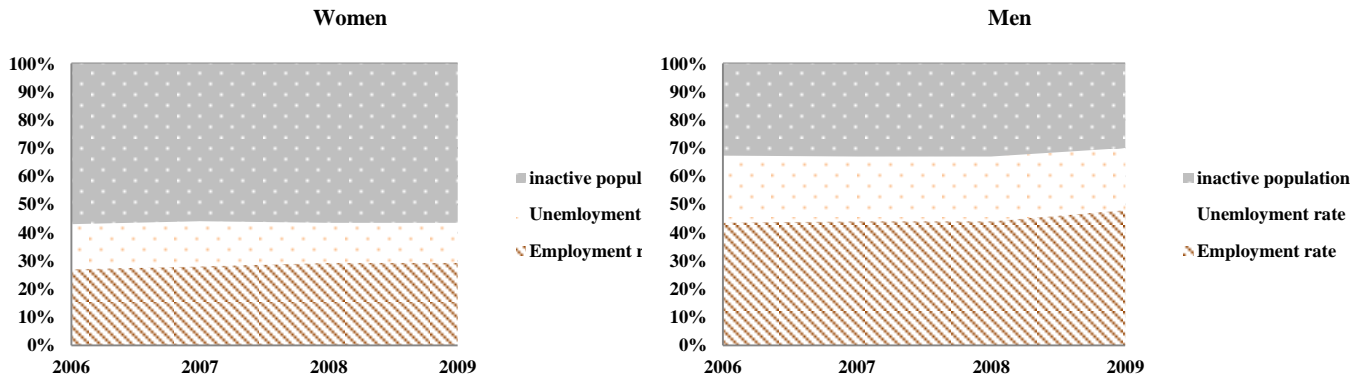
As a key indicator of labor market participation is the economic activity rate. The dynamic of changes in the active population shows lower percent of active women (from 40% to 60%) than from the total work force in the researched countries. In Macedonia, the reasons for the lower percent of women in the total employed population are connected to the high percent of women who account for inactive population (working age population, not looking for a job) i.e. 69% unlike men who account for 36.4% of the inactive population (ДЗС 2006). This is mainly due to the dominant role of women in the private sphere, perceptions of women and their place and role in the home, especially with women from rural areas and certain ethnicities (Roma and Albanian families) (MK 9). Generally, a great number of the employed population was lost as a result of transition process, privatization and economic restructuring. In Serbia the employment ratio from the total population (the age between 15-64) is 40%, while employed men account for about 60% (RZSS 2008). The employment ratio is in a correlation with the level of education. In Serbia women who have completed only primary and secondary education have the lowest level of education (RZSS 2008).

Figure 5.7: Population, employment, unemployment, inactivity and gender (aged 15 and over) 1996-2006

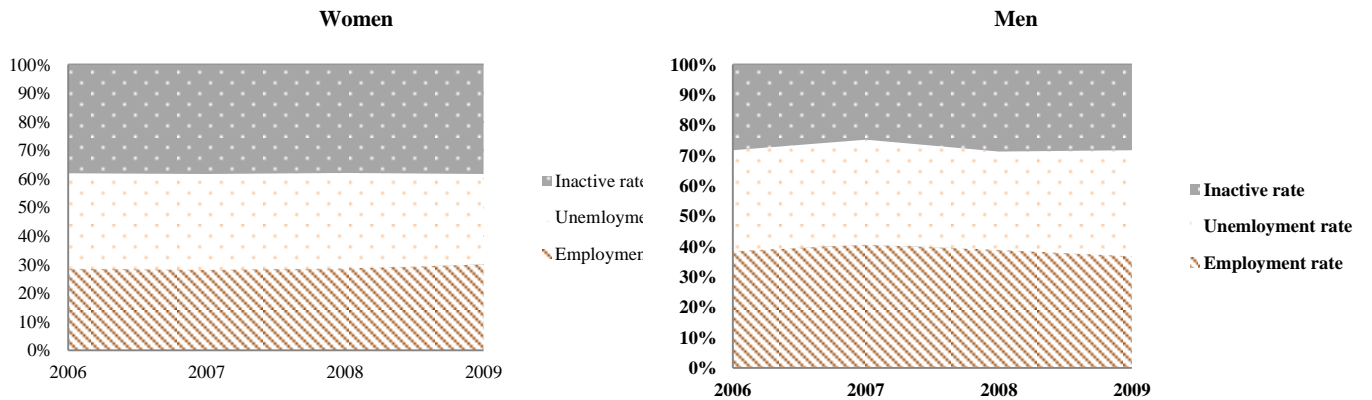
Serbia



Macedonia



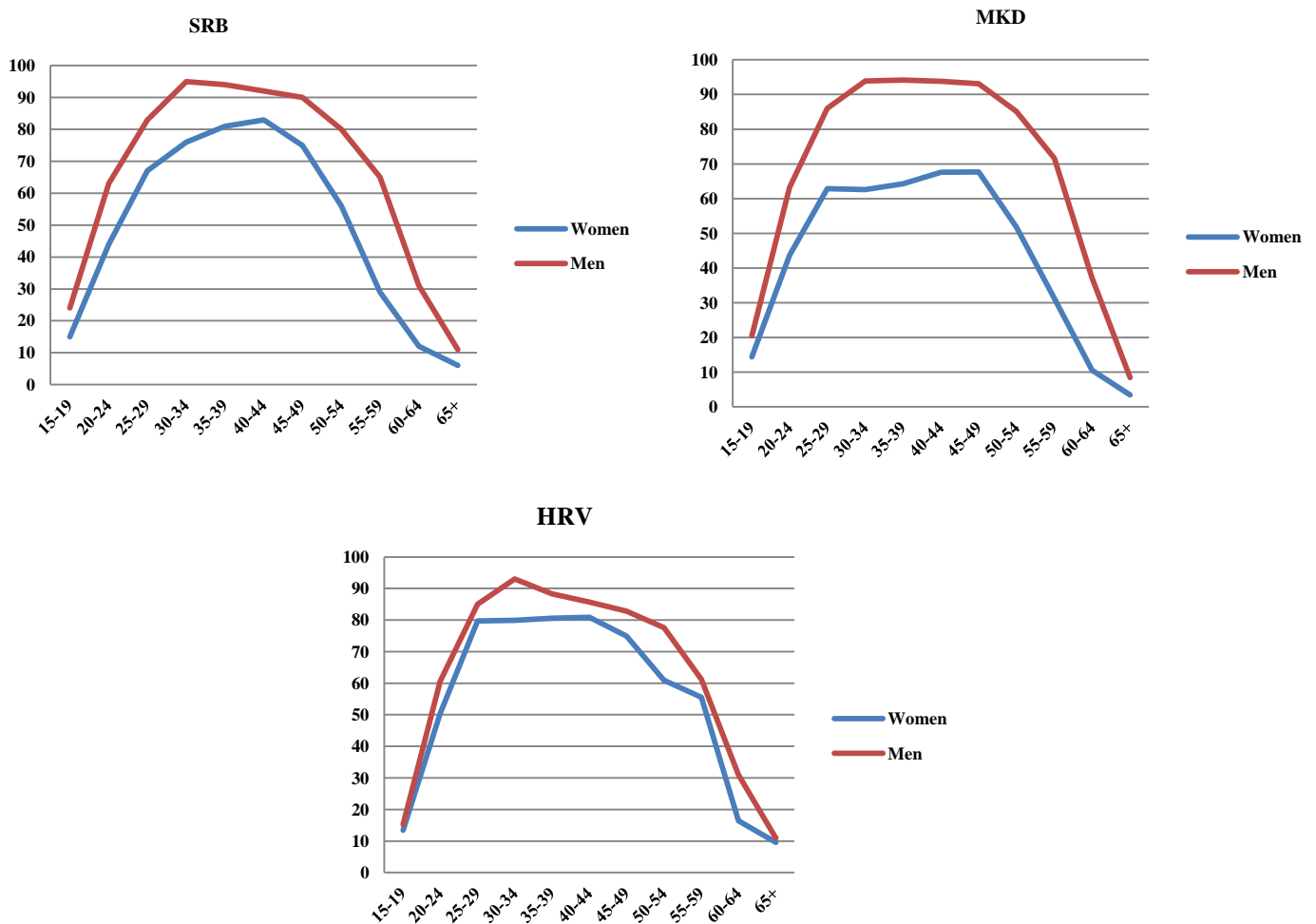
Croatia



Sources: DZS HR 2012 Women and Men; RZSS 2011 Women and Men; ДЗС МК 2012 Women and Men

Comparative overview of statistical data shows that there are not any big fluctuations and differences in the number of unemployed men and women, while in relation to employment men employed men are almost double than employed women. This is mainly due to the fact that women`s participation in the work force is almost double less. More precisely they account for 60% of the economically inactive population, which means that they belong to the working age population but are not looking for a job. „The reason for the high percent of women in economically inactive population is due to the traditional role of women as housewives, especially in rural areas (RS 2),,.

**Figure 5.8: Activity rate by age and gender, 2006 % (SRB, MKD, HRV)**



Source: RZSS 2008, RZSS (Men and Women) 2011, Eurostat 2012

The situation in Macedonia due to the low employment of women is particularly visible among the Albanian and Roma ethnic women. The reasons are mostly linked with the tradition of women ,house-keepers, and predominant perceptions among these ethnic groups regarding

women position in the private sphere (MK 2). Bearing in mind that employment is a very important precondition for the inclusion of women in the public life and social processes, these indicators display closure and marginalization of women in the private sphere (Gelo, Smolić and Strmota 2010). Another indicator of the dominant perceptions within the three case studies is gender segregation of the professions among women who belong to the employed population. Women are most present in the health sector, social work, finances and education.

**Table 5.2: Employed persons by section of activities and gender, 2010**

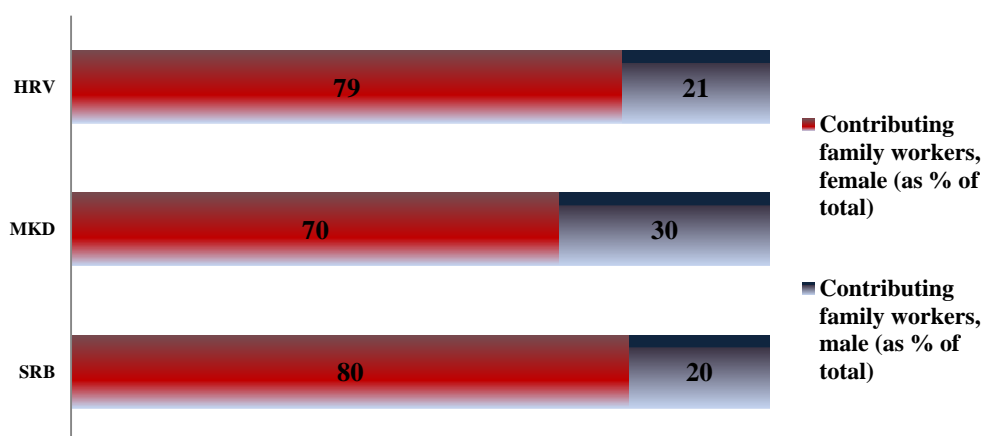
Country	RS		MK		HR	
	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men
<b>Total</b>	43	57	41	59	46.3	53.7
<b>Agriculture</b>	40	60	40	60	27.1	72.9
<b>Manufacturing</b>	33	67	45	55	35.8	64.2
<b>Electricity, gas, steam and air conditioning supply</b>	17	83	20	81	21.5	78.5
<b>Water supply; sewerage, waste management and remediation activities</b>	19	81	7	93	19.4	80.6
<b>Construction</b>	13	87	7	93	12.2	87.8
<b>Wholesale and retail trade; repair of motor vehicles and motorcycles</b>	52	48	40	60	53.3	46.7
<b>Transportation and storage</b>	22	78	14	86	25.5	74.5
<b>Accommodation and food service activities</b>	52	48	35	65	56	44
<b>Information and communication</b>	35	65	14	86	39.2	60.8
<b>Financial and insurance activities</b>	62	38	65	35	69.6	30.4
<b>Real estate activities</b>	46	54	43	57	43.3	56.7
<b>Professional, scientific and technical activities</b>	51	49			46.5	53.5
<b>Administrative and support service activities</b>	45	55			41.8	58.2
<b>Public administration and defence; compulsory social security</b>	39	61	28	72	45.3	54.7
<b>Education</b>	67	33	58	42	76.6	23.4
<b>Human health and social work activities</b>	81	19	67	33	79.1	20.9
<b>Arts, entertainment and recreation</b>	36	64			57.4	42.6
<b>Other service activities</b>	44	56	38	62	58.7	41.3
<b>Activities of households as employers</b>	78	22	56	44		
<b>Activities of extraterritorial organizations and bodies</b>	24	74	68	32		

Sources: DZS HR 2012 Women and Men; RZSS 2011 Women and Men; Đ3C MK 2012 Women and Men

The disproportionality of women's activity in the public and private sphere indicate gender segregation including horizontal and vertical differentiation of typically female and typically male professions. Some researchers (Hakim 2000; Bardaši and Gornick 2000; Burchell, Dale and Joshi 1997) find the reasons for this in the non-egalitarian combination of an unpaid job in the

home and men`s employment. Taking into consideration the positive influence of employment on the overall activism of women in the public sphere, it is clear that the low percent of employed women is reflected in their marginalization and entrapment on the private sphere (MKD 4; MKD 9). The dynamics of changes in employment and economic growth has shown that the legal frame is not enough in itself to solve the problems of low level of women`s activity on the labor market (Čičkarić 2009). Gender stereotypes exist because society does not actively work on changing them (HR 3). Care for the home and the family is not valued because it has been imposed as a natural predetermination for women. In order to eliminate gender stereotypes, there is a need of changing of the male and also female awareness, their identities and the ultimate participation in “women`s housework”.

**Figure 5.9: % of Contributing family workers F/M, 2007**



Sources: OECD 2012; ILO 2008.

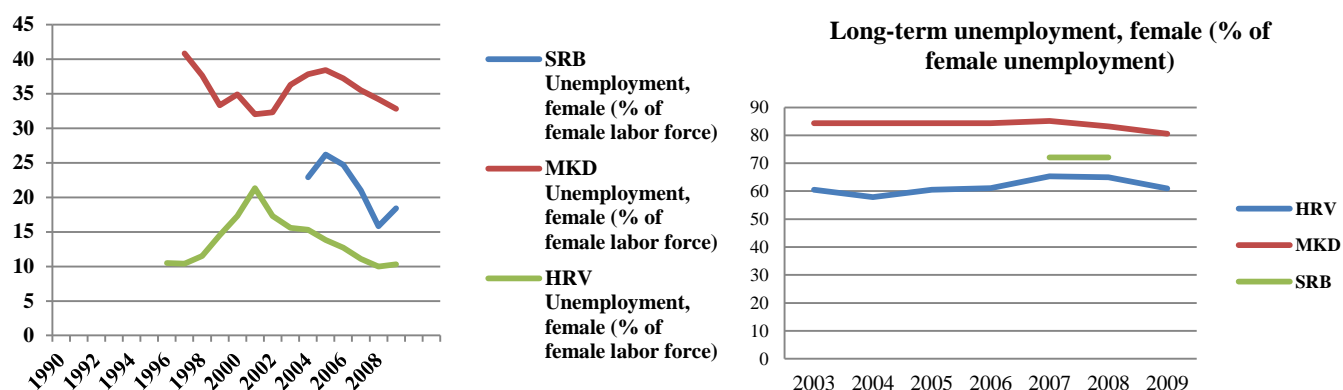
**Note:** Defined according to the 1993 International Classification by Status in Employment (ICSE) as a person who works without pay in an economic enterprise operated by a related person living in the same household

This social predetermination of gender stereotype segregation of roles in these countries is not present only in the home but also in professions and public life. Although, from a formal aspect men and women have equal job opportunities, including the application of equal criteria<sup>184</sup> still the number of unemployed women exceeds the number of unemployed men in the last years.<sup>185</sup>

<sup>184</sup> Especially after the harmonization of the legislation in the three countries as a result of the transposition of EU Directives (75/117/EEC; 76/207/EEC; 2000/78/EC; 92/85/EEC; 2004/113/EC; 2000/43/EC)

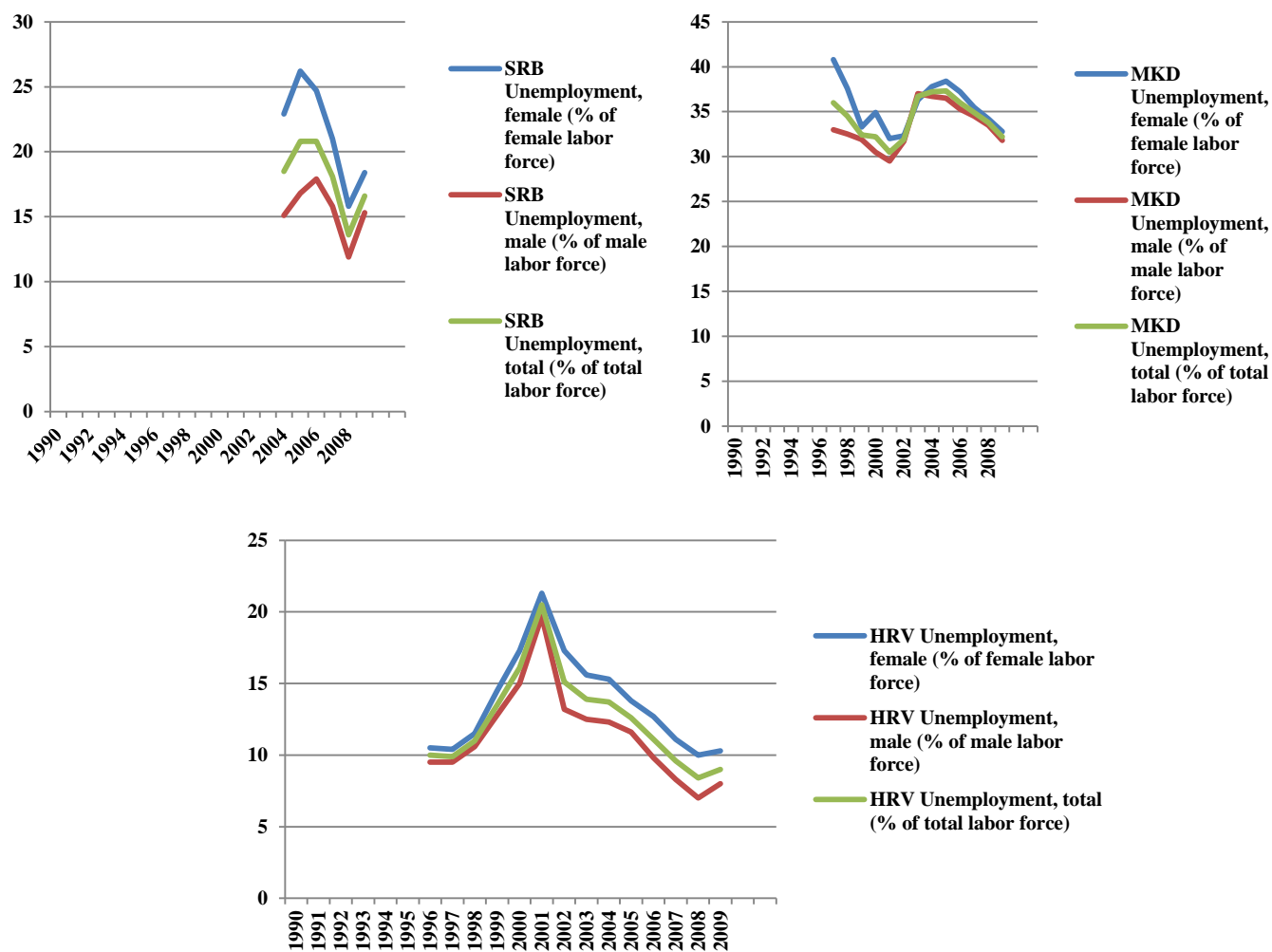
<sup>185</sup> For example, according to the economic status in Macedonia 40.7% of women are employed, 20.9% are employers and 18.4% are self-employed. Unlike them 81.6% of men are self employed, 79.1% are employers, 59.3% are employed (Shadow Report CEDAW 2005). Women belong to the group of unpaid family workers, from 21.8% to 44% which brings them once again to the position within the family (CEDAW Report 2003). This shows that reproductive obligations (care of the home and the family) are almost completely within female activities..

Figure 5.10: Unemployment rate, MKD, HRV, SRB (M/F) 1990-2009



WB (2012)

Figure 5.11 Unemployment rate %of female labor force, %of male labor force; %of total labor force (MKD, SRB, HRV)

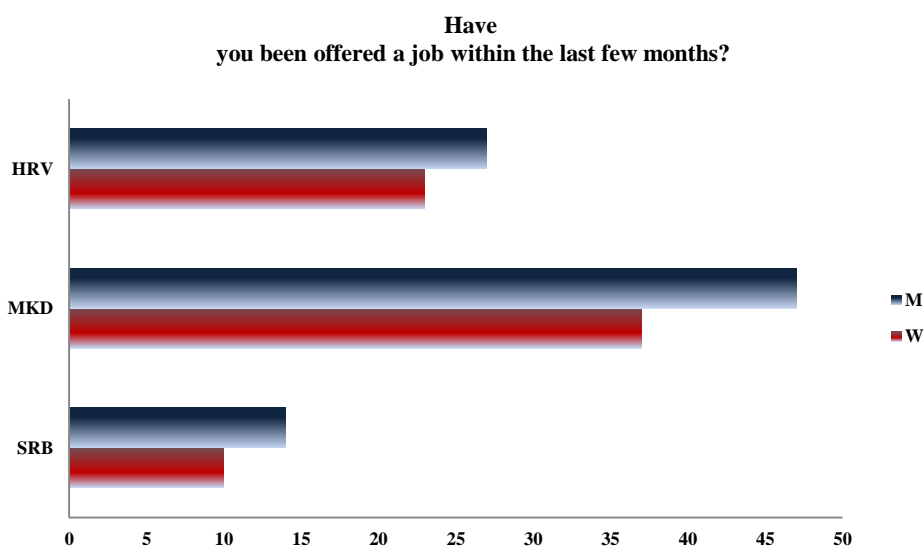


WB (2012)

Regarding the working relations, the right to work and non-discrimination in employment comparative analysis of statistical data shows that there is a negative trends despite the progressive legislation in all three countries pursuant tot EU influence as an ezternal factor. Women`s employment ratio in all three countries moves from 30% to 40%, which far lower than EU employment ratio – 58.3% in 2007. On the other hand, according to Eurostat (2009) unemployment in EU is 7.9% (Eurostat 2011).

The analysis of these indicators leads to a correlative connection with a gender divided statistic especially from the aspect of the value matrix of employed men/women and paid/unpaid jobs, equal treatment and valuation of work, gender equality in high positions (management positions, decision-making power), family engagement of women involved on the labor market, education level. The data still show gender segregation in job offers.

**Figure 5.12: Gender segregation regarding job offer (MKD, SRB, HRV)**



**Source:** Gallup 2012;

In Serbia Quantitative data from SPRPO (2010) show a dominant perception by the female population for the existence of gender discrimination in regard to employment (56% women and 41% men). In these countries women`s participation in the employed population out of the total work force shows an indicative number in certain sectors or i.e. “female professions” which leads once again to the cultural variables and the value matrix in the society.

In all three case studies, according to the democratic development and socioeconomic conditions the dynamics of changes in terms of political activism indicates certain influence. However,

analysis of data and the interviews still show a dominant impact of the value matrix i.e. the cultural factors in the variations in women`s behavior, but of men`s as well. „...*There is a causal connection between the employment ration, the level of education and women`s involvement in public life in general, even in relation to the perceptions for exercising their active and passive right to vote...*(HR 3). It is noticeable that employed women are more socialized and more interested in the political life, unlike the unemployed (HR 3; RS 2). „...*The poor economic conditions have a negative influence especially in the form of apathy or indifference, believing that their vote does not make any difference. The low education level is the reason why some women decide not to use their right to vote...*(MKD 4). According to statistical data, all three case studies show a high percent of women`s unemployment, division of job positions to female and male, bigger presence of women in the economically inactive population, division of the educational fields choices. All this leads to consistent cultural models of behavior and dominant perceptions which can be identified in these societies.

### **5.2.3 Development of women`s organizations and movements**

Women`s non-governmental organizations (NGOs) are the most important actors in the area of civil society sector, working to promote positive actions and measures for achieving gender balance in general, and in the decision-making processes. They differ in their organization and action goals and can be political women`s organizations, independent women`s associations, organizations to assist women victims of domestic violence etc (Fink-Hafner et al. 2011). The first feminist initiatives from the period of Yugoslavia appeared in the 70s`, through the international conference “A different woman-female issue - new approach” held in 1978 (Višnjić 2011). The conference was relevant for almost the whole territory of former Yugoslavia, bearing in mind that in Belgrade (Serbia) and in Zagreb (Croatia) it resulted with the formation of a separate section within the Sociological Society named “Women and Society” in 1981. In Ljubljana, the first feminist congress was opened in 1987, which confirmed the existence of an alternative political action of women in these regions (Višnjić 2011; Čičkarić 2010). According to Višnjić (2011) the introduction of a multi party system has encouraged a stronger influence and an increased number of feminist groups in the countries of former SFRY. During the 90s` these feminist movements showed resistance against the dominant policy, war and patriarchal tendencies. The role of women expressed during war time expressed as joint responsibility is very important. In order to repair the broken social system and achieve normalization and democratization, the feminist groups during war and in the transition period start initiatives for



an alternative political scene within civil society (Višnjić 2011). The overall retraditionalization of the new countries after Yugoslavia's disintegration is expressed through the need of retraditionalization of the patriarchal stereotypes for the role of men and women, as well as the role of women in the public sphere, with the purpose of achieving cohesion of the community (Iveković 2000, Višnjić 2011).

As pressure groups within the societies, their role was important in the processes of institutional changes, especially in the political support for adopting the quota system as an essential component for achieving gender balance in MK, RS and HR. NGOs' educative programs and trainings are the main area of influence regarding better women's position in politics. Their cooperation with the governmental structures, Commissions, political parties, encouraging women to participate in politics and assisting those who are elected in fulfilling their political duties, could contribute in improving women's position in these societies in general. Very often NGOs propose laws and amendments in the area of improving gender position. Representatives of the women's groups take part in writing comments and law amendments, analyzing the harmonization of laws with EU standards, comment and supervise state strategies and the implementation of laws, organize trainings (for female politicians, institutional gender equality mechanisms, for public servants), they organize conferences and public disputes, connecting NGOs' representatives, trade unions, political parties and media; they create manuals, training guides and publications for the political participation of women (Višnjić 2011, Branković 2002). Feminist movements in Serbia were especially important due to the fact that after the first parliamentary elections in 1990 the so-called political party WEST (women, ethics, solidarity, tolerance) was formed in order to influence the "male parliament" (Višnjić 2011). The effects of this action were reflected in the first anti-war demonstrations (Drakulić 1996) during the period of parallel creation of nationalistic movements, militarization, violence, fundamentalism and nationalism. During 1997 feminist groups in Serbia continued working on the ideas for enhancing women's activism. In 1999 the association „*Glas razlike*„ was formed, consisting of activists from different non-governmental organizations with the idea to promote political participation of women in Serbia, mostly through promotion of political rights and bigger participation of women in the public and political life as a pre-condition for participatory democracy (Višnjić 2011).

The unfavourable position of women during the war and postwar period in Serbia was reflected through a transitional fall in economic terms as well as in the political decision-making

processes. The nongovernmental sector in Serbia has been organized in a network since the 90s, it is recognizable for its anti-war actions through the formation of the Belgrade Women`s Lobby in 1990; Women in Black; SOS telephone line for women and children victims of domestic violence 1990 etc (Glas Razlike 2007). Still certain changes were felt after 2000, after the change in the ruling structure by the opposition (DOS). Besides the failure to increase the number of women in political structures and the consequences from the country`s involvement in wars for more than ten years, women`s network of NGOs in Serbia had 790 registered civic associations<sup>186</sup> in 2000. After the democratic changes, except with humanitarian issues these associations also dealt with improving the position of women in peace processes, post-war stabilization as well as inclusion of women in political processes (Glas razlike 2007). In 2000 the ATIN Association in collaboration with the gender equality group within the Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe, conducted the program “Znanje za demokratiju” (Knowledge about Democracy), with the purpose of educating female members of political parties, NGOs and trade union activists, with a special request supported by the UNIFEMA organization for gender equality in the sphere of politics (Višnjić 2011). On the initiative of Glas razlike the campaign “Tvoj glas, glas razlike” (Your voice, the voice of difference) was addressed to the female population. Despite all of this, at the elections in 2000 and the victory of the opposition DOS (Democratic opposition of Serbia) women won only 8 out of 178 seats in the Federal Assembly (Skupština) (Višnjić 2011). In this direction, women groups continue further with the methods of electoral and economic campaigns, campaigns against violence against women organized by the Autonomous Women Center 2001-2010 and include a large number of NGOs on a national level. Glas razlike 2000 initiated the campaign „Biraj da bi mogla da praviš izbore,, (Elect so you can make choices). In collaboration with the Association for female initiative, Women at work and Vojvodzanka (regional initiative from Novi Sad) and with the support of the Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe, OSCE and STAR Network of World Learning a campaign was conducted for economically equal woman (Višnjić 2011). The campaign „Izadi i nadglasaj,, (Vote and elect) was started in 2003, later the Initiative for the boycott of the referendum for the new Constitution RS (2006), the declaration of women, peace, security (on the basis of the UN Resolution 1325, 2006), struggle against the Law on churches and religious communities spreading stereotypical segregation of gender roles in societies.

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<sup>186</sup>Autonomous women`s center, Belgrade; ASTRA, Belgrade; Lady Art Center Belgrade; Female studies and research, Novi Sad; Glas razlike, Belgrade; Women`s Forum, Peshchanik, Krushevac; Women Research Center, Nish; Women Economic Initiative Association FEMINA etc.

In Macedonia, there are several national networks and a large number of women's NGOs. They are characterized by a big membership and many branches connected to the central organization. Such is for example the Union of Women's Organizations of Macedonia (UWOM).<sup>187</sup> After the first conference for the formation of the Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe, in 2000 the Macedonian Women's Lobby (MWL) was formed as a domestic NGO, which represents a coalition of women from different structures: Government, Assembly, Local self-government, NGOs, political parties, media and female experts from different fields (AESE 2006). In 1999 a women's civil initiative was formed, an interethnic network of leaders and active women from the non-governmental movement in Macedonia, as a response to the need of communities for team work in the fields of: democracy, pluralism and tolerance. Its founders were the participants of the seminar "Women and women's organization in the creation of peace and the civil society in the Republic of Macedonia" – women from several ethnic groups from R.Macedonia's local communities: Macedonians, Albanians, Roma, Turks, Serbs, Bosnians and Vlachs, actively involved in the female organization and movement of the Republic of Macedonia (Antico 2013). The basic goal is to moderate, facilitate a non-violent communication and transformation of conflicts, identity, power, gender and ethnical stereotypes and prejudices, gender issues, gender equality, women's rights, feminism, activism and volunteering in the community, organizational and institutional growth, lobbying, public representation etc. (Antico 2013). In the period 2011 – 2013 the women's civil initiative ANTIKO is implementing the project "Connecting and Enhancing Women's Civil Organizations from the Western Balkan Working on Women's Rights and Gender Equality" supported by the European commission, and with the purpose of raising the awareness of local subjects, marginalized women and women leaders, for gender equality and equal opportunities, strengthening their capacities for development of initiatives and their inclusion in trans-national partnerships with other women's civil organizations (Antico 2013). The non-governmental sector and women's organizations in Croatia are generally organized into Women's Network Croatia (ŽMH), which includes organizations such as the Center for women war victims– ROSA; Women's Room – Center for Women's Studies; Center for Women War Victims; Center for Peace Studies; Autonomous Women's House Zagreb; Delfin Pakrac; Domine Split – Association for civil Rights Development and Promotion of Women's Rights etc., groups and initiatives for economic, political and status improvement of women's position (Women's Network Croatia).

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<sup>187</sup> ESE, FAW; RWO

According to the data from ŽMH (2013), it is working on the fulfilment of the Action Platform adopted at the 4th world UN conference regarding women in Beijing 1995 and the Convention on Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) as its complete program for improving the position of women in public and private life with the purpose of providing them full and equal part in the decision-making in the economic, social, cultural and political sphere. ŽMH organizes demonstrations, actions, activities aimed towards improvement of institutional practice and encouragement of debates in media, making the structure of oppression visible. ŽMH emphasises the disbalance of gender power, the privileged position and domination of men over women in team work, as well as social structures which maintain this disbalance of power in the society. Stereotypical attitudes towards women are present in all areas of life, and they are the reason why women are still discriminated even today (ŽMH 2013). In the domain of feminist initiatives for improvement of the public and political position of women in Croatia, a very characteristic organization is the feminist organization CESI (Center for Education, Counseling and Research) which works on the achievement of gender equality, implementation of all legislation and international instruments for the protection of human rights (CESI 2013). Also very characteristic in this direction are the educational campaigns about gender equality and collaboration with the Gender Equality Office, continuous improvement of the collaboration of women and the decision-making processes. Approaching the parliamentary election 2011, together with the organizations, CESI created Women's platform 2011 introducing women's requests in the Government and the Croatia Assembly, as well as increase of the number of women in political meetings and female candidates on electoral lists. Several researches have been conducted, among which the research "Men and Gender Equality" in collaboration with the *International Center for Research on Women (ICRW)* from the USA and *Instituto Promundo* from Brasil. Their results show a basis for shaping public policies for enhancing equality between men and women in the public sphere. The most specific effect the work by NGOs and civil initiatives is in the direction of proper implementation of the Laws and incorporation of gender perspectives in their frame, encouragement of bigger presence of women within the party membership and on candidate lists and elected women in the decision-making structures on a national and local level. The interviews with representatives of some women NGOs in Croatia show that the most important activity is the focus and influence and faster implementation of electoral quotas for promoting bigger presence of women in the Croatian Sabor, but also on a local level, bearing in mind that despite the introduction of quotas within the

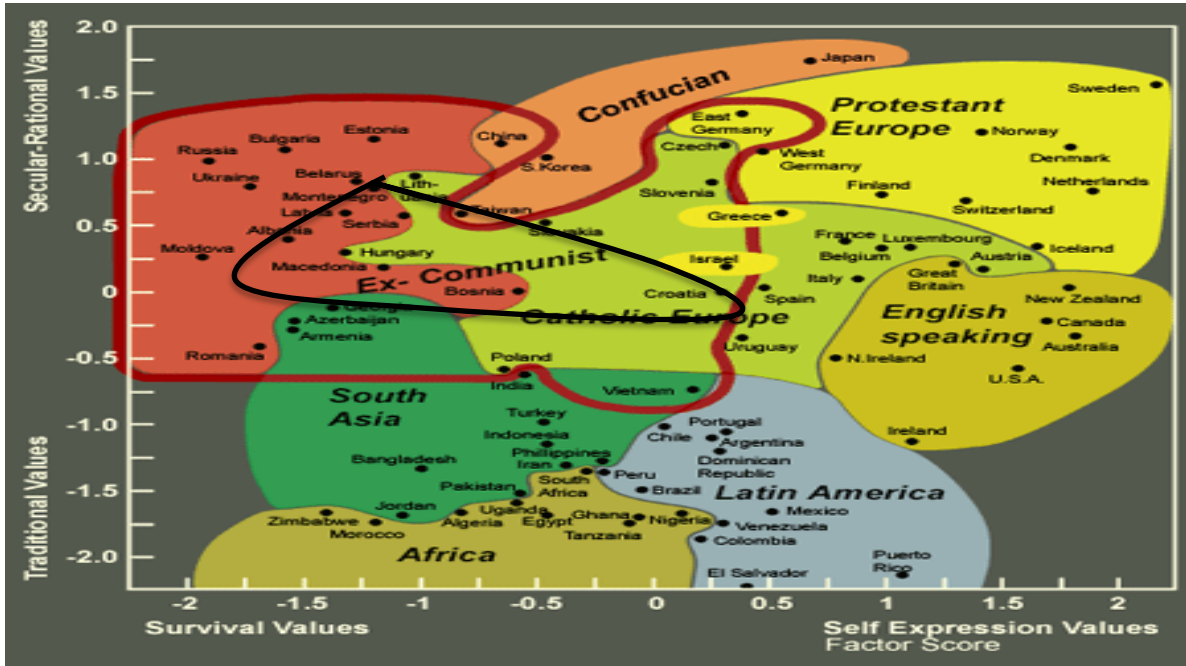
Act on Gender Equality Croatia still makes room for adjustment of political parties and sanctions for non-compliance to the quotas after three successive elections. „.....*The democratic establishment should offer recognition of the civil society. The development of women`s organizations and initiatives, contribute for the pressure to enforce institutional and normative changes imposed by European and international influences. The success of women`s nongovernmental sector of Croatia is mainly due to the efforts to introduce Electoral quotas within GEA, their implementation and consistent application.....*(HR 3),. In the area of collaboration among women in politics and political decision-making, the activities and requests of the Women`s network in Croatia are directed towards: division of responsibilities in the home and the state power, female quotas in the executive bodies of political parties, on the candidate lists where candidates from both genders are alternately placed on all lists, i.e. on all levels of power, measures for complete and realistic representation of women in the public, sanctioning and elimination of sexism, prejudices and stereotyping (Ženska Mreža Hrvatske 2013).

In all three countries generally, the non-governmental sector as a generator of activities, educational campaigns, initiatives and influences towards institutional and legislation changes is especially important and represents an impetus in the civil sector in the area of gender equality in societies.

### **5.3 Cultural factors**

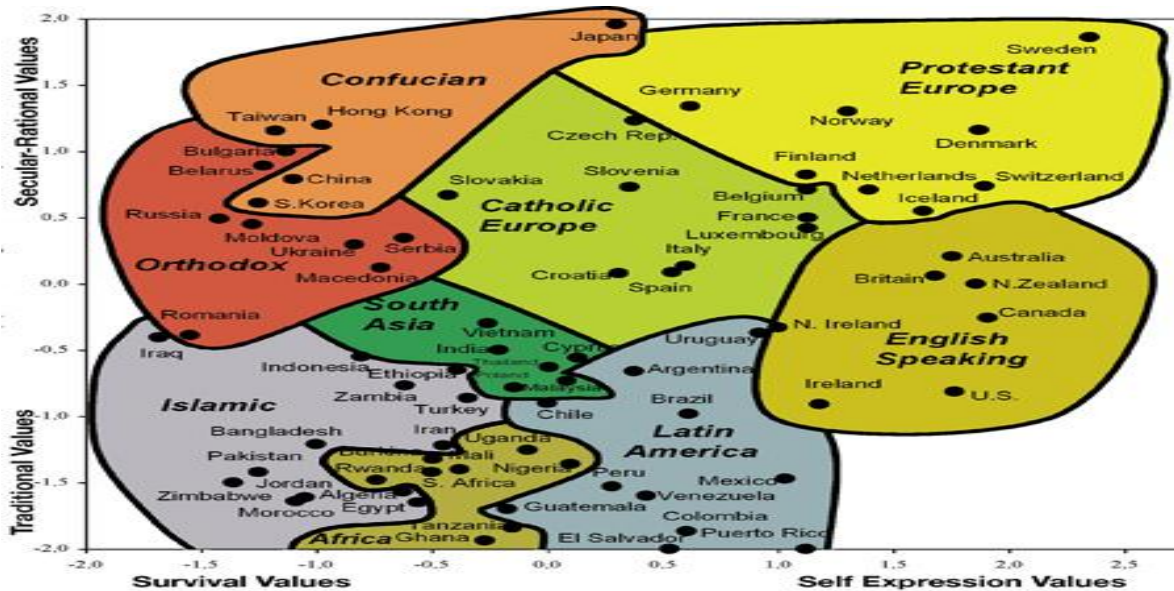
Theoretical findings show a linkage between the socioeconomic development and the convergence of values as a result of modernization, economic and political changes which lead to cultural changes. The existence of traditional values as opposed to industrialization, increase in the education level and economic changes, still tend to create almost unnoticeable changes in gender segregation of roles in society. According to the WVS 1999-2004, Inglehart and Welzel (2005, 2010) present a map of the countries determined by the reflection of the major areas of human concern, from religion, politics, economic and social life. Two dimensions dominate - traditional/secular-rational and Survival/Self-expression values.

Figure 5.13: The World Value Survey Cultural Map 1999-2004



Source: WVS 1999-2004; Inglehart and Welzel 2005

Figure 5.14: The World Value Survey Cultural Map 2005-2008



Source: WVS 2005-2008; Inglehart and Welzel 2010

The map's shows the traditional/secular-rational values dimension and reflections of the contrast between societies in which religion is very important and those in which it is not. In the societies which are near the traditional pole emphasize the importance of parent-child ties and deference

in authority, along with absolute standards and traditional family values, reject divorcing, abortion, euthanasia, and suicide. These societies have high levels of national pride, and a nationalistic outlook. Societies with secular-rational values have the opposite preferences on all of these topics (WVS 1999-2004). According to these findings, the three case studies are located in the ex-communistic region in the middle between traditional and secular values. The map indicates that Croatia and Macedonia are nearer the traditional pole than Serbia, which is a result of the religious influence.

The second major dimension of cross-cultural variation is linked with the transition from industrial societies to post-industrial societies-which brings a polarization between Survival and Self-expression values (WVS 2005-2008). Inglehart and Welzel (2010) show that the unprecedented wealth that has accumulated in advanced societies during the past generation means that an increasing share of the population has grown up taking survival for granted. Thus, priorities have shifted from an overwhelming emphasis on economic and physical security toward an increasing emphasis on subjective well-being, self-expression and quality of life.

According to the WVS (1999-2004) report based on the Inglehart and Welzel's map, a central component of this emerging dimension involves the polarization between Materialist and Postmaterialist values, reflecting a cultural shift that is emerging among generations who have grown up taking survival for granted. Self-expression values give high priority to environmental protection, tolerance of diversity and rising demands for participation in decision making in economic and political life. These values also reflect mass polarization over tolerance of outgroups, including foreigners, gays and lesbians and gender equality. The shift from survival values to self-expression values also includes a shift in child-rearing values, from emphasis on hard work toward emphasis on imagination and tolerance as important values to teach a child. And it goes with a rising sense of subjective well-being that is conducive to an atmosphere of tolerance, trust and political moderation.

This segregation shows the position of the case studies, which are mostly located in the area of survival values (Macedonia and Serbia) and a little exception of Croatia which is more oriented to the self-expression values. The societies that rank high on self-expression values also tend to rank high on interpersonal trust (WVS 2005-2008). This produces a culture of trust and tolerance, in which people place a relatively high value on individual freedom and self-expression, and have activist political orientations (WVS 2005-2008).

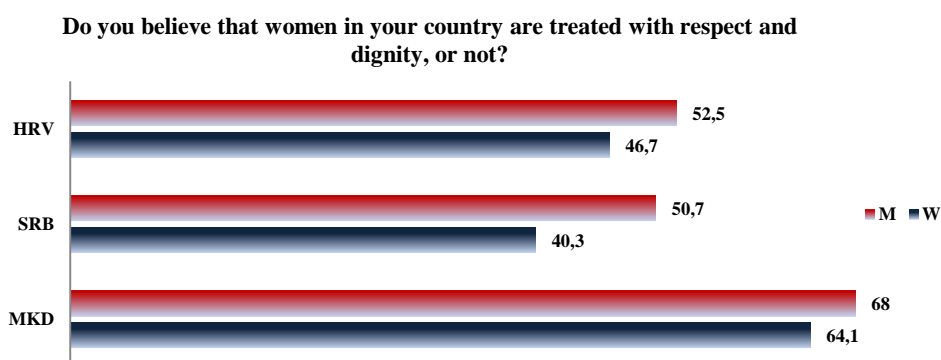
From the theoretical analyses, socialization theories point to the meaning of traditional beliefs,

and prejudice towards women which influence women's decision to be candidates, but also influence party leaders to accept their candidature. The negative attitude towards the political nomination of women is the greatest psychological barrier influencing women to lose trust and negatively influencing women's will for promotion of their political and leadership ambitions (Lawless and Fox 2007; Vuković 2008, 347-348). Socialism and the so-called public patriarchy as opposed to capitalism and individual patriarchy are in themselves an indicator within the social dimensions. Socialist heritage conditions women's resistance to forced emancipation without any genuine change of gender roles (Lalo and Schitov 2005). According to Kunovich and Paxton's model (2003) modifications of influence of specific variables, show dominance of culture factors which measured through values and attitudes display a dominant effect regarding the political presence of women. Differences between men and women are especially noticeable in the public sphere of action. According to Gallian and Clavero (2007) dominant perceptions in post-socialist countries indicate ambivalent and negative attitude towards high positions of power, as oppose to sections such as education, health... Data from public opinion surveys in these countries show disproportionality especially regarding dominant interests of men and women in the public sphere (Schwindt-Bayer 2006). Considering the fact that ethnographic and anthropological resources for post-socialist Balkan unanimously point to the patriarchal structure of these societies for a long period of time, including the transition period, it can be concluded that despite the change in the system, culture changes with great difficulty. In the transition period: socialism/post-socialism (Hann 2002), it seems that there was not a strong line of resistance regarding female issues for improving women's position and outgrowing the patriarchal model (Ramet 2002, 2006a; Kašić 2006). It was predicted that socialism would bring emancipation, though women's participation in formal education and paid employment, considering the fact that equality which was very close to uniformity was top-bottom (UNICEF 1999). This approach resulted with evident discrimination on everyday bases, with the almost equal participation of women and men in the work force and level of education, and at the same time ineffective public role and complete dedication to the home and the family (Baćanović 2002). The fact that gender segregation within families was maintained in a traditional direction and brought emancipated women the so-called double burden (Finch 2008). Although, socialism advocated gender equality, the traditional inequality continued to blossom (Antić Gaber and Lokar 2006). In the mid 1990s, changes in post-socialist societies were mainly reflected through affiliation or non-affiliation to a party, transformation of party systems, improvement of social



movements and antigovernment tendencies...Gender equality is related to the formal and legal system of regulating state relations and is continually determined by the spectar of cultre values. Culture and religion are an especially improtant domain of interest and the analysis of their impact on citizens` behaviour reflect dominant attitudes and perceptions in society. Although, gender differentiation is a very important but also very distant principle of social perception and social correlation, still the magnitute of movement, in regard to the identification and implementation of the neccessary elements for the establishment of balanace in gender differentiation, varies in different societies. The strictest cultural critique appeared in the countries with national regimes: genders are divided as naturalized genders in order for completary national agendas to be made (Papić 1999). Generally, traditional societies show a lot bigger obstacles regarding gender differentiation and encouing bigger equal integration of both genders in society, as opposed to developed or more developed societies (Baćanović 2010). However, even in developed societies it is not unusual to find substantial variations regarding gender presence in the social and political life (Fonow and Franzway 2011). Findings from the data base of EVS and WVS (2012), as well as empirical data from CPRPO (Empirical survey of the attitudes of citizens in Serbia 2010) regarding the reasons for the lower number of women in political life, indicate that patriarchal matrix is still present in the establishment of relations, i.e. the model of division of the roles in the family is dominant. This situation surely contributes for the lower number of women in political life and in the public sphere in general. Also, this condition is influenced by the cultural value matrix of prejudice, religious and ethnic stereotypes. Changes have happened in recent past, but still the majority of the citizens accept the traditional division of roles.

**Figure 5.15: Dominant perceptions regarding gender equality and discrimination**



Source: Gallup 2012.

**Table 5.3: Evaluation of the value matrix and dominant perceptions regarding the researched issues in the case studies**

		HR	MK	RS
<b>opinion on society</b>	radically changed	17,9	13,6	N/A
	gradually changed	82,1	86,4	N/A
<b>are you satisfied with democracy</b>	Satisfied	25,7	42,4	N/A
	not satisfied	74,3	57,6	N/A

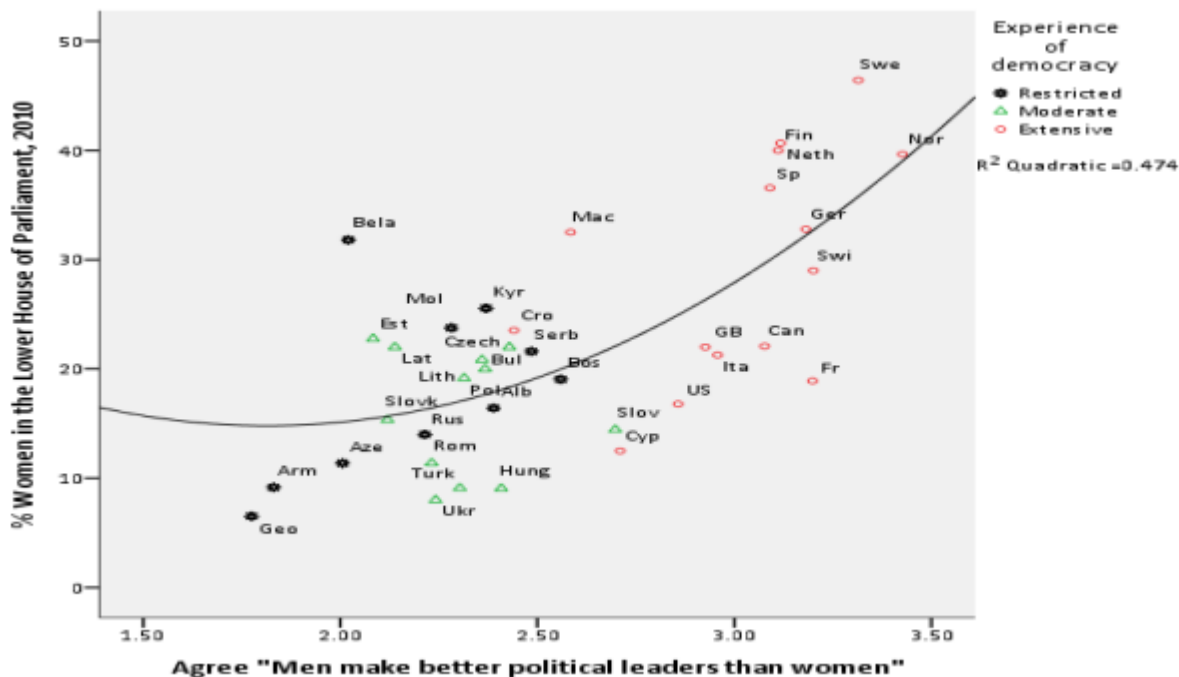
	HR			MK			RS		
	male	female	Total	male	female	Total	male	female	Total
<b>how important in your life is work</b>									
very important	48.7	44.1	46	78.6	80.8	79.5	59.1	55.8	59
quite important	44.4	47.8	46.4	10.8	6.7	9	36.8	34.2	35.5
not important	5.7	6.9	6.4	5.9	6.9	6.3	3.3	4.4	3.9
not at all important	1.2	1.1	1.1	4.7	5.6	5.1	1.7	1.6	1.7
<b>how important in your life is family</b>	HR			MK			RS		
	male	female	Total	male	female	Total	male	female	Total
very important	72.1	80.5	77.1	91.5	96.3	93.6	47*	50*	48*
quite important	26.4	18.8	21.8	7.1	2.3	5			
not important	1.5	0.7	1	1.2	1.2	1.2	46*	38*	42*
not at all important	0	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.2	7*	12*	10*
<b>how important in your life is politics</b>	HR			MK			RS		
	male	female	Total	male	female	Total	male	female	Total
very important	4.7	2.5	3.3	20.3	12.3	16.8	42*	28*	35*
quite important	25.9	16.4	20.2	35	30.9	33.3			
not important	48.7	53.7	51.7	26.4	29.5	27.8	54*	36*	46*
not at all important	20.7	27.4	24.7	18.2	27.2	22.1	18*	22*	19*

<b>working mother warm relationship with children</b>	HR			MK			RS		
agree strongly	33.4			33			52*		
Agree	45.3			41.2					
Disagree	19.3			23			35*		
disagree strongly	2.1			2.8			13*		
<b>women really want home and children</b>	HR			MK			RS		
agree strongly	8.8			22.2			68*		
Agree	45			48.6					
Disagree	38.5			23			18*		
disagree strongly	7.7			6.2			14*		
<b>how interested are you in politics</b>	HR			MK			RS		
	male	female	Total	male	female	Total	male	Female	Total
very interested	8.9	4.4	6.2	19.3	7.8	14.4	-	-	-
somewhat interested	33.3	22.4	26.7	37.5	25.9	32.5			
not very interested	31.8	35.1	33.8	27.8	37.3	31.9	-	-	-
not at all interested	26	38.2	33.3	15.4	29	21.3	-	-	-
<b>would you vote at a general election tomorrow</b>	HR			MK			RS		
	male	female	Total	male	female	Total	male	female	Total
Yes	81.5	75.9	78.1	76.5	74.9	75.8	75.9	73.5	74.8
No	18.5	24.1	21.9	23.5	25.1	24.2	19.5	23.1	20.9
<b>do you belong to: political parties/groups</b>	HR			MK			RS		
	male	female	Total	male	female	Total	male	female	Total
Mentioned	10.5	4.5	6.9	14.5	7.4	11.4	-	-	-
not mentioned	89.5	95.5	93.1	85.5	92.6	88.6	-	-	-
<b>employment/self-employment: last job</b>	HR			MK			RS		
	male	female	Total	male	female	Total	male	female	Total
Employed	71	54.7	60.2	52.3	40.2	46.7	-	-	-
self-employed	5.8	1	2.6	2.5	1.6	2.1	-	-	-
never had a paid job	23.2	44.3	37.2	45.2	58.2	51.3	-	-	-

Source: EVS 2008; EVS 2010 \*Data for Serbia (URR, MRPS - RS 2010) Value Survey of a1204 citizens sample (URR RS, МИНРЗС СРБ 2010)

The analysis of quantitative data shows dominant perceptions in all three cases of gender stereotypes. Perceptions for gender equality and presence of women, show lack of trust in female candidates for political functions. Data from the public opinion survey in Croatia show citizens attitudes regarding patriarchal obstacles (49.4%) and prejudices (32.1%) (CESI 2007). The situation is similar in the other researched countries. These stereotypes point to male domination in the function of social inclusion in public sphere.

**Figure 5.16: Traditional cultural attitudes**



Source: Norris and Krook 2010; IPU 2010.

The culture and domination of negative perceptions for the political activity of women, points to the existence of a culture value matrix which in conditions of social changes and development does not see any equivalent changes of progress. The dynamics of changes in the social, economic and legal context is especially characteristic, but without any changes in the cultural value matrix of life (Stulhofer and Sandfort 2005). During the operationalization and generation of the dominant behavior and perceptions according to the data from WVS and EVS it can be noticed that based on the selected questions there are variations of acceptance and non-acceptance of certain attitudes, as well as variations creating gender-divided segregation of attitudes. Most often, the respondents belonging to categories of unqualified or semi-qualified workers, farmers, housewives or population with lower level of education or no education at all

tend to support traditional attitudes towards women's role in politics as a model of social momentum (CPRPO 2010). On the other hand, there are similarities regarding same questions in the three case studies especially with the male population in relation to the role of women in political life. For instance, in Croatia despite the fastest progress of the legislation, still data from the public opinion surveys 2008 (CESI 2007) show that 52% of the population considers that there is gender discrimination in the country. In Macedonia, despite the efforts by NGOs to raise the population's awareness, there are still differences in the citizens' preferences and gender-divided perceptions (MK 4). Generally, traditional or patriarchal awareness is guided by the existence of female stereotypes based on structural and functional arguments (Parsons and Bales 1955) imposed by the socially dominant attitudes regarding the biological predetermination of women, men's domination and women's inferiority.

### **5.3.1 Influence of religion and ethnic divisions**

Within former SFRY as a multinational and multi-religious federation, the religious division of the population consisted mainly of Catholicism, Orthodoxy, and Islam. After the disintegration of the federation, ethnic conflicts necessarily led to religious conflicts as well, mainly as a result of the correlation between ethnicities and religion. According to the census from 2002 in Serbia (without Kosovo) 85% of the population declared as orthodox Christians (RZSS 2002). Muslims in Serbia and Vojvodina account for around 3.2% of the population. However, in Kosovo Muslims are estimated to be over two million or 20% of the population of Serbia (Kuburić 2007). In Croatia in 1991 76.5% of the population declared Catholics, while in 2001 87.8% (Dobrotić 2012; DZS HR 1994). Macedonia is generally divided in two dominant religions – Christianity and Islam, i.e. around 65% of the population are Orthodox (Macedonian) and 33% are Muslim (ДЗС МК 2002). There is a general correlation between the ethnic and religious orientation. For example, in Macedonia the majority Orthodox Christians are ethnic Macedonians. While the majority Muslims are ethnic Albanians (IRFR 2006). Religion, Christian (Orthodox and Catholic) and Islam in these countries, contributes for the differentiation into different variations of interpretation of political behavior, especially the treatment of women in the political sphere. As a determining factor, religion very often imposes a model of acceptance or refusal of a certain behavior and building preferences regarding the role of women. Inglehart and Norris (2003) claim that the expansion of the secularist trend in respect with modernization and industrialization have a positive impact on the value dogmas of behavior. In

the researched case studies, the dynamics of institutional changes according to the democratic development tendencies did not determine changes in the value matrix during the building of perceptions. For example, in Croatia which has the fastest institutional and legislative progress 89.5% of the population showed dominant faith in religious values in 2008 (Dobrotić 2012). In Serbia and Macedonia the micro level relations especially in Muslim communities, has a tendency to ritually make women inferior to men (MK 4). The dominant influences by the stereotypical subordination of women in the private sphere are typical for the Muslim Albanian minority in the region (Macedonia, Kosovo) (MK 5). The mixture of Muslim and Orthodox communities (as more patriarchal) lead to differences and bigger division where the patriarchal societies impose marginalization of women from the public sphere and political activism (Ramet 1996). The Islamic religion has a characteristic impact and dynamics of variations in the form of a complex of moral, religion, feminism and secularization. In this religion there is a specific relation towards the woman – leading towards domination of the patriarchal spirit of relations not only in the private but also in public life (Casanova 2009). „.....*The degree of independence of women`s the voting decision is identified as a problem. There are environments where women do not decide individually about their vote. The following are considered obstacles disabling women to fulfill their right to vote: tradition, family voting in the Albanian ethnic community.....*(MK 5).

On the other hand, the growth of the nationalist ideology was followed by cultural, political and religious differences which led to destruction and wars in almost all of the case studies. Religion, as a cultural component, has contributed for the political culture which considered war a necessary outcome. Ethnic division on the other hand, as a satisfactory explanation for the conflicts caused even bigger ethnic differences in the post-war period (Vujadinović 2005). As ethnically heterogenous societies, Macedonia and Serbia represented their ethnic diversity which had a dominant influence on the building of the value matrix in the patriarchal spirit. The patriarchal matrix of relations with certain ethnical and religious communities (Albanian, Roma) imposes a »strict« respect of women`s role within the family and oprivate sphere (MK 5). The influence of religion has a constant tendency to impose lower trend in gender equality in political life and in the public sphere in general (Inglehart and Norris 2003).

The influence of the church is especially important for the creation of dominant perceptions and traditional dogmas in these countries. In Serbia, war developments, social crises, social frustrations, as well as the fall of the communist regime influenced changes in the orientation of the citizens towards religious and nationalistic views. Not only the state did not undertake any steps to stop these social tendencies, but it stimulated further endangering of secular principles

of the establishment. One of the socially most dangerous aspects of contemporary Serbia is the introduction of religious education in the educational system, and particularly in the educational program in the sciences (Coalition for secularism KS 2010; Longoni 2013). The situation is similar with these initiatives in the educational system in Macedonia and Croatia. According to KS (2010) clerical education is based on “biblical philosophy”, although these types of educational systems inevitably go through certain transformations under the pressure of the development of science in the modern world. On a personal level, clerical education emphasizes intellectual passivity and uncritical collective thinking, and dissimulates individuality and every intellectual process. On a social level, clerical tendencies have the purpose of “protecting society from bad influences of the hedonistic secular values”. The devastating influence of religious ideology of the institutions for human rights and freedoms is unfortunately realized through education by promoting traditional gender roles, suppressing women to men, intolerance to those different from us (e.g. to homosexual groups) and intolerance to other peoples, cultures and religions. Although the former SFRY countries are defined as secular states after gaining their independence, today creationism can be noticed in many spheres of actions. For example, in the USA these extreme creationistic movements were abolished in 1987 by virtue of act by the Supreme Court which bans creationism in education as a religious idea not related to science. During the transition process, the dissolution of the socialist regime and the renewal of the authority of the church, Eastern Europe represented a suitable basis for incorporating creationism in education. Despite the formal secularity of the country, in Serbia it can still be noticed introduction of religious values in social, national and political issues (KS 2010). According to KS data (2010) in the period from 2001 to 2004 the Ministry of Education tried to systematically eliminate religious contents in education by imposing obligations. This project was interrupted by the change of power and the Democratic Party of Serbia becoming in charge of the Ministry of Education and Institute for Textbooks and Teaching Aids. Since then and after a number of events it is clear that this political party is directed towards clericalization of the education and favorization of religious education in schools. This approach is especially influential on the perception for gender roles in society and the continuous existence of dogmas and stereotypes in society. The influence of the Catholic Church and of the Orthodox as well, is also great in the domain of introducing religious education in the education system, which is a result of the religious fundamentalism. In Croatia the Women`s Network of Croatia (ŽMH) as a network include out of 49 women`s organizations, which continuously strives for gender equality and

promotion of women`s human rights, who consider that the institutional patriarchal system of marginalization of women based on the dominance of men over women (ŽMH 2012). According to ŽMH (2012) the needs and the special position of the Catholic Church endanger women`s human rights in Croatia. The religious moral of the Catholic Church supported by the androcentric order maintain the tradition of discrimination of women in traditional patriarchal role of mothers and housewives in the private sphere. The action of the Catholic Church against abortion are particularly critical and have a direct influence on female reproductive health and reproductive rights i.e. their rights of self-determination (ŽMH 2012). The control of the church over women`s sexual orientation and reproduction and the stereotypical reproduction of the church dogma in all spheres of public life represent breaking women`s human rights of control over their own bodies and the right to express their own sexuality, discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation and gender expression, endangering the right of individual decision-making regarding their own lives and freedom from stigmatization (ŽMH 2012). The arrangement of catholic religious education has a negative influence on the creation of education regarding human rights, reproduction of stereotypes connected to sexuality, setting distorted moral boundaries as opposed to secular society which aims at achieving gender equality (ŽMH 2012) . ŽMH (2013) believes that within the Program for Catholic Religious Education for elementary school, approved by the Ministry of Education and Sport regarding the human sexuality aspects there is real discrimination in the religious educational program in reference to women`s rights, the right of self-determination and sexual choice. ŽMH emphasizes that the Holy See ideology is contradictory to the international human rights conventions. ŽMH`s efforts are directed towards free, public and secular quality education integrated in the educational system in Croatia and guaranteed by the Constitution of Republic of Croatia. In Macedonia religious education was introduced in schools through the Law on Primary Education from 2008 during the rule of VMRO-DPMNE and the coalition (right-oriented government). However under the influence of the opposition, the Constitutional Court repealed the law declaring it against the constitution in reference to the introduction of religious education in primary schools. In Macedonia there was an initiative for adoption of a law which will ban abortion as a result of the influence of the church and the ruling coalition. In this manner the basic reproductive right and independence of women is being endangered. Women`s NGO in Macedonia opposed this initiative by adopting Declaration of women`s right to choose and began campaigning against the Abortion Law with press-conferences, forums, leaflets. Religious influence is even bigger in the



Albanian minority in Macedonia where due the dominant role of Islamic religion women break the law despite the veil ban in public and educational institutions. This behaviour are a result of the dominant influence of religion and especially the church/the mosque in relation to creating perceptions for the roles in society, relations between men and women and generally the patriarchal inferiority of women in relation to men.

#### **5.4 Institutional factors**

The following are considered institutional factors in accordance with theoretical analyses: changed in electoral systems, positive strategies/quotas and the influence by political parties. After the fall of communism and the change of political systems there was a negative trend and marginalization of women from political structures in the three case studies. This situation was typical for post-socialist countries with a majority electoral system (Norris 1996). The old/new political parties had the purpose of reflecting their own domination, not paying any attention to the representation of specific groups, which was reflected on the drastically lower presence of women in comparison to the previous socialist regime (Matland and Montgomery 2003; Rueschemeyer 2009; Saxonberg 2000). Another prominent phenomenon is the reflection of the real political culture and the patriarchal value system, imposed by the right-oriented political parties and the renewal of the image of the traditional role of women in society (Đurić-Kuzmanović 2002). Institutional changes imposed by international influences, mainly as a result of EU integration processes in Macedonia and Croatia, and later Serbia as well, resulted in legislation changes in order to incorporate positive strategies. Changes in the majority electoral system were a positive change in this direction. Research shows a positive effect of the proportional electoral systems due to the eligibility of the party lists regarding the bigger political presence of women (Rule 1996; Matland 2000). The number of women in politics (in the representative bodies, and in the high positions of power and decision-making) increase as a result of the positive measures, legal quotas and gender balance promotion mechanisms (Dahlerup 2006). The introduction of quotas is not a novelty for the liberal democracies, which means that it is a measure which existed in the socialist regimes as well, but with a different method of implementation. While in the liberal democracies quotas are introduced as a free voluntary choice within political parties or on a national level, in the socialist regimes quotas are

implemented through an `imposed` phase and a `key` phase (Leinert Novosel 1997). According to Matland (2005), 14.8% of the democratic countries have managed to adopt legal quotas and 50% party quotas as measures and positive strategies for encouraging bigger political presence of marginalized groups. In the semi-democratic countries - 30.2% legal quotas and 24.5% party quotas. In non-democratic countries 14.3% legal and 9.5 party quotas. According to the percents, semi-democratic societies tend to incorporate even more measures which will raise the level of democracy within these countries (Matland 2005). Mainly, the positive strategies within all three case studies refer to legal quotas for electing and nominating representatives in the parliamentary bodies, or voluntary within political parties, quotas based on a voluntary basis. The idea behind the introduction of quotas is to increase the number of women in the parliamentary bodies, on the election lists, government decision-making positions and power, but in the local government as well. According to certain researchers, the influence of quotas is very important not only for the increase of political presence, but also for raising the awareness for women`s representation in political life (Krook 2006, 111). Schwindt-Bayer and Mishler (2005, 424) tested a model of women`s representation in politics within 31 countries and confirmed the interconnection of these dimensions of representation, talking about a more formal and descriptive representation. Gender quotas influence on the symbolical representation of women directs towards analyses regarding the influence of political culture which further indicates a connection between men and politics and women and home and family (Krook 2006). Quotas are mechanisms for raising the legitimacy from discourse to exclusion and under-representation of women in the decision-making structures, to achieving gender balance. In all three case studies quotas are envisaged in electoral laws, laws on political parties or laws on equal opportunities.

#### **5.4.1 The influence of electoral systems**

The characteristics of the electoral system expressed through the voting character and structure, electoral threshold, electoral formula, type of electoral lists (open/closed) have been so far detected in the nomination process of candidates as influence variables on the political presence of women. Electoral systems are mainly divided into majority, combined and proportional systems. Researches show positive influence and bigger adaptability of the proportional system in the nomination of candidates. (Antić Gaber 1996; Norris and Krook 2010). Main arguments supporting this are related to the possibility to create electoral lists, voting for open or closed lists, and adaptability of legal electoral quotas for the under-represented gender as a rational

strategy. According to Norris and Krook`s (2010) research, despite the advantages of the proportional electoral system, the number of elected women still depends on the voting structure and body, especially with the open candidate lists according to which the candidates are chosen. In some post-socialist countries open lists show a positive impact (Kunovich 2012), while in others closed lists are more acceptable (voting for a party/coalition where political parties nominate and determine the order of candidates), especially if there are no campaigns and approach to resources for the realization campaigns supporting female candidates (Norris and Krook 2010). In Serbia, until 1992 the majority electoral system was applied. From 1993 the proportional electoral system was implemented. By 1997 the country was divided into 9 constituencies which in 1997 were adapted into 29, while in 2000 the whole territory became only one constituency (Goati 2002). According to electoral regulations (Сл. Гласник РС 35/2000) in the People`s Assembly (Narodna Skupshtina) 250 people`s representatives are elected on a national level, with a four-year mandate. By 2006, the functioning of the State Union of Serbia and Montenegro meant representatives from both states.<sup>188</sup> The electoral threshold in Serbia and Croatia is 5%, while in Macedonia there is no threshold (Сл. Гласник РС 35/2000). Due to the incompatibility of the electoral threshold for the minority and marginalized groups in Serbia, changes were made in the Law on People`s Representatives in 2004. These changes allowed the representatives from minority groups who did not get 5% of the votes to enter the parliament. This is determined by the State Election Commission which during the nomination establishes which political parties have the status of parties representing the interests of minorities (Сл. Гласник РС 18/2004, Art.13).

In Croatia, the proportional electoral system was introduced in 1999 and was implemented on the elections in 2000 (NN 116/1999). Unlike Serbia and Macedonia, Croatia is divided into 12 constituencies (NN 116/1999). 140 representatives are elected in the parliament in 10 constituencies (14 representatives from each constituency), while in the eleventh constituency representatives from the diaspora. The twelfth constituency takes up the whole territory and within it representatives from national minorities are elected (NN 69/2003).<sup>189</sup> Until 1998, there was a majority electoral system in Macedonia (in two electoral cycles) with 120 constituencies, which made political presence of women in the parliament really difficult. In 1998 the mixed (combined) electoral system was introduced (35 mandates according to the proportional and 85 according to the majority electoral system). In 2002 the proportional electoral system was

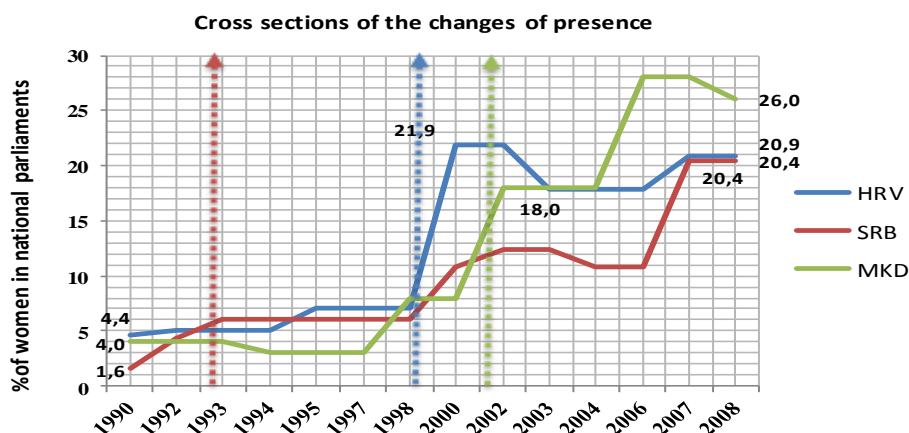
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<sup>188</sup> 91 representative from the People`s Assembly (Narodna Skupshtina) in R.Serbia were elected, while from Montenegro 35 representatives, (i.e. 126 in total).

<sup>189</sup> See development model of Croatia`s legal framework, p: 121

introduced (Сл. Весник на РМ 42/2002). The territory of Macedonia is divided into six constituencies and 120 representatives are elected (Сл. Весник на РМ 43/2002). The D`Hondt method for calculating votes and allocation of mandates is used in all three countries (Сл. Гласник РС 35/2000; NN 116/1999; Сл. Весник на РМ 42/2002). In Macedonia and in Croatia, candidate lists are closed, offering the voter to circle the name of the political party and vote for (a list – all candidates from the same list) without the possibility to change their order which had been established by the nominator of the list. Unlike these regulations, in Serbia there are unblocked closed lists<sup>190</sup> which allow the political party to decide on the choice of candidates who will receive a mandate after the elections. This has a negative effect in relation to the lower political presence of women. However, closed lists can also have a negative effect, regarding the fact that the political party can get less mandates (only 2 mandates for example) and it is envisaged that every third or fourth seat on the list will be appointed to a representative from the under-represented gender. Kunovich (2012) researched the case of Poland and his analyses proved that open lists have the most positive influence, when voters elect candidates from the list. Generally, regarding the political presence of women, the changes in the electoral system in all three states have shown a positive effect after the implementation of measures promoting the under-represented gender. These measures were imposed by EU`s influence and the integration processes. The proportional electoral systems have proved to be adaptable to the introduction of legal quotas which resulted in the increase of the political presence of women in national parliaments.

**Figure 5.17: Impact of the proportional system, changes and political presence**



Sources: DZS HR 2012; ДЗС МК 2012; RZSS 2011

Note: the vertical arrows mark the period of introduction of the proportional electoral system, while the positive changes happen with the introduction of quotas.

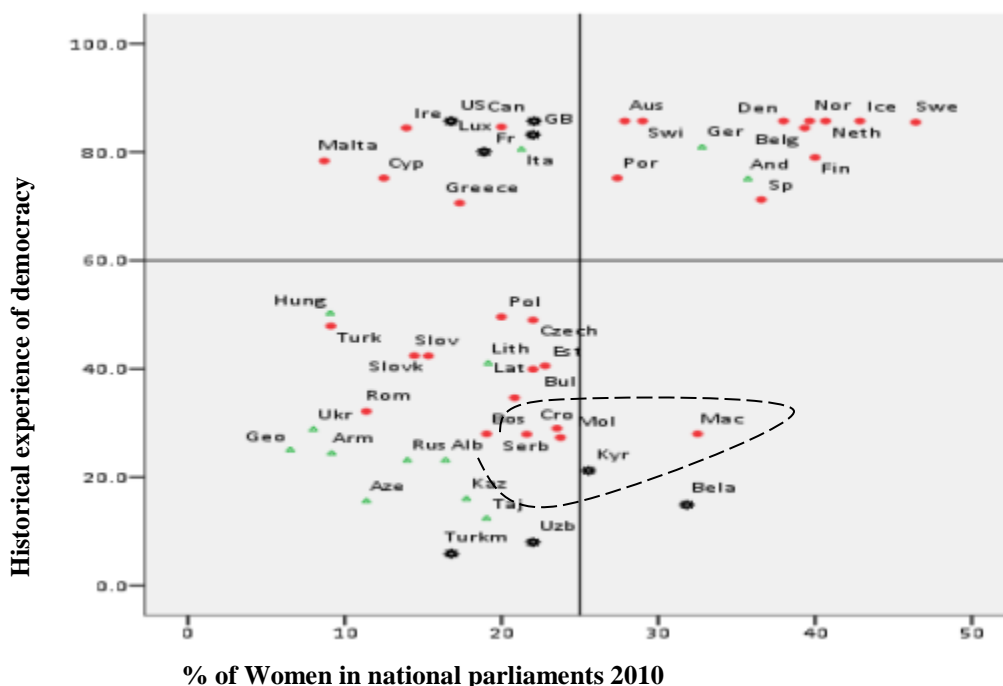
<sup>190</sup> Closed unblocked lists allow parties to establish their own order of candidates after the results are announced. At least 1/3 of the representatives has to be in accordance to the originally submitted list (Сл. Гласник РС 35/2000).

According to the data analysis, although the proportional electoral system was introduced in Serbia the earliest changes in the political presence of women were seen on the 2007 elections due to the implementation of legal quotas for the under-represented gender. In Macedonia, first a combined system was introduced and later in 2002 proportional system and quotas were implemented. This was the period when a positive change was felt in the percent of elected women. With the introduction of the proportional system 1999 in Croatia there was an increase in the percent of elected women on the parliamentary elections 2000. Of course these changes were also influenced by the positive regulations from the Law on Political Parties (NN 164/98) which envisaged 10% financial reimbursement for the party for every elected candidate from the under-represented gender. The general change of the center-right government and the victory of the opposition (SDP – center-left government). Before the introduction of the proportional electoral system, in all three countries in conditions of majority electoral system the percent varied from 1.6 in Serbia, 4% in Macedonia and from 4.6% to 7.1% in Croatia. In accordance with the dynamic analysis of changes the role of the electoral system in the post-socialist countries has a positive influence as opposed to the period of the majority electoral system. However, except in Croatia where there was a change of the government with the introduction of the proportional system and with that the number of elected women increased, in Macedonia and Serbia more important changes in the percent of elected women happened with the introduction of legal quotas for the under-represented gender. In Macedonia the proportional system was introduced together with the quotas, which led to changes in 2002. While in Serbia, despite the existence of the proportional system changes happened on the 2007 elections as a result of changes in the electoral law from 2004 and the introduction of quotas. Current studies show bigger chances for election of female candidates from the electoral lists as opposed to the small number of candidates in the majority electoral system (Darcy 1994). However, the role of political parties regarding the allocation and position of candidates on the list is quite specific (Antić Gaber 2001). According Matland (1999), the women members of larger parties thus stand a better chance of being elected - if they are selected as candidates. In Serbia, the attitude of political parties toward selection, nomination and choice of candidates is more and more monopolized in the electoral process based on masculine political culture. The situation is similar in Croatia as well. Here, the electoral changes and dominant party-centrist on the one hand, and candidate-centrist connection in the selection of candidates on the other hand, has been reflected in the male political scene for almost ten years.,,.....*Despite the positive influence of the*

*institutional changes they still remain overshadowed by the political culture of male domination....HR 3,,*

A lot of current research confirm this relation of candidate-centrist procedure led by egalitarian processes (Krašovec and Lajh 2004; Fink-Hafner and Krašovec 2004; Lovenduski 1999) in the selection of suitable candidates, and the party-centrist role in direction of ‘mandatory differentiation’ of the gender profiles of candidates which gives extra power to political parties by: not choosing female candidates who are well known; and b) at the same time nominating well-known male candidates on either the top or end of the list. (Fink-Hafner, Deželan and Topolinjak 2011). In all three case studies, the change from a majority to a proportional electoral system is especially important due to balance on the candidate lists. However, the effect from the electoral system in itself is not enough, i.e. it is conditioned by the political culture in the society. The influence of the electoral systems is of course in correlation with the democratic tradition, culture, dominant perceptions in societies and the ideological matrix within political parties.

**Figure 5.18: Influence from electoral systems and previous experience of democratic development**



Sources: Norris and Krook 2010.

Note: the previous democratic experience is measured through civil freedoms and political rights in accordance with Fridom Haus, standardized to 100 points.IPU 2010.

According to Nolen and Kasapović (1997) there are examples where it is difficult to prove that one model or another has a better influence on the representation of women.<sup>191</sup> Although, basically the systems of proportional representation are more adaptable than majority systems, they still do not prove to be effective in conditions of political culture with dominant patriarchal perceptions of citizens. In Macedonia, the proportional system proved to be the most suitable in the equilibrium of ethnic division. Still, the formal rules (especially quotas) encourage the formal presence of women, but not the representation of women's interests. According to Fink-Hafner and Krašovec (2004) the electoral systems have their influence in the context of gender representation variations. However, if the gender issues are reduced only to formal issues, without imposing the need to raise citizens' awareness for women's position in political and public sphere. Otherwise, the proportional electoral system in itself gives inadequate measures of "forced emancipation" without any essential change in gender roles. This was evident right after the increase in the number of women in national parliaments, as a result of the introduction of legal quotas. From the gender equality point of view, the problem in the case studies and in general in the post-socialistic countries is that parties pragmatically subordinate their functioning to the predominant political culture when pursuing the goal to maximize votes (Fink-Hafner, Dežlan and Topolinjak 2011).

#### **5.4.2 Political strategies – Electoral quotas**

As a result of the influence of external factors (CEDAW, COE, EU), legislation changes are made in all three countries especially due to the harmonization of the legislation during EU integration. In order to establish gender balance in the decision-making structures in Macedonia and Serbia, positive strategies in the form of legal quotas were introduced within the electoral laws, while in Croatia within the Law on Equal Opportunities. Research regarding the influence of quotas raised a lot of issues. Do quotas effectively increase political presence of women? – Which variations and combinations of quota-models are most suitable (national quotas, party or minority quotas) – Do marginalized groups have a negative effect on these models? Will quotas contribute for the political presence of women? (Crenshaw 1991; Mansbridge, 1999; 2005).<sup>192</sup> Due to the fact that regarding the political presence of women the situation is alarming worldwide, the introduction of quotas is especially important, despite the fact that the goal is not

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<sup>191</sup> Ireland for example, uses a unique transferable vote as a form of proportional representation in small (3-4) constituencies, and has a lower level of representation of women than majority systems in countries such as Canada, Austria and the United Kingdom.

<sup>192</sup> In India for instance, quotas were rejected due to the fact that they will contribute for the inclusion of Hindu women only from the elite and higher classes (Hughes, 2012; Krook and O'Brien 2010).

entirely fulfilled in relation to the numerical representation on the lists without any power (Paxton and Hughes 2007). Also, there is the issue of women belonging to minorities (ethnicities) and what kind of quotas are most suitable for these categories which are on the one hand marginalized as women, but on the other hand marginalized as minorities? For instance, the Roma and Albanian women in Macedonia are in this position. The situation is similar in Serbia with the Albanian women. Most researchers (Kymlicka 1995; Mansbridge and Tate 1992) believe that not all quotas have a positive influence on the political presence of women. For example, party quotas are less influential in the increase of the number of women in parliaments, as opposed to national legal quotas (Htun, 2004). Dahlerup (2008) give the most concise definition of quotas in two dimensions: quotas model defined according to the level of the electoral process and according to the mandates. The first dimension includes: a list of positional candidates, election candidates and elected candidates (reserved seats), while according to the mandate the second dimension includes: legal quotas (established by Law or the Constitution) and voluntary quotas (within political parties). Within all three researched countries (MK, RS, HR) legal quotas have been incorporated which refer to the parties' obligations to nominate a certain percent of women on the candidate lists. These quotas had a positive effect, especially in the post-conflict period in direction of increasing the political presence of women.

According to Antić Gaber and Lokar (2006) the discussion for the introduction of quotas has three phases of ideological background in almost all Balkan countries from 1990 until the Beijing conference 1995 there was an open rejection; from 1995-1999 the Beijing platform and quotas were partly accepted but within certain political parties; from 1999-2004 a period during the Stability Pact for South Eastern which was a phase of gradual acceptance of the quotas, but under pressure from EU on the one hand and Gender Task Force (GTF) on the other, with a special accent on the Western Balkans (Antić Gaber and Lokar 2006).



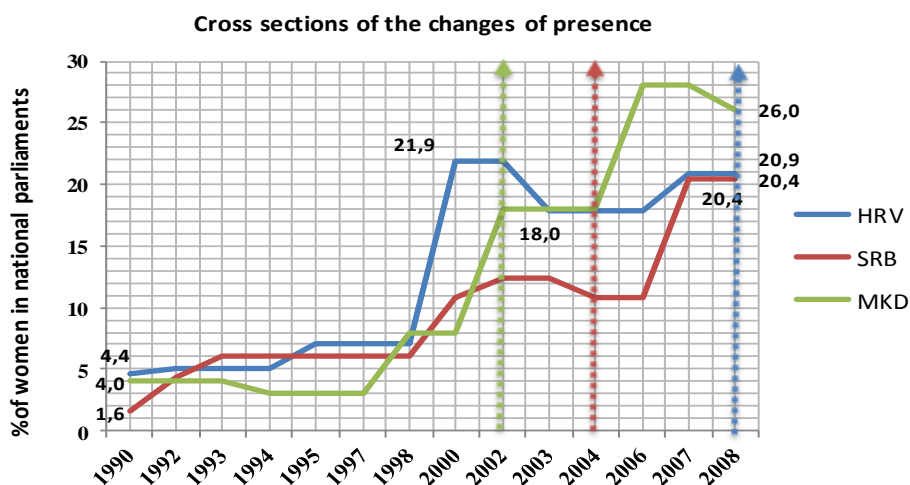
**Table 5.4: Positive strategies – quotas for the under-represented gender on the national elections/effects of the implementation of quotas**

	Institutional factors/ electoral system	Year of adoption of the quota	%	Ranking terms for the party list	Sanctions for non- compliance	% of elected women in national parliaments before the introduction of legal quotas	% of elected women in national parliaments after the introduction of legal quotas	Difference/Change in %
<b>MK</b>	Proportional system, party lists	2002 (Сл. Весник на РМ 42/2002)	Legal quota 30%	YES: One for every three positions on the candidate lists is reserved for the under-represented sex (Electoral code, Article 64, pg.5).	Unregistered If the political party does not fulfill the quotas, the list shall be rejected (Electoral Code, Article 67 pg. 1-4).	2000 / 6.7	2002 / 18  2010 / 32.5	25.80
<b>RS</b>	Proportional system, party lists	2004 (Сл. Гласник РС 18/04)	Legal quota 30%	YES: Every fourth place on the electoral list is reserved for the under-represented gender (Law on the election of representatives, Article 40a).	Registration: If electoral lists do not provide at least 30% representation of both genders and do not reserve every fourth place for the under-represented gender	2000 / 5.1	2007 / 20.4	15.3
<b>HR</b>	Proportional system, party lists	2008 (NN 82/08)  Law on political parties (NN 76/93; 111/96; 164/98; 36/01)	Legal quota 40%*  10% financial reimbursement for the party for every candidate from the under- represented gender		Yes: Financial crisis (NN 82/08) 3- year transitional adjustment phase from the Law's enforcement	Application of the regulations from the Law on equality which envisages quotas for the under- represented gender. The envisaged sanctions for non- compliance are planned over the next three elections (national and local) from the moment of the enforcement of the Law  1992 /5.4 1995/7.1	2000 / 21.9	14.8

Source: Norris and Krook 2010; DZS HR 2012; ДЗС МК 2012; RZSS 2011

After the introduction of the legal (positive) measures for the under-represented gender changes were seen in the three researched countries in relation to increase in the political presence of women in national parliaments. In Serbia, the percent of elected women in parliament after the 2000 elections was 5.1%, while after the introduction of quotas (2004) and their implementation on the parliamentary elections 2007 the percent of women increased to 20.4%. The problems in Serbia are most often related to the creation of electoral lists, especially due to the placing of female candidates on lower positions on the candidate lists, the possibility to adjust the mandates by the political party as a result of unblocked lists, and prevention to participate in informal networks for support among men (Čičkarić 2009). The Law on Election on Members of Parliament in Macedonia (Сл. Весник на РМ 42/2002) introduced 30% quotas in 2002, and this led to changes in the political presence of women in the Assembly of RM from 6.7% in 2000 to 18% in 2002. The Electoral Code from 2006 (Сл. Весник на РМ 07-1395) except the 30% quota also envisaged a ranking level for every three places on the list, at least one should belong to the under-represented gender. In Croatia, 40% quotas for the under-represented gender were introduced with the Law on Equality in 2008 (NN 82/08). This law obliges political parties as nominators of the lists to act according to the provisions. However, changes regarding the political presence of women in Croatia are more noticeable in 2000 as a result of the measures within the Law on political parties (NN 76/93; 111/96; 164/98; 36/01) which determine a 10% financial reimbursement for the party for every candidate from the under-represented gender. This change is not only due to the positive measures from the Law on political parties, but rather such a change in this period in Croatia is a result of the fall of the ten-year rule by the right-oriented party (led by HDZ) and the victory of the opposition SDP (left-centrist government, see fig. 5.22) with more female candidates on the electoral lists and the introduction of the proportional electoral system.

**Figure 5.19: Cross-section of the changes in the percent of presence after the introduction of legal quotas**



Source: WB 2012 ; GID-DB 2009; OECD Development Centre 2012. DZS HR 2012; ДЗС МК 2012; RZSS 2011)

Note: Vertical arrows mark the year of introduction of legal quotas

The distribution of female candidates and their positioning on the lists in Macedonia varied from 4.53% between the first five candidates, 7.81% from the sixth to the tenth place, and 19.84% from the eleventh to the twelfth place on the list. Unlike the previous elections in the implementation of the majority electoral system (1990, 1994 and 1998 combined system), the percent of elected women varied between 4.1%, 3.3%, 6.6%, while after the introduction of the 30% quotas within the proportional electoral system the percent of elected women increased to 18%. The positive influence of the quotas was reflected in the Albanian ethnic community in Macedonia when an Albanian woman was elected for the first time. In Serbia, the introduction of electoral legal quotas also had positive effect in the increase of the level of elected women in national parliament. As opposed to 1.7% elected women in 1992 or the highest 5.5% during the authoritarian regime of president Slobodan Milošević, changes expressed through the modification of the Law on election of members of parliament in 2004 and the introduction of 30% quotas for the under-represented gender led to increase in the level of political presence of women in the national parliament. However, it was on the 2007 elections that the percent rose up to 20.4%. In Croatia changes were noticeable in 2000 as a result of the incentive measures in the Law on Political Parties. However, it is characteristic that the introduction of 40% quotas in the Law on equality (NN 82/08) as a harmonization law did not show any positive trend of increase in the number of elected women. At the elections for the Croatian Parliament (Sabor) in 2007 women accounted for 20.9% of the total number of elected members of parliament, while in

2011 this percent fell to 19.9% (DZS HR 2012). This negative trend is due to the time frame envisaged in Article 15, paragraph 2 from the Law, according to which there is a time deadline for the gradual adjustment towards the changes from Article 12, in relation to the gradual increase in the representation of both genders in legislative and executive bodies, the third parliamentary elections at the latest, from the day of the Law enforcement. This opportunity was used by the political parties. Therefore, on the next elections 2011, two thirds of the parties did not follow these orders. From 313 candidate lists on the elections 37.70% had 40% female candidates on the lists, while 62.30% had less than 40% (PRS 2011). The political parties in Macedonia and Serbia were forced to nominate women on the lists according to the predicted percent, due to the fact that the quotas in these countries were incorporated within Electoral laws on a national and local level, i.e. there are also sanctions for non-compliance. In a way this is forced emancipation regarding the numerical effect of increase in the number of women in parliaments. However, quotas did have a positive influence on the political presence of women, although it is not only a matter of figures, but rather and even bigger need of improving the presence of women in decision-making structures and representation of women`s interests. Political leadership in the parties is still a domain of male power (Matland and Montgomery 2003) and the nomination of female candidates is still seen simply from the pragmatic point of view of the parties.

#### **5.4.3 Influence from the political parties**

After the transition period the Western Balkans are characteristic for their multiparty systems and equilibrium of a large number of political parties. According to Antić Gaber (2000) the party systems in these countries do not have any strict division and definition in accordance to the number and size of the political parties. They also do not have any differentiated ideological division and hold big formal similarity. On the elections in the post-socialist countries strong coalitions of a large number of political parties are mainly dominant. They are usually characterized with an unstable party system and general predetermination of the electorate towards one coalition or another between electoral cycles. These coalitions usually produce an entry in parliaments for a lot of small political parties, without there being any specific segregation of political (coalition) partners in relation to their identification with a political ideology (Jalušić and Antić Gaber 2001). A lot of researchers (Matland 2000, Rule 1996, Norris and Lovenduski 1993) show that the level of women`s political presence is preconditioned by the possibilities to enter current political developments offered by political parties. Some analyses

show that the political presence of women depends on the interaction between political systems and the party policy (Jalušić and Antić Gaber 2001). Norris and Lovenduski (1997) define political parties as `Gatekeepers` due to their very important role regarding the political representation of men and women. During the nomination of election candidates for representative bodies, political parties are especially important when it comes to the nomination of female candidates on the lists (Kasapović 2001). According to Ilonzski (2000) political parties have an even bigger influence on the political presence of women than the electoral system itself. As `gate keepers`, political parties are creators of the candidate lists and determine the level of male/female presence in the electoral process (Siemieńska 2002). Analyzing the researched countries we begin from Norris` (1997) four-level model of nomination: political context (electoral and political system); recruitment processes; offer of aspirates and the needs of political parties as gatekeepers (See Apendix A5).

The introduction of institutional changes, positive strategies and legal quotas brought positive effect in all three countries, and increased the political presence of women. The proportional electoral system proved to be more adaptable in relation to legal quotas for the under-represented gender. However, the recruitment processes in the nomination of candidates are even more important in the determination of the role of the parties and their relation and attitude towards female candidates. According to Caul (1999) female candidates are recruited from three categories: active members, in accordance to the rules of candidature and encouragement of women`s presence within parties and the party ideology. In different states, political parties differ in women`s proportion in the party organs, the manner of nomination, the manner of creation of the candidate lists and ranking of female candidates, women`s proportion in representative bodies, as well as in the internal rules for selection of female candidates, the existence of voluntary quotas within parties and ranking according to the rules (Dahlerup 2006, Lovenduski 2005b; Norris 2006). This is also influenced by the ideological division to left, right and centrist political parties. So far, left-oriented parties have shown a bigger tendency and openness to promote women`s interests (Caul 1999). According to Caul (1999), Matland (1998) in relation to institutionalization there are patronage and bureaucratic candidate procedures or traditional manners of selection of charismatic candidates and selection according to standardized rules and procedures within the political parties. Special measures (quotas, strategies etc) for promotion of political presence of women (gender or soft quotas) have their influence on right, left and centrist parties in the ideological spectrum (Norris 2004; Caul 1999).

However, within the researched countries it can still be noticed that these measures are incorporated mostly in the left-oriented political parties.

#### **5.4.3.1 Party quotas and active membership in the party organs**

Party quotas were introduced for the first time in Western Europe in socialist and social-democratic parties. According to Norris и Krook (2010) the character and type of soft quotas in the political parties is determined in accordance with the differences in interpretation, in the form of informal goals and recommendations, which determined and defined in this way also represent `actions of encouragement` and differ from the model of political engagement and selecting female candidates for political functions. The problem is most often focused in the gender differences regarding political ambitions on the one hand, and prejudices in the voting body within the dominant culture and society on the other hand. In this context, a lot of research proves the positive effect of quotas on the offer of female candidates in the political arena. Political parties as the impetus of these strategies in the intern programs have a special contribution in the activation of offered female capital, through soft quotas, strategies and gender equality plans. The legislative module of promotion contributes for the improvement of party policies and strengthening of capacities in terms of providing space within the party bodies, and later in the direction of promoting the offer of female candidates on the party lists for selection of candidates in the representative bodies. Legal measures for encouragement of political parties include public financing of political parties. Such is the example of Croatia where parties receive a 10% financial reimbursement for every candidate of the under-represented. This approach is especially important for the success of female candidates on the electoral lists (Norris and Krook 2010). In Macedonia, Serbia and Croatia, different factors influence the organizational development of political parties as organizations in the electoral arena, in their intern and public action. Especially important factors of influence in this direction are the parties` organizational development (bureaucratic, centralized, professionalized, internally hierarchal, and oligarchic) as well as the relation of the parties to the environment (setting). The transition from a solidarity system to a system of interests was reflected through the pragmatic approach towards the position of women in political parties, only to satisfy the personnel needs (Fink-Hafner, Krašovec, Deželan and Topolinjak 2011). Comparative analyses of the percent of presence of women in parliaments within European democracies and Balkan countries have shown a drop in the line of political presence, especially negative in the Balkan.

**Table 5.5: Gender differences in the political party membership in Serbia 2010**

RS	DS			SRS			DSS			LDP			G17 Plus		
	Women	Men	% of Women	Women	Men	% of Women	Women	Men	% of Women	Women	Men	% of Women	Women	Men	% of Women
<b>MALE/FEMALE PRESIDENT OF A PARTY</b>	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0
<b>MALE/FEMALE VICE-PRESIDENT</b>	1	4	20	N/A-	N/A	N/A	1	7		2	2	50	2	1	66.7
<b>PRESIDENCY</b>	5	28	20.3	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	5	40	11.1	5	7	41.7
<b>EXECUTIVE BOARD</b>	5	18		N/A	N/A	N/A	0	17	0	N/A	N/A	N/A	3	27	10
<b>EXECUTIVE BOARD – REGULAR MEMBERS</b>	8	40		N/A	N/A	N/A	21	159	11.7	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
	SPS			LSV											
	Women	Men	% of Women	Women	Men	% of Women									
<b>MALE/FEMALE PRESIDENT OF A PARTY</b>	0	1	0	0	1	0									
<b>MALE/FEMALE VICE-PRESIDENT</b>	0	1	0	1	2	33									
<b>PRESIDENCY</b>	N/A	N/A	N/A	2	6	33									
<b>EXECUTIVE BOARD</b>	3	35	7.9	6	9	40									
<b>EXECUTIVE BOARD – REGULAR MEMBERS</b>	0	1	0	0	1	0									
<b>MALE/FEMALE PRESIDENT OF THE EXECUTIVE BOARD</b>	1	3	20	0	1	-									

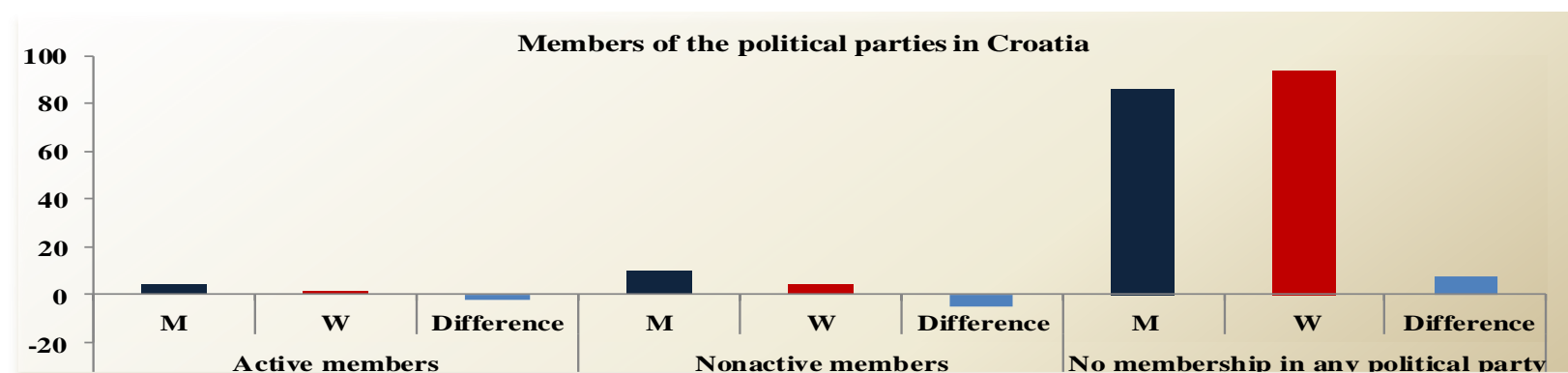
Source: Baćanović and Pajvančić 2010

**Table 5.6: Gender differences in the political party membership in Macedonia 2005**

MK	SDSM	DUI	LDP	PDP	LP	VMRO-DPMNE	DPA	SPM	OPERM	VMRO NARODNA	DA	DOM
<b>MALE/FEMALE PRESIDENT OF A PARTY</b>	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES
<b>VICE-PRESIDENT</b>	YES	YES	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO
<b>GENERAL SECRETARY</b>	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO		NO	NO
<b>% WOMEN COUNCILORS</b>	11	30	10.1	2 women	14.3	22	N/A	3.3	5		18.7	NO
<b>NUMBER OF WOMEN MAYORS</b>	NO	NO	1	NO	N/A	N/A	1	NO	NO	NO	1	NO
<b>WOMEN PRESIDENTS OF PARLIAMENT</b>	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES Deputy
<b>NUMBER OF WOMEN IN THE PARLIAMENT - 2006</b>	8	4	1	0	1	13	3	1	0	2	N/A	1
						YES						
<b>MEMBERSHIP %</b>	<b>38.3%</b>	<b>35%</b>	<b>37.8%</b>	N/A	<b>38.5%</b>	<b>52%</b>	<b>29%</b>	<b>30%</b>	N/A	N/A	<b>45.5%</b>	N/A

Source : DPGE MKD & UWOM 2005

**Figure 5.20: Gender differences in the political party membership in Croatia - 2005**



Source: Norris and Krook 2010.



According to the distribution of data, it is very characteristic with almost all political parties that regardless of their ideological matrix, the presence of women on high positions on the party is very low. This points to the fact that although party (voluntary) quotas do exist in certain political parties still the unsatisfactory percent of political presence of women in the governing organs of the party reduces them only to formal-declarative measures. *„...The political engagement of women is a very important indicator of the democracy in the country. So far in Macedonia politics has been accepted as a mainly male sphere. Dominant perceptions include the patriarchal rules and prejudices for women`s function and role within society. This undoubtedly leads towards patriarchal value matrix of behavior by political leaders in the selections, nomination and choice of female candidates for the elections ...MK 5,,*

After 1997 most of the political parties in Croatia introduced quotas for encouraging bigger presence of women in political structures (SDP – Social Democratic Party, HSLS – Croatian Social Liberal Party). SDP is among the first parties in Croatia to incorporate gender quotas on a voluntary basis within the party. However, despite the introduction of voluntary [party quotas in the electoral lists on the national elections 2004, SDP got very disappointing election results. At the same time the winning HDZ appointed a woman Deputy Prime Minister (Antić Gaber and Lokar 2006). This indicates the need of the party to act pragmatically in certain circumstances. Party quotas are introduced for the first time in Macedonia within SDSM after 1998. In Serbia this happened within The Social Democratic Party. Generally, these quotas are introduced by the left-oriented political parties despite the fact that in the researched countries it very difficult to make the distinction between left and right oriented parties. Before the introduction of legal electoral quotas in Macedonia, certain political parties had already introduced voluntary party quotas (SDSM, SDU, LDP, LP). In 1994 within SDSM, out of total 79 members in the Central Board only 10 were women. However, after the introduction of the 30% quota for women`s presence in management bodies, the number of women increased for 30%. It is very characteristic that in Macedonia, in the biggest right-oriented party VMRO-DPMNE there are a highest number of women within the party – 51%. This is due to the party interests during the period when it existed as an opposition for almost eight years, although women did not have any specific engagements in the higher positions of the party. The implementation of the policies for equal opportunities in Serbia represented a specific equilibrium of interwoven processes of social transition, increased unemployment, and lowered social role of the country. All of this led to a smaller presence of women in politics and in the public life in general, especially in relation to `feminization` of poverty, deprofessionalization, insecurity and misogyny in the public

discourse (Čičkarić 2003). *.....In Serbia there are a lot of challenges and debates regarding the introduction of quotas and their impact on political leaders, structures in the parties and especially in relation to creating candidate lists on the elections. However, the perception of distrust towards female candidates by party leaders is still dominant ...RS 4,,*

In all three researched countries there is a low level of women`s presence within the active membership of parties and on higher positions in party bodies despite the existence of party quotas within some of them. The reasons of the ineffectiveness of the voluntary party quotas is are a result of the discretionary, optional manner of implementation, as opposed to the legal electoral quotas. However, although the party quotas did not have any noticeable impact in the increase of the political presence of women in the higher decision-making party positions, they still helped to strengthen organized women`s bodies within political parties. Nevertheless, the positioning of women in lower party structures influences the nomination of candidates by political parties and election of female candidates. The situation has changed in Macedonia and Serbia after the implementation of quotas. However, in Croatia due to the Law on Equality envisages 40% quotas and gradual adaptation within three successive elections, it is evident that a lot of political parties (even the ones which include quotas in their party programs) do not meet the envisaged legal minimum (CESI 2007). This was reflected through a general drop in the total percent of elected women,.....*The political parties` attitude in the nomination of candidate lists is very radical, i.e. quotas are seen as a gift. It is especially important to emphasize the psychological moment of the dominant perception of political leaders in the selection of candidates. On the other hand, the behavior of political leaders is very often determined by the needs and conditions within the current political context....(HR 1),,*

**Table 5.7: Percent of elected women at the parliamentary elections/ in accordance with the political parties in RS, MK, HR**

SERBIA	2004				2008				2012			
	W		M		W		M		W		M	
	Number		%		Number		%		Number		%	
<b>Serbian Progressive Party</b>									23	42	65%	95%
SRS	5	77	6%	94%	14	63	18%	82%				
DSS	6	47	11%	89%	4	16	20%	80%	8	13	38%	62%
DS	5	32	14%	86%	19	64	23%	77%	17	34	33%	67%
G17plus	9	25	26%	74%	6	17	26%	74%				
SPO	2	20	9%	91%	0	4		100%	1	4	20%	80%
New Serbia	0	22		100%	3	6	33%	67%	3	5	38%	63%
SPS	1	21	4%	96%	1	10	9%	91%	9	15	38%	63%
SDP		1		100%	0	4		100%				
LDP					4	8	33%	67%	5	8	38%	62%
LSV					2	5	29%	71%				
PUPS					0	5		100%	4	8	33%	67%
Sandzak Democratic Party - SDPS					0	4		100%	3	6	33%	67%
Alliance of Vojvodina Hungarians					1	3	25%	75%	1	4	20%	80%
United Serbia					0	3		100%	1	6	14%	86%
Bosnian Democratic Party					0	1		100%				
Democratic Left of Roma					0	1		100%				
Democratic Union of Croats in Vojvodina					0	1		100%				
Party for Democratic Action					0	1		100%				
Movement of Veterans in Sebia					0	1		100%				
Social democratic Union					0	1		100%				
SLP Sandzak					0	1		100%				
United Regions of Serbia									6	10	38%	63%
Independent People`s Representatives									1	7	13%	88%
League of Social democrats Vojvodina									1	4	20	80

Source: Narodna skupstina (People`s Assembly) RS 2013.

MACEDONIA *(elected)	1998 Single member district				1998 Proportional representation lists				2002		2006		2008		2011	
	W	M	W	M	M	W	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M
Political party	Num.		%		Num.		%		Number							
SDSM	2	73	2.7	97.3	29	6	17.1	82.9	9	29	8	13	6	12	11	18
LDP	80	4	4.8	95.2	27	8	22.9	77.1	3	6	1	4	1	3	-	-
SP	48	8	14.3	85.7	30	5	14.3	85.7					1	2	1	1
VMRO-DPMNE	63	6	8.7	91.3	31	4	11.4	88.6	2	8	15	25	25	28	17	30
DA	8	1	11.1	88.9	26	9	25.7	74.3								
PDP	26	0	0	100	31	4	11.4	98.6								
PDPA (DPA)	13	0	0	100	-	-	-	-	0	7	1	10	0	5	1	7
DUI									1	14	2	11	4	14	5	8
LP									2	3	1	1	0	1	0	1
DOM													1	0	1	0

Sources: Собрание на РМ. 2012. (Assembly) МК; Државна Изборна Комисија на РМ 1998. Ristova Asterud. 2003.

CROATIA Political party	2003				2007				2012			
	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M
	Number		%		Number		%		Number		%	
SDP	12	18	21%	79%	13	18	12%	58%	21	39	35%	65%
HDZ	13	50	40%	60%	12	51	19%	81%	8	37	18%	82%
HNS	2	9	18%	82%	2	8	20%	80%	3	11	21%	79%
Croatian Peasant Party					1	8	11%	89%				
Croatian party of Rights					1	6	14%	86%				
HDSSB	1	8	11%	89%					0	6	0%	100%
Croatian Labor Party	1	6	14%	86%					1	5	17%	83%
HSU	0	3	0%	100%	0	3	0%	100%	1	2	33%	67%
IDS	1	3	25%	75%	1	3	25%	75%	0	3	0%	100%
SDSS	0	3	0%	100%	0	3	0%	100%	0	3	0%	100%
HSLs					1	1	50%	50%				
HGS	0	6	0%	100%					1	1	50%	50%
One representative party					2	18	10%	90%	1	8	11%	89%
Independent	1	13	7%	93%								

Source: DZS HR 2012

Regarding the nomination and selection of female candidates for the national elections the parties' role as 'gatekeepers' is extremely important in the selection process. This process was positively influenced by legal quotas in Macedonia and in Serbia. However, the process of women's positioning on higher decision-making posts is conditioned by the parties' ideological matrix and their pragmatic goals and interests.,.....*Although there are formal strategies for encouragement of women's presence and anti-discrimination in the party programs, still women are ranked only in lower positions on the parties' list of priorities. Very few efforts have been made to promote female candidates on high state functions. The nomination process is largely dependent on the position of female members with the party itself. Party programs deal with the role of women and female issues only formally and operationalization and realization of policies are still lacking. The only positive steps were the legal regulations introducing quotas for the under-represented gender. As a result of these measures there was an increase in the percent of elected women which is still only a numeric position . . . (MK 6),,*

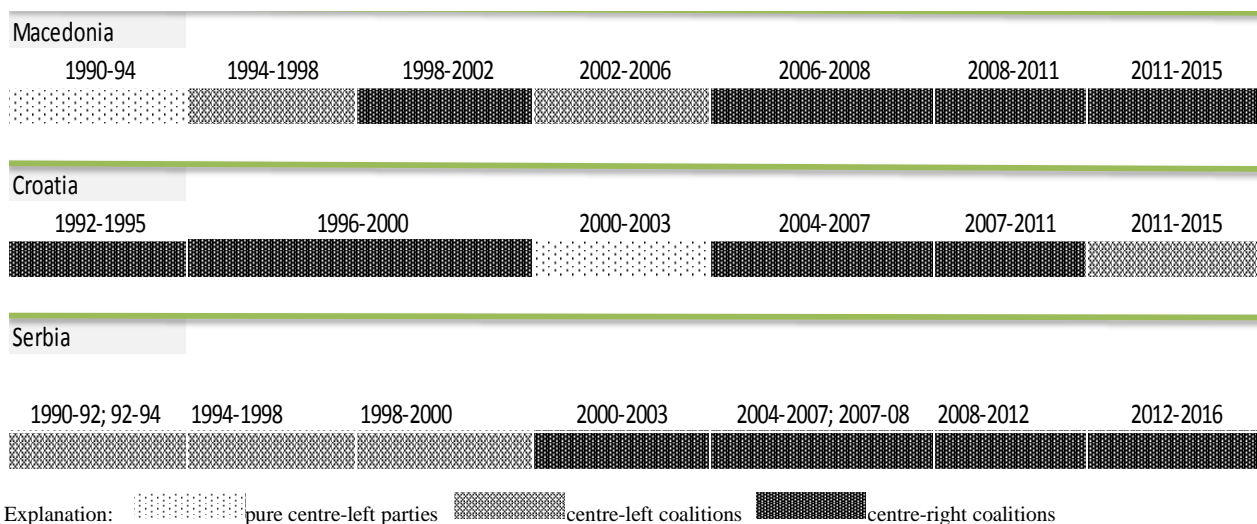
Although the number of political parties is the biggest in Serbia, in relation to the other researched countries, it can be noticed that they do not pay any special attention to the gender sensitive programs, which are very difficult to be realized even through measures for promoting women's presence in parties. The number of female candidate and elected women in the parliament increased due to the commencement of the EU integration process and the harmonization of the legislation in Serbia. As a result of the positive strategies and legal quotas the respective countries must nominate a minimum of women determined by the legal quotas for women's presence on candidate lists. Research shows negative support for female candidates by the party leaders in the selection and nomination (Matland 2005; Kunovich 2003). The political and cultural values, the voter's will and the social structure imposed a selective choice of candidates for the elections, with an evident male domination while female interests were most often fragmented within the party women's organizations (Fink-Hafner et al. 2011). The negative effect of the intraparty competition can be overcome by the introduction of electoral quotas on a national level which offer opportunities to increase the number of women (Krook 2009). These quotas are a result of the external factors regarding dissemination of public and political mechanisms for increasing political presence of women (Topolinjak 2009).

### **5.4.3.2 Ideological value matrix of political parties` movement**

The ideological division of political parties in contemporary democracies most often starts from the freedom and equality issues and priorities (Orlović 2011). Political break-ups, as well as structural and demographic matrixes are divided horizontally or vertically depending on the economic and social issues, holding a great similarity between them. According to Orlovik (2007) left-oriented parties are focused on horizontal dimension, equality and social justice regarding social changes, especially socioeconomic criteria and social policy. On the other hand, right-oriented parties are focused on vertical approach of accepting social nationalist, conservative and religious hierarchy. Still, within the transition countries break-ups are related to social stratification are not always the main correlates of left/right position in the party specter. There are different approaches of political parties regarding gender equality, depending on their orientation and position in the political specter. According to Pajvančić (2007) the basic criteria of ideological division of political parties are not always related to the gender equality approaches, i.e. vary often they depend on specific social circumstances, practical and current activities by the parties, electoral activities etc. Very often political parties find their level in relation to solving equability issues in conditions and developments of specific political needs. In the present case-studies, parties do not recognize women`s electorate as a separate population, i.e. they direct their activities to suit their needs. Women`s presence in parties` membership and management is still relatively low (the highest number of female members within political parties is noted in Macedonia with 50% in VMRO-DPMNE). The percent in the other Balkan countries moves to 30%. The number of women in management position within the political parties from the left wing, the right wing or the central parties is extremely low. Although generally there are intentions to increase the activities towards accepting policies for encouragement and promotion of political presence of women in the organs of the party, there are still no explicit activities in this direction. The organizational structures of the parties are still not directed towards continuous collaboration with the nongovernmental organizations, trade unions, and governmental bodies for equality beside the existence of organization of women members in forums and associations which are most often concentrated on charity causes, family care, domestic violence etc (Pajvančić 2007). It is characteristic that regarding gender equality issues certain parties, most often left-oriented or centre –left have special program documents (NSDP, DA, and DOM in MK; HSLs and HSP in HR). A very specific element in this context is the influence from the party programs and their orientation or adaptability towards

organizational structures, the ideological matrix and women`s movements and activities within the party (Antić Gaber 2001). According to Jalušić and Antić Gaber (2001), the left and centrist oriented parties (liberal, socialist, democratic and Green) are more inclined to include women in the political process than right-oriented parties (people`s parties, Christian parties, parties of free enterprise, etc.). There is no general division of parties in the researched countries into strictly left or strictly right parties i.e. so far all governments and parliamentary majorities which have been formed have consisted of equilibrium of parties ranging from centre-left or centre-right coalitions. There is a male dominance in the political parties which is not an exception from the overall picture from the whole region.

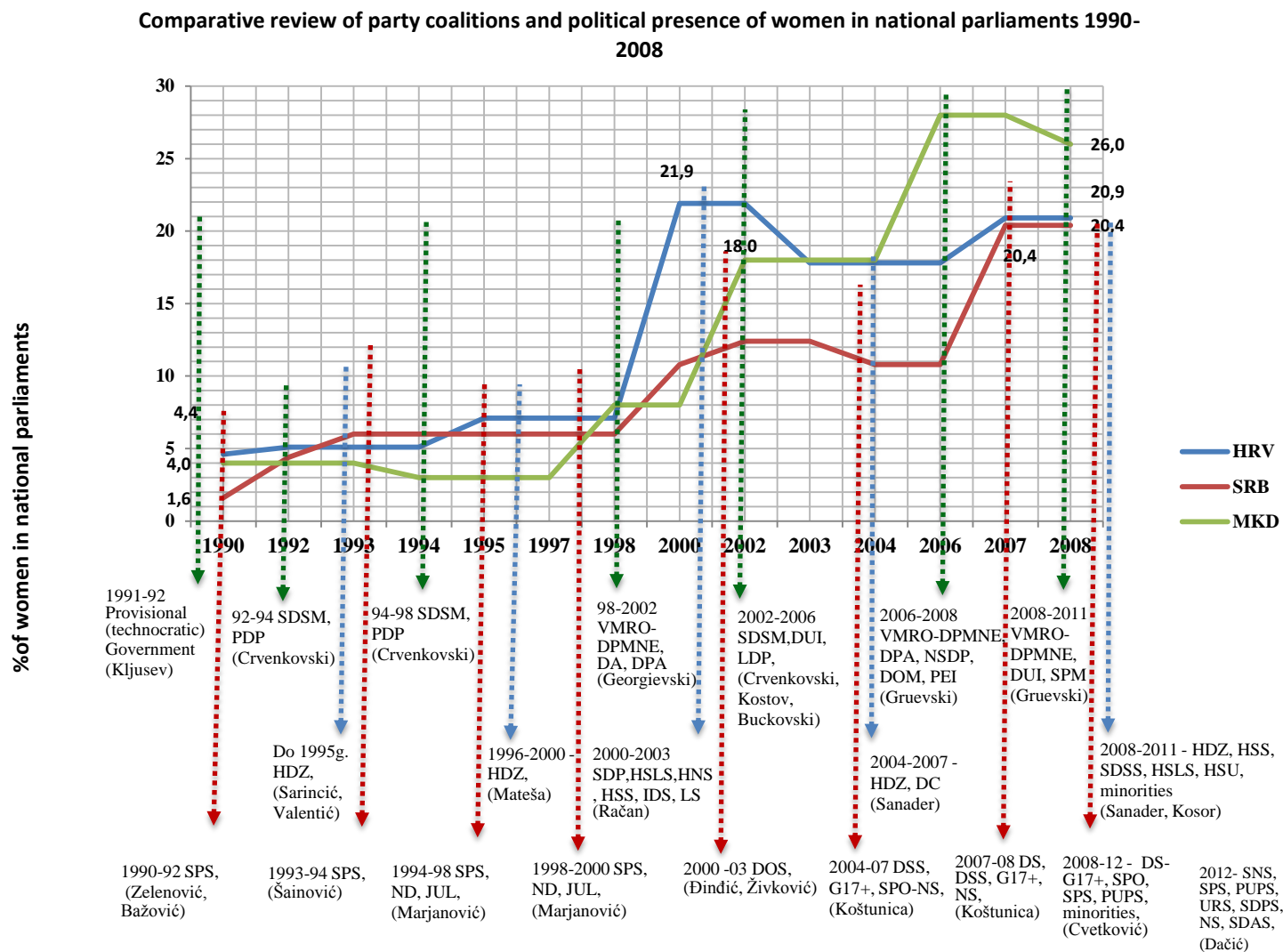
**Figure 5.21: Comparative view on party coalitions in the period from 1990 to 2015**



Sources: Fink-Hafner et al. 2005; Dobrotić 2012; Orlović 2011; De Winter Lieven 2003; Pribičević 2011; RZSS 2012.

It is characteristic that in both centre-left and right coalitions, the number of nominated women is only preconditioned by the need to fulfill the legal criterion and fill in the quota. Before these measures were introduced, there was an exceptionally low level of nominated women in almost all political parties in Macedonia.

Figure 5.22: Women's presence in individual party coalitions 1990-2008



Sources: Orlović 2011; Dobrotić 2012; De Winter Lieven 2003; Pribičević 2011; RZSS 2012.

Based on the review of the movement and changes in the governing elites of the researched countries, as well as the simulation of statistical data regarding the political presence of women in accordance with the time frame, it can be noticed that despite the bigger inclination of left-oriented coalitions and political parties, the numerical increase of elected women is still due to the positive institutional and legal changes (proportional electoral system, quotas) and also the developments in the selected time periods. In Croatia, for instance, after the ten-year ruling of HDZ, it was in 2000 after the victory of the coalition led by Račan (SDP, HSLs, HNS, HSS IDS, LS) as a centre-left party that the percent of elected women in parliament increased. This condition was mainly due to the nationalist and conservative policy of HDZ (Glaudić 2001). However, in the same period elections were conducted through



implementation of the proportional electoral system. Hence, the total effect from the political conditions and institutional changes which resulted in the increase of elected women within this (centre-left) coalition. On the other hand, in Macedonia positive changes happened after the introduction of normative solutions and institutional changes, firstly with the electoral system (combined) 1998, and then with the introduction of legal quotas 2002 when a centre-left government was elected. The situation in Serbia was mainly preconditioned by the general political condition and the war influence in the first ten years after SFRY's dissolution. After the fall of Milosevic and the change of government in Serbia with the democratic opposition - DOS (led by Zoran Đinđić, Zoran Živković) the changes in the political presence of women in the Serbian parliament ranging 3-4% in 2000, started following an upward trend. Visible positive changes in Serbia and in Macedonia were noticed in 2008, i.e. after the implementation of legal quotas. Regarding the ideological matrix and division to left-right or centre-left and centre-right party coalitions, it is noticeable that the intraparty processes for introduction of party quotas did show a certain motivation but without any significant effect. This is mainly due to the dominant value matrix in these societies and the political culture. The left-oriented parties are more open towards the acceptance of intraparty positive measures. In Croatia, for instance, the dominant ideology by HDZ as a right-oriented conservative party did not present any inclination towards quotas (Glaurdić 2001). On the other hand, the situation is within centre-left parties. Such is the example with SDP where due to the intraparty gender quotas policy the presence of women in the central committee increased from 40% to 50 out of 122 members in total (Glaurdić 2001). According to the Statute of HSLs party candidates for membership in the central committee must not be higher than 2/3 members from the same gender. Although the ideological matrix in Macedonia is not drastically different along the division line of left and right parties, still right parties prove to be more adaptable to gender measures (MK 7). *.....In Macedonia the left (social democratic) and centrist (liberal parties) are introducing more and more voluntary quotas for bigger presence of women within the party and its bodies, unlike the right (conservative, Christian Democratic, people's parties) where these quotas are less accepted....(MK 7).*

However, the real political presence was increased was a result of the positive integration and incorporation of the legal measures. The population's dominant perceptions are still a real problem, but also the attitudes of the political leaders towards the capability of women in political activities. The dominant opinion of the leaders of political parties states that the reasons for lower political presence of women lie in women themselves and their not showing

any interest in these functions (Leinert Novosel 2007). In Serbia, Macedonia, Croatia but in the region as well, there was a low level of party identification of voters due to the socialist heritage (Ishima, 2003). This approach was necessary bearing in mind that post-socialist heritage was most obvious in the identification of voters with the leaders of the party, and judgments were made on the bases of personal characteristics (such as gender) which was the main cause for the low level of trust in women leaders. This condition was a result of the transition period, the war influence, but most all of all the dominant perceptions which are still existent as an impetus in the creation of gender policies (Jalušić and Antić Gaber 2001). Generally, there is a low level of identification of women with politics in the researched case studies. In the period of transition and increase in the number and power of political parties, their influence on the political presence of women is a reflection of the modernization and pragmatic outlook on the position of women in politics (Fink-Hafner, Krašovec, Deželan and Topolinjak 2011). The needs of political parties as `gatekeepers` in relation to women`s political presence are more form a pragmatic point of view as opposed to the secondary meaning of the ideological and value matrix and the real political activism of women (Fink-Hafner et al. 2011).

### **5.5 Influence of external factors**

The influence of external factors on CEE is in the direction of post-socialist transformation, from different points of view, such as institutional development, change in the socialist legislation frame and creation of liberal democracies, market economy, stabilization, good practices policies... External factors of influence especially on the democratic development of countries are considered the following UN (1945), COE (1949) and EU ('58, 1993). All of these international or regional organizations have their influence whether it is through forms of pressure or in a voluntary manner of accepting policies (Baldez and College 2011). International indicators for women`s presence in political life and gender equality (WB indicators, EU indicators, CEDAW indicators)<sup>193</sup> established within the UN, Beijing platform 1995 and CEDAW have their influence on changes and they are incorporated in the national legislation of the researched countries.

Current empirical analysis in accordance with these indicators indicate a lower level of women`s presence in political life, depending on the level of democratic development, which is especially characteristic for the post-socialist countries. On the other hand, according to European

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<sup>193</sup>International indicators established within the UN, the Beijing platform 1995 and CEDAW – Convention on elimination all forms of discrimination against women adopted by the UN and incorporated in the researched countries` national legislation, Declaration and Platform for Action - *Beijing + 5 2000*

experiences, combined forms of pressure (bottom-up/top-down) have a positive influence on gender balance and women's presence in politics (Lovenduski 1999). The EU agenda for East European countries imposes conditions for adaptation and fulfillment of the criteria (first the Copenhagen criteria 1993) as obligatory for the candidate members through *acquis communautaire*. Given that the researched countries are not members of the Union, i.e. except Croatia which is expecting a membership in 2013 and which went through all membership phases and negotiations, Serbia and Macedonia are candidate members and have passed the phases of signing (CCA MK) 2000 and (SSP RS 2011), the coercive process took place in relatively different phases. The integration mechanisms for EU's accession of new members refer to institutional transformation, changes and transfer of public policies, legislative alterations, technical assistance, monitoring, council, pre-accession processes and negotiations (Grabbe 2002). Legal transposition *acquis* and harmonization of the national with EU legislation are necessary processes for the candidate members, which are conducted through horizontal and vertical harmonization (Radaelli 2003; Knill and Lehmkuhl 1999). Except the coercive forms of public policy transfer from EU or hard law transposition, the candidate members should also accept soft (voluntary) instrument for public policy transfer and good practices in order to achieve faster harmonization (Brusis 1998). In the researched countries the concept of Europeanization is very important, especially regarding the legal changes, institutional and public political models (changes imposed by transposition – hard law), recommendations or new models of so-called soft laws such as (OMC) which work in order to exchange and share good practices for promotion of gender balance, as opposed to the dominant political culture (Nordlund 2003; Krook 2004). Still the biggest changes in all case studies took place in the pre-accession phase. The Europeanization concept developed as a result of the national systems' processes of European integration, though modification and transfer of authorities on a supranational level, as well as convergence of the creation of politics within the union and the member states (Lombardo and Forest 2012) . This 'top-down' approach does not represent a simple reflection of the Europeanization effects,<sup>194</sup> but also encouragement of bottom-up processes. According to Radaelli (2004) Europeanization is not only convergence, i.e. the state itself can have a different respond to Europeanization in different ways depending on the political environment, the constellation of relations between political actors and resources.<sup>195</sup>

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<sup>194</sup> As opposed to top-down or EU's influence on the national systems, sociological and discursive approaches to the Europeanization concept (changes and adaptation), are a lot more complex than the simple reaction towards EU (Radaelli 2004).

<sup>195</sup> Radaelli (2003, 2004), focuses on paradigms, ideas and good practices for understanding the cognitive dimensions of Europeanization. The European Union creates a cognitive and normative frame of socialization on national actors which will continue to exchange ideas, power and policies (Radaelli 2004).

### 5.5.1 International and supranational actors – Macedonia

One of the most significant documents which is a basic legal frame in the field of equal opportunities between men and women in Macedonia, but also Croatia and Serbia as well, is the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW). As a successor of the former SFRY, Macedonia became part of this Convention 1991 when the country accepted the binding obligation in front of the international community. Macedonia signed the facultative protocol of this Convention in 2000, and ratified 2003, with which it recognized the authority of the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women, and allows citizens the right to address the Committee in case of violation of any of the rights established by the Convention. According to Article 7 from the Convention<sup>196</sup> in the Macedonian legislation analysis show that there is a legal basis for equality among citizens in the political and public life, in relation to electoral laws, women's right to vote to be elected in all bodies elected through public elections<sup>197</sup>. Violating the right to vote is sanctioned by the Criminal Code.<sup>198</sup> The adoption of the Electoral Code was extremely important in accordance with the regulations from the Convention and in order to achieve bigger number of women in the political life. In 2005 Macedonia prepared and delivered a report (first, second and third) to the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women in the UN for the progress made in the fulfillment of CEDAW's regulations. At the same time, the nongovernmental sector delivered two shadow reports. The UN Committee expressed their positive attitude in the final comments, in relation to the legislative and institutional changes. However, at the same time they emphasized a range of areas they are concerned about, especially regarding women's political presence and they asked the country to respond to this in the following reports. Also, Macedonia is obligated to work on the fulfillment of the Millennium

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<sup>196</sup>Article 7 from the Convention refers to women's participation in political and public life i.e. "Member states conduct all appropriate measures for elimination of discrimination against women in public and political life in the country, and especially they are obliged to provide equal rights between men and women to: a) vote on all elections and public referendums and the right to be elected in all bodies which are elected through public elections; b) to participate in the creation and implementation of government policies and to hold management position as well as to perform all public functions on all level of government; c) to participate in the work of nongovernmental organizations and associations dealing with public and political life in the country.

<sup>197</sup> Each citizen of 18 years of age has the right to vote. This right is equal for all citizens and can be exercised through free elections with secret voting. Regarding women's participation in public functions, according to the Constitution and the laws in RM, all citizens have the right to participate in public functions. Regarding the role and influence of the non-governmental sector (Article 7 from the Convention) in Macedonia freedom of association is guaranteed with Article 20 from the Constitution (Citizens are guaranteed freedom of association for the purpose of fulfilling and protecting their political, economic, social, cultural and other rights and beliefs) and with the Law on Civil Associations and Foundations (Сл. Весник на РМ 31/1998) which envisages elimination of discrimination on the basis of gender. In the Republic of Macedonia there are several national networks and a bigger number of women non-governmental organizations which work in the field of improvement of gender relations. They function as "umbrella" organizations which are characterized with wide membership and larger number of branches connected with the central organization such as for instance the Organization of women in Macedonia (OWM) Union of Women's Organizations of Macedonia (UWOM). Nongovernmental organizations direct their influence towards government structures, and very often they are in the position of law nominators, and nominators of amendments and alterations of certain laws in order to improve women's positions.

<sup>198</sup> The following are considered criminal acts against elections and voting: Prevention of elections and voting; Violation of the right to vote; Violation of the freedom of citizens' orientation; Bribe during the elections and voting; Violations of the secrecy of the voting..

development goals brought by the United Nations, i.e. to provide complementarity of domestic policies and international obligations. With the signing of the Beijing platform and the Action plan, as strategic documents adopted by the International women's conference held in Beijing 1995, the countries - participants took the obligation to respect the Platform and the Action plan and to act according to the fundamental principles in the formulation of their own national strategies and plans (Declaration and Platform for Action - *Beijing + 5 2000*). Therefore, the government brought the first National action plan for gender equality (NAPGE MK) in 1999. The bases of the NAPGE are the Beijing platform, CEDAW, the Milenium development goals, and the onbligations coming from the harmonization process and EU integration, as well as some other international obligations. *.....Despite the adoption of imposed policies as a result of international pressure, as opposed to the formal basis in Macedonia there is a need for consistent implementation of the laws, especially the Law on Equal Opportunities. There are still not any intensive activities and practices to encourage equal presence of both genders in the decision-making structures such as Government bodies, Comissions, Delegations in international organizations etc. If we take into consideration that citizen's awareness and the dominant culture are not adaptable to the promotion of women's political presence in the decision-making structures and public life it can be concluded that there is still a lack of positive strategies not only regarding electoral laws and presence in parliament but also within Government bodies. Also within the political parties women's positions serve to fulfill only legal obligations and there are not any forms of a real need for integrating women. Actually, after the changes in the legislation in Macedonia as a result of external pressure, changes can be generally seen in the increase of the percent of women in politics. However, all of this is merely a declarative form of figures and pragmatic need of the political actors, as opposed to realistic presence of women in political developments.... (MK 6),.*

In relation to the measures by the Council of Europe, in 1997 Macedonia ratified the European Convention on the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms (ECHR-1950)<sup>199</sup> and the protocol towards ECHR in 2004 and accepted the Recommendations by the Council<sup>200</sup> regarding gender equality policies.

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<sup>199</sup> In its basic provisions this convention states that the rights and freedoms established in the Convention will be fulfilled without discrimination regarding gender, race, color, national and social background, political and religious orientation, and social position. The protocol enables genderal discriminaiton against all forms of discrimination and strenghtens and extends the existing anti-discrimination, included in Article 14 from the European Convention on the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms. The Republic of Macedonia ratified Protocol No 12 on 13/07/2004.

<sup>200</sup> Recommendations for the member states in the Council of Euirope form the Committee of Ministers Recommendations: - Recommendation No.R (85)2 on legal protection against sexual discrimination; - Recommendation No. R (96)5 on reconciling work and family life; - Recommendation No.R (98)12 on gender mainstreaming; - Recommendations accepted by the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe: - Recommendation 1229 (1994) on equal rights between men and women; - Recommendation 1269 (1995) on achieving real progress in women's rights from 1995; - Recommendation 1413 (1999) on equal representation in political life.

### 5.5.2 International and supranational actors - Serbia

External pressure regarding the normative and institutional changes in Serbia is expressed as a result of the integration processes towards EU on the one hand, and on the other hand through the need to incorporate international standards for human rights according to the Conventions and Declarations regarding gender equality within the UN. Serbia has been a signatory of CEDAW since 2001, after the change in the political regime (although MK and HR as well) and the current FRY (1992) accepted as binding all international agreements ratified by SFRY (SL SFRY MU 11/1981), incorporating them in the national legislation, on a higher level in the law<sup>201</sup> (BCHR 2000). Despite CEDAW's importance in regard to the establishment of gender balance, it is still not applied directly in court practice, i.e. it is not suggested as a resource of the right to eliminate any discrimination against women, and the country does not accept enough active measures for it to be established as a binding instrument for the protection of human rights (AICK 2007).<sup>202</sup> „..... Despite CEDAW's great importance in the establishment of gender balance in the decision-making structures, in Serbia there are no legal measures for the violation of the Convention's regulation, i.e. the country does not take any active measures for its becoming a binding instrument for the protection of human rights, (RS 4).

In relation to the Council of Europe, Serbia has ratified 33 conventions, among which the European Convention on Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms ratified in 2003 (Сл. Гласник СЦГ - МУ (International Agreement) 9/2003, 5/2005, 7/2005).

### 5.5.3 International and supranational actors - Croatia

The ratification of the Convention on Elimination of All forms of Discrimination against Women was signed by Croatia in 1992. With the ratified protocol towards the Convention of the UN 2001 it accepted the obligation to conduct the Convention and the supervision by the the Committee on Elimination of All forms of Discrimination against Women within UN (NPGE 2011). Since 1997 Croatia has submitted a Report on the promotion of gender equality every five years to the Convention and National plans for gender equality (National memorandum of the Republic of Croatia, 6th European Ministerial Conference on equality between women and men, Stockholm, 2006). Regarding international documents, there is the International convention on

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<sup>201</sup> Beside the Convention (CEDAW), regarding international documentation, Serbia ratified the International pact for civil and political rights (SL SFRY MU (International Agreement) 7/71), The International pact for economic, social and cultural rights (SL SFRY MU 7/71), The Convention on elimination on all forms of discrimination, The Convention on the rights of children, Beijing Declaration and the Action platform adopted on the world women's conference in Beijing 1995 and the Millennium development goals of the UN 2000.

<sup>202</sup> Glas razlike from Serbia 2007

civil and political rights from 1997, General declaration by UN for human rights International pact for civil and political rights providing equal political and civil rights of both men and women, the International pact for economic, social and cultural rights (inherited through succession) which are obligatory and are a part of the national legislation (NN - MU 12/93). Beijing action platform<sup>203</sup> accepted in 1995, and in 1997 European Convention on the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms<sup>204</sup> (NN – MU 2/94; NN – MU No. 6/95).

*„.....Beside the formal and legal predisposition of the country towards incorporation of the Convention`s provisions, still real changes in Croatia`s legislation were noticeable in the pre-accession phase during EU integration. These changes were in relation to the antidiscrimination laws, Law on Gender Equality, and introduction of legal quotas for promotion of women`s political presence in parliament. Still, real articulation of women`s interests is not satisfactory. This is mainly due to the dominant perceptions of citizens regarding the role of women in the private sphere. It can be concluded that even beside the presence of women in certain areas of government (especially after the fall of Kosovo to the position of the country`s Prime Minister) it is still due to party interests in certain political developments and periods. The biggest impact in the improvement off the conditions in this aspect in formal sense was brought by transposition laws, while in the realistic surrounding the role of the non-governmental sector is especially important ....(HR 3).*

#### **5.5.4 Positive integration and cognitive Europeanization**

##### **5.5.4.1 EU influence and adoption of equal opportunities policies – MK, RS, HR**

The basic initial action in order to upgrade national legislations in the researched countries is the need to harmonize national legislation with European legislation, in line with the integration and EU accession. From the point of view of gender equality, the positive integration through hard law pressure (transposition) is very important, especially regarding working conditions and gender balance. The integration processes and flow of the new member states in EU are procedurally and substantially conditioned by political estimations of member states and the Union`s institutions (Rodin 1997). Serbia commenced the negotiation and accession process in 2005. However, due to the fact that it did not fulfill the collaboration criterion with the Hague tribunal, it signed the Stabilization and Association Agreement in 2008 (SSP RS) which was enforced in 2010. Unlike Macedonia and Croatia, Serbia became a candidate member much later, in 2012 (Government of RS, European Integration Office 2012) which triggered the process of changes in legislations. In Macedonia these processes began after the signing of (CCA MK) 2000, ratified in 2004. Macedonia received a candidate status in 2005 (Секретаријат за

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<sup>203</sup> Beijing action platform established in Beijing on the forth world women`s conference as a plan for promotion of women, the purpose of which was to remove all obstacles preventing women from being a part of all parts of public and private life through a full and equal participation in social, cultural and political decision-making.

<sup>204</sup> All members of Great Europe parties are in this convention, and the new states were expected to ratify it in the shortest period possible.

Европски прашања на РМ 2013). Macedonia has still not received negotiation data due to the name dispute with Greece (EC - Bilateral relations- The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, 4 June 2008). Regarding European integration processes Croatia has developed faster in relation to the other countries. The Stabilization and Association Agreement<sup>205</sup> (SSA HR) was signed in 2001, it got the candidate member status in 2004, and the accession negotiations began in 2005. In 2011 Croatia signed the Accession treaty and it is expected that in 2013 it will receive the status of a member state in the EU (Ministry of Foreign and European affairs, negotiations on Croatia`s accession to EU). Changes have been made in the legislation regarding adoption of equal opportunities policies in all three countries, according to the Copenhagen criteria for EU accession. In Serbia, the Gender Equality Act was brought (Сл. Гласник РС 104/2009); the General Anti-discrimination Law (Сл. Гласник РС 22/2009) within which all forms of discrimination are included (defining, prevention and sanctioning) as one of the preconditions for stabilization and association in EU, according to the EU Directives regarding economic and social issues (75/117/EEC; 76/207/EC; 2000/78/EC). Also, a National Strategy was adopted for improvement of women`s position and promotion of gender equality (Сл. Гласник РС 15/2009) 2009-2015, which starts from the criteria for incorporating normative solutions and adoption of gender equality policies in political life, according to (CEDAW), than CE Recommendations and National program for EU integration (2009). Changes were made in the national legislation through the introduction of 30% quotas for the under-represented gender in electoral laws on a local level (Сл. Гласник РС 33/2002; Сл. Гласник РС 42/2002; Сл. Гласник РС 100/2003, Article 20-45), provincial (Сл. лист АПВ 12/04) and national level (Сл. Гласник РС 18/2004, Article 40). It can be noticed that the dynamics of development of the legal frame in Serbia is developing more slowly than Macedonia and especially than Croatia. This is mainly due to the long transition processes, war conflicts and unrests. Regarding the Copenhagen and Madrid criteria Macedonia harmonized its legislation in accordance with the EU directives<sup>206</sup>, recommendations<sup>207</sup> and resolutions<sup>208</sup> for

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<sup>205</sup> Stabilization and Association Agreement of R.Croatia and European community and their member states), than Directives regarding gender equality and *Strategy for equality between men and women 2010. – 2015. European Commission* and cooperation with the European institute for gender equality.

<sup>206</sup> Directives transposed in domestic legislation.

- 75/117/EEC – Directive relating to the application of the principle of equal pay for men and women;  
- 76/207/EC - on the implementation of the principle of equal treatment for men and women as regards access to employment and vocational training - 2000/78/EC – Directive establishing a general framework for equal treatment in employment and occupation; - 97/80/EC – Directive on the burden of proof in cases of discrimination based on gender; - 92/85/EEC-Directive on the protection of pregnant women; - 2004/113/EC- Directive implementing the principle of equal treatment between men and women in the access to and supply of goods and services;

- 2000/43/EC Directive on implementing the principle of equal treatment between persons irrespective of racial or ethnic origin; - 2002/73/EC-Directive amending Directive; - 76/207/EEC Directive on the implementation of the principle of equal treatment for men and women as regards access to employment, vocational training and promotion, and working conditions.

<sup>207</sup> Recommendation 96/694/EC on the balanced participation of women and men in the decision-making process; - Recommendation 84/635/EEC on the promotion of positive action for women; Recommendation 92/131/EEC on the protection of the dignity of men and women at work; Recommendation 87/567/EEC on vocational training of women.



equal opportunities for men and women subject to transposition in domestic legislation. At the same the Union evaluates the condition and achieved progress in annual reports for the progress of the reforms and accession. In 2007 the National plan for adopting EU legislation (NPAEUL MK) for the period 2007-2010, in which all measures, activities, documents, institutional arrangements and budget funds are explicitly described. Through them the planned priorities will be achieved and also EU accession, within which is also gender equality (NPAEUL MK 2007-2010).

According to the last Report of the European Commission for the progress and accession of Croatia in the Union, Croatia has made a significant progress in the field of legal solutions, acts and government policies for promoting gender equality (NPGE 2011). A very important part is women's presence in politics envisaged in (NPGE), introducing gender equality in the public policy and anti-discrimination legislation. However, EU emphasizes certain disadvantages in relation to anti-discrimination legislation, which are confirmed with the 2009 research (conducted on a representative sample of 1363 respondents, according to which 63% are not informed or believe that gender discrimination is not legally dealt with) ('Perception, experience and attitudes regarding gender discrimination in the Republic of Croatia'; Gender equality Office of the Government of Croatia 2011). These data indicate the need to further raise the awareness of the public in relation to gender-sensitive issues (Leinert Novosel 2009).

Regarding the processes of cognitive Europeanization such as the concept of the Union or approaches starting from the cognitive dimension, beliefs and expectations of domestic actors, leading to change of preferences and strategies, as well as exchange of good practices between member states (Caporaso 1999) due to the fact that the researched states are still not members of the Union there is not a tendency to rely on these good practices recommendations (MK 2; HR 4; RS 4; RS 1). On the other hand the introduction of quotas for the under-represented gender and promotion of gender balance of men and women in national parliaments. The analysis of the interviews shows that in all three countries the biggest changes refer to legislation and come from the transposition laws for promotion for equal opportunities and the introduction of anti-discrimination legislation. These changes refer to the institutional frame as well and the establishment of Equal Opportunities Commissions in the countries. However, all of these changes are made as a result of EU's pressure of positive integration regarding the integrative

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<sup>208</sup> Resolution (95/C 296/06) from 05.10.1995 on the image of women and men portrayed in advertising and the media;  
- Resolution (85/C 166/1) from 1985 containing and action program on equal opportunities of men and women in education.

Declarations:

Declaration from 19.12.1991 on the implementation of the Commission recommendation on the protection of the dignity of women and men at work including the rules for protection against sexual harassment;

processes, while real cognitive integration is still not noticeable (HR 1).

Within the Union, gender equality as mutual value is envisaged by the European commission (EC) by the *Roadmap for equality between men and women*, for the period 2006-2010, As well as the Lisbon agenda for achieving a balanced economic and social development and providing equal opportunities and rights for men and women in all spheres. Under the influence of the second wave of feminism<sup>209</sup> (Nedelsky 2011) the purpose of the global strategy `gender mainstreaming<sup>210</sup> is to reorganize, develop and strengthen society as a whole in relation to the gender equality perceptions. The concept `gender mainstreaming` was accepted on the Forth Wordl Conference in Beijing, as well as with the Beijing action platform 1995 which envisaged integration processes for gender perspectives in all parts of society (Daly 2005). In EU this concept is part of the soft policy, so its implementation is conducted mainly through OMC and respect and good practices exchange (Walby 2004; Woehl 2007). Regarding soft laws and the exchange of good practices there is a low level of response and application (HR 1).

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<sup>209</sup> See pg.27

<sup>210</sup> The adopted definition by the Council of Europe refers to (re)organization, improvement and development of gender equality on all political elvels by all involved creators and actors in politics, inclusion on all levels in public life and all level of social life. Gender equality contributes for a system reaction relating to imporivement fot he society in general (Gender Equality Division, Directorate General of Human Rights and Legal Affairs,Council of Europe)

**Table 5.8: Influence by international and supranational actors**

	MACEDONIA	SERBIA	CROATIA
<b>INTERNATIONAL ACTORS</b>			
<b>CEDAW</b>	Adopted 1991 Reports after the Convention (YES) NPGE – 1999 Unit for the Promotion of Gender Equality (МТСП МКД 1997) Positive influence: YES Implementation: Not complete	Adopted 2001 Reports (YES, but in 2007) NSIPW (Сл. Гласник РС 15/2009) Positive influence: YES Implementation: Not complete	Adopted 1992 Reports after the Convention (YES) (NPGE ) 2001 – 2005 each 5 years Committee on the elimination of all forms of discrimination 2001 Equality Committee in the Croatian Parliament 2001 Positive influence: YES Implementation: Not complete 2001
<b>Facultative protocol CEDAW</b>	2003	2002	
<b>Beijing</b>	1995	1995	1995
<b>COE – ECHR</b>	1997	2003	1997
<b>Rec (2003) 3</b>	2002 EQ	2004 EQ	2008 EQ – Gradual adjustment within the following three successive national elections
<b>EU – POSITIVE INTEGRATION/ COGNITIVE EUROPEANIZATION - OMC</b>			
<b>EU hard law</b>	<b>(CCA MK) 2000</b> <b>Influence: YES</b> <b>Transposition: YES, current</b> 2006 ЛЕО (Сл. Весник на РМ 66/2006) LEO ( Сл. Весник на РМ 117/2008) – adapting discrimination and harmonization definitions with (2002/73/EC) Law on Prevention of Discrimination under (EC 97/80) – 2010 ( Сл. Весник на РМ 50/2010) LEO Сл. Весник на РМ 6/2012) Prevention of discrimination, employment, maternity leave Commission on Equal Opportunities within the Assembly – 2006 ( Сл. Весник на РМ 66/2006) Department for Equal Opportunities (МТСП МКД 2007) Equal Opportunities Coordinators within all ministries( Сл. Весник на РМ 6/2012)	<b>(SSP RS) 2010</b> <b>Influence: YES</b> <b>Transposition: YES, current</b> 2009 - GEA ( Сл. Гласник РС 104/2009) General anti-discrimination law - 2009 ( Сл. Гласник РС 22/2009) Gender equality council, Government - 2003 ( Сл. Гласник РС 13/2003) Gender Equality Committee within People`s Assembly - 2003 (Сл. Гласник РС 57/2003) Gender Equality Committee within the Assembly of AP Vojvodina – 2005 Department for Gender Equality – 2007 ( Сл. Гласник РС 44/2007); Gender Equality Directorate - 2008 ( Сл. Гласник РС 65/2008) (МИНРЗС СРБ 2008)	<b>(SSP HR) 2001</b> <b>Influence: YES</b> <b>Transposition: YES</b> 2003 - GEA (NN 116/2003) Anti-discrimination Act - 2008 (NN 85/08) 2008 – GEA / Within the Gender Equality Act which obliges political parties as nominators of the lists to act according to the Law - (NN 82/08) 40% for elections on all levels Gender Equality Ombudsman 2003 Government Office for Gender Equality 2004 Coordinators on Gender Equality within state administration 2004 ( NPGE) 2006-2010; ( NPGE ) 2011-2015
<b>EU soft law</b>	2002 (Сл. Весник на РМ 42/2002; Сл. Весник на РМ 46/2004) 30% quota 2004 (Сл. Весник на РМ 35/2004) 30% quota and opportunities to be nominated in the upper and lower part of the list Electoral code – 2006 (Сл. Весник на РМ 40/2006) (for each three places on the list at least one is reserved for the under-represented sex) 30% quota is envisaged in the electoral organs ( Сл. Весник на РМ 40/2006 Ar. 21, par. 3)	Electoral law on a local level – 2002 ( Сл. Гласник РС 33/02) 30% quota Electoral law on a provincial level – 2004 ( Сл. лист АПВ 12/04) 30% quota Electoral law on a national level – 2004 ( Сл. Гласник РС 18/04) 30% quota	2008 – GEA (NN 82/08) 40% quota for elections on all elvels Gradual adaptation during the next three successive national elections since the day of enforcement

*In all three countries it is evident that there is no influence from cognitive Europeanization due to the fact that they are still not member states in the Union. The basic form of pressure is directed towards hard laws, while in the creation of national public policies due to the pressure from the hard law there is reliance on the soft law – OMC with gender perspectives in the creation of policies for balanced presence of men and women in national parliaments, as well as regarding the employment policy. In Croatia there is planned avoidance of the implementation of GEA's provisions, i.e. prolongation of the implementation of sanctions during three successive elections (HR 1).*

## 6 CONCLUSION - POSITIVE/NEGATIVE IMPACT OF INDIVIDUAL VARIABLES

In order to determine the type and intensity of influence of each variable and its positive or negative impact, in the theoretical part we began from model of domination of socio-cultural factors as opposed to institutional factors in all three case studies. Due to the fact that the countries which are a subject of research in the present dissertation have a relatively similar democratic development, culture and traditions, the intensity of institutional changes regarding encouragement of women's political presence took place in relatively the same time dynamics. According to theoretical findings, a lot of researchers (Hughes 2011; Biquelet, Weale, Bara 2012; Burnet 2011) point to the positive influence of institutional factors, the political strategies such as electoral and voluntary quotas on the promotion of bigger presence of women in politics. In all three researched countries, the change of majority to proportional electoral system had a positive effect especially after the introduction of electoral quotas.<sup>211</sup> This was very typical of Serbia where political developments imposed a negative trend of the situation, especially due to the influence of war as a factor. In Croatia, the influence from the proportional system was reflected through a bigger percent of political presence of elected women in 2000. However, it has been taken into consideration that the same elections brought a change of the government of HDZ as a center-right coalition. The change of the electoral system in Macedonia took place together with the incorporation of electoral quotas, which contributed for increasing the number of women on the parliament elections 2002. After the legal changes and introduction of positive strategies and legal quotas, there was a positive change in the three case studies. However, the presence of women in political decision-making position, especially in executive government is either non-existent or in certain cases is a result of the pragmatic need of the political parties (personal connections), which does not allow representation of women's voting body. The effect from legal gender quotas as well as from the electoral systems, in the empirical analyses show a significant influence in positive direction regarding the political presence of women at least in a certain percent (legally predetermined). The real inclusion of women's interests in decision-making processes is still determined by existing dogmas and dominant perceptions for the success of men in politics as opposed to women (see figure 5.16). Perhaps political parties have the key role due to their function of recruiters of women nominations on the one hand,

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<sup>211</sup> Some researchers point to the fact that quotas do not necessarily mean affirmative influence. A typical example of non-adaptability of electoral quotas was Lithuania where they were never fully realized.

ideological value matrix on the other hand and implementation of practices regarding the gender concept on the other hand, as well as program orientation and party quotas for promotion of women`s political presence in party bodies and positions. As a result of positive strategies, political parties nominated a certain number of female candidates on the electoral lists. However, it is still evident that gender prejudices and the political culture regarding the position of women in political life in general are present in different modalities within all three case studies. Socio-cultural factors come from historical and political conditions, culture, religion and dogmas expressed as dominant perceptions in society. The slow economic growth, low production level, high unemployment level, index of poverty, social dissatisfaction as well as the influence of war lead towards lack of substantial legitimacy of governmental institutions. This was immediately reflected on women`s position and their presence in political life which saw a drastic drop to the level of complete exclusion (Đurić-Kuzmanović 2002). In conditions of economic problems and misogynic cultural stereotypes<sup>212</sup> a certain number of gender equality was partly achieved mainly as a result of international obligations and pressure “from the top - to the bottom”, as well as the pressure in societies especially from the non-governmental sector and female organizations. Hereby, main determinants for women`s position in post-socialist countries is their constant struggle with difficulties in the incorporation and especially in the fulfillment of the positive European standards, on the one hand and the inheritance from the old system on the other hand (Cowles, Caporaso and Risse 2001). EU`s policies are directed to influence on the tradition with introducing good practices, regarding gender balance and equality in all areas of the social life. As candidate members all three countries conducted changes in their national legislations under the pressure of the integration processes, through transposition of laws and fulfillment of recommendations. Although in Croatia, Macedonia and later in Serbia as well the integration processes towards the EU resulted in legislative and institutional changes which have positive influence in relation to the increase in the number of women in national parliaments, the analyses still show that this percent does not satisfy the criteria of presence, i.e. it comes down to mere numeric increase. Despite the general positive effect from the institutional changes they are still in the shadow of the dominant culture in all three countries. The development and success of the positive influence from the factors of institutional engineering, depends on the real pressure on party elite regarding the incorporation of their

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<sup>212</sup> Misogyny – hatred towards women

internal and external politics as well as intraparty and extraparty activists in relation to gender equality (Antić Gaber 2011). It can be concluded from the analyses that cultural factors and the dominant value matrix overshadow institutional facts. For instance, in Macedonia despite the introduction of quotas in 2002, women were still ranked on lower positions on candidate lists, until changes were made in the EC 2006 which introduced the rules for ranking. However, this is indicative of forced emancipation. „...*It is generally concluded that women are less included in government, i.e. have a minimal real decision-making power. Women`s presence is marginalized in the higher decision-making position. Women`s presence in the RM in the governments from 1990 until today ranges from 2 to 4. The state needs to undertake special measures for changing the negative attitude of women working in politics (MK 7).* Unblocked lists in Serbia provide change in the order of candidates who will win seats in the parliament. On the last elections in 2011 Croatia still did not have 40% candidates from the under-represented gender due to the prolonged adaptation period given to the parties in order to implement legal changes during the following three successive elections. All of this points to the negative influence of cultural factors because dominant perceptions in the Western Balkans mainly place the woman within the home and family or indicate ideals of womanhood in the private sphere (see table 5.3). The researched case studies as transition states, as in many other post-socialist countries signalize patriarchal relations between men and women (HR 2). This points to women`s roles as mothers and caretakers which represents a barrier to political representation in post-socialist patriarchal cultures against affirmative action policies. Current research shows preconditioning political presence of women by the country`s economic growth, mainly in the form of increased female activism and with it changes in the population`s awareness regarding the role of women in the public sphere in society. During their analyses of rich nations some researchers raised the dilemma of their causal connection to women`s political presence in general, emphasizing the reverse proportionality of these interests. Viterna, Fallon and Beckfield (2007) for instance, during the testing of the model of conditioning raise the exact question ,Why do poor nations like Guyana and Mozambique have some of the highest levels of female representation in the world, while other poor nations like Papua New Guinea and Haiti have some of the lowest?.,. They offer several suggestions which can be connected to the ruling regime and ideological matrix in society.....,Most centrally, we find that, when controlling for the four Marxist-Leninist regimes, democratic freedoms are significantly associated with increases in women`s political representation in developing nations.....(Viterna et al. 2007). In the three case studies in the present dissertation the

transitional context is especially important which was not only reflected in the economic but also in the political and the overall democratic development. The role of the dominant culture in the culture is also very important. The connection process of these variables in all three countries was moving very slowly regarding economic and political aspect. The comparative analysis of the statistical data (see figure 3.1) indicates proportional trend of economic and democratic development which has very small influence on the changes in women's political presence, because specific changes were noticed even after the legislative and institutional changes. The education of women is also very significant in relation to bigger presence of women in public life. The patriarchal value matrix and perception of gender roles in society is preconditioned by the level of education. Education is the main factor during the creation of perceptions with the population. „... *A real problem is the issue of independence women have in the decision-making process of voting. the following are seen as obstacles preventing women from fulfilling their right to vote: tradition (family voting in the Albanian ethnic community), poor economic conditions of some women (poor economic conditions/ ignorance leading to a certain apathy or a belief that their vote does not make any difference), low level of education of some women preventing them from fulfilling their right to vote...*(MK5). CPRPO's (2010) analyses of public opinion surveys in Serbia show a patriarchal value matrix of the population with lower education level. Regarding political presence, women with higher education account for the biggest part of the total number of women elected in parliament. However, education trends in all three countries show division when it comes to the choice of the field of education. On the other hand, economic developments, the employment/unemployment level also determine the role of women in the public sphere. These factors have a very important influence during the building of awareness in society. However, gender division is noticeable also in the process of selection of vocations. Women are a lot more included in medicine, the textile industry, education (see table 5.2). For instance, women accounted for 82.5% of the total employees in the textile industry in Macedonia in 2003 (J3C MK 2004). This division of professions points to the dominant traditional culture reflected in the political reality. Women are especially typical for their role of unpaid family workers, which once again indicates their position in the private sphere. Empirical data in accordance with the public opinion surveys (WVS, EVS 2008) show the dominant value matrix of patriarchy, collectivism and family-orientation (Dobrotić 2012). On the other hand, this is reflected in the distrust interpreted by political leaders in relation to the selection and nomination of female candidates on higher positions of power and decision-making, but also in the citizens' trust in female candidates. According to

the analyses, in all three countries the role of women in politics is determined by traditional value attitudes and perceptions. It can be concluded that despite the legislation changes and the introduction of institutional changes, the existing political culture of male domination in the political life is still curtail in relation to political parties as actors in the political equilibrium.



**Table 6.1: Sintetized comparative outline of empirical analyses of factors impacting on the political presence of women in MK, RS and HR**

	MACEDONIA	SERBIA	CROATIA
<b>INSTITUTIONAL FACTORS</b>			
<b>ELECTORAL SYSTEM</b>			
Majority % of elected women	1990-1998 - from 3 to 4%	1990 – 1992 from 1.6% to 4%	1995 – 7.1%
Proportional	1998 Combined – 8% <b>Influence – Partly Positive</b>	1993 Proportional 6% - 10,8% <b>Influence – Partly Positive</b>	1999 – Proportional – 21.9% on 2000 elections <b>Influence – Positive</b>
Manner of voting – Lists	2002 Proportional - 18% influence-Positive Closed lists, blocked, <b>Influence: POSITIVE</b>	Closed lists- – Unblocked <b>Influence – Negative</b>	Closed lists, blocked <b>Influence – POSITIVE</b>
<b>POSITIVE STRATEGIES – QUOTAS</b>			
Legal quotas as measures for promotion of political presence	2002, <b>Influence – POSITIVE</b> Increase in the percent of elected women from 8% to 18%	2004, <b>Influence – POSITIVE but application from 2007</b> Increase in the percent of elected women from 6% to 20.4%	2008, <b>Influence – PARTLY POSITIVE</b> Inconsistent implementation of GEA due to prolonged action, adaptation period of the parties during the following three successive elections from the day of enforcement of the Law (since 2008 forward) <b>ENVISAGED: YES, APPLICATION: Still NO</b> , after the third successive elections
Obligatory role of sanctions	YES	YES	<b>STILL NO</b>
The negative effect of intraparty competition is overcome by <b>introducing EQ</b>	YES	YES	<b>STILL NO</b>
<b>POLITICAL PARTIES</b>			
Parties as ,gatekeepers, Key role of political parties due to their party power in the selection of candidates Development of strategies for selection of candidates for elections	YES <b>Party influence on the closed voting lists</b> regarding selection of candidates, especially before the introduction of changes EC 2006 which envisage regulations for ranking	YES <b>Party influence on the unblocked voting lists</b> regarding the selection of candidates who will receive seats in parliament after the elections	YES <b>Key role in the selection and nomination</b> of candidates for elections
Voluntary quotas (soft) and Party ideology	<b>Smaller parties most often do not have formal rules</b> (quotas and strategies), but they have bigger tendency for political presence of women <b>Party quotas have a positive effect, but most often are not fully implemented i.e. are overshadowed by party interests.</b> Some right parties do not have quotas, but in relation to others have the biggest female membership due to pragmatic interests of the parties in certain periods of time (MK 3)	<b>In accordance to the party ideology – Left oriented parties are more adaptable to strategies.</b> Lower percent of presence of women in higher party structures (See t. 5.7) Pragmatic aspect of looking at women`s political presence	<b>Positive influence of party quotas</b> Left-oriented parties are more adaptable to strategies (HR 2) <b>Pragmatic aspect of looking at women`s political presence</b>
Trust in female candidates	<b>Party leaders do not provide strong support for female candidates (MK 3) (See t. 5.7)</b> <b>Influence – NEGATIVE</b>	<b>Party leaders do not provide strong support for female candidates (RS 2)</b> <b>Influence – NEGATIVE</b>	<b>Party leaders do not provide strong support for female candidates (HR 2)</b> <b>Influence – NEGATIVE</b>
<b>SOCIOECONOMIC FACTORS</b>			
Level of social and economic growth/ GDP	Special influence on the general economic conditions and unemployment and the overall population including women`s political presence (MK 3) <b>Influence – NEGATIVE</b>	<b>The influence of socioeconomic factors shows a positive correlation between women`s presence in political and public life and higher GDP index, social welfare, as well as changes in traditional beliefs and patriarchalization of social values.</b> In Serbia, for instance, during the war conflicts the extremely low GDP had a very negative impact on the total social developments in the country, including women`s position (RS 5). <b>Influence – NEGATIVE</b>	Generally <b>NEGATIVE</b> role of GDP regarding the position of women in society, employment, resource flow (HR 3). <b>Influence – NEGATIVE</b>
Level of employment/unemployment (men/women)	Besides the economic growth, <b>the presence of women in the work force has a positive effect on</b> raising the awareness of citizens` for the role of women outside the private sphere. However, in Macedonia there is a large percent of women who belong to the economically inactive population which leads to even bigger unemployment or engagement in the private sphere as unpaid house workers (MK 8). See fig.5.9; <b>OECD 2012 - Influence – NEGATIVE</b>	Bigger <b>presence</b> of women in the inactive population (see fig.5.7) <b>OECD 2012</b> Gender divided professions (See t.5.2) <b>Influence – NEGATIVE</b>	Bigger unemployment of women than men (See fig.5.7) <b>OECD 2012</b> , Gender divided professions (See t.5.2) <b>Influence – NEGATIVE</b>

<p><b>Level of inclusion in tertiary (men/women)</b></p> <p><b>Women`s organizations</b></p>	<p><b>The degree of education improves perceptions regarding division of roles between men and women in the private sphere (MKD 8)</b>  Gender divided areas of education (See t.5.1)  The biggest contribution regarding the activities for introduction of legal quotas belongs to women`s organizations (example: Project `Women can do it`)  <b>Influence: ESPECIALLY POSITIVE</b></p>	<p>Gender divided areas of education (See t.5.1)</p> <p><b>Influence: ESPECIALLY POSITIVE</b></p>	<p>Gender divided areas of education (See t.5.1)  Influence of education in the process of raising citizens` awareness (HR 3)</p> <p><b>Influence: ESPECIALLY POSITIVE</b></p>
<b>CULTURAL FACTORS</b>			
<p><b>Cultural changes as key variables in determining the development of society</b></p> <p><b>Religion</b></p>	<p><b>Culture and value matrix</b>, the shape of traditional values and perceptions point to the existence of interaction between stereotypes as attitudes and division of gender roles.  Detection of party stereotypes in the nomination and evaluation of candidates (MK 3).  <b>Influence – NEGATIVE</b></p> <p><b>Religion</b> in relation to the role of women is specific in the analyses of Islam, due to the reproductive patriarchal role of Muslim women and gender imbalance in these societies. In Macedonia special attention is paid to Albanian and Roma women and their inclusion in social developments, as well as the political presence of these marginalized groups (MK 7).  <b>Influence – NEGATIVE</b></p>	<p>Gender stereotyped behavior of voters, party affiliation and power of stereotypes influencing the perception of candidates (RS 4).  <b>Gender stereotyping of candidates – women; party stereotyping;</b>  <b>Influence – NEGATIVE</b></p> <p>More religious families tend to stereotype gender roles and have patriarchal attitude towards the role of women within the home and family (RS 3).  <b>Influence – NEGATIVE</b></p>	<p><b>Stereotypes as obstacles for the political presence of women especially in the right conservative parties (HR 3).</b> Analyses show identification of candidates by voters <b>making a difference between the male and female politicians and their connection to the ideological position.</b>  <b>Influence – NEGATIVE</b></p> <p>Religion influences perceptions regarding the patriarchal role of women (HR 4). 85% of the population have dominant belief in religious values (Dobrotic 2012).  <b>Influence – NEGATIVE</b></p>
<b>WAR AS A FACTOR</b>			
<p><b>War – a determining influence factor for the position of women</b></p>	<p>Women who are economically and socially dependant on men during a conflict are exposed to risk of violence and poverty, sexual abuse, refugee crises and migration. Wave of refugees in the Kosovo case to Macedonia (See fig.5.2). <b>Influence – NEGATIVE</b></p>	<p>Risk of violence and poverty, sexual abuse, refugee crises and migration.  <b>Wave of refugees most often to neighboring countries (See fig.5.2).</b>  <b>Influence – NEGATIVE</b></p>	<p>Unemployment, Migration, Risk of violence, sexual abuse, refugee crises. Waves of refugees most often in the neighboring countries (See fig.5.2). <b>The postwar period causes poor socio- economic conditions which contribute for increase in the migration of the population.</b>  <b>Influence – NEGATIVE</b></p>
<b>EXTERNAL FACTORS – INTERNATIONAL ACTORS ( CEDAW), COE; POSITIVE INTEGRATION (EU);COGNITIVE EUROPEANIZATION;</b>			
<p><b>International influence – CEDAW COE, Rec (2003)/3</b>  <b>Positive integration – EU</b>  <b>Concept of Europeanization-processes of pressure, positive influence of gender balancing in political presence.</b> In all three countries <b>the influence from external factors is especially important.</b> Mainly EU`s hard instruments gender balance encouragement, as opposed to the dominant political culture of repression of women in the political sphere.  <b>Cognitive Europeanization – Soft laws – Recommendations</b></p>	<p><b>Influence: POSITIVE</b>  <b>Influence: POSITIVE</b>  Adoption of Equal Opportunities Law  Antidiscrimination laws in many areas  Institutional changes in order to establish governmental bodies for equal opportunities and regular preparation of National programs and Reports regarding legislative changes  Changes in the electoral system  Changes in the electoral legislation  Introduction of legal 30% quotas in the creation of candidate lists for elections on a national and local level and ranking regulations.</p> <p><b>Influence: ESPECIALLY POSITIVE</b></p>	<p><b>Influence: POSITIVE</b>  <b>Influence: POSITIVE</b>  Adoption of Equal Opportunities Law  Antidiscrimination laws in many areas  Institutional changes in order to establish governmental bodies for equal opportunities and regular preparation of National programs and Reports regarding legislative changes  Reports regarding legislative changes  Changes in the electoral system  Changes in the electoral legislation  Introduction of legal 30% quotas in the creation of candidate lists for elections on a national and local level and ranking regulations.</p> <p><b>Influence: ESPECIALLY POSITIVE</b></p>	<p><b>Influence: POSITIVE</b>  <b>Influence: POSITIVE</b>  Adoption of Equal Opportunities Law  Antidiscrimination laws in many areas  Institutional changes in order to establish governmental bodies for equal opportunities and regular preparation of National programs and Reports regarding legislative changes  Changes in the electoral system  Changes in the electoral legislation  Introduction of legal 30% quotas in the creation of candidate lists for elections on a national and local level and ranking regulations.</p> <p><b>Influence: POSITIVE *</b> (*Regarding the change in quotas there is still no visible influence due to the prolonged period of adaptation in three successive elections from the day of enforcement of the Gender Equality Act 2008 which envisages 40% quotas and violation sanctions)</p>

In current analyses a lot of researchers have shown the influence of the key institutional socioeconomic and cultural variables on the political presence of women in political decision-making structures of power. Some research shows bigger presence of women in countries with long tradition of democracy, which can be explained through the dominant egalitarian belief for the gender roles, proportional electoral systems and the secondary importance of socioeconomic and cultural factors (Leinert Novosel 2007). In the case of the Western Balkans the period of democratic experience is quite short, so the intensity of influence from the socioeconomic factors is quite high. Especially important aspect is the change in electoral systems into proportional as well as the introduction of legal and party quotas for promotion of bigger presence. In developed countries these measures face resistance (or are considered redundant, even discriminating in relation to the rest of the population). However, in post-socialist, mainly transition countries with a dominant patriarchal culture and stereotypical attitudes regarding the division of roles between men and women are more than needed. During the testing of the model and the influence factors on the political presence of women, the present dissertation uses analyses of variables indicating significant positive/negative influences, focused on institutional changes encouraged by the EU and positive integration on the one hand and negative influence from the dominant culture, tradition, religion, perceptions on the other hand. Analyses of quantitative data from WVS, EVS, as well as the value survey in Serbia (Public opinion in Serbia regarding gender equality,<sup>213</sup> IDN&URR), than the analyses of interviews conducted with relevant interviewees in the three case studies, as well as the analysis of data from previous researches and measures of culture WVS - Norris and Inglehart (2001), Paxton and Kunovich (2003) Norris and Krook (2010) demonstrate a firm correlation of these variables with the political presence of women. Based on this, analyses in the present dissertation are focused on testing a model of negative influence or domination of socioeconomic and especially cultural factors over institutional factors, which despite the positive influence (see t.6.1) still do not manage to change the patriarchal matrix of established relations and division of roles in the society. The testing of the variable effect of the electoral system as a factor for achieving political inclusion, we notice positive influence of the proportional electoral system in these countries, as opposed to the implementation of majority electoral system when the percent of women in politics is lower than the period

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<sup>213</sup>Male and female citizens of Serbia on gender equality

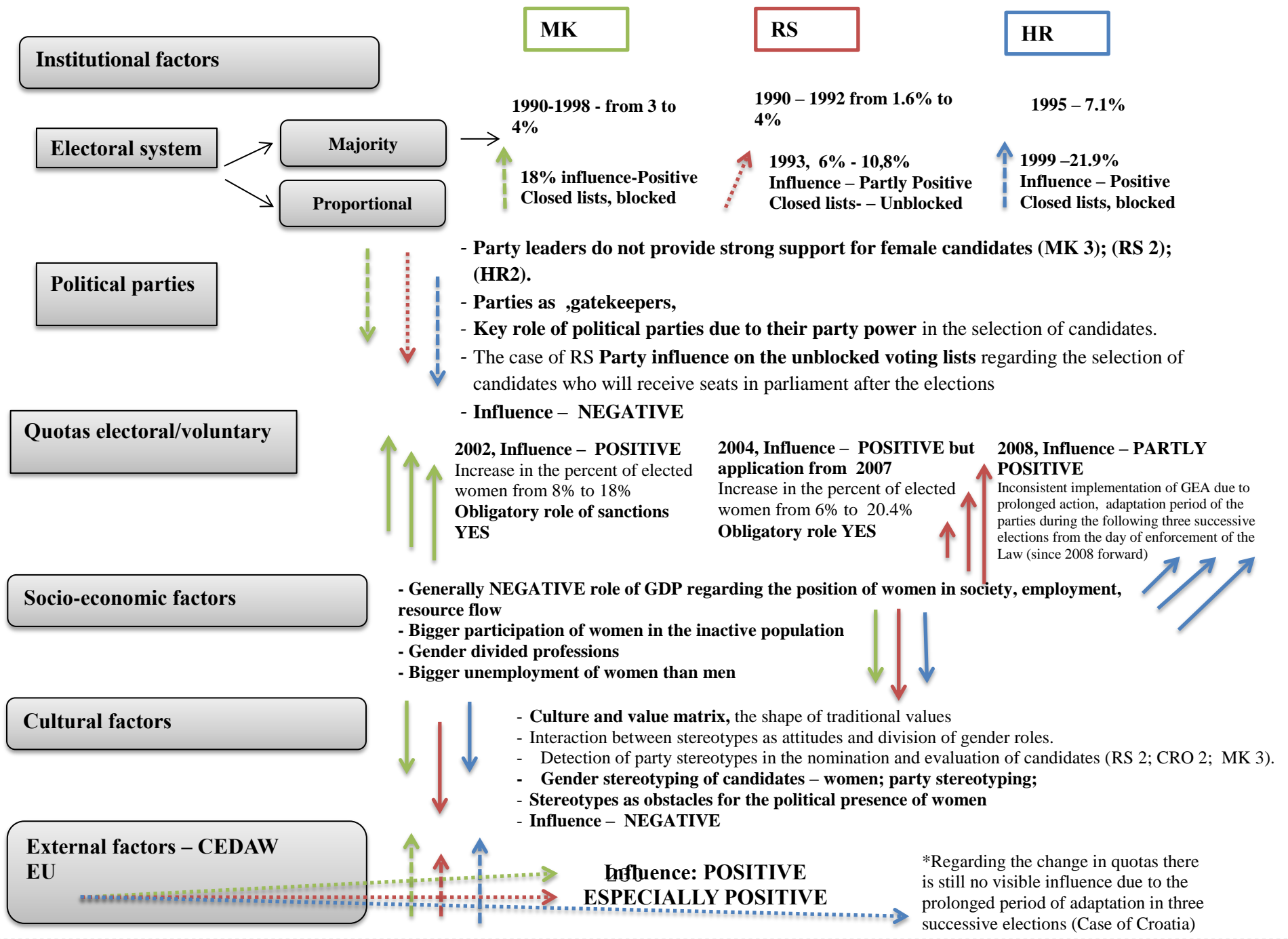
before the change happened. Although a lot of researchers provide arguments `for` and `against` the positive effect of proportional systems there are those who even claim that none of the systems is ideal for political presence of women. However, if we take into consideration the fact that the researched countries have a short period of democratic development, as well as a dominant political culture of stereotypes regarding the woman in society, it can be concluded that the change in the electoral system had a positive effect in these countries, as in many other transition countries, not only regarding the political presence of women but even more regarding the rest of marginalized groups (ethnic, religious). Even positive strategies have a crucial influence for the improvement of the political presence in all three case studies, although women`s presence at the higher level of the decision-making bodies is still determined by the dominant culture in the societies. The influence of positive strategies is especially important in the form of legal quotas which despite the theoretic arguments against their application as illegitimate measures, still did not show any negative effect on male presence in the countries with short democratic development but encourages women`s active and passive body to participate in political developments i.e. they tended to offer equal opportunities for both genders. However, positive measures have to be mainly imposed as a policy, not as a simple method, because they are supposed to represent a tool for implementing the basic principles of democracy accepted as a legitimate democratic instrument (Leinert Novosel 2007). Although the interaction of the electoral system, and legal and party quotas shows a negative effect, they are not enough for changing the value matrix which means increase of the women`s political activism (Kunovich 2012; Burnet 2011; Hughes 2011; Krook 2004). As a model of `critical mass` the efficiency of `female politicians` is determined by the political culture, women`s but also men`s awareness and self-awareness (Leinert Novosel 2007). In this aspect the role of the non-governmental sector is especially important which has the tendency to simultaneously strengthen the gender concept focused on dialogue and pressure on political decision-making structures of power. Despite the influence of international documents coming from membership in COE, ON – CEDAW Convention etc, they have not had any consistent implementation so far within the researched countries (RS 3; MK 4; MK 5; HR 3; RS 2; RS 1). The positive integration of the European Union, especially through the application of directives and hard laws has proved to be a crucial element in these countries for the upgrade of the legislation, institutional and national

mechanisms for gender equality in all areas. Previous analyses in the empirical part of the present dissertation through the processing of data from WVS, EVS, and value survey in Serbia (Public opinion in Serbia regarding gender equality,<sup>214</sup> IDN&URR), provide an image of domination of patriarchal attitudes regarding women`s position in society, in private and public sphere, as well as distrust by political leaders and citizens that women can perform political engagements.

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<sup>214</sup> Male and female citizens of Serbia on gender equality

Figure 6.1: Synthetic comparative view of the empirical findings and the theoretical-methodological basis of the thesis



These results indicated marginalization of women from the main political developments despite the existence of institutional changes and especially after the countries entered the stabilization and association process of integration towards EU. What is supposed to be a key element in the efforts for overcoming this state, does not simply lie in the legal solutions due to the fact that the countries with longer democratic development do not even have quotas, i.e. perceptions and the dominant culture in these countries raise gender equality on a higher level than less developed countries. The following are considered important variables of influence on the position and role of women in the public and private sphere in the three case studies: specific tradition, historical, economic and political conditions, dominant political culture, as well as the influence of war. All of them contribute for accepting and implementing institutional and legal changes or provide nonviolent emancipation on the one hand and numerical presence on the other. All of this leads to the predominance of cultural and socioeconomic factors in these countries. A very important aspect in the process of improving these conditions is the implementation of laws and the effectiveness of mechanisms referring to achieving gender balance in the decision-making process. We also need to mention the important role of NGOs as social actors in raising people's awareness, which with the help of the state and international actors determine the methods of informing the public regarding women's rights, conditions, analyses and the also support mechanisms for evaluation and implementation of gender policies. What needs to be addressed are good practices of women's inclusion in real political developments and the improving the political inclusion and presence of women in all public spheres. The incorporation of training methods in relation to gender balance in political developments within political parties is also very important. These refer to collaboration between state bodies and structures with the civil society and non-governmental organizations, especially in relation to educating citizens (women, but men as well) for equal opportunities, roles and perceptions. Generally, it can be concluded that efforts to raise people's awareness are necessary in order to incorporate equal opportunities in all spheres of the social life which will lead to increase of the political presence of women. The equilibrium of these social rules, culture, stereotypes, tradition, raising the awareness is the most difficult to implement in societies. The tendency to change in order to integrate international values is preconditioned by international exchange, support and positive integration. The equal opportunities agenda created by the procedures relating to the harmonization of legislation with the requirements of the European Union and the accession

process is an important external source of legitimization for institutional equal opportunities policies (Antić Gaber and Jalušić 2001). However, Directives are delegated from the top and often do not take into account the specific context of individual policies, which could cause problems in post-communist environments, such as in the case studies, because it seems that even this policies are becoming present, the links between them are still weak (Antić Gaber and Jalušić 2001). The lack of individual awareness and existence of collectivism leads to unconscious acceptance of dominant attitudes in societies as a result of collective moral and religious values. In post-socialist countries the process of tearing down barriers and collectivism remains is the most difficult if we bear in mind the burden left from the previous system.

The given empirical data show that the situation in all three case-studies is still alarming. Indeed, the low presence of women in high-position governmental organs is a clear indicator of this. The influence of factors such as: socio-economic, cultural factors, the relations of political parties all contribute for the marginalization of women in political life. Analysis of practical findings gained from the interviews indicate the reasons for this situation, and they are mainly prejudice relating to women in high-positions of power as opposed to the reproductive function of women within the classic patriarchal form of the family. A very important moment is the education process the woman gets even during her childhood and the need to adjust education methods in order to overcome traditional prejudice in the creation of perceptions and gender roles between men and women. Although, in these countries women have had all formal rights for the past fifty years and more, for example education, employment, political rights etc. the reality shows that they are significantly less employed, they account for a significantly larger part of the illiterate population due to the existence of traditional matrix of the role of women in the family and private sphere. In order to overcome women`s absence from political life, it is essential to enhance institutional mechanisms on a national and local level, i.e. proper implementation of the legislation and their improvement in order to promote bigger presence.

It is necessary to implement measures for eliminating traditional and cultural stereotypes discouraging women to use their right to vote, i.e. their right to become candidates and participate in political life. Progressive legislation as well as national action plans and strategies for raising the awareness not only in women but in men as well for women`s role in society, political life and public sphere in general, are not enough without the state`s efforts for incorporating these programs in the educational process, within educational trainings,



informative media campaigns. The non-governmental sector and the state as well need to take actions in order to eliminate negative attitudes. The efforts which the non-governmental sector puts into promotion of women and their inclusion in political life, have had a positive result in direction of increasing the number of elected women. The state has to work on enhancing institutional mechanisms due to provision of minimal conditions for operationalization of the formal-legal frame and in direction of enlivening gender equality in all spheres of society. Changes have to take part in all levels of social life, starting from traditional beliefs for the role of women in the family through creation of special programs in the educational system which will enable space for decrease of gender stereotyping, economic independence and bigger employment of women. Also, an important aspect is the need for setting gender equality as an affirmative-positive assumption within the political parties` programs , as well as the creation of special campaigns and strategies for increasing women`s party membership. In order to achieve bigger presence of women in all three case-studies, the legal frame has to be properly implemented, as well as the principled orientation of the state. For this purpose there is a need of organizational and functional solutions which will provide operationalization of the basic legislation regarding gender equality. This mainly refers to the creation of institutional and structural basis due to operationalization of normative regulations as institutional movements within the structure of the state itself. This constatation comes from the recommendations of the Committee for eliminating discrimination within the UN, which point to the need to enhance institutional mechanisms in order to improve the factual position of women in political life. These recommendations mainly refer to empowering the work of the Equal Opportunities Sector within the Ministry of Labor and Social Policy, as well as the non-governmental sector. Through campaigns for raising the awareness in men and women for the importance of women`s presence in decision-making structures in politics, political parties, the election process they will create encouraging measures for supporting such participation. Moreover, the formation of separate bodies within the legislation, governments and units of local self-government represents a positive step. Experiences from certain European countries with a higher level of democracy indicate that institutional mechanisms needed to eliminate traditional absence of women from public and political life, such as the separate ministry for gender equalities in Sweden, need to be a kind of institutional guarantee providing a complex approach and treatment of the issue, which will work on raising public awareness for gender equality in political life, further promotion of

equal opportunities studies i.e. incorporating these contents in current educational programs, forums, public discussions, exchange of information and ideas about current issues in the field of gender equality.

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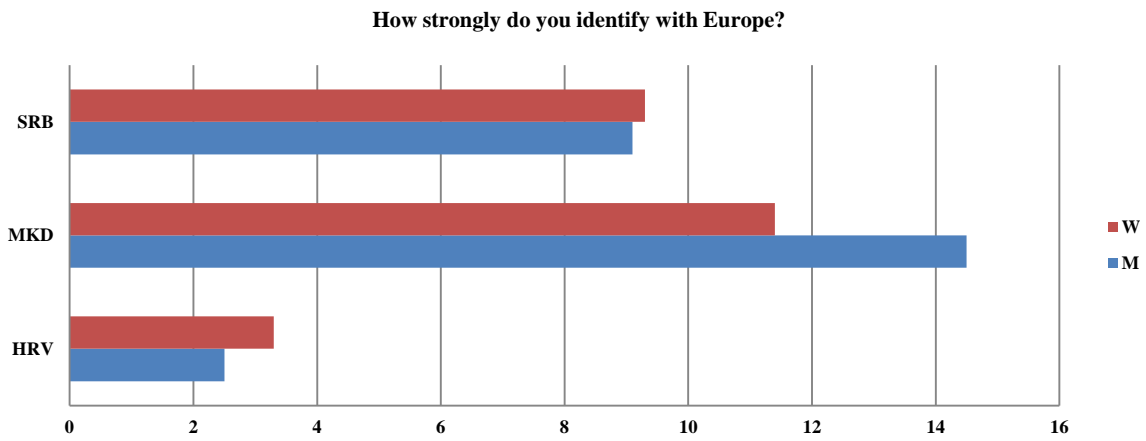
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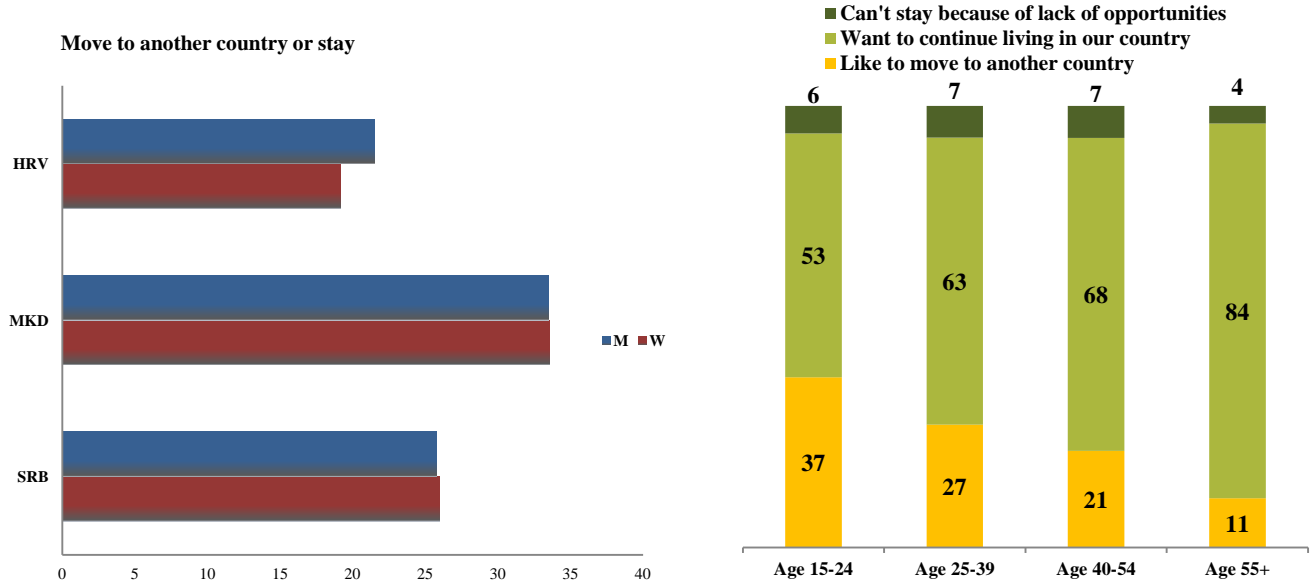
**APPENDIXES:**

**Figure A1: Dominant perceptions of citizens in the three countries regarding identification with EU**



Source: Gallup 2012

**Figure A2: Dominant perceptions and opinions regarding migration movements of citizens in the Western Balkans 2009**

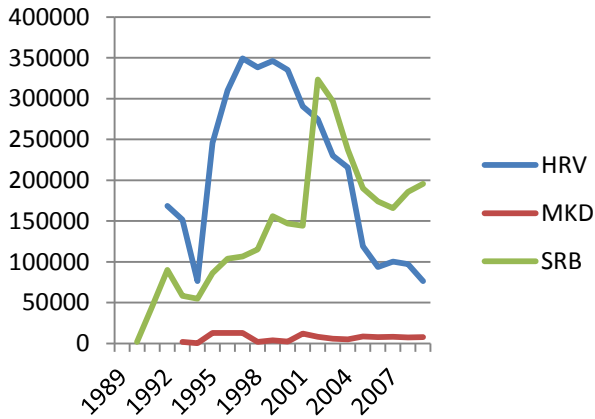


Note: The General situation in the Western Balkans - average data

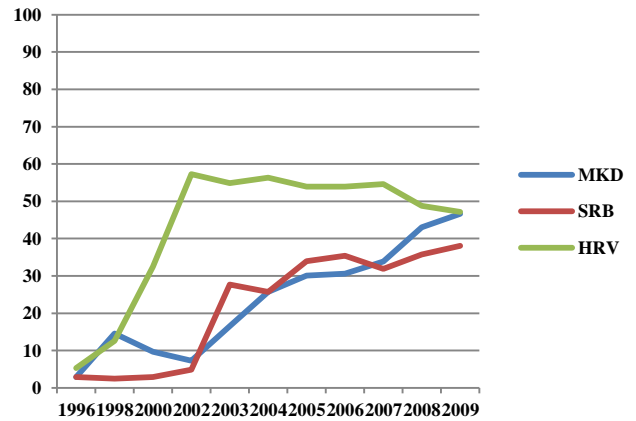
Source: Gallup Balkan Monitor Focus On Migration 2012

**Figure A3: Economic determinants**

**Poverty headcount ratio at national poverty line  
(% of population)**



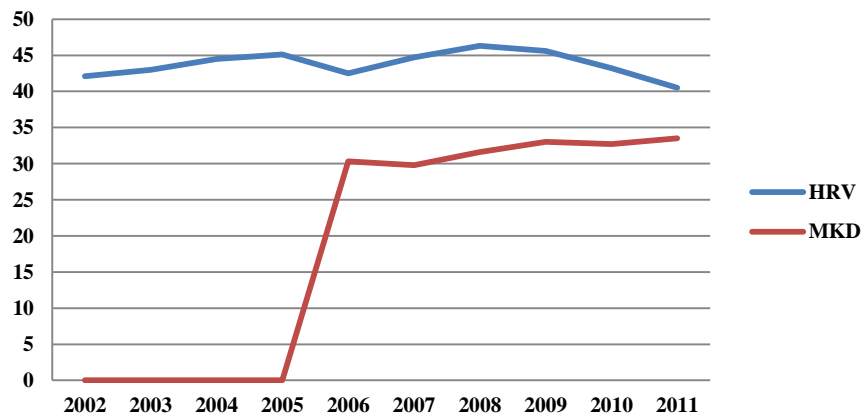
**Corruption control**



Sources: (WB (2012); OECD (2012))

**Figure A4: Employment rate / level of education**

**Employment rate, by highest level of education attained**



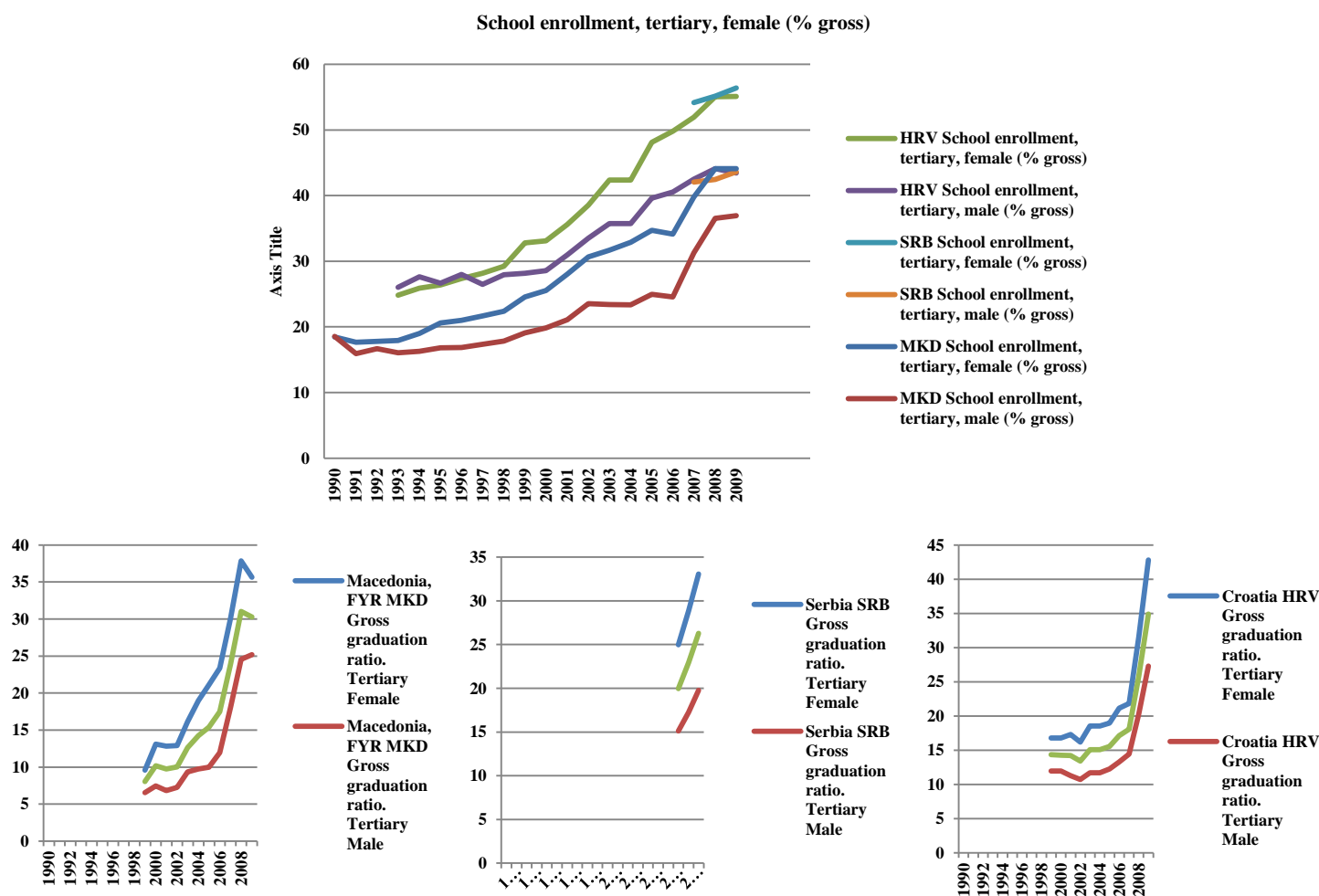
Source: Eurostat 2012

**Table A5: Political context (electoral system) and recruitment processes in the selected countries**

	El. Syst em	Formal rules for the recruitment processes				
		Year of the introduction of quotas	Quota %	Ranking terms on the party list	Sanctions for non-compliance	PARTY QUOTAS
MK	PR	2002	30%	YES	Not registered	Social Democratic Union of Macedonia - SDSM - 30% Democratic Union for Integration (DUI) - 30% Liberal Party (LP) - 40% Democratic Party of the Albanians (DPA) - 20% Socialist Party of Macedonia (SPM) - 30%
RS	PR	2004	30%	YES	Not registered	Social Democratic Party 30% (2000.)
HR	PR	2008	40% (adjustment period over the next three elections)	NO (adjustment period over the next three elections)	Financial crisis (adjustment period over the next three elections)	Social Democratic Party 40% (1996.) 40% (2000.) Croatian Democratic Union 25% (1999.) Croatian Social Liberal Party 35%

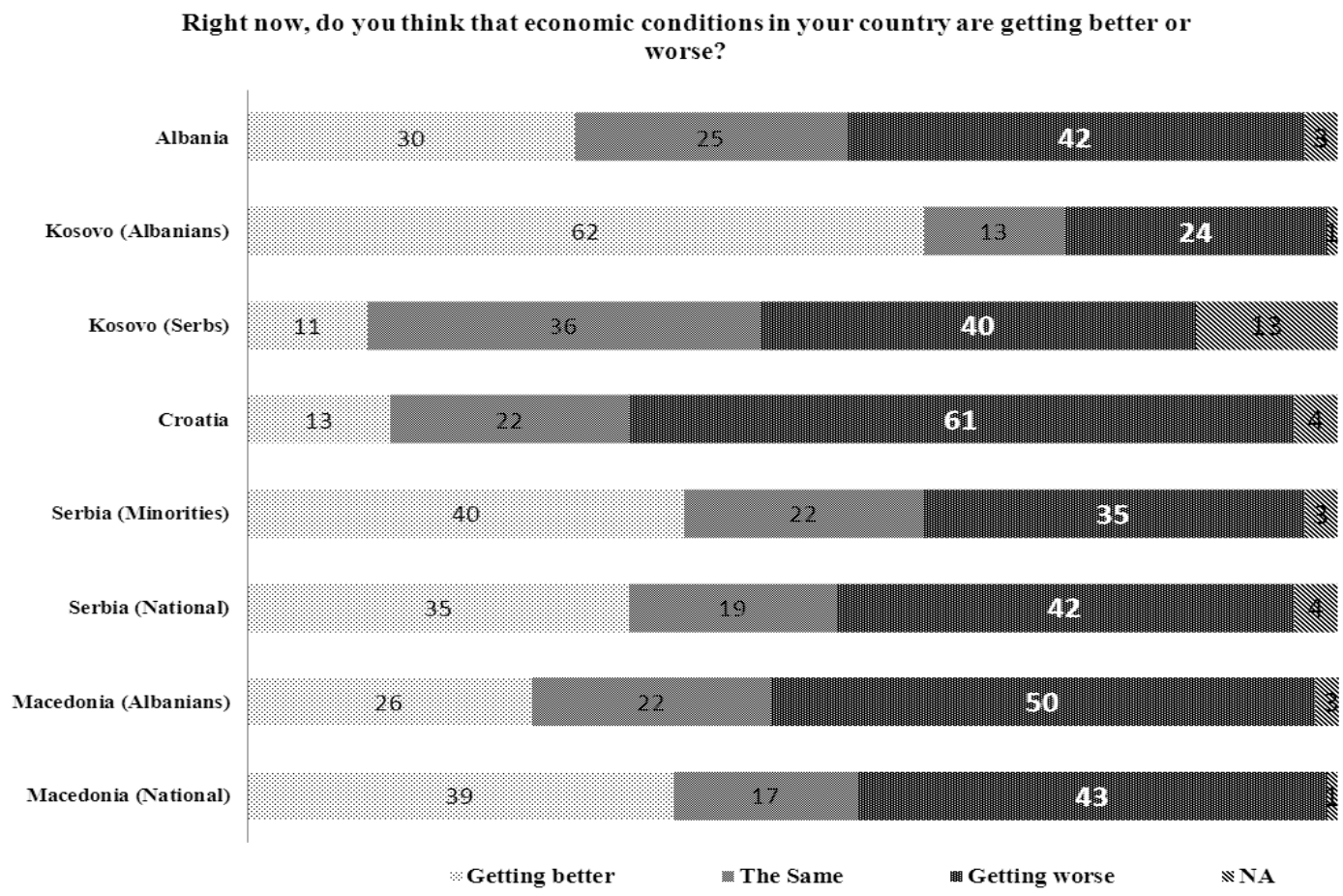
Sources: Norris and Krook 2010; DZS HR 2012; J3C MK 2012; RZSS 2011

**Figure A6: Gross graduation ratio – Tertiary, MK, RS, HR**



Source: WB 2012

**Figure A7: The general situation in the Western Balkans**

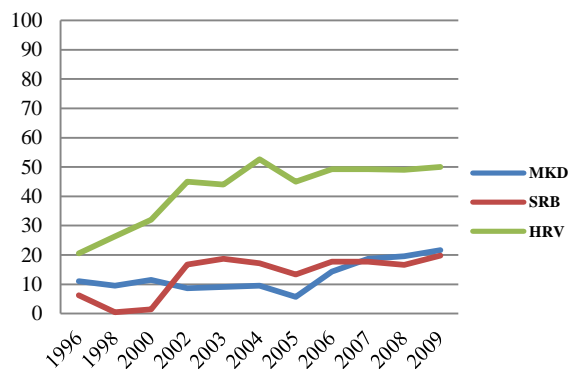


Source: Gallup 2009

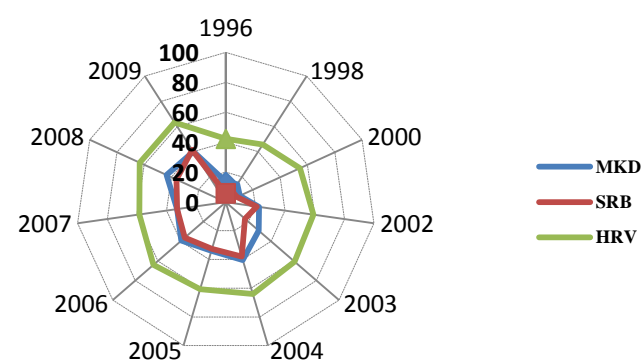


**Figure A8: Dominant perceptions by citizens in relation to the opportunities to participate and elect representatives on a national level, as well as the freedom of speech, thought, rule of law and political stability. Average range from -2.5 to 2.5. International range of all states (from 0 – the lowest to 100 the highest)**

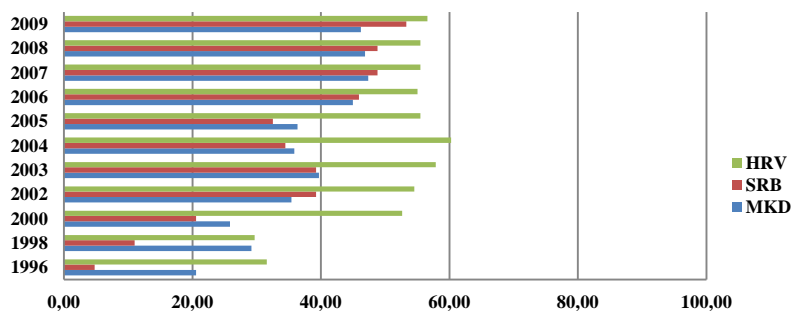
**Political stability**



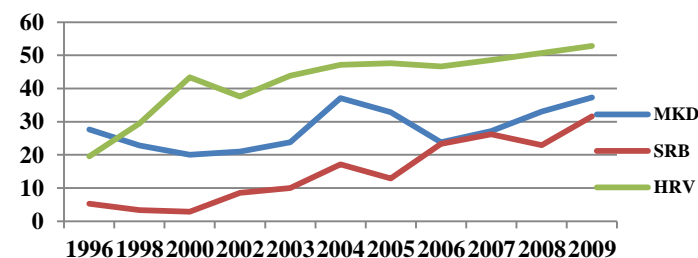
**Effectiveness of governance**



**Freedom of speech**



**Rule of Law**



**Source: Gallup 2009**

**Note:** According to the international indicators (Worldwide Governance Indicators - WGI) these data are provided by the qualitative analysis of the quality of governance gained through surveying public opinion (World Value Survey - WVS) respondents (citizens) from industrially developed countries and developing countries. Besides surveys, data from other institutions are used, think tank organizations, NGOs, international organizations... WGI

**Sources:** WB 2013; Kaufmann, Kraay and Mastruzzi (2010)

## ADDITIONAL ABSTRACT

### Ženske v politiki v državah Zahodnega Balkana

#### Povzetek

Politika enakosti med spoloma predstavlja zelo aktualno temo v sodobnih demokratičnih družbah in eno od prioritet Evropske unije. Države Centralne in Vzhodne Evrope, zlasti na Balkanu, so že v letih 1990/91 artikulirale in uvedle številne demokratične značilnosti in institucije, ki so se kazale predvsem preko svobode izražanja, svobodnih, poštenih in demokratičnih volitev, preko kompleksa človekovih pravic in državljanskih svoboščin, parlamentarizma in strankarskega pluralizma, etničnih pravic, multikulturalizma itd., ki so proizvedli razvit formalno-pravni okvir za pravično in enakovredno zastopnost in udeležbo vseh državljanov v političnih procesih. Vendar pa realna socialna diferenciacija, socio-ekonomski in politični tokovi, ki so sledili v postkomunističnih in t. i. tranzicijskih državah, kažejo na precej drugačno realnost, prežeto z globokimi razlikami v udeležbi in reprezentanci različnih socialnih skupin in z zlasti neenako zastopnostjo obeh spolov v političnem življenju.

Skoraj dvajset let kasneje se številne postkomunistične in tranzicijske države, nekatere od njih so že članice Evropske unije, še vedno soočajo s „fenomenom spolne neenakopravnosti“ v procesih političnega odločanja in izziva implementacije spolne enakopravnosti v celoti. Naslednji paradoks teh držav je vsekakor permanentno soočanje s problemom sprejemanja in vključevanja mehanizmov za enake možnosti, ki so postavljene kot ključna zahteva EU, SE, OVSE, OZN itn. Rezultat takšnega stanja, zlasti v državah Zahodnega Balkana, je vsekakor veliko bolj očiten, zlasti če se upoštevajo okoliščine kot so pomanjkljivo uresničevanje in spoštovanje koncepta vladavine prava, neugodno ekonomsko stanje, visoka stopnja korupcije, indeks revščine, indeks človeškega razvoja, itd. Seveda so te okoliščine nedvomno pripeljale v negotovost in insuficientnost zlasti ranljive socialne skupine, kar je pripeljalo do neustrezne zaščite enakih možnosti med moškimi in ženskami.

V okoliščinah teh neugodnih tokov in v pogojih dezintegracije tedanje Jugoslavije, ki so jo spremljali konflikti in vojna obdobja, so bile pravice žensk v senci skoraj desetletje in pol.

Glede na ta dejstva je v vseh teh državah položaj žensk v političnem življenju rezultiral v zelo nizki zastopnosti v parlamentih, vladah, lokalni samoupravi, javnih dejavnostih in v drugih strukturah političnih odločanj, kjer so bili izraženi mizogini kulturni stereotipi. Potreba po

razvoju in krepitvi civilne družbe v teh državah z ene strani in implementacija ter harmonizacija evropske zakonodaje (*acquis communautaire*) z zakonodajo kandidatov za članstvo v Evropski uniji z druge strani je posledično pokazala potrebo po intervenciji in vpliv za preseganje socio-ekonomskih in kulturnih stereotipov, ki so nedvomno zatirali institucionalna vztrajanja.

Tema naloge se nanaša predvsem na preučevanje socio-ekonomskih, kulturnih in institucionalnih dejavnikov, ki vplivajo na prisotnost žensk, predvsem v političnem življenju, in v političnih strukturah. Ta raziskava je osredotočena na študijo treh primerov. Upoštevajoč socio-kulturno sestavo, multietničnost družb, zgodovinski in tranzicijski kontekst kot tudi razvoj demokracije, so bile v empirični del raziskave izbrane tri države Zahodnega Balkana (Makedonija, Srbija in Hrvaška).

Z uvedbo socialističnega družbenega političnega sistema neposredno po drugi svetovni vojni se je kronološko gledano v teh državah kot tudi v drugih državah Jugovzhodne Evrope začelo vzpostavljati formalno-pravno enakovredno obravnavanje spolov. Vendar pa formalno-pravna enakopravnost ženske ni ustrezala dejanskemu stanju. Tisto, čemur je bilo namenjeno najmanj pozornosti v 50. letih razvoja socializma, je preseganje mentalne sheme zastopanosti in vloga spolov v vsakdanjem življenju in v procesih odločanja.

Nastop demokratičnih sprememb v obdobju v 90-ih letih preteklega stoletja je izzval spremembe v pravnem, ekonomskem in tudi v družbeno-političnem sistemu. Te spremembe so kot rezultat dale uvedbo parlamentarne demokracije, večstrankarskega sistema in političnega pluralizma. V na novo nastalih političnih pogojih se je nujno pokazala tudi potreba po novem definiranju položaja žensk v politiki in njene vključitve v javno življenje. Proces tranzicije in spremembe v družbeno-političnem strukturiranju so se odrazile najprej na normativno-pravnem pristopu in obravnavanju te snovi. Osnovna značilnost družbeno-političnih sistemov teh držav je bil njihov državljanski koncept, ki je temeljil na ideji samostojnosti in pravicah individuov, in ki se je posebej reflektiral v identifikaciji fundamentalnih vrednot sistema. Vendar pa se je, kar se tiče enakopravnosti med spoloma, pozitivni zakonski obseg snovi v dosedanjem obdobju pokazal bolj kot »de jure« kot pa »de facto«. V letih, ki so sledila, kljub tendencam v smeri povečanja števila žensk v političnih strukturah, pa skladno s pojavom večstrankarstva in v obstoječem formalno-pravnem okviru implementacija koncepta spolov vseeno ni korespondirala z realnim razvojem. Kot je značilno tudi za druge tranzicijske države, je tudi v teh družbah mogoče opaziti medsebojno povezan proces retradicionalizacije in repatriarhalizacije politične identitete in

položaja žensk.

Trenutno stanje, prikazano s pomočjo statističnih podatkov, ki so bili pridobljeni iz državnih organov, mednarodnih indikatorjev, indeksov in kazalcev, kaže na neugodne trende in neenakost v državah Zahodnega Balkana in je determinirano z vplivom institucionalnih dejavnikov na problem spolne enakopravnosti, s stopnjo demokratičnega razvoja in s posebnim pomenom vpliva socio-ekonomskih in kulturnih dejavnikov. Takšno stanje nedvomno predstavlja demokratični primanjkljaj. Pogosto se poudarja, da tudi kadar se ženska ukvarja s politiko, se leta ne osredotoča na družbene probleme, pač pa se bori za predstavljanje svojega spola. Politična sfera sistemsko in praktično ni prilagojena delovanju žensk. Počasno prebijanje žensk v politiko izhaja iz same narave politike, predvsem pa iz velikega razkoraka med proklamiranimi načeli, deklarativno pravnim okvirom in enakopravnostjo v realnosti.

Družbeni stereotipi glede ženske in njene umeščenosti v družbeno-političnih tokih nedvomno blokirajo izrazitejšo politično pozicijo ženske, pri čemer se kaže njena drugačnost glede na politično realnost. Stereotipi, uperjeni proti ženski, ne vplivajo samo neposredno na njen neugoden položaj v političnem življenju, temveč hkrati vplivajo tudi na strategijo za izboljšanje spolne enakopravnosti in prisotnost žensk v političnih strukturah. Manjša prisotnost žensk v političnem življenju se najpogosteje razlaga kot rezultat bioloških razlik na podlagi naravne spolne diferenciranosti in zlasti kot rezultat družbeno konstruiranih pravil obnašanja, ki temeljijo na diskriminaciji. Zelo značilni problemi, ki korespondirajo z dejavnikom manjše prisotnosti žensk v političnem življenju, so v njeni svojevrstni naravni povezanosti z domom in družino. Preseganje stereotipov ter zlasti socio-ekonomskih in kulturnih dejavnikov predstavlja vzrok za večji prispevek ne le k formalni enakopravnosti, pač pa precej več tudi k dejanskim spremembam. Potreba po izboljšanju stanja ženske in doseganje večje enakopravnosti med spoloma povzroči tudi potrebo po dosledni implementaciji legislative za spolno enakopravnost, doseganje večje prisotnosti žensk gledano z vseh vidikov politične in ekonomske sfere, preko uvajanja kvot, preko strategije družbenih in nacionalnih mehanizmov, ki naj bi prispevali k preseganju obstoječih stereotipov in predsodkov glede na kraj in vlogo ženske v vseh družbenih tokih. V tej smeri so se prizadevanja na mednarodni ravni proti koncu 19. in začetku 20. stoletja vedno bolj intenzivirala preko tendenc globalizacije ženskega vprašanja in inferiornega položaja žensk, zlasti v manj razvitih državah.

Preseganje takšnega stanja predstavlja tudi del strategije Evropske unije (gender mainstreaming)

in velja za ključ za doseganje večje vključenosti žensk v politično življenje.

Ta raziskava je najprej usmerjena k analizi formalno-pravnega okvira, nacionalnih zakonodaj raziskovanih držav, indeksov, dobljenih iz poročil domačih in mednarodnih virov, predvsem EU, Sveta Evrope, OZN-a, statističnih podatkov, kot tudi analize vsebine dokumentov, relevantnih za raziskovani pojav.

Raziskovanje vključuje **študijo treh primerov** in njihovo **komparativno analizo**. Najprej vsebuje kvantitativno in kvalitativno deskripcijo ter preučevanje formalno-pravnega okvira in institucionalnih dejavnikov v vsaki državi posebej, kasneje pa še analizo socio-ekonomskih in kulturnih dejavnikov, ki vplivajo na manjšo politično prisotnost žensk v teh državah in *prevlado socio-ekonomskih in kulturnih dejavnikov nad institucionalnimi dejavniki*.

Glavni cilj te raziskave je ugotoviti, v kolikšni meri realno deluje in s kakšnim namenom je implementiran pravni okvir, ki se nanaša na enake možnosti ter kakšen je medsebojni vpliv preučevanih dejavnikov na politično prisotnost žensk. Raziskovani primeri so izbrane države Zahodnega Balkana, ki še vedno nosijo breme tranzicije.

Glede na položaj žensk in njeno vlogo v politiki v t. i. "tranzicijskih" državah bi lahko rekli, da realno obstaja vpliv grozda zgodovinskih, socialnih, ekonomskih in kulturnih dejavnikov in stanj, nadalje institucionalnih dejavnikov in mehanizmov, ki korelirajo z razvojnimi parametri držav.

Praviloma se položaj in udeležba žensk v politiki v državah v tranziciji in v državah Zahodnega Balkana odvijata relativno ugodno, če obstaja korespondenca med institucionalnimi dejavniki, ki spodbujajo večjo prisotnost žensk v politiki in če se izboljšuje socialno-ekonomski položaj žensk prek pospešenega razvoja v tranziciji. Če ne obstaja takšna korespondenca oziroma če so zagotovljeni samo zakonski ali formalno-pravni pogoji za večjo prisotnost žensk v politiki, višje stopnje politične prisotnosti ne odražajo resnično ugodnejšega položaja, emancipacije in relativne enakopravnosti med ženskami in moškimi v družbi. Ženska v takšnih okoliščinah ni dejavnik razvoja in demokratsko-političnega progressa, temveč je lahko celo dejavnik oviranja razvoja, njena politična prisotnost pa je samo fasada njenega neenakopravnega in neugodnega položaja. Tako se zdi, da **socio-ekonomski in kulturni dejavniki prevladujejo nad institucionalnimi dejavniki**. Politično prisotnost žensk opredeljujemo kot odvisno spremenljivko (skladno s pozitivnim/negativnim vplivom na dejavnike in raven sprememb), medtem ko spremenljivke (dejavnike), ki so prikazane v disertaciji, pa kot neodvisne. Skladno z

dosedanjimi analizami in teoretičnimi koncepti pozitivnega/negativnega učinka posameznih spremenljivk izhajamo v tej smeri iz naslednjih predpostavk:

- Institucionalni dejavniki in njihove spremembe kot rezultat procesov evropeizacije ( uvedba pozitivnih strategij, kvot, volilnih sistemov), vplivajo v glavnem pozitivno v smislu spodbujanja politične prisotnosti žensk.
- Slabši družbeni in ekonomski razvoj, brezposelnost pri ženski populaciji in socio-demografska gibanja najpogosteje vplivajo negativno.
- Dominantna kultura, percepcija razdeljenih družbenih vlog po spolu, patriarhalna zavest in stereotipi v družbi, raven nepismenosti ter vpliv religije in etnične razdeljenosti se odražajo zlasti negativno in v glavnem otežujejo procese emancipacije žensk ter krepitev zavesti v smeri spodbujanja večje prisotnosti v političnem in javnem življenju.
- Negativni vpliv vojne na žensko integriranost v politiko je viden v družbeno-političnem dogajanju.

Skladno z dosedanjimi teoretičnimi in empiričnimi raziskavami, so v disertaciji kot dejavniki vpliva analizirani institucionalni, socio-ekonomski in kulturni dejavniki, stopnja in intenzivnost njihovega vpliva na prisotnost žensk v politiki. V okviru institucionalnih dejavnikov so raziskani in analizirani volilni sistemi, politične strategije – volilne (zakonske) in volonterske kvote ter vpliv teh dejavnikov na politične stranke. V okviru socio-ekonomskih dejavnikov so nas zanimali raven družbenega in ekonomskega razvoja izraženega v BDP (bruto družben proizvod), stopnja zaposlenosti/brezposelnosti (moški in ženske), sociodemografska gibanja, HDI (indeks človekovega razvoja), GEI (indeks razvoja žensk), stopnja vključenosti v terciarno izobraževanje (moški in ženske), razvoj ženskih organizacij in gibanj. Kulturni dejavniki obsegajo politično kulturo – percepcijo vloge spolov (patriarhalna zavest in stereotipi v družbah), stopnja pismenosti pri moških in ženskah in vpliv religije ter etnične pripadnosti. Posebnega pomena je prehod iz socializma v demokracijo, učinki in vplivi tranzicijskih procesov, vpliv vojne kot dela zgodovinskih dogajanj v postsocialističnih državah na Balkanu ter vpliv evrointegracijskih procesov in drugih zunanjih dejavnikov na nekdanje socialistične republike. V postsocialističnih državah so vpliv procesov tranzicije, revščina in zlasti vpliv vojne pripeljali do ponovnega zapiranja in delitve vlog moških in žensk v duhu tradicionalnih vrednot (Kašić 2006; Đurić-Kuzmanović 2002; Antić Gaber in Lokar 2006; Galligan in Clavero 2007). Glede na stopnjo tranzicije držav in evrointegracijskih procesov je v disertaciji analiziran vpliv vojne kot

dejavnika ter vpliv EU kot zunanjega dejavnika pri izvajanju pritiska na nacionalne politike kandidatk za članstvo (med katerimi so tudi analizirane države). V teoretičnem delu raziskave izhajamo iz analiz dosedanjih teoretičnih elaboracij (Kunovich 2012; Hannagan, Schneider, Greenlee 2012; Burnet 2011; Hughes 2011; Hayes 2011; Beckwith 2011; Kann 2011; Cowell-Meyers 2011; Holli in Hanna 2010; Boix 2010; Kreuzer 2010; Cusack, Iversen in Soskice 2010; Tremblay 2009; Dahlerup 2012; Matland in Montgomery 2003; Fink-Hafner in Krašovec 2004; Fink-Hafner in drugi 2011; Antić Gaber 1998, 1999, 2011; Lovenduski in Norris 1993; Norris, 1997; Antić Gaber in Lokar 2006), in sicer v smeri analiz raziskovalnih vprašanj in postavljenih tez, ki kažejo na kavzalno povezanost preučevanih spremenljivk in politične prisotnosti žensk v odločevalskih strukturah. Izhajamo iz operacionalizacije institucionalnih dejavnikov (Kunovich 2012; Burnet 2011; Hughes 2011; Cusack, Iversen in Soskice 2010; Norris 2004; Matland 2007; 2003; 1993; Dahlerup in Freidenvall 2005; Darcy, Welch in Clark 1994) ter iz vpliva socio-ekonomskih in kulturnih dejavnikov (Clavero in Galligan 2005; Hayes 2011; Kann 2011; Beckwith 2011; Hannagan, Schneider, Greenlee 2012; Dojčinović Nešić 2000), in sicer skladno s procesi družbeno-političnih dogajanj v državah Zahodnega Balkana (Ramet 1999). Tako postavljena teoretična podlaga vključuje vpliv in pritisk na spremenljivke 'od spodaj' (>from the bottom) in 'od zgoraj' (>from the top) (Lovenduski 1999) oziroma v smeri teze o nadvladi socio-ekonomskih in kulturnih dejavnikov nad institucionalnimi dejavniki (Đurić-Kuzmanović 2002; Kamenov in Galić 2009; Vasiljević 2003; Leinert Novosel 2007).

Raziskava ponujanje odgovore na naslednja vprašanja: Kateri so vzroki za nižjo stopnjo politične prisotnosti žensk v treh študijah primerov? Ali je stanje marginaliziranosti rezultat vrednostne matrice družbe ali neustrezna pravna regulativa ter stopnja implementacije le-te? Kako institucionalni dejavniki (volilni sistem, kvote, stranke, inštitucije) vplivajo na politično prisotnost? Kakšna je raven vpliva nevladnih organizacij? Vpliv prisotnosti vojne? Koliko in kako vpliva zunanji pritisk, procesi evropeizacije in globalnih akterjev?

Doktorska disertacija temelji na komparativni analizi treh držav, ki imajo relativno podoben politični kontekst demokratične konsolidacije. Skladno z modelom distribucije konflikta in s spremembo režima (Levitsky in Way 2010; Boix 2010; Acemoglu in Robinson 2006; Przeworski in dr 2012) je raziskava preko dinamične analize sprememb najprej usmerjena v preučevanje vpliva prehoda od avtoritarnih (socialističnih) k demokratičnim režimom, k spremembam v ekonomskem modelu in tranziciji ter k prehodu v večstrankarski sistem (Funk in Mueller 1993) v

analiziranih državah. Pri preučevanju razvojnih ravni formalno-pravnega okvirja in politik glede enakopravnosti spolov, v povezavi s tem pa tudi politične prisotnosti žensk v analiziranih državah, uporabljamo pristop **kvalitativne analize** pri pregledu primarnih kvalitativnih virov: zakonodajni okvir, dokumenti in akti. V teoretičnem delu je uporabljena opisna metoda, pregled dosedanje literature, ta metoda pa je uporabljena tudi pri opisu vpliva institucionalnih, socio-ekonomskih in kulturnih dejavnikov na politično prisotnost žensk v dosedanjih raziskavah. Uporaba deskriptivnega in eksplicitnega pristopa pomeni poskus detektiranja distinktivnih specifičnosti pojavov, ki so povezani s predmetom raziskave kot tudi z različicami, ki omogočajo zaokroženost celokupnosti raziskovalnih pojavov. Ta pristop je uporabljen pri analizi domače in tuje literature glede na prisotnost žensk v politiki ter dejavnikov vpliva; pri analizi predpisov EU, ki se nanašajo na enake možnosti, poročil in strategij za spodbujanje k večji prisotnosti žensk v politiki in strukturah odločanja; pri analizah, monografijah, poročilih, dobljenih od državnih organov in nevladnih organizacij, ki se nanašajo na dejansko stanje v državah Zahodnega Balkana, pri študijah primerov (Makedonija, Srbija in Hrvaška). Pri preučevanju dejavnikov, ki vplivajo na politično prisotnost žensk v raziskanih državah, je poleg relevantne literature uporabljena tudi **komparativna analiza statističnih podatkov**, dobljenih iz nacionalnih statističnih uradov, statističnega urada na evropski in mednarodni ravni (Eurostat, Worldbank, OECD, WGI) ter statističnih podatkov, dobljenih iz dosedanjih relevantnih empiričnih analiz. V empiričnem delu je uporabljena analiza **primarnih kvantitativnih virov** mednarodnih in evropskih raziskav javnega mnenja (EVS-European Value survey, WVS – World Value Survey), zlasti glede na analizo vplivov kulturnih dejavnikov (mnenja, dominantne vrednote in zavest) v analiziranih državah. Pri opisu in pozicioniranju držav glede na dejansko politično prisotnost žensk v nacionalnih parlamentih in izvršilni oblasti predstavljajo v raziskovanih državah sekundarni kvantitativni viri (statistični podatki, Parquota survey 2008, EVS, Eurobarometer 2009; Inter-parliamentary Union - IPU 2008; Freedom House 2007; HDR; WB; Eurostat; OECD) temelj za nadaljnjo kvantitativno analizo. Statistični podatki razdeljeni glede na spol služijo za pridobitev realne slike v vseh vidikih družbene, politične in ekonomske zastopanosti spolov.

Kombinirani pristop (mixed method) (Bejarano 2011; Borrego, Douglas in Amelink 2009) uporabe kvalitativnega in kvantitativnega pristopa, obenem pa tudi kombinacija uporabe tehnik zbiranja podatkov (vključno z intervjujem) in analize treh primerov (case studies) (Ingram 2010;

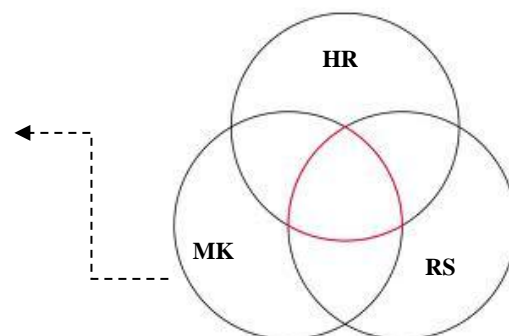


Tremblay 2006) ter kognitivno odkrivanje matrice vrednot in percepcij o delitvi vlog po spolu (WVS, EVS) so omogočili poglobljeno analizo kompleksne povezanosti institucionalnih, socio-ekonomskih in kulturnih dejavnikov ter prisotnosti žensk v politiki. Prav tako se v disertaciji pri proučevanju tranzicijskega prehoda iz socializma/postsocializma k demokraciji uporablja **dinamičen pristop proučevanja sprememb** v družbeno-političnem kontekstu, v razvojnih politikah in pri institucionalnih spremembah, ki so rezultat procesov evropeizacije in zunanjega pritiska, pri spremembah glede dejanske politične prisotnosti žensk v državah, ki so predmet raziskave, ter pri ekonomskih in kulturnih diferenciacijah. Po Peinadu in Serranu (2012) lahko dinamična analiza sledi spremembam evolucije v družbenem in kulturnem kontekstu. V raziskavi se dinamična analiza nanaša na obdobje od leta 1990 do leta 2009.

Raziskava zajema komparativno analizo treh držav (tranzicijskih postsocialističnih držav), in sicer s ciljem pojasniti vzroke za manjšo prisotnost žensk v politično-odločevalskih strukturah v obdobju od leta 1990 do 2009. Izhajajoč iz modela podobnosti/različnosti (Berg-Schlosser in De Meur 2009) so bili kriteriji pri izbiri analiziranih držav naslednji:

#### **Pregled dominantnih kriterijev (podobnosti) pri izbiri držav (MK, PC, XP)**

- splošni zgodovinski in geopolitični pogoji;
- obdobje prehoda iz socializma/postsocializma v vzpostavljane demokracije, obdobje družbeno-politične in ekonomske tranzicije;
- strankarski sistem, volilni sistem;
- socio-ekonomski razvoj;
- politična kultura, tradicija, religija, etnična pripadnost;
- prisotnost vojne;
- zunanji dejavnik, mednarodni vplivi.



**Model je prilagojen skladno z modeli sistemskih analiz (Easton 1965; Berg-Schlosser in Mitchell 2000) in modelom podobnosti/različnosti (Schlosser in De Meur 2009).**

Po Haggardu, Kaufmanu in Terenceu (2012) se v raziskavi uporablja model dihotomnega kodiranja demokratične tranzicije (distributiven ali nedistributiven konflikt). Dinamika sprememb v tranziciji se analizira s pomočjo podatkov CSP – Center for Systemic Peace, Integrated Network for Social Conflict Research; Marshall in Jagger (2010), Polity IV Country Reports 2010. Vse tri države so postsocialistične države, ki so, v celoti gledano, v istem obdobju

po dezintegraciji nekdanje Jugoslavije vzpostavile demokratične politične sisteme, večstrankarski sistem, parlamentarizem, pluralizem, številne demokratične in institucionalne spremembe. Glede na volilni sistem je danes (po predhodnem preizkusu večinskega in kombiniranega sistema) vzpostavljen proporcionalen sistem v vseh treh državah. Glede na socio-ekonomski razvoj, indeks človekovega razvoja, indeks neenakosti spolov, indeks revščine so po HDR 2011 te države na relativno podobni ravni (z rahlim odstopanjem Hrvaške v primerjavi z Makedonijo in Srbijo). Prek **komparativne analize treh držav** so za ugotavljanje podobnosti in razlik med pojavi v disertaciji vključene posebne spremenljivke, ki (so)determinirajo prisotnost žensk v politiki.

Intervjuji so bili izvedeni v obdobju od leta 2008 do 2012, in sicer leta 2008 v Makedoniji (10 intervjuvancev), v letih 2011 in 2012 pa v Srbiji (7 intervjuvancev) in na Hrvaškem (5 intervjuvancev). Pogovori so potekali v smeri ugotavljanja vzrokov za nižjo stopnjo prisotnosti žensk v politiki, vplivov institucionalnih dejavnikov na spremembe, uvedbe kvot (zakonsko-volilne in volontersko-strankarske), vplivov zunanjih akterjev, vpliva tranzicije na socio-ekonomska gibanja kot tudi na matrico vrednot (še posebej patriarhalne zavesti in stereotipov glede spola v politiki). Glede na interdisciplinarni pristop k tej problematiki se raziskovanje v okviru disertacije nanaša na širok kontekst družbenih, političnih in ekonomskih sprememb v postsocialističnih državah, na vpliv kulturnih obrazcev obnašanja kot dominantne percepcije, na tradicijo, ki je značilna za nacionalne specifikke glede politične prisotnosti žensk, in na institucionalne spremembe, ki so rezultat pritiskov globalizacije, procesa evropeizacije in integracije držav Zahodnega Balkana k EU.

Skladno z analizo teoretičnih pristopov se v disertaciji izhaja iz nekaterih značilnih konceptov, ki se v nadaljnji elaboraciji vežejo na posamezne spremenljivke. Dominantni koncepti (kot so koncept prisotnosti, koncept spolov, konstruktivističen koncept in teorije institucionalizma racionalnih volitev, kulturološki koncept in teorija kulturne modernizacije, koncept patriarhalizacije, vloge spolov in stereotipov ter (kot zelo pomemben za raziskovane države kandidatke za članstvo v EU) tudi koncept vpliva zunanjih dejavnikov, še posebej evropeizacije) predstavljajo izhodiščni okvir v disertaciji. Disertacija je usmerjena k raziskovanju vplivov, vzročno-posledičnih zvez in moči določenih spremenljivk – dejavnikov prisotnosti žensk v politiki v treh državah Zahodnega Balkana (Makedoniji, Srbiji in Hrvaški).

V smislu določanja, katera spremenljivka vpliva in kako oz. kakšna je intenzivnost posameznega

pozitivnega ali negativnega vpliva smo v teoretičnem delu izhajali iz modela dominacije sociokulturnih dejavnikov v nasprotju z institucionalnimi dejavniki v treh študijskih primerih. Če se upošteva, da imajo raziskane države v disertaciji relativno podoben demokratični razvoj, kulturo in tradicijo, je mogoče hipotetično pričakovati, da je intenzivnost institucionalnih sprememb za spodbujanje prisotnosti žensk v politiki potekalo z relativno enako časovno dinamiko. Skladno z teoretičnimi izhodišči številni raziskovalci (Hughes 2011; Biquelet, Weale, Bara 2012; Burnet 2011) govorijo o pozitivnem vplivu institucionalnih dejavnikov, političnih strategij ter volilnih in volonterskih kvot na spodbujanje večje prisotnosti žensk v politiki.

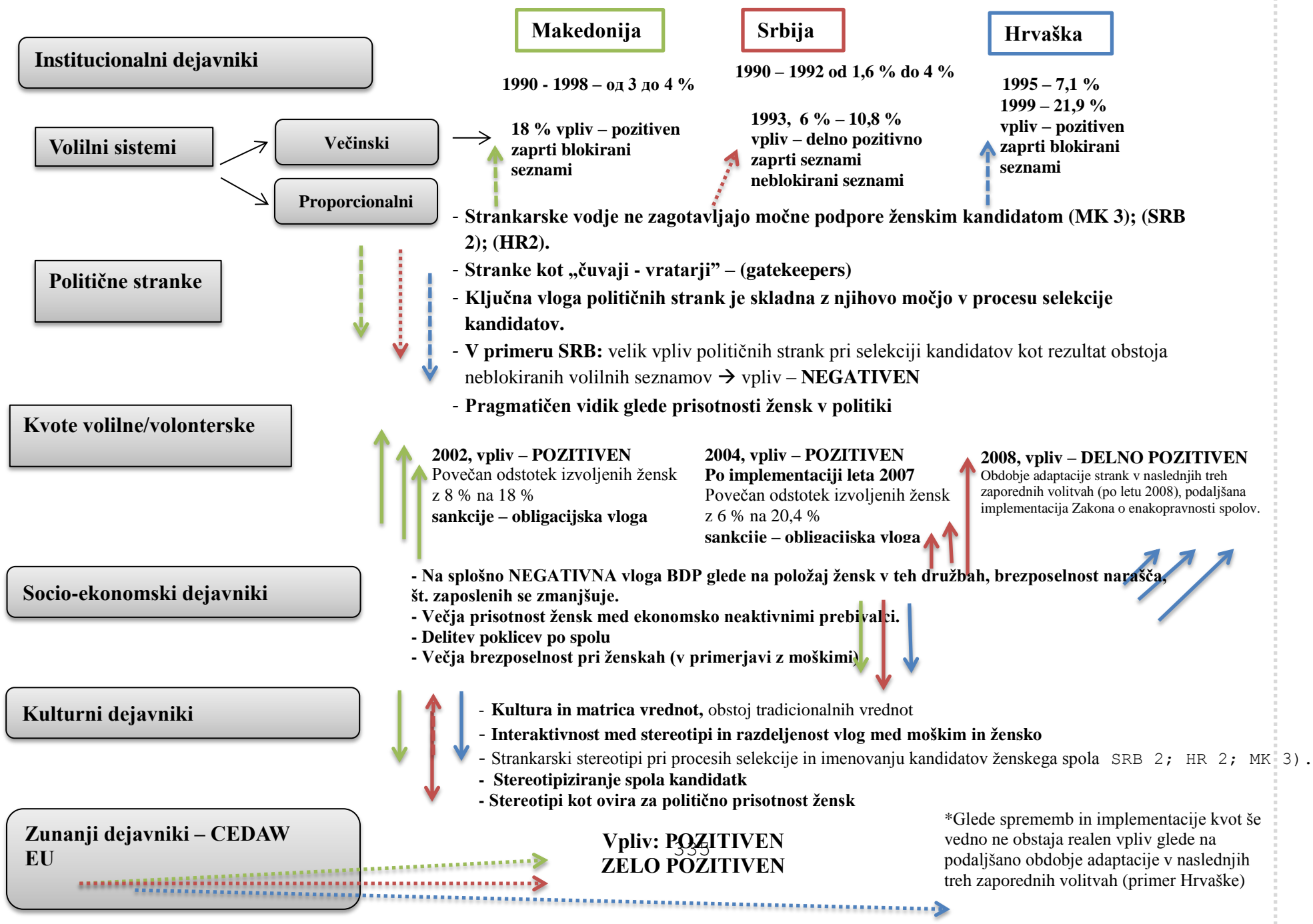
V treh raziskanih državah se je zamenjava večinskega volilnega sistema in uvedba proporcionalnega sistema odrazila kot pozitivna sprememba, vendar s posebnim učinkom šele po uvedbi volilnih kvot. To je bilo značilno za Srbijo, kjer so kljub obstoju proporcionalnega volilnega sistema politične okoliščine vplivale na negativen trend, zlasti zaradi vpliva vojne kot dejavnika. Na Hrvaškem se je vpliv proporcionalnega sistema odrazil preko večjega odstotka prisotnosti izvoljenih žensk v politiki v letu 2000, vendar pa je treba upoštevati, da je bila na teh istih volitvah HDZ oz. konservativna desnosredinska koalicija zamenjana na oblasti. V Makedoniji se je sprememba volilnega sistema izvedla skupaj z inkorporiranjem volilnih spolnih kvot, kar je pripomoglo k povečanju števila izvoljenih žensk na parlamentarnih volitvah leta 2002. Po zakonskih spremembah in uvedbi pozitivnih strategij in zakonskih kvot je opazna pozitivna sprememba v vseh treh državah, vendar pa učinkovite vloge in prisotnosti žensk na vodilnih političnih pozicijah odločanja (zlasti v izvršilni oblasti), ni zaznati ali pa je v določenih primerih rezultat konkretne pragmatične potrebe političnih strank (osebne povezave), kar pa ne omogoča reprezentativnosti ženskega glasovalnega telesa. Učinek zakonskih spolnih kvot in volilnih sistemov se v empiričnih analizah kaže kot pomemben, in sicer v pozitivni smeri glede zagotavljanja prisotnosti žensk v politiki vsaj v zakonsko določenem odstotku. Dejanski učinek - participacija in reprezentativnost žensk na odločevalskih pozicijah moči - so še vedno determinirani z obstoječimi dogmami in dominantnimi percepcijami večje uspešnosti moških v političnih procesih v primerjavi z ženskimi. Politične stranke imajo morda tudi ključno vlogo zaradi svoje funkcije rekrutiranja pri oblikovanju kandidatnih list, po drugi strani pa tudi glede na svojo ideološko matrico in programska določila za spodbujanje politične prisotnosti žensk v strankarskih telesih in na pozicijah. Kot rezultat pozitivnih strategij so politične stranke

imenovale predviden odstotek žensk kandidatk za volilne sezname, vendar vseeno ostaja dejstvo, da predsodki glede spolov in politična kultura na splošno še naprej ostajajo pomembni v vseh treh študijah primerov. Sociokulturni dejavniki izhajajo iz zgodovinsko-političnih pogojev, kulture, religije in dogem, ki so izraženi v dominantnih družbenih percepcijah. Počasna družbeno-ekonomska rast, nizka raven proizvodnje, visoka stopnja brezposelnosti, indeks revščine, socialno nezadovoljstvo ter vpliv vojne so vodili k pomanjkanju kontinuirane substancialne legitimnosti institucij oblasti. To se je nujno reflektiralo na položaj žensk in njihovo prisotnost v političnem življenju, ki je drastično padlo do ravni popolne izključenosti (Đurić-Kuzmanović 2002). V pogojih ekonomskih problemov in mizoginih kulturnih stereotipov je bila delno dosežena določena stopnja enakosti med spoloma, in sicer predvsem kot rezultat internacionalnih obligacij in pritiska 'od zgoraj navzdol' (from the top – to the bottom) ter družbenega pritiska, zlasti pritiska nevladnega sektorja in ženskih organizacij. Glavne determinante položaja žensk v postsocialističnih državah so tako bile njihovo stalno soočanje s težavami v načinu inkorporiranja mednarodnih/zlasti evropskih standardov in zlasti z njihovim spoštovanjem po eni strani strani in z dediščino predhodnega sistema po drugi strani (Cowles, Caporaso, Risse 2001). Glede vzdrževanja ravnotežja med spoloma in enakosti na vseh področjih družbenega življenja so politike v EU usmerjene k vplivanju na tradicijo preko uvajanja dobrih praks. V državah kandidatkah za članstvo v Uniji so bile v treh analiziranih primerih pod vplivom procesov integracije izvedene spremembe v nacionalnih zakonodajah, in sicer preko transformiranja zakonov ter z ravnanjem po priporočilih. Čeprav so bile tako na Hrvaškem kot tudi v Makedoniji, kasneje pa tudi v Srbiji - kot rezultat vpliva intergrativnih procesov k EU - narejene zakonske in institucionalne spremembe, ki pozitivno vplivajo na povišanje odstotka žensk v nacionalnih parlamentih, pa analize vseeno kažejo na to, da ta odstotek še vedno ne zadovoljuje kriterijev učinkovite prisotnosti oz. se nanaša le na numerično rast. Kljub splošnemu pozitivnemu učinku so institucionalne spremembe še vedno v senci dominantne kulture v vseh treh državah. Enakost med spoloma je odvisna s od realnega pritiska na strankarske elite, in sicer v povezavi z inkorporiranjem njihovih internih in eksternih politik oz. notranjih in zunanjih aktivnosti (Antić Gaber 2011). Iz analize izhaja ugotovitev, da so kulturni dejavniki in dominantna matrica vrednot močnejši od institucionalnih dejavnikov. V Makedoniji so bile ženske kljub uvedbi kvot v letu 2002 postavljene na nizkih pozicijah na seznamih kandidatov, vse dokler ni prišlo do sprememb v Volilnem zakoniku leta 2006, s katerim so bila predvidena

pravila rangiranja, vendar pa to kaže predvsem na nasilno emancipacijo. V Srbiji neblokirani seznamami omogočajo spremembo vrstnega reda kandidatov, ki bodo dobili poslanski mandat. Na zadnjih volitvah leta 2011 Hrvaška na seznamih še vedno nima 40 % kandidatov manj zastopanege spola, kar je posledica zamaknjenege obdobja posotpne prilagoditve strank zakonskim spremembam na obdobje treh zaporednih volitev. Vse to omogoča večji negativni vpliv kulturnih dejavnikov, saj dominantne percepcije predvsem v državah Zahodnega Balkana kažejo na pozicioniranje žensk v okviru doma in družine ali idealih ženskosti v zasebni sferi. Raziskovani študijski primeri kot države v tranziciji podobno kot v številnih drugih postsocialističnih državah signalizirajo patriarhalen način urejanja razmerij med moškim in žensko, kar kaže na sprejemanje vloge ženske v okviru zasebne sfere, doma in družine, in predstavlja oviro za aktivno prisotnost žensk v javnem in političnem življenju v teh državah. Dosedanje raziskave kažejo na pogojenost prisotnosti žensk v politiki tudi z ekonomskim razvojem države, predvsem z vidika povečanega aktivizma pri ženski populaciji, s tem pa tudi s spremembo zavesti pri prebivalcih glede vloge ženske v javni sferi družbe. Nekateri raziskovalci so pri analizi bogatih nacij kot dilemo postavili kavzalno povezanost prisotnosti ženske v politiki ter participacijo in reprezentativnost ženskih interesov na splošno, pri čemer so izpostavili obratno sorazmerno povezanost teh spremenljivk. V treh analiziranih primerih v disertaciji je zlasti pomemben tranzicijski kontekst, ki se ne odraža le v ekonomiji, temveč tudi na političnem in splošno demokratičnem razvoju. Zlasti je pomembna tudi vloga dominantne kulture v državi. Če povežemo te spremenljivke v teh treh državah, so se spremembe dogajale počasi tako v ekonomskem kot tudi v političnem smislu. Iz komparativne analize statističnih podatkov je mogoče razbrati premo sorazmeren trend ekonomskega in demokratičnega razvoja, ki neopazno vpliva na spremembe prisotnosti žensk v politiki, in sicer glede na to, da se posebne spremembe opazijo celo po legislativnih in institucionalnih spremembah. Za večjo prisotnost žensk na splošno v javnem življenju je prav tako pomembna izobrazba žensk. Patriarhalna matrica vrednot in percepcije delitve vlog spolov v družbi sta pogojeni z nizko ravni izobrazbe. Izobrazba je glavni dejavnik pri nastanku percepcij pri populaciji. Raziskovanje javnega mnenja v Srbiji je pokazalo na patriarhalno matrico vrednot v percepcijah prebivalcev z nižjo izobrazbo. V parlamentih treh držav je najvišja prisotnost žensk z visoko izobrazbo. Vendar pa vpliv izobrazbe v teh treh državah kaže na spolno razdeljena področja izobrazbe. Po drugi strani pa tudi ekonomsko stanje in raven zaposlenosti/brezposelnosti determinirata vlogo žensk v javni sferi. Ti

dejavniki vplivajo zlasti na noblikovanje družbene zavesti. Prav tako je opazna delitev vlog po spolu tudi pri izbiri poklica. Ženske so veliko bolj vključene v medicino, tekstilno industrijo ali v sfero izobraževanja. Kot primer navajamo odstotek žensk glede na skupno število zaposlenih v tekstilni industriji v Makedoniji v letu 2003, ki znaša 82,5 % (ДЗС МК 2004). Takšna delitev poklicev kaže na dominantno tradicionalno kulturo, ki se odslikava tudi v politični realnosti. Pri ženskah je zlasti indikativna skupina neplačanih družinskih delavcev, kar ponovno kaže na njihovo vlogo v zasebni sferi. Skladno z analizami javnega mnenja (WVS, EVS 2008) empirični podatki kažejo na dominantno matrico vrednot patriarhalnosti, kolektivizma in familiarizma. To se z druge strani interpretira tudi z nezaupanjem političnih vodij pri selekciji in imenovanju ženskih kandidat na visoke položaje moči in odločanja, kaže pa tudi na izraz zaupanja državljanov v ženske kandidatke. Kot so pokazale analize, je v vseh teh treh državah vloga ženske v politiki determinirana s tradicionalnimi vrednotnimi stališči in percepcijami. Skladno z empiričnimi podatki v disertaciji je kljub spremembam v zakonodaji in uvedbi institucionalnih sprememb v vseh treh državah ključna obstoječa politična kultura dominacije moških, zlasti v političnih strankah kot političnih akterjih.

Slika AA 1: Sintetični komparativni pregled empiričnih rezultatov in teoretično-metodološkega temelja disertacije



Pri testiranju modela in ugotavljanju vpliva dejavnikov na prisotnost žensk v politiki se v disertaciji pri analizi spremenljivk, ki kažejo na pomenljive pozitivne/negativne vplive, osredotočamo na institucionalne spremembe, ki sta jih po eni strani spodbudili EU in pozitivna integracija, po drugi strani negativni vplivi dominantne kulture, tradicije, religije in vrednostnih percepcij. Analize kvantitativnih podatkov, dobljenih iz WVS in EVS, ter raziskav vrednot v Srbiji (Javno mnjenje Srbije o rodnoj ravnopravnosti), analiza intervjujev, ki so relevantni za raziskovalni pojav v treh analiziranih primerih, ter analiza podatkov, dobljenih iz predhodnih raziskav in merjenj kulture WVS – Norris in Inglehart (2001), Paxton in Kunovich (2003) Norris in Krook (2010), demonstrirajo močno korelacijo teh spremenljivk s prisotnostjo žensk v politiki. Na podlagi tega so analize v disertaciji fokusirane na testiranje modela negativnega vpliva ali prevladovanja socio-ekonomskih in zlasti kulturnih dejavnikov nad institucionalnimi dejavniki, ki kljub svojemu pozitivnemu vplivu še vedno ne morejo spremeniti patriarhalne matrice vzpostavljenih razmerij in delitve vlog v družbi. V smeri doseganja politične inkluzivnosti smo pri testiranju vpliva volilnega sistema kot dejavnika opazili pozitiven vpliv proporcionalnega volilnega sistema v teh državah v primerjavi z večinskim volilnim sistemom, ko je bil odstotek prisotnosti žensk v politiki nižji v primerjavi z obdobjem po spremembi. Čeprav številni raziskovalci podajajo argumente „za” in „proti” (nekateri raziskovalci celo zagovarjajo stališče, da noben sistem ni idealen za prisotnost žensk v politiki), je vseeno viden pozitiven učinek proporcionalnih sistemov, če upoštevamo dejstvo, da imajo te tri raziskane države za seboj kratko obdobje demokratičnega razvoja in dominantno politično kulturo stereotipnosti glede vloge ženske v družbi, in je mogoče ugotoviti, da se je sprememba volilnega sistema tako kot v številnih drugih državah v tranziciji odrazila pozitivno, in sicer ne le kar se tiče prisotnosti žensk v politiki, temveč še toliko bolj v razmerju do ostalih marginaliziranih skupin (etnične in verske skupine). Pozitivne strategije imajo poseben vpliv na izboljšanje politične izkušnje v treh analiziranih primerih, čeprav predstavlja to le formalno povečanje števila, medtem ko sta dejanska participacija in reprezentativnost interesov žensk še vedno determinirani z dominantno kulturo v preučevanih družbah.

Zlasti je pomemben vpliv pozitivnih strategij v obliki zakonskih kvot, ki kljub teoretičnim argumentom zoper njihovo uvedbo (problem nelegitimnosti ukrepov) v državah s kratkim demokratičnim razvojem nimajo negativnega učinka na prisotnost moških v politiki, temveč



so usmerjene k spodbujanju ženskega aktivnega in pasivnega telesa v političnih dogajanjih oziroma k tendenci enakih možnosti za oba spola. Vseeno pa se morajo pozitivni ukrepi postaviti kot politika in ne kot enostavna metoda, saj bi morali prav ti ukrepi predstavljati orodje za izvajanje temeljnih načel demokracije, ki so sprejeta kot legitimen demokratičen inštrument (Leinert Novosel 2007). Pri vzajemnem delovanju zakonske in strankarske kvote kljub pozitivnemu učinku niso dovolj za učinkovito spremembo matrice vrednot v smeri povečanja aktiviranja žensk v politiki (Kunovich 2012; Burnet 2011; Hughes 2011; Krook 2004). Po modelu *kritične mase* je učinkovitost žensk političark na najvišji ravni pogojena s politično kulturo, zavestjo in samozavestjo pri ženskah, pa tudi pri moških (Leinert Novosel 2007). Pri tem je zelo pomemben pritisk nevladnega sektorja v smeri simultane krepitve koncepta enakosti spolov, ki je osredotočena na dialog in pritisk na politične strukture odločanja in moči. Kljub vplivu mednarodnih dokumentov, ki izhajajo iz članstva v Sveta Evrope, ZN – konvencija CEDAW in podobno, trije študijski primeri v dosedanji praksi niso imeli konsistentne implementacije v raziskanih državah. Pozitivna integracija Evropske Unije zlasti preko aplikacije direktiv se je v teh državah pokazala kot ključni element v nadgradnji nacionalne zakonodaje ter institucionalnih in nacionalnih mehanizmov za enakopravnost spolov na vseh področjih. Predhodne analize v empiričnem delu disertacije (zlasti analize podatkov WVS in EVS) rišejo sliko dominacije patriarhalnih stališč glede vlog ženske v družbi tako v zasebni kot tudi v javni sferi ter sliko nezaupanja političnih vodij in državljanov glede žensk v politiki. Kljub institucionalnim spremembam, zlasti po vstopu držav v proces stabilizacije, asociacije in integracije k EU, kažejo takšni rezultati na marginalizacijo žensk glede v procesih osrejnega političnega dogajanja. Tisto, kar je ključno v prizadevanjih za preseganje takšnega stanja, ne izhaja le iz zakonskih rešitev (v državah z daljšim demokratičnim razvojem skoraj ne obstajajo kvote oziroma percepcije in dominantna kultura v teh državah dvigujejo enakopravnost spolov na višjo raven v primerjavi z manj razvitimi državami), temveč so (kot kaže analiza treh primerov) ključni dejavniki specifična tradicija, zgodovinski, ekonomski in politični pogoji, dominantna politična kultura ter vpliv vojne. Le-ti dejavniki po eni strani prispevajo k težjemu sprejemanju in implementiranju institucionalnih in zakonskih sprememb ali nasilne emancipacije, po drugi pa prispevajo k zgolj numerični prisotnosti žensk v politiki. Vse to kaže na predominacijo kulturnih in socio-ekonomskih dejavnikov v teh državah. Pri preseganju teh stanj je pomembna zlasti implementacija

zakonov in učinkovitost mehanizmov, ki se nanašajo na doseganje ravnotežja med spoloma v procesih odločanja. V tem smislu je zelo pomembna vloga NVO kot socialnih akterjev pri oblikovanju zavesti državljanov, ki s pomočjo države in mednarodnih akterjev še bolj determinirajo metode informiranja javnosti glede pravic žensk, stanj in analiz, hkrati pa predstavljajo okrepitev mehanizmov evaluacije in implementacije politike spolov. Posebno pozornost je treba posvetiti dobrim praksam vključevanja žensk v realna politična dogajanja in učinkovitem predstavnstvu (za razliko od formalne prisotnosti). Poseben poudarek je namenjen pomembnosti inkorporiranja izobraževanja o uravnoteženi udeležbi spolov v političnih dogajanjih v okviru političnih strank. To se nanaša predvsem na sodelovanje med državnimi organi in strukturami ter državljani in nevladnimi organizacijami, zlasti kar se tiče edukacije državljanov (žensk, pa tudi moških) glede enakih možnosti, vlog in percepcij. Splošno gledano, v treh analiziranih državah so nujna prizadevanja za dvig zavesti državljanov v smeri inkorporiranja enakih možnosti v vseh sferah družbenega življenja, s tem pa tudi za povečanje prisotnosti, dejanske politične udeležbe in reprezentativnosti žensk v politiki. Ekvilibrij družbenih pravil, kultura, stereotipi in tradicije obnašanja in tvorjenja zavesti so najtežje spremenljive kategorije v družbi. Tendencia za spremembo v smislu približevanja mednarodnim vrednotam je pogojena tudi z mednarodno izmenjavo, podporo in pozitivno integracijo. S svojim zunanjim pritiskom je pomembna zlasti Evropska unija, ki kreira politike enakih možnosti in terja njihovo nadaljnjo implementacijo v država članicah EU in državah kandidatkah za članstvo v EU. To nedvomno prispeva k inkorporiranju specifičnih politik in strategij za enake možnosti ter k institucionalnim spremembam v številnih postsocialističnih državah, med katerimi so tudi raziskovani študijski primeri (Antić Gaber in Jalušić 2001).