

Women's Political Participation in the Republic of Macedonia:

Opportunities to Support Women in Upcoming Elections—and Beyond

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Women's Political Participation in the Republic of Macedonia: Opportunities to Support Women in Upcoming Elections—and Beyond

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

In anticipation of local elections in Macedonia in fall 2000, USAID/Macedonia asked the USAID Democracy and Governance Center to help it look at women's participation in the political process. The center's elections specialist was able to spend only five business days in country, so she suggested teaming up with the Democracy Specialist from the Office of Women in Development's WIDTECH project. Based on preparatory discussions, this team proposed a scope of work to assist in the formulation of a strategy for bolstering women's political participation in Macedonia. Upon their arrival in Skopje, the team members learned that the Mission had a particular interest in what USAID might do with regard to the local elections. At the same time, however, the team soon learned there was very little time to recommend, choose, design, and deliver assistance. Not only were elections only several calendar months away, but Macedonians typically flee the Skopje summer heat.¹ Thus, from discussions with Mission staff, the team saw local elections offering the opportunity to (1) investigate women's political participation; (2) assess existing efforts; (3) ensure that USAID partners providing election assistance would pay attention to women's participation; and, perhaps, (4) provide small financial support for existing initiatives.

But the investigation of women and local elections was also an opportunity to lay the groundwork for a longer-term goals of supporting women for the parliamentary elections of 2001 and broadening political participation. As a result, this report reflects the team's thinking with regard to both short-term and longer-term opportunities. To that end, the team looked at two dimensions of women's political participation: a short-term, narrow definition—that is, what USAID could do to help women prepare for local elections, to be voters, candidates, and participants in that process; and a longer-term view of women's political participation, relating not only to parliamentary elections but also to women's capacity to gain political power—that is, to participate actively and effectively. The broader definition encompasses women as constituents and as voters, as government officials and as candidates, and as leaders and as members of the political parties.

The capacity of women to participate in elections—and to achieve greater representation—depends on their organizations, their skills, and their strategies. Regarding organizations, the team found a large and diverse community of women's organizations in Macedonia, including umbrella organizations—the Union of Macedonian Women's Organizations (SOZM), the Organization of Women's Organizations, and the League of Albanian Women—and three independent organizations—JEHONA, Women in Development, and Women and Family. There are also two Roma women's organizations, two Roma organizations with women's branches, and a Turkish women's organization. Although many groups have ethnic bases, there is willingness to cooperate across ethnic lines and they share some objectives. At the same time, there is dynamism among women in civil society, as illustrated by the founding of new organizations, such as ESE and Antiko, by younger

¹ In fact, after the team left Macedonia, the government scheduled the elections for a month earlier than expected—that is, for September 10.

women. Capable young women are also active in student unions, political party youth organizations, nongovernmental organizations, and local development teams.

Despite their activity in civil society, however, women are poorly represented in political arenas. Only 8 of 120 Members of Parliament are women, and all 123 mayors are men. Although the Constitution guarantees equal rights, there is little awareness or enforcement. Similarly, there is a Gender Unit within the Ministry of Labor but it receives no government funding. Although the Gender Unit, along with a National Women's Committee that includes NGO representation, has drafted a National Action Plan for Gender Equality, the unit is waiting to see whether Parliament will establish a Gender Commission to push funding and implementation.

With regard to politics, constraints limit the number and diversity of women who are interested in running for office, wield any meaningful power in political parties, and get elected:

- # Stereotypes of leadership are held by voters and by women themselves;
- # Women perceive political culture as clubbish, dirty, and corrupt;
- # Women are often impeded by their sole responsibility for the household and family;
- # Conservative and hierarchical constraints within party structures and within their own organizations discourage new entrants; and
- # Women lack the necessary resources.

In the face of these obstacles, the women of Macedonia have responded to local elections by launching a variety of initiatives to increase their participation in decision-making. Various proposals were put forward at a Donor's Conference on June 1, 2000. One group of activities focuses on *strengthening women as candidates*. There are two different approaches: developing women's interest and skills for running for office, and strategies to pressure political parties to take measures to ensure that women are elected. Another group of activities focuses on *women as voters* and getting them out to vote. The donors supporting women's issues and organizations include UNDP, UNIFEM, OSCE (The Stability Pact Gender Task Force), and the European Union; Swedes, Dutch, Norwegians, Belgians, Germans, and French; and the Open Society Institute.

Given the number of initiatives noted above, the team would have liked simply to identify the better projects and recommend that USAID support them. Yet there were two reasons to proceed cautiously. First, two assessments—the 1998 assessment of USAID's Women in Politics program and the recent evaluation of implementation of the Beijing Platform of Action, including the representation of women in power and decision-making—have raised doubts about whether candidate training and information campaigns suffice. Although women participating in such activities appreciate the support, the activities have not accomplished systemic changes or brought about noteworthy increases in women's representation. The traditional activities do not address key impediments to women's

political participation, such as the burdens of household and family or the cynicism of many women regarding the corruption and inefficacy of government.

Second, insofar as the standard activities may still have incremental beneficial impacts, there are pervasive doubts in Macedonia about their effectiveness because many of the implementing organizations lack skills, training, and expert assistance. In fact, weaknesses undermine the effectiveness of standard activities: (1) individual women and organizations lack fundamental skills to design and implement effective programs; (2) organizations need strengthening and democratization; (3) mobilizing and training candidates do not suffice because Macedonia has a party list system; and (4) implementation of a strategy requires a unified movement.

Because of these weaknesses, the team strongly recommends guidelines for working with women or their organizations:

1. Focus on the local level and encourage internal democratic procedures in associations.
2. Coordinate donor efforts.
3. Pay attention to the ethnic overlay.
4. Be aware that women's issues and needs go far beyond violence against women and trafficking of women; nearly all government decisions have some impact on women.
5. Work with and engage men.
6. Take account of generational differences among women.

The team proposes two sets of recommendations—short-term steps focused on the upcoming elections and long-range approaches to build women's political participation and improve democracy and governance results.

For elections, there are three areas in which to enhance women's political participation:

- # Removing obstacles to women as voters, and as informed voters;
- # Increasing the number of women in elected and appointed offices; and
- # Enhancing the impact of women as campaigners, party members, and constituents.

In the very near term, for the local elections USAID could support the above areas in four ways. The first, and most important, is that some approaches lie within the ambit of existing USAID assistance and could be addressed by paying greater attention to gender-based barriers to participation. These include both the barriers to the participation of women and purposeful mechanisms for encouraging and supporting the involvement of women.² Several of USAID's democracy and governance partners—DAI, NDI, and ISC, in particular—are doing work that can reach women, address their needs, and engage them as resources. This report suggests specific actions for each partner, set forth in Table 1. USAID might ask each partner to decide three or four ways in which it could enhance the involvement of women in its activities.

² Note that we refer to two types of women's participation: (1) women's *political* participation in Macedonian democratic processes and institutions and (2) women's participation *in USAID activities*. Improving women's participation in USAID programs, which may be achieved through attention to gender-based barriers and opportunities, is one means by which USAID and its partners could help achieve the real goal of increased women's political participation.

A second way USAID could provide support, which would require only minimal time and resources, is a “brokering function.” USAID could bring the USAID partners who are doing election-related work—for example, work with monitors, media, and political parties—together with women’s organizations. The various groups would introduce themselves. They could then work together to identify ways in which the women’s groups can provide participants for the USAID activities, such as monitors, and the USAID activities might offer the women’s groups expertise.

The third way is to provide small financial support to some of the existing initiatives—in particular, those put forward at the Donors’ Conference in June. But because the strongest proposals received funding soon after the Donors’ Conference and there is little time left before the elections, most funding would be too late for organizing and implementing new activities.

Last, if the Mission were interested in a longer-term strategy, it might use elections as a trial step by providing some support to the Women’s Lobby. This approach has advantages: (1) through its work to reach a unified position with regard to political parties, the Women’s Lobby has achieved an important success; (2) supporting the Women’s Lobby provides support for coalition-based, unified action and avoids the selection of a preferred organization; (3) it is an opportunity to support already-launched initiatives that need resources; and (4) the Women’s Lobby might lead to a unified and institutionalized women’s movement. This would be a step toward a strategic, integrated approach.

Yet beyond the opportunities for assistance related to the elections, the team suggests that USAID focus on women’s political participation not only for women’s sake but also to broaden and strengthen Macedonia’s democratic culture and processes. A key objective for USAID/Macedonia, as for USAID throughout the region, is increased citizen participation, in both civil society and government. But achieving such an increase depends on identifying those who are not participating and supporting their enhanced and effective involvement. Hence, when women are underrepresented in government, they constitute a key target group for increasing citizen participation. By focusing on women, USAID can support the inclusion of talented and committed citizens who have been interested in politics but unable to contribute. In addition, a better understanding of what impedes the political participation of women is a way to remove obstacles that block others as well. The elections offer opportunities to work with women to address weaknesses in Macedonia’s young democracy, including control of political participation by political parties, lack of issue-oriented campaigns, ethnic divisions, and a need for competent hardworking people in government.

The long-term aim is therefore to increase women’s political participation within political parties, as constituents and advocates, and in government. There are two places to find and support women’s greater access to and effectiveness in political arenas: in civil society, where women learn about democratic processes and issues while developing self-confidence and leadership skills; and in the business sector, where women have economic power and leadership skills but often lack the time to engage in politics and the political connections or support to enter the political realm.

USAID could support those women in three ways: (1) provide technical assistance and skills by ensuring that existing programs and technical assistance reach women and their organizations more effectively; (2) support establishment of a democratically functioning Women's Lobby (including women's organizations, business groups, women in Parliament, and the Gender Unit) as a unified interest group with an achievable two-year program; and (3) address the barriers that impede participation by economically active women in politics.

USAID might provide support along two parallel tracks: (1) a linkages track, to improve connections between Macedonian women and their organizations and USAID partners and activities; and (2) a coordinating and advisory track, to provide an advisor/coordinator to support some components of a two-year plan. For the first, each USAID partner should develop linkages with women's organizations, by improving attention to women as participants and by designing programming with women's organizations in mind. For effective implementation, such linkages should be established in work plans, performance monitoring plans, and reporting.³

On the parallel track, an advisor/coordinator would manage four components:

- # Supporting the Women's Lobby;
- # Overseeing a baseline survey to establish the political culture, needs, and participation of all Macedonian women;⁴
- # Working as a liaison between the USAID partners and women's groups to ensure women's access to existing training and grants (gender integration advisor); and
- # Establishing a regular donor coordination group for women's activities.

To ensure that these steps are taken and that they contribute to the Mission's democracy and governance Strategic Objective, the team recommends the formulation of an Intermediate Result to increase women's political participation in the new democracy and governance strategy. Experience has shown that an Intermediate Result is needed to ensure that activities are designed to identify and address gender-based barriers, engage women, and monitor for gender impacts.⁵

³ As strongly recommended in the team's guidelines, the linkages should be with local organizations. Umbrella organizations or networks are a way to identify the local members, but partnerships and work should be local.

⁴ Despite the brevity of its work, the team met with many women's NGOs and the donors. We concluded they have launched numerous small initiatives without real certainty about what women want and need. Even within the Albanian community, there are different experiences of women (not all allow proxy voting; some are active), and the same is true for the Roma. The women of Macedonia are a variegated group, and assistance does not seem grounded in a clear understanding of where the strongest needs or opportunities for enhancing democracy lie. A study to understand the various circumstances of Macedonian women, particularly in relation to democratic processes and institutions, would advance effective, results-oriented programming.

⁵ That Intermediate Result would be connected to microfinance, business, agriculture, or local economic development because they offer opportunities to build women's leadership, support women in organizations and associations, and work on government policies that benefit women economically.

CHAPTER ONE

TEAM GOALS: WOMEN'S POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

In anticipation of upcoming local elections in Macedonia in fall 2000, USAID/Macedonia asked the USAID Democracy and Governance Center (G/DG) to help it look at women's political participation. The specialist from the Center was able to spend only five business days in country, so she suggested partnering with the Democracy Specialist from the USAID Office of Women in Development's WIDTECH project.⁶ Based on preparatory discussions, this team submitted a proposed scope of work, stating its goal as "assist[ing] in the formulation of a strategy for bolstering women's political participation in Macedonia." According to that scope of work, the team would produce a report covering: (1) an assessment of past and present women's political participation in Macedonia, (2) an assessment of current USAID democracy and governance programming and its impact on women's political participation, and (3) recommendations for integrating attention to gender and women's participation into existing democracy and governance programs and for follow-up activities USAID/Skopje might undertake.⁷

Upon their arrival in Skopje, the team learned that the Mission had a particular interest in local elections and in what USAID might do with regard to them. At the same time, however, the team soon learned that not only were there only several calendar months before the elections for identifying and delivering assistance, but Macedonians typically leave the heat of Skopje for much of the summer—leaving even less time for election work. From their discussions with Mission staff, the team saw local elections offering the opportunity to (1) investigate women's political participation; (2) assess existing efforts; (3) ensure that USAID partners providing election assistance would pay attention to women's participation; and, perhaps, (4) provide some small financial support for existing initiatives. In fact, after the team left Macedonia, the government scheduled the elections for September 10.

But the investigation of women and local elections was also an opportunity to lay the groundwork for a longer-term goal of supporting women for the parliamentary elections of 2001 and for broader political participation. As a result, this report reflects the team's thinking with regard to both short-term and longer-term opportunities. To that end, the team looked at two dimensions of women's political participation: a short-term, narrow

⁶ The G/DG specialist arrived on June 7 and left mid-day on June 13. The WIDTECH specialist stayed through June 15.

⁷ There was some ambiguity regarding the final scope of work. The Mission had asked that the team also undertake a "quick review/statement of what the Mission is now doing throughout its portfolio, where you think gaps exist, identify other activities we might have that would complement ours, give us info on IQCs that we could use." The G/WID and WIDTECH response was that the team lacked the breadth of expertise. But to accommodate the Mission, the team offered that the WIDTECH specialist take preliminary steps to determine areas for future attention. When, during their first meeting, the Mission reiterated the need for a review of business and agriculture activities, the team agreed that, if the political participation study progressed well, the WIDTECH specialist could use the last days for a cursory look. In fact, she attended a USAID meeting about women's business associations, met with three partners (Možnosti, ACDI/VOCA, and Land O'Lakes), drafted a memo, and presented her findings.

definition—that is, what USAID could do to help women prepare for local elections, to be voters, candidates, and participants in that process; and a longer-term, view of “women’s political participation” relating not only to parliamentary elections but also to women’s capacity to gain political power—that is, to participate actively and effectively. The broader definition encompasses women as constituents as well as voters, as government officials as well as candidates, and as leaders as well as members of the political parties.

The team considered two different ways to enhance women’s political participation: (1) through new, stand-alone activities related to government, politics, and civil society; and (2) through attention to how existing USAID activities might strengthen women’s political participation. To examine these opportunities, the team met with a variety of women’s organizations, women Members of Parliament, community leaders, and gender experts to get a sense of current initiatives, concerns, and issues among Macedonian women. Second, the team spoke with current USAID grantees and contractors to discuss current program activities and approaches. These meetings enabled the team to identify opportunities for additional USAID involvement, to refocus activities to incorporate a gender focus, or to enhance its focus by paying greater attention to gender-based obstacles and opportunities. The team also met with several donors to discuss coordination on women’s activities in advance of elections and more broadly.

CHAPTER TWO

WHAT WOMEN ARE DOING: ACTIVE IN CIVIL SOCIETY BUT WEAKLY REPRESENTED IN POLITICS

The capacity of women to participate in elections—and to achieve greater representation—depends on their organization, skills, and strategies. During our short review of women’s political participation in Macedonia, the team was struck by the diversity of women, their organizations, and their approaches. Women in civil society are eager, active, and dynamic—and new women and organizations are becoming involved all the time. Although the capability of individuals and organizations may still be limited, women throughout the country are investing time and making efforts to be active and effective members of a democratic society. Yet in the political realm, women play limited roles and are having difficulty reaching positions of power and decision making.

WOMEN’S ORGANIZATIONS

Women’s groups in Macedonia are as diverse as the women whom they serve. Each has its own style or approach, comparative advantage and value added, and constituency. Some groups are outgrowths of pre-1989 organizations; some are new but headed by women leaders from the former system; and others are fully new, with professional leaders who put forward new visions.⁸ Some focus on social issues, networking, and building gender awareness, whereas others are focused and politically savvy. Although they may share some objectives, they do not tend to agree on their approaches.

As expected, many women’s groups are drawn along ethnic lines. Ethnicity can be a complicating factor for assistance—often determining the status of women, their level of public awareness, opportunities for women’s participation, and issues on which they focus. For example, among the women of Macedonia, Albanian women seem to face the most cultural constraints to public participation. Although Turkish women have more access to the public sphere, they organized themselves formally only recently.

Beyond ethnicity, characteristics including geographic setting, age, and objectives preclude any uniform assessment. For example, the leadership and culture of some organizations build upon older structures and experience. Although they seek to embrace new organizational and political approaches, both leaders and members tend to come out of the former system. In contrast, young women are beginning to initiate their own projects and organizations, and seem to exhibit a more specialized and innovative approach. In terms of location, organizations in Skopje typically have access to more information and resources than do others, whereas those in smaller communities often have greater impetus for cross-cultural collaboration. In this varied environment, opportunities for outside assistance are equally diverse.

⁸ We found evidence of the constant dynamism and interest as exemplified by three new organizations: Women in Development, Woman and the Family, and Antiko.

All of the groups with whom we met were created within the last 10 years. The largest group is the Union of Women's Organizations of Macedonia (UWOM in English and SOZM in Macedonian), founded after the opening to democracy and led by Savka Todorovska. UWOM is a network of 49 local women's groups including Albanian, Turkish, Roma, Serb, Vlach, and Macedonian women nationwide. UWOM has taken on a wide range of issues, including establishing a help line for abused women, conducting nationwide education and mobilization to build awareness and begin to address an array of women's issues, participating in the Beijing +5 process and the Gender Task Force of the Stability Pact, working with the Macedonia Center for International Cooperation to establish local centers to provide information and computers for local groups, and working with the Women's Lobby. Although UWOM has focused on the political empowerment of women, particularly on increasing the number of women in politics and decision-making bodies, it reportedly intends to shift its focus after the local elections to peace, peacekeeping, and dialogue (see Annex B for Statements on Beijing +5 Statements on Women and Armed Conflict).

The strength of UWOM and its member organizations is the potential for reaching and mobilizing a nationwide network of women. The presidents of UWOM's member organizations meet the first Saturday of every month in Skopje. Women from member organizations in Skopje meet on Monday afternoons. The weakness of UWOM is its failure to disseminate information through that network and to share resources with member organizations. Women outside of UWOM expressed concern over the organization's centralized structure and leadership (see Annex C).

There is also an Organization of Macedonian Women's Organizations (OZM), led by Mirjana Dimovska. Because of time constraints, the team did not meet with OZM. Apparently, Ms. Dimovska inherited an old institution, the Anti-Fascist Association of Women dating back to World War II, that has become an organization for the emancipation of women.

Within the Albanian community, there are several Albanian organizations: the League of Albanian Women, based in Tetovo with 12 branches; and a new organization that broke off from the League, Women in Development.⁹ One is based in Tetovo and the other in Skopje. The President of the League is Mukeremi Rusi, although another contact in Tetovo is Fata Murtezani. Another independent Albanian women's organization is JEHONA, in Kumanovo. A new organization headed by an Albanian woman in Skopje, Djulumsera Kasapi, is called The Woman and the Family.

There is also a Turkish women's organization, Derja, with its seat in Gostivar. Derja leadership reports an ever-growing membership that began at 1,500 women from around the country at the time of its founding. For Roma women, at least four organizations serve them: two are women's organizations (ESMA in Skopje and DAJA in Komanovo) and two Roma organizations with women's units (CERENA in Stip and PHURT in Delcevo). There is the Union of Wallach Women of Macedonia led by Elena Papacafa.

⁹ As we only learned of Women in Development at the end of our review, we are unable to provide any further information.

There are also some new women's organizations that reject old notions of women and family; do not have ethnic identities; and focus instead on women's rights, women's political participation, and gender equality. The Association for Emancipation, Solidarity, and Equality of Women (ESE), registered in 1995, has four foci: health education, legal education and aid, domestic violence, and women in politics and decision-making structures. Within the last program goal, ESE seeks to build the capabilities of women already in political parties and government and to increase the receptivity of political structures to women. To this end, ESE has designed a course for political party and government officials, with various modules including strategic planning, fundraising, contact with voters, and the media. The strength of this organization is in delivering expertise to professional politicians. One concern would be that it does not have members or outreach, and if any one of the four leaders were to leave Macedonia (such as for graduate study), the organization would lose that expertise (see Annex C).

An organization just founded this year is Antiko. As part of a regional initiative that included women from Bosnia, Croatia, Serbia, and Macedonia, the organization focuses on elections, training of trainers, and identification of leaders. Antiko seeks to create “a new concept of a women’s network: one with a democratic structure, one that is minimizes dehierarchised [stet] and decentralized, one that is fresh and creative and which is open towards the encouraging of women of various backgrounds and nationalities in FYR Macedonia.” This group appears to be a new and young response to UWOM (see Annex C).

Women in “Pipeline” for Leadership and Politics

If there are to be more women in politics, both elected and appointed and at the national and local levels, they must be found, encouraged, and supported. In Macedonia, these women may be found in a variety of professional and civil society roles:

Journalists
Academics
Lawyers/judges
Financial officers
Student Unions
Youth sections of political parties
LED teams (“industrial adjustment specialists”)
Press officers
City administration and mayoral staff
NGO leaders

As USAID partners are frequently encountering and working with women in such roles, it would be helpful for them to alert these women to opportunities for them to gain skills and support for their political leadership.

WOMEN IN POLITICAL LEADERSHIP

Despite their activity in civil society, women are poorly represented in political arenas. Within national government, women sit in 8 of 120 parliamentary seats. Although they remain a small percentage of the total, this is an increase of 100 percent from the previous representation of only 4. Another concern, however, is that all of these women are of Macedonian ethnicity; no Albanian woman has yet been a Member of Parliament. Although these numbers seem discouraging, they are in fact in line with women's representation around the world, where most countries have representation of 4-10 percent.¹⁰ Currently, the Minister of Interior is a woman, and two vice-ministers have been women. Within local government, all 123 mayors are men. According to the government's National Report to the United Nations for the Beijing +5 review, 102 of 1,884 local council members are women.¹¹

The critical players to consider in Macedonian politics are the political parties, which control much of Macedonian political life, both national and local. Currently, there is no woman leading a political party. The main political parties, however, have women's clubs within their branches. Some political parties, such as the SDSM, use quotas in their youth and general structures. In 1998, the political parties made a declaration regarding increased opportunities for women in decision-making. But the main factor is that the political parties' processes do not tend to be democratic or transparent, and therefore decisions about inclusion and placement on party lists are taken by a small group of party leaders.

Regarding the constitutional and legal status of Macedonian women, Macedonian laws establish the equal rights of all people. Although the 1991 Constitution does not treat gender equality separately, the non-discrimination provision of Article 9 states: "Citizens of the Republic of Macedonia are equal in their freedoms and rights, regardless of sex, race, color of skin . . . all citizens are equal before the Constitution and the law." In practice, however, this is not the case. Several bodies have recently been established in the national government to address gender issues.

Following the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995, the Government of Macedonia established a Unit for the Promotion of Gender Equality (the Gender Unit) within the Ministry of Labor and Social Policy. The Gender Unit has one full-time representative, Elena Grozdanova.¹² As stated in the government's national report to the

¹⁰ The Inter-Parliamentary Union's January 15, 2000, statistics regarding women in national parliaments for countries that are members of the U.N. Economic Commission for Europe reveal the following trends: of 51 countries, only 10 have more than 25 percent representation. The top countries are Scandinavian, the Netherlands, Iceland, and Germany—but include Bosnia and Herzegovina. Macedonia is ranked 37th with 7.5 percent representation, but those ranked up to 23rd have only 15 percent and include most of Macedonia's neighbors. Women from all those countries are now working to increase their representation.

¹¹ The numbers more commonly cited are 105 of 1,705.

¹² She reportedly receives limited assistance from a woman close to retirement.

United Nations for Beijing +5, the Gender Unit receives no governmental funds—although it has authority for direct international cooperation.¹³

Several additional national bodies are affiliated with the Gender Unit. First, there is a National Committee for Gender Equality, composed of government and non-government representatives that shared responsibility with the Gender Unit for developing a National Plan of Action. Its president is Gordana Siljanovska. Second, in late 1999, women from the region initiated a Gender Task Force for the Stability Pact (the GTF). Each country in the region has representation; the Macedonian government focal point for the GTF is the Gender Equality Unit (Elena Grozdanova), and the NGO focal point is the Union of Macedonian Women (Savka Todorovska)¹⁴ (see Annex D). Third, the Macedonian Women's Lobby was organized several months ago to unite Macedonian women with regard to the priorities and resources of the GTF. Formal promotion of the Women's Lobby took place on March 1, 2000, with 400 people attending, including leaders of nearly all major women's organizations. Its coordinator is Liljana Popovska. At this time, the Lobby is functioning without an office or equipment—and Elena Grozdanova indicated they could use an advisor (see Annex E).

CONSTRAINTS

There are a variety of constraints that limit the number and diversity of women who are interested in running for office, wield any meaningful power in political parties, or get elected:

- # **Stereotypes of leadership** affect whether a woman may run for office and whether voters will support her. Women's views of themselves affect their decisions to run for office or to vote. Although women have started emerging strongly in the business sector, gaining managerial skills and experience, this phenomenon has not been paralleled in the political sphere.
- # **Women perceive political culture** in Macedonia as “clubbish,” dirty, and corrupt. When there is a sense that the system will not be accommodating and that joining it requires practices women do not want to adopt, so they opt out.
- # **Household and family responsibilities** place major demands on women's time. Traditional family roles require women to fulfill all, or nearly all, household and childcare responsibilities. For women who also work outside of the home, which is often required by the current economic situation, there is little time left for public participation. Further, apart from whether other members of the family might share the household

¹³ A lack of funding and staff may be one reason that the government has never submitted its CEDAW (Convention for the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women) Report to the Commission on the Status of Women—having missed two deadlines. Apparently, the report has now been drafted but is awaiting action by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

¹⁴ The countries that have pledged for the GTF include Austria, Czech Republic, Italy, Norway, Switzerland, and the United States.

burdens, there are few opportunities to pay for services such as prepared foods, childcare, eldercare, and cleaning. For families that are struggling economically, restricted household incomes preclude purchase of services to relieve a woman of these burdens. For those who do have the income, such as young women working in international organizations or businesses, there are two related impediments: a lack of such services in the market and a lack of cultural acceptance of women who engage strangers to provide services deemed their responsibility. As a result, women rarely have time to participate in public affairs, and those who do participate are either without children or whose children are grown.

- # **Tradition, culture, and religion** affect the level of public participation and access to information. This seems to be particularly salient among the Albanian population.
- # **Proxy voting** among some communities restricts the development of women as public participants and hinders women's right to vote. Although particularly prevalent in Albanian parts of Macedonia, proxy voting was a problem in last year's elections throughout Macedonia. This practice is a gender issue because women are typically the voters on whose behalf men vote. If women were to begin voting, even if they followed instruction from their husbands or fathers, they would at least get a sense of citizen responsibility for selecting government representatives—part of an evolving sense of democratic culture.
- # **Educational level** can determine a woman's capability to run, but also her ability to access information and vote knowledgeably (both technically and substantively). This constraint does not apply to Macedonian women because many have both advanced education and professional skills, but it is an issue for women within the Albanian and Roma populations.
- # **Conservative political party structures** dominate the political arena. Male-dominated, hierarchical, centralized, and with closed processes, they perpetuate those in power. Much of their politicking, building alliances, and taking decisions takes place at times and in locations where women are not comfortable or welcome. There is some indication, however, that the electorate and youth in the parties may be changing their expectations and pushing change in the political party structures.
- # **Old-style, hierarchical cultures** in some women's organizations are obstacles to organizational and personal development. Centralized processes often preclude growth opportunities for local women who would benefit from interaction with people and institutions in Skopje. In addition, organizational procedures are not transparent, participatory, and democratic. Local organizations need information, resources, and capacity-building to become strong, independent organizations *and* to develop strong women leaders for future political participation.
- # Some **women leaders** who have reached positions of authority in government or the political parties have distanced themselves from women's issues. They do not regard

women as among their constituents and do not necessarily serve as mentors or positive role models for other women to enter politics.

- # **Limited resources** are a constraint in a number of ways. First, some political parties reportedly require each candidate on a proportional list to contribute 10,000 DM—an amount far beyond the means of most women. Second, the limited resources available for women’s activities can exacerbate divisions among groups if the ethnic, generational, and central/local sensitivities are not fully taken into account. Further, competition for resources may steer individuals and organizations away from collaboration and coalition-building. International donors and organizations sometimes fail to understand these dynamics at the outset. Moreover, donors’ objectives, and the procedures to achieve them, have not always been clearly communicated to the women’s community. In some instances, this has created misunderstandings about the bases for participant selection and increased tensions among the groups.

CHAPTER THREE

WOMEN'S APPROACHES TO ENHANCING THEIR POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

In response to such constraints, women's organizations have undertaken or proposed a range of activities to increase women's political participation, targeting both the upcoming local elections and longer-term goals.

EFFORTS IN ADVANCE OF LOCAL ELECTIONS

Women's organizations in Macedonia have already proposed activities in advance of the local elections. Some initiatives have already received some funding and implementation has begun, and others are still in a conceptual phase (see Annex F for copies of proposals tabled at a Donors' Conference on this topic in early June). The challenge will be to coordinate both the donor funding and the organizational implementation of these activities. The proposed activities can be grouped around the following objectives: strengthening women as candidates, educating women voters and getting them out to vote, and lobbying on women's issues. Each is discussed below.

Strengthening Women as Candidates

Several groups, including UWOM, the Women's Lobby, the League of Albanian Women of Macedonia (LGSHM), Women and Family, and ESE have proposed or are already undertaking activities to increase the number of women candidates, both for mayor and on the proportional lists for town councils. There are two general approaches:

- Developing women's interest and skills (through awareness raising, training, and study tours) to increase the quantity and quality of women candidates and political leaders; and
- Lobbying political parties to take measures to ensure that women are elected—either through quotas or through assurances that women will be placed high enough on the lists to stand a chance of gaining a seat.

The Union of Macedonian Women's Organizations has launched the initial phases of a project entitled National Plan of Political Empowerment of Women in Macedonia. The project is intended to encourage women to stand for office. It started with U.S. Embassy sponsorship of League of Women Voters training of trainers and has continued with local training called "Women Can Do It," which is sponsored by Norway. The Union of Macedonian Women's Organizations is taking a different approach, putting together women's lists (after having attempted the same in Bitola in 1996).

ESE has an impressive training program for women political party candidates and leaders. The modules include strategic planning, fundraising, contact with voters, and the media. The courses, funded by the Dutch InterChurch Aid Organization, cultivates women political leaders over a period of time. Also notable, ESE organized an event of 2,000 women in political parties and got political parties to sign a commitment to put more women on their lists. ESE's next step is to remind political parties of their commitments and to threaten media exposure if they do not. This is being done within the context of the Women's Lobby.

Women within political parties, the Women's Lobby, and other women's organizations are lobbying for quotas on the proportional lists. Three measures have been suggested: a quota of 30 percent, promises to put 1 woman among the top 5 slots, and promises to place 3 women in the top 12 slots on proportional lists. Among the political parties, SDSM has been lobbied strongly by its two female Members of Parliament for a 3 women out of the first 12 names on each list mandate. At a meeting convened by the Women's Lobby on June 14, it was agreed to ask political parties to put women on the 3rd, 6th, and 9th slots on the lists. A meeting was planned for the following week with all political parties, at which women's organizations intend to remind the parties of their May 1998 declaration regarding women in decision-making and put forward their demand.

Educating Women Voters and Getting Them Out to Vote

Women's groups have all expressed particular concern about reaching the Albanian and Roma women's populations, who have not traditionally had a high voter turnout. One constraint to their participation in the local elections is the practice of proxy (or family) voting. ESE conducted a survey on this issue and found it was a problem among Albanian women voters (although some survey analysts concluded that the practice did not necessarily produce a different electoral outcome).

Some women's groups in Macedonia have taken on this issue as a matter of educating women of their right to vote regardless of electoral outcome. The objectives of these programs are twofold: to increase voter turnout among women in the upcoming local elections and to increase the number of women informed of public issues generally.

To accomplish these goals, such activities as door-to-door campaigning, awareness rallies, civic education, and training have all been proposed. Given the constraints to women's political participation in the Albanian community, several groups have proposed projects to reach Albanian women. These include Mukeremi Rusi's League of Albanian Women of Macedonia in Tetovo ("I Vote Means I Exist"), Djulumsera Kasapi's Women and Family ("Participation of Albanian Women in Politics"), and Fata Murtezani's League of Albanian Women in Macedonia ("Women's Vote—to Women").

There is also a proposal, the "I Vote Means I Exist" campaign, to address proxy voting by leading a get-out-the-vote campaign among Roma communities. Proposed by UWOM in cooperation with four Roma organizations, this program is not yet funded. In addition, a civic education program, already funded by UNIFEM and implemented by UWOM, has been

conducting training of civic educators to conduct a nationwide, door-to-door campaign to get out the women's vote.

Another proposal is the “Next to Minimum-Gender Sensitive Consciousness Raising of Voters” from ESE and the Research Center for Gender Studies. The goal is to “overcome gender stereotypes [to enable] women in Macedonia to be active in participation in decision-making processes.” The target groups include voters, political parties, the media, and women's nongovernmental organizations.

Lobbying on Women's Issues

Most of the same women's groups have also proposed a variety of events—such as encounters with local government officials, rallies, and media campaigns—to increase public and candidate awareness of issues that are important to women. Both ESE and UWOM have proposed media campaigns to address women's issues. Some of the topics to be addressed are increasing the presence of women in government and decision-making structures, stopping the abuse of women, and improving women's socio-economic conditions and independence.

LONGER-TERM EFFORTS AT ENHANCING WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION

Most of the activities targeted at October's elections are born out of and contribute to longer-term efforts at improving the participation rate and the quality of women in politics in Macedonia. Other efforts have long-term objectives for women's political and economic participation.

Strengthening Macedonia's National Machinery for Women within Government

There is a trend in the Europe and Eurasia Region, noted and strengthened by regional participation in the Beijing +5 process, to push for the establishment of national machineries for women. The idea stems from women's growing understanding of how democracy works: that beyond laws and rhetoric regarding equity (which the former Socialist governments did very well), women need implementation, enforcement, and resources.

With UNDP support, the Gender Unit is re-visiting its purpose and developing short-, medium-, and long-term plans. Although it is advantageous for the Unit to be in the Ministry of Labor because the Minister has been very supportive, it limits the Unit's influence over other governmental bodies. For example, each ministry that drafts a law is obligated to submit the draft to the Gender Unit to identify any gender-related violations or problems, but in fact some ministries are more committed than others. Macedonian women are pushing for a Ministry for Women—with an appropriate budget and staff. But in light of World Bank and IMF pressure for reforming public administration and reducing the number of ministries, the

Gender Unit's Director hopes that regional and international proclamations and examples showcased during the Beijing +5 events will help to get her office re-located at the level of the government, rather than within one ministry.

Meanwhile, the Gender Unit in the Ministry of Labor is focusing on several key objectives. First is the inclusion of women in politics, especially at higher levels, in bodies and positions where decisions are made.

Second, the Unit is pushing for the government to meet its commitments made in Beijing in 1995 and over the last five years. To this end, the Gender Unit worked with the Ministry of Labor and the National Women's Committee to complete a National Action Plan for Gender Equality. The plan covers all planks of the platform for action, including women's human rights, women and the economy, health, education, armed conflicts, and the environment and the media (see Annex G for the plan table of contents and Section B regarding the role of the women in the government and decision-making.¹⁵)

Although the National Action Plan has been adopted by the government, the Gender Unit is aware of the importance of implementation. To that end, the Gender Unit and the Women's Lobby are trying to establish a Gender Equity Commission in Parliament to oversee implementation. The commission would be composed of Members of Parliament, and not only women. It is not known whether the Gender Unit would be represented or not. The Gender Unit and Women's Lobby are awaiting a response from the Secretary of Parliament about starting it. On the constituency side of implementation, the plan was developed by a small group and has not yet been presented to Macedonian women for their responses and contributions. The Gender Unit seems to take a top-down approach, focusing on Members of Parliament and a commission, and not on grassroots advocacy, for particular issues.

Understanding Gender Impacts of Policies and Legislation

Beyond the issue of women being elected or appointed to decision-making positions, there are issues regarding the interest and capability of the Members of Parliament, their staff, and other government actors (men and women alike) to respond to the needs of women and to recognize the gender impacts of policies and legislation. One female Member of Parliament, Radmila Sekerinska, has been pushing for the establishment of a committee within Parliament that would review all legislation from a gender perspective to ensure that legislation does not have unintended or hidden negative effects on women—and to identify legislation that might purposefully support women. Accomplishing this will require training in gender sensitivity of members who would sit on this committee, for some staff or experts, and for Members of Parliament more broadly. This effort should be coordinated with the Gender Unit, which expects ministries to submit legislation to it for preliminary review, while gaining input and support from civil society (such as NGOs and academics).

¹⁵ Although both government and civil society representatives participated in drafting the National Action Plan, there are some concerns about the failure to engage local and grassroots input. As of early June, the plan publication had not yet been disseminated.

CHAPTER FOUR

DONOR SUPPORT FOR WOMEN'S INITIATIVES

The UNDP, UNIFEM (from New York), and the OSCE have been involved in supporting women in Macedonia. Recently, however, most of that support has focused on the Gender Unit in the Ministry of Labor, the National Action Plan, Beijing +5, and the Gender Task Force of the Stability Pact. As designed and implemented, those initiatives have had limited integration with other approaches to economic and democratic development. The OSCE has recently supported a one-day conference attended by women from all Macedonia on “Political Strengthening of Women from Macedonia.” The intention was to launch a campaign and emphasize the roles of women in politics. The aim is not only for the local elections but to determine a strategy that will strengthen the position of women in politics—particularly for the parliamentary elections two years from now.¹⁶

We heard that the European Union is providing assistance to the Macedonia Center for International Cooperation to support women's information centers around the country.¹⁷ The key bilateral donors seem to be the Swedes (especially through Kvinna till Kvinna (Swedish for woman to woman)), the Dutch, and perhaps the Norwegians (who are partially funding UWOM's National Plan for Political Empowerment and the “Women Can Do It” campaign). The Belgians, French, and Germans have also provided limited assistance.

The key private donor for women's issues has been the Open Society Institute (OSI). OSI's strategy is to make a long-term investment at the grassroots level. OSI will focus on capacity-building because there is such willingness and potential, with many women's NGOs that are organized within associations and are usually ethnically divided. To implement this strategy, OSI is setting up a Women's Fund for Dialogue, Development, and Understanding. The fund is still in its formative stage, but the plan is that within three to five years, OSI will have established an independent fund that will provide serious and substantial funding for women's initiatives. It will start with OSI funding, but the fund will seek multi-donor support. The first phase has two components: extensive training for 12 trainers who would work with women's organizations and provision of equipment to local women's organizations because only 10 of 60 organizations have fax and/or Internet access.

OSI is very concerned about the ethnic overlay. First, OSI perceives that the women's associations tend to replicate nationalistic issues and divisions. Second, it believes that the practice by donors to provide funding to Albanian or Macedonian groups has been conflictual and divisive. Third, through its Community Self-Help Initiative, a three-year collaboration with the King Badouin Fund, OSI has been supporting an inter-ethnic program through the region. As a result, OSI will henceforth require that all proposals from women's organizations show two different organizations proposing to work together. But OSI

¹⁶ Characterization from Elena Grozdanova.

¹⁷ We made one attempt to meet with the woman at the Macedonia Center for International Cooperation, Nadia, but she was not in town.

recognizes that, whereas it was necessary four years ago to help women start organizations, there is now some capacity and it is important to focus on what women can do.

Further, OSI has funded a Gender Research Institute at the Euro-Balkan Center that focuses on integrating attention to gender issues in academia and a woman's program (www.euba.org.mk/rsrc.htm).

CHAPTER FIVE RECOMMENDATIONS

WHAT WOMEN NEED: FURTHER SKILLS, COLLABORATION, AND A STRATEGIC FOCUS

Given the number of initiatives in Chapter Four, the Team would have liked simply to recommend which USAID should provide financial support. Yet there are two reasons to proceed cautiously. First, two assessments—the 1998 assessment of USAID’s Women in Politics program and the 2000 evaluation of implementation of the Beijing Platform of Action regarding the representation of women in power and decision-making—have raised doubts about the effectiveness of candidate training and information campaigns. Although women participating in such activities appreciate the support, the activities have not brought about systemic changes or resulted in noteworthy increases in women’s representation. The traditional activities do not address key impediments to women’s political participation, such as the burdens of household and family responsibilities or women’s cynicism regarding the corruption and inefficacy of government. Thus, there are currently efforts to provide more than piecemeal interventions by developing strategies and designing integrated programs.

Second, insofar as the standard activities may still have some incremental, beneficial impacts, there are pervasive doubts regarding their effectiveness in Macedonia because many of the implementing organizations lack skills, training, and expert assistance. In fact, several weaknesses undermine their effectiveness:

- *Individual women and organizations lack fundamental skills to design and implement effective programs.* They are effective in mounting information campaigns and getting women to attend meetings. But it is not at all clear that these activities are getting results. Designing and putting up posters, appearing on television, or assembling a roomful of women does not suffice. Rather, the goal should be to convince people to act—women to run for office and both men and women to vote for women candidates. To accomplish this, Macedonian women need skills in strategic planning, developing media campaigns, fund-raising, and building strategic partnerships.
- *Organizations need strengthening and democratization.* Macedonian women need guidance on (1) the proper role of umbrella organizations or networks and on running decentralized operations; (2) internal democratic management processes, such as electing officers and utilizing boards of directors; and (3) building an active and participatory membership. They need to garner support and build organizations based on issues and the capacity to deliver—rather than on ethnic solidarity.
- Since Macedonia has a party list system, mobilizing and training candidates does not suffice. Instead, *getting more women elected requires a concerted and sophisticated strategy vis-à-vis political party leadership.* Yet as is evidenced by the low representation

of women in politics around the world (a recent rise from 10 percent to only 12 percent in parliaments), such strategies are neither obvious nor easy.

- Further, *implementation of a strategy requires a unified movement*. Yet in the post-Communist environment, two factors impede unity: competition for limited resources and the inability to deliver effectively as promised (although often genuinely intended). Further, these tensions can tempt women’s organizations to use negative tactics that their counterparts use in politics, such as appealing to nationalistic affiliations and disparaging the capabilities of others. The result of competition and limited skills is that women in civil society have difficulty cooperating and building coalitions for common interests.

Because of such weaknesses, the team strongly recommends fundamental guidelines for working with women and their organizations:

1. **Be careful when working with or building associations.** Whenever possible, technical assistance should **focus on the local level**. Associations should have internal democratic procedures including diversity, transparency, and outreach to constituents.¹⁸
2. **Coordinate donor efforts**—to avoid duplication of effort and to attempt a thoughtful, strategic vision.
3. **Pay attention to the ethnic overlay.** Within the women's community as in Macedonian society generally, people are aware of who is getting resources; technical assistance; and, ultimately, power.
4. Ensure that women’s issues go **beyond violence against women and trafficking of women**. Nearly all government decisions have impacts on women.
5. **Work with and engage men** in working with and on behalf of women. Such collaboration is a means of understanding attitudes, designing approaches to change prejudices, avoiding an “us and them” mentality, and building alliances for implementation.
6. Take note **generational differences**. Young Macedonian women have different interests, capabilities, and culture than older women. In the “marketplace” of democracy, attention should be paid to potentials of young, middle-aged, and older women.

SHORT-TERM RECOMMENDATIONS FOR ELECTIONS

The upcoming local elections offer opportunities: the fair and effective conduct of the elections themselves, building skills and strategies and awareness for future elections, and seeing how effectively or collaboratively different organizations work on the issue. The elections offer a chance to test women’s organizations and to see what various people or organizations can do. This may be a good way to determine who would be a serious and committed partner, who already has skills, and who needs technical assistance.

There are three areas for attention to women’s political participation in local elections:

1. Removing obstacles to women *as voters*—and as *informed voters*:

¹⁸ But local impacts will depend on upcoming changes in the local government authority and laws. Once that has happened, it will be important to focus on local government management and local branches of the political parties.

- # Work within the Albanian community to increase acceptance of women’s independent voting;
 - # Work within the Roma community to ensure women are registered voters;
 - # Train election monitors regarding on issues such as proxy voting and illiterate voters and ensure that women are among the election monitors; and
 - # Develop issue-focused informational campaigns to reach women.
2. Increasing numbers of *women in elected and appointed offices*
- # Support education campaigns to improve voter acceptance, male voters as well as women, of women leaders;
 - # Ensure media coverage of success stories of women as effective leaders;
 - # Encourage women with leadership experience to stand for office—for example, women within USAID’s economic programs for microfinance, small and medium-sized enterprises, and local economic development;
 - # Provide training for women candidates; and
 - # Raise awareness among political party leaders of why they need to place women high on their lists.
3. Enhancing *impact of women as constituents, party members, and campaigners*
- # Support debate of campaign issues women deem import—for example, education, healthcare, and violence;
 - # Encourage political parties to support young women leaders and members;
 - # Give women’s groups and women leaders training on lobbying and advocacy, and teach skills related to legislative processes, such as drafting legislation, committee mark-ups, and voting;
 - # Support advocacy initiatives of unified issue-based coalitions; and
 - # Work with Members of Parliament and political parties to value women as constituents.

Approaches for Improving USAID Attention to Women in Existing Programs

In the near term, for the local elections USAID could support the above areas in four ways. The first, and most important, is that some approaches seem to lie within the ambit of existing USAID assistance and could be addressed by paying greater attention to gender-based barriers to participation—both the barriers to participation and purposeful mechanisms for encouraging and supporting their involvement.¹⁹ Barriers include such basic issues as how people are recruited, the time of day for meetings, and amount of time required for training and participation. Steps to involve women may include partnerships with local women’s organizations, special sessions, and targeted outreach to the minority populations.²⁰

USAID’s implementing partners could be asked to develop three to four ways in which they can enhance the involvement of women in their activities. Some USAID partners may regard this as an additional burden. Yet many responded positively in meetings with the team once they recognized that such efforts are not unrelated to their work but are ways to focus on effective delivery. Some examples and guidelines for USAID partners are proposed below.

Table 1: Gender Integration²¹

USAID Partner	Opportunities to Address Women or Gender-Related Barriers
<i>Democracy Partners</i>	
ABA-CEELI	Extend attention to women beyond issues of domestic violence to consider gender impacts of legislation. Connect commercial law efforts with women’s business organizations, such as APHA and BOW, to educate women in business and enlist them as constituents for reforms. Put together a women’s advisory group to identify women’s perspectives on ostensibly gender-neutral commercial law legislation.
DAI	There are a number of ways for DAI to incorporate women, both for the sake of women and to strengthen its program: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Ensure that local press officer training includes women and that subject matter for press briefings addresses women as constituents. ▪ When looking at local government service delivery, consider which services are important to women; use workshops to identify issues for women. ▪ Law reform: for the law on local self-government, make sure women participate in information meetings and roundtables; for the law on fiscal decentralization, inform women of the benefits of decentralization and work with women as key constituents for greater local control. ▪ Regarding the associations, extend the municipal association beyond mayors themselves, to include women who work for/with them (women in some cases know more and do more than the mayors themselves).

¹⁹ Note we refer to two types of women’s participation: (1) women’s *political* participation in Macedonian democratic processes and institutions and (2) women’s participation *in USAID activities*. Improving women’s participation in USAID programs, which may be achieved through attention to gender-based barriers and opportunities, is one means by which USAID and its partners may help to achieve the real goal of increased women’s political participation.

²⁰ As strongly recommended in the team’s guidelines, the linkages should be with local organizations. Umbrella organizations or networks are a way to identify the local members.

²¹ These suggestions stem from brief meetings with most of the partners; they are just a beginning.

USAID Partner	Opportunities to Address Women or Gender-Related Barriers
	One way is to ensure that the associations have staff, many of whom would be women who do much of the mayors' work anyway. Most important, if the program looks beyond the structure and participation of associations to the issues that they address—that is, the substance and the understanding of why their work is important—then women, among other local groups, may inform and support the association goals.
IFES	Write into the IFES workplan the importance of gender issues in proxy voting, illiteracy, and polling staff training, as well as a gender focus in voter-education campaign. Give copy of this report's Executive Summary to IFES to flag key gender barriers and opportunities.
IREX	Focus on women's success stories in economics and politics, within the media, and to connect with ACDI/VOCA, APHA, ISC, Moznosti, PriSMA, and Star Network for stories.
ISC	<p>This technical assistance, along with NDI's, has great capacity to reach and benefit from women's participation if attention is paid to it.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ When extending DemNet grants to new NGO partners, incorporate gender diversity (and other diversity) into all grant criteria and guidelines—make diversity a high priority. ▪ In Community Action Plans, select communities where women and their interests are fully included. ▪ For the local election small grants (with NDI), make sure that the information campaign regarding available grants reaches local women's organizations; look at existing women's proposals. ▪ Monitor numbers of grants for women's organizations or involving or benefiting women. ▪ Ideally, establish staff member to advise and monitor the amount and type of attention to women and their contributions.
Louis Berger (future partner)	Ensure that Community Self-Help Initiatives involve women in the community. The anti-drug initiative in Gostivar (which received ISC support) is a good example. Ensure that women are included in all community teams and that women's perspectives are incorporated. Link with Department of Labor project. Ensure women are included on the Steering Committee (and maybe include OSI as one donor on it).
NDI	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Regarding training new Parliamentary staff (or interns), pay attention to ensuring numbers and quality of women; provide supportive environment for young women. ▪ Regarding development of ethical standards for Members of Parliament, include attention to gender and diversity standards (such as sexual harassment and hiring standards). ▪ Include focus on women within constituency-building training. ▪ Within political party training, focus on women as members and leaders and as candidates and constituents; also focus on the youth organizations of parties, which is where women get their start.
NDI/CCI	Within domestic monitoring program, seek out women's organizations as partners and participants.
<i>Economic Growth Partners²²</i>	
ACDI/VOCA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Individual business assistance: Do not forget women as entrepreneurs. If there is no longer capital and technical assistance from ACDI/VOCA, refer them to Moznosti or other USAID partners.

²² See Annex H for further analysis.

USAID Partner	Opportunities to Address Women or Gender-Related Barriers
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Beware the focus on associations. If women are not present in associations, their expertise is lost, and there may be problems implementing decisions or production advice back home. Either invite women to meetings (for families, couples) or (less good, but at least relaying information home) send written minutes and printed materials home with the male participants.
Department of Labor/PriSMA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The project has helped develop local women leaders with skills, interest, and general respect. Help them to enter politics, connecting with other USAID projects. ▪ Connect these women leaders with the other agriculture and credit programs so they may tap into resources. ▪ Encourage the National Employment Bureau to disaggregate unemployment data and new business starts by sex.
Land O' Lakes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ See suggestions for ACDI/VOCA. Again, beware the focus on associations. Find ways to include women or to gain their participation (input and expertise) separately. ▪ In lending /collateral arrangements, ensure that the wife/woman is on the lending documents and knows the ramifications of default.
Moynosti	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Develop more links with local women's organizations to find individual borrowers and form new groups. ▪ Take some role to encourage new sorts of businesses, such as housework and care for children, elderly, and disabled.

Most of the steps recommended above do not require additional staff or funding. Nor do they require time to set up or fund new programs. Rather, they are ways to use existing technical assistance to improve the capabilities of women and their participation in politics.

A second way for USAID to support women in relation to elections is a brokering function. Requiring only minimal time and resources, USAID would convene a meeting to bring the USAID partners who are doing election-related work—such as work with monitors, media, and political parties—together with women's organizations. The various groups would introduce themselves. They then could work together to identify ways in which the women's groups can provide participants for the USAID activities, such as monitors, and the USAID activities that might offer the women's groups expertise.

The third approach is to provide small financial support to some of the existing initiatives, such as those put forward at the Donors' Conference in June. It would seem, however, that the most viable have already received funding and that, with elections scheduled for September 10, most funding would be too late for organizing or implementing new activities.

Lastly, if the Mission is interested in a longer-term strategy, it might use elections as a trial step by providing some support to the Women's Lobby. This approach has a number of advantages: (1) through its work to reach a unified position vis-à-vis political parties, the Women's Lobby has achieved an important success; (2) supporting the Women's Lobby shows support for coalition-based, unified action and avoids the selection of a preferred organization; (4) It is an opportunity to support already-launched initiatives (demand-driven) that need resources; and (5) the Women's Lobby might lead to a unified and institutionalized women's movement. This would be consistent with the guidelines stated above and would be step toward a strategic, integrated approach.

**Women and Elections:
Ways to Enhance Women's Participation as Voters and Election Monitors**

- Support media campaigns and door-to-door efforts to get out the vote, particularly in and among women's communities and marginalized groups.
- Support efforts to work within the Albanian community to increase family acceptance of women's independent voting.
- Support efforts within the Roma community to ensure that Roma women have the necessary documentation to be registered voters.
- Incorporate women's organizations and groups into impartial domestic monitoring and political party poll-watching training and efforts to ensure appropriate gender representation in all geographic areas.
- Ensure that election-monitor training includes attention to issues that have a specific gender impact, such as proxy voting, provisions for illiterate voters, and other aspects that may control women during polling.
- Work with local elections commissions to train more adequately poll staff. Ensure that women poll staff are thoroughly incorporated.

**LONG-TERM RECOMMENDATIONS FOR ENHANCING WOMEN'S
POLITICAL PARTICIPATION**

The impending elections not only present immediate opportunities for assistance, but they also shed light on women's needs and potential contributions to Macedonian democracy. In light of their findings, the team recommends that USAID focus on women's political participation not only for women's sake, but also to broaden and strengthen Macedonia's democratic culture and processes. A key objective for USAID/Macedonia, as for USAID throughout the region, is increased citizen participation, in both civil society and government. But achieving this increase depends on identifying those who are not participating and supporting their enhanced and effective involvement. Hence, when women are underrepresented in government, they constitute a key target group for increasing citizen participation. By focusing on women, USAID can support the inclusion of talented and committed citizens who have been interested in politics but unable to contribute. In addition, a better understanding of what impedes the political participation of women is a way to remove obstacles that block others as well. The upcoming elections offer opportunities to work with women to address weaknesses in Macedonia's young democracy, including political party control of political participation, the lack of issue-oriented campaigns, ethnic divisions, and a need for competent hard-working people in government.

Table 2 sets forth USAID's democracy and governance programmatic objectives, the problems related to women within those objectives, the kind of support that is needed, and some mechanisms by which to address those problems and needs.

Table 2: Mechanisms for Achieving Mission Democracy Goals through Attention to Women’s Political Participation

Programmatic Objective to Achieve	Democracy Problem to Address	Support Needed	Examples of Mechanisms, including Gender Integration
<p>Enhance Citizen Participation in Democratic Processes and Institutions</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Limited knowledge of women’s political culture. ▪ Women are in civil society, but not in political institutions. ▪ Women are working in a fractured, uncoordinated way, more as individuals or separate organizations than as citizens effectively participating in democracy and governance. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Focused study of average women, not just those already active ▪ Coordination for a women’s movement to increase women in government and decision-making positions ▪ Access to technical assistance for building skills 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Commission survey of women’s political participation and culture. ▪ Engage consultant to coordinate activities and advise women’s movement. ▪ Organize a regular donor coordination meeting on gender issues (in advance of and beyond the elections).
<p>Increase the Capacity and Diversity of Candidates</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Political leadership and participation are old and entrenched groups. ▪ Political party practices limit newcomers’ power or leadership. ▪ Government and parties have limited recognition of and responsiveness to constituents and their issues; campaigning is not issue-based. ▪ Organizations, parties, and their members are ethnically separated. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Work with political parties to see the self-interest in working with women, and work with women to develop strategies to gain power in the parties or to pressure them. ▪ Work with women’s NGOs to get their issues on party and candidate platforms. ▪ Encourage women to engage in collaborative projects—particularly at the local level. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ NDI: focus some political party training on women as candidates and women’s networking; organize a meeting to bring women constituents in contact with Members of Parliament and staff; encourage women within the student branches of political parties. ▪ ISC: continue supporting local women’s organizations in training and capacity-building of leaders; encourage a high percentage of ISC’s programs to focus on supporting groups to train emerging women leaders. Monitor numbers and results. ▪ DoL: identify and refer women developing community leadership skills to other USAID technical assistance. ▪ Explore with DAI the possibility of including some of mayors’ staff in association meetings. Also think about raising awareness among women regarding the advantages to them of true decentralization and devolution—to build them as a constituency. ▪ IREX: encourage focus on women’s success stories and features on women’s issues and role models within the media; should be in regular contact with ISC, Star Network, DoL, and APHA for stories. ▪ Coordinate USAID partner activities with ESE, which is fully funded and engaged in training women in political parties.

Programmatic Objective to Achieve	Democracy Problem to Address	Support Needed	Examples of Mechanisms, including Gender Integration
			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Coordinate and facilitate USAID partner involvement in identifying women political community leaders for study tours and networks.
<p>Increase the Knowledge and Participation Rates of Citizens</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Proxy-voting ▪ Tradition and culture impede women’s participation. ▪ Messages do not reach women through mainstream media. ▪ Women’s family roles limit public involvement. ▪ New legislation does not benefit from women’s input, and does not respond to them or enjoy their support. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Training for poll monitors ▪ Outreach from Albanian women to Albanian women ▪ Discussion of household services as business opportunities discussed in SME support ▪ Training for those who wrote legislation, and for citizens and NGOs (such as think tanks or universities) to comment on it. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Facilitate and encourage contact between CCI and women’s groups that are interested in domestic monitoring and political party poll-watching. ▪ Write gender considerations into the workplan of IFES for its assistance to the election commission and voter education. Tackle proxy voting through better training of polling staff and provisions for illiterate voters; include a gender focus within IFES’ voter education campaign workplan. ▪ Encourage DAI to incorporate attention to women’s participation in citizen participation activities, training for press officers, and citizen discussions of the draft law on local governance. Also to encourage attention to women’s participation in public administration newsletters, conduct workshops on issues of service delivery, citizen assistance centers, and working with neighborhood associations and association building.
<p>Increase the Capacity of Civil Society Organizations</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Associations and umbrella organizations lack internal democracy, following old-world, centralized approaches. ▪ Local organizations lack capacity, equipment, and contacts. ▪ Organizations lack grassroots constituency and orientation. ▪ NGOs lack skill-building coalitions or collaborating on common issues. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Ongoing, internal technical assistance to change culture and processes in the organizations. ▪ Discrete technical assistance about how to use media, membership, meetings, and other outreach to build a constituency—and to counter the tendency to use ethnicity to build allegiance. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ ISC & Louis Berger: incorporate gender diversity into grant criteria and guidelines; make diversity a high priority; monitor or track number of grants for women’s organizations, involving or benefiting women. ▪ ABA-CEELI: extend attention to women beyond issues of domestic violence; support advocacy to look at gender impacts of all legislation and laws. ▪ Coordinate and facilitate USAID partner involvement in identifying women political community leaders for study tours, networks, and leadership training to decentralize current women’s umbrella organization structures.

The practical question is, therefore, How or where might USAID aim its assistance to increase women's participation in political parties and government? Despite the egalitarian rhetoric of the past along with the educational and professional experience of women of Macedonia, women are poorly represented in the political realm because of a Macedonian culture that remains macho and chauvinistic. As a result, women are struggling for greater participation in public forums and in decision-making. Although this requires some strengthening of women and their organizations (women in development focus), neither the women nor donor programs should be marginalized. At the same time that women need to be integrated into the Macedonian political system, they could also be more fully integrated into USAID's activities—particularly when the activities focus on people who are already within the political system, such as mayors.

The long-term aim is therefore to increase women's political participation within political parties, as constituents and advocates, and in government. There are two places to find and support women's greater access to and effectiveness in political arenas:

- # Civil society is an area where women learn about democratic processes and issues while developing self-confidence and leadership skills. Women are already active in civil society in Macedonia, so this is one place to work toward greater political participation—by helping improve their effectiveness in civil society as leaders, members of political parties, constituents, and watchdogs and, of course, by assisting some of them to move into government.
- # The business sector and economic power are also sources of political power. Women are active both in agriculture and in new businesses. Yet those who are economically active often lack the time to engage in politics, and many who have leadership skills need political connections or support to enter the political realm. At the same time, women's organizations seeking to recruit qualified candidates and to access financial resources need the participation of economically active women.

USAID assistance would meet those needs in three ways: (1) providing technical assistance and skills by ensuring that existing programs and technical assistance reach women and their organizations more effectively, (2) supporting establishment of a democratically functioning Women's Lobby (including women's organizations, business groups, women in Parliament, and the Gender Unit) as a unified interest group with an achievable two-year program, and (3) addressing the barriers that impede participation by economically active women in politics.

Table 3: Addressing Limited Breadth and Efficacy of Women’s Political Participation

Weakness	Support Needed	Approach	USAID Mechanism
Lack of skills (organizational, political, and practical)	Training, practice, coaching, study tours, and exchanges	Linkages built among existing USAID partners and women to reach women, <i>and</i> add content reflecting their needs and goals	Gender integration and monitoring
Economic impediments	Free women’s time for politics; leadership encouragement for women in business; inspiration	Encourage business activities with regard to home care and housework; media featuring women in politics	Možnosti and other organizations to support commercial care activities; media projects focusing on women role models
Competition, lack of cooperation, old approaches, fractured constituencies, mistrust	Neutral and experienced coaching, conflict resolution, and facilitation for a women’s movement	Advisor working with diverse Women’s Lobby to develop a strategy and achieve a two-year plan	Advisor/coordinator; funding for survey, training, some implementation; donor coordination

The mechanisms for implementing those two approaches would be pursued along two parallel tracks: a linkages track, to improve connections between Macedonian women and their organizations, and USAID partners and activities; and (2) a coordinating and advisory track, to provide an advisor and funding to support some components of a two-year plan. For the first, each USAID existing partner should develop linkages with women’s organizations and offer greater benefits to women by improving their attention to women as participants and by designing some programming with women’s organizations in mind. For effective implementation, such linkages and attention should be explicitly established in workplans performance monitoring plans and reporting.²³

On the parallel track, the advisor/coordinator would manage four components:

- # Supporting the Women’s Lobby to be a truly representative, diverse coalition and helping it to identify priorities—with consultation beyond a small, central group—as the basis for an achievable two-year plan;
- # Overseeing a baseline survey to establish the existing political culture, needs, and participation of all Macedonian women;
- # Working as a liaison between the USAID partners and women’s groups to ensure women’s access to existing training and grants (gender integration advisor); and

²³ These suggestions must be prefaced by a well-known caveat: nearly all USAID partners express concern about additional work or objectives. It is important to recognize those gender integration opportunities that will not increase or complicate the partners' work. Further, however, it is essential that changes be recognized as not only benefiting women but as also improving the given objectives. Including or addressing women may improve achievement of already-anticipated results by, for example, enlisting strong and committed participants, expanding dissemination of information and know-how, and increasing sustainability.

Establishing a regular donor coordination group for women’s activities.

Some of the interventions identified by the proposed survey and the Women’s Lobby’s two-year plan could be provided either by USAID partners through more effective linkages or by other donors as determined through donor coordination. Some of the other initiatives that might be funded by USAID within the coordinator’s budget.

Such a program would be predicated on two tools: the baseline survey and an Intermediate Result by which to monitor results. Regarding the survey, although the team was in Macedonia for a short term, we concluded from the number and variety of interviews that Macedonian women’s NGOs and the donors that are trying to support them have been launching numerous small initiatives without real certainty about what women want and need. Even within the Albanian community, there are different experiences of women (not all allow proxy voting; some are active), and the same is true for the Roma. The women of Macedonia are a variegated group, and the assistance to them does not appear to be fully grounded in a clear understanding of where the strongest needs are or the opportunities for enhancing democracy lie. We believe it would advance effective, results-oriented programming to have a clearer understanding of the various circumstances of Macedonian women, particularly with regard to democratic processes and institutions.

Regarding the Intermediate Result, to ensure the recommended steps are taken and they contribute to the Mission’s democracy and governance Strategic Objective, the team recommends formulation of an Intermediate Result for increasing women’s political participation in the new Democracy and Governance strategy. Experience has shown that an Intermediate Result is needed to ensure that activities are designed to identify and address gender-based barriers, to engage women, and to monitor for gender impacts. If USAID seeks to increase citizen participation and most women are excluded, the Mission’s results will be limited. Focusing on women is one element that will roll-up to accomplishing the Strategic Objectives.²⁴

²⁴ Activities in the economic growth portfolio—relating to SMEs, rural credit, microfinance, agriculture, and local economic development would also contribute to such an Intermediate Result. These are areas where women are taking leadership and where they have interests that require government resources and regulation. (This is apart from whether there should be an Intermediate Result within economic Strategic Objectives, which, from a limited review, also seems to be advisable.)

Table 4: Implementation Steps

Targeted Activity	Next Steps
Support a baseline survey to establish the existing political culture and participation of all Macedonian women. The poll should be done by a professional organization, focus on <i>all</i> Macedonian women countrywide, and include average women (not just those who are already politically active).	Write RFP/scope of work (ask for assistance from the USAID Democracy and Governance Center or the USAID Office of Women in Development)
Engage a consultant to serve as an advisor and coordinator with the governmental and NGO women's initiatives. The coordinator is critical to focus on the survey, support women's efforts to establish an effective women's movement, achieve meaningful power in the political realm, and manage the donor coordination.	Write RFP with Scope of Work. The consultant might be at the Mission or in separate offices. This position should be full time, and the consultant should have experience in the political arena or a women's movement. The person should not be selected without USAID approval. She would work with a variety of government players, associations, and community-based local organizations; focus on the issue of women in politics, not on organizational capacity-building; and coordinate donor assistance.
Increase attention to gender-based barriers and opportunities, including women's participation, in USAID partners' work.	Share Table 1 with USAID partners. Convene a meeting to introduce USAID partners to Macedonian women's groups. Have partners include two to three activities, or monitoring and evaluation steps in their work plans and performance monitoring plans.
Establish a regular donor coordination group for women's activities. Eventually, the coordinator would manage it.	Convene a donor meeting to address the local elections, future elections, and opportunities for partnership or assistance.

CHAPTER SIX CONCLUSIONS

The upcoming local elections are not an end but a means to a longer-term goal of increasing women's political participation, for the sake of women and of strengthening Macedonian democracy and governance. Macedonian women are active in civil society and a real resource for Macedonian democratic institutions. Focusing on women's greater political participation offers opportunities to strengthen existing USAID programming and to achieve targets established in USAID's Strategic Objectives.

Experience shows that gender integration and working with women do not happen without explicit responsibility, benchmarks, and monitoring. Given its current activities and partners, the Mission has the opportunity to increase attention to women's political participation by initiating discrete, targeted activities and by encouraging its partners to enhance attention to women's participation and gender-based impediments. To institutionalize this approach, the team recommends that the Mission use the development of a new strategy as an opportunity to establish an Intermediate Result: women's political participation increased. To ensure achievement of this Intermediate Result, the Mission should hire a consultant to oversee a professional survey, provide technical support to Macedonian women's efforts to increase their political presence, and coordinate with other donors.

ANNEX A
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ANNEX B

**PEACE STATEMENTS FROM BEIJING +5 PREPARATORY
CONFERENCES**

Rebuilding Peace:

**The Priority of Women
from Central and Eastern Europe
and
the Commonwealth of Independent States**

This initiative started at the International Conference entitled "*Women and Peace-Building : Recommendations of women of Central and Eastern Europe for the Beijing Plus Five Review Process*", sponsored by the KARAT Coalition, OSI and UNIFEM (Budapest, November 1999).

It was subsequently followed-up and enlarged at:

- *The Central and Eastern European Regional Workshop in preparation for the Beijing plus Five Review* (Budapest, December 1999, sponsored by UNIFEM and the KARAT Coalition)
- *The Commonwealth of Independent States Regional Workshop in preparation for the Beijing plus Five Review* (Almaty, December 1999, sponsored by UNIFEM)
- *The UN/Economic Commission for Europe Preparatory Conference for the Beijing plus Five Review* (Geneva, January 2000)

We, the women of Central and Eastern Europe and the Commonwealth of Independent States, having gathered in Budapest, Almaty and Geneva as a united group on the eve of the second millenium, launch an appeal to the global community. In the past decade, many of us have experienced the senseless horrors and tragedies of war. Many of us find our lives shattered by the loss of family members and the break-up of families, by extreme physical and emotional injuries, by environmental poisons and by economic wastelands.

While not all of us have suffered the horrors and indignities of war, we do carry an equal and shared responsibility for the peaceful and prosperous future of our entire region, a future based on the respect of women's and men's equal human rights. The birth of democracy in our region has enabled us, women from 28 different countries, to come together out of our own political conviction and free will, and not because of a policy of fake internationalism imposed from above. Yet again, there are attempts to manipulate, re-appropriate women for nationalistic purposes, and divide women both across class and ethnic lines as well as national borders.

However, a strong solidarity exists among us because of our common need to fight the traditional gender dichotomy that prevails in the emerging post-Communist democracies. One legacy of the past regime was the unfulfilled promise of the implementation of women's equal rights and opportunities. In the newly emerging democracies, decision-making has remained in the hands of a predominantly male establishment. As a result, the new "democratic" policy and decision-making continues a culture that lacks genuine social sensitivity, and a female perspective. The transition period to democracy, just like Communism, is shortchanging women.

We, women of Central and Eastern Europe and the Commonwealth of Independent States, have learned from our earlier experiences and refuse to become either exploited symbols or to remain silent ever again. We appeal for the support of the International Community to assist us in the process of developing genuine democratic societies and institutions. We are not only concerned by the ever-widening social, political, legal and economic differences that divide our societies internally, but by the continuing political and economic fragmentation of the whole region, which we view as a potentially global destabilizing force.

We are deeply concerned about the rising xenophobia and intolerance against all ethnic minorities, including the Roma people and nationalism insidiously engulfing the countries of our region -- a tendency, which has culminated in wars that we fear are still far from being over. We strongly oppose nationalism not only in the form of nationalist states but as nationalist movements as well. We deplore and protest any and all use of educational systems, the mass media or the manipulation of religious communities to promote nationalism at a time when these should be used to promote a culture of tolerance and peace.

We demand that we be heard in order to stop undemocratic, non-inclusive and war-mongering processes. We can and will act as mediators among warring nations and groups, and set an example that peaceful co-existence is possible among people of different languages, culture, history, ethnic and religious backgrounds. Those of us who have not been victims of war atrocities in the past decade express our strong solidarity with all our sisters living in the war torn countries, especially with women in Serbia, who fight a totalitarian dictatorship, and the women of Kosovo, who are courageously rebuilding their shattered lives and communities. We, women from Central and Eastern Europe and the Commonwealth of Independent States, strongly urge our governments and the international community to support our efforts with peace-building and reconciliation and take immediate action on our recommendations.

**RECOMMENDATIONS FROM THE WOMEN OF
CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE
AND THE COMMONWEALTH OF INDEPENDENT STATES
RELATING TO WOMEN AND ARMED CONFLICT**

We, the women of Central and Eastern Europe and the Commonwealth of Independent States, having gathered in Budapest, Almaty and Geneva on the eve of the second millenium to share our experience and join our voices, while reaffirming our commitment to the Strategic Objectives of Section E on Women and Armed Conflicts of the Beijing Platform for Action, remind the international community, UN Members states, international and regional intergovernmental organizations that at the time of the Fourth World Conference of Women in Beijing, the Platform for Action could not reflect our tragic experiences with the wars in the Balkans, the Caucasus and other regions. Therefore, we urge the global community and the UN Member States to support our efforts at conflict prevention and peace-building in the region. Towards that end, we recommend:

Recommendation 1:

To create an enabling environment for conflict prevention, conflict transformation and peace-building, all governments should ensure women's full and equal participation in conflict prevention, conflict transformation, peace-building and reconstruction.

Actions to be Taken:

- The international community and negotiators should end the practice of consulting only presidents and governments. Instead, they should consult, listen to, and partner with civil society, including women's organizations, to take account of their warnings regarding rising tensions, and to collaborate with women to take steps to prevent conflict at the earliest moment.
- To prevent further bloodshed in the Balkans, the Caucasus and other regions, the international community should make all efforts to support fragile democracies, push for free elections, in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in particular.
- All governments must engage in dialogue with their civil societies, particularly with women, before making momentous decisions that affect the daily lives and the futures of their people. To ensure that such consultations are meaningful, formal processes for regular consultations should be established and their results respected, particularly for nations facing the risk of armed conflict, and in post-conflict countries where reconstruction is taking place.
- Governments in the region should introduce legal and financial measures to increase women's participation at all levels of power and decision-making, for both elected and appointed positions, to enable women's equal participation in all institutions of governance, particularly in nations at risk of armed conflict.
- UN Member States and the international community including International Financial Institutions should thoroughly consult with women's organizations about development plans and programs on an ongoing basis, particularly in pre- and post- conflict situations, during conflict resolution processes and in the state of "no war no peace", and provide financial and political support to women's organizations working on building genuine democracies based on the rule of law and a culture of tolerance, peace and respect for human rights.

Recommendation 2:

To prevent war, keep under control arms supply to parties involved in conflict and to build institutions of good governance including secure and civil societies, all governments should take immediate action to make significant reductions in military expenditure and to redirect those funds to the promotion of human security.

Actions to be Taken:

- UN Member States should take concrete and coordinated action to stop the illegal trade in armaments and the profiteering by criminals who produce and promote the purchase and use of arms, and to eradicate the endemic corruption that prevails in the region.
- UN Member States should substitute mandatory military service with programs that enable young people to participate in civil and community service activities that work to support peace-building and reconstruction of their communities.
- UN Member States should redirect funds planned for military expenditures to social protection, particularly to support vulnerable groups, education, and to build a culture of tolerance and peace.
- UN Member States should make all efforts to ensure *de-facto* and *de-jure* full and equal citizenship rights to all ethnic and religious minorities.

Recommendation 3:

To ensure a just, expeditious and peaceful settlement of armed conflicts, all governments in the region should implement and enforce their existing commitments to international legal instruments and mechanisms.

Actions to be Taken:

- The international community and UN Member States should take action to ensure that the current rules of law and diplomacy, which allow only combatants and major political parties at the negotiation table, are changed and enable civil society, and particularly women's organizations, to participate in conflict prevention, conflict transformation and peace negotiation processes.
- All governments in the region and the international community as a whole should take all necessary measures in order to make the implementation of relevant human rights and international humanitarian law instruments more effective, in particular through a wide dissemination of these standards as well as through the adoption, already in times of peace, of all necessary measures of implementation in their domestic legislation.
- All governments in the region and the international community as a whole should take immediate and concerted action to bring to justice not only those who executed orders to commit war crimes and other international crimes, but also those who issued those orders.
- All governments in the region and the international community as a whole should co-operate to the fullest with the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) and should immediately start and expeditiously complete the process of ratification of the Statute of the International Criminal Court.
- Anyone who commits a crime of sexual violence, including members of the UN peacekeeping forces, should be prosecuted to the full extent of the law.
- In the name of justice but also of reconciliation and future peace, all governments of the Region should establish a Truth and Reconciliation Commission within the Stability Pact for South-Eastern Europe to the extent that it does not undermine the work of ICTY.
- States should at all times respect and implement the international standards pertaining to the prohibitions and restrictions on the methods and means of warfare, in particular the rule of distinction between combatants and non-combatants, and the prohibition of weapons causing superfluous injury or unnecessary suffering, such as anti-personal landmines. They should inform people of the chemicals, poisons and other threats to personal health and the environment used during a military operation.

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45. Kolarec Djurdjica, *Rosa House*, Croatia
46. Kostolna Julia, *CEBWA Club*, Slovakia
47. Krasniqi Armelinda, *Government: Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs*, Albania

48. Krzysko Joanna, *KARAT Coalition*, Poland
49. Kunosic-Vlajic Mevlida, *Tuzla Agency for Local Development Initiatives*, Bosnia and Herzegovina
50. Kuvatova Alla, *"Traditions and Modernity"*, Women's NGO, Dushanbe, Tajikistan
51. Laveberti Raffaella, *Women's Center of Bologna*, Italy
52. Levchenko Kateryna, *LaStrada*, Ukraine
53. Limanowska Barbara, *The National Women's Information Center*, Poland
54. Loghina Dina, *Equal Opportunities for Women*, Romania
55. Lohmann Kinga, *Women's Association for Gender Equality-Beijing 1995, Karat Coalition*, Poland
56. Lukac-Koritnik Gordana, *B.a.B.e. + Women's Counselling Center*, Croatia
57. Lungu-Bodrug Valentina, *Gender Center*, Moldova
58. Lupu Oana, *"Equal Opportunities for Women" Foundation Iasi*, Romania
59. Majstorac-Kobiljski, *Women in Black*, FRY
60. Mandicova Lubica, *Prospecta-Center for Management Development*, Slovak Republic
61. Marksova-Tominova Michaela, *Association for Equal Opportunities*, Czech Republic
62. Martinina Irina, *Women's Organization of Moldova "Civic Initiative"*, Moldova
63. Medvedev Katalin, *Feminist Network HIRNOK*, Hungary
64. Mihalec Kristina, *B.a.B.e.*, Croatia
65. Milivojevic Sanja, *Group for Women's Rights in European Movement in Serbia*, Yugoslavia
66. Mirzaeva Vilayat, *UNDP*, Tajikistan
67. Mirija Silvana, *Counselling Center for Abused Women and Girls*, Albania
68. Mrsevic Zorica, *Yugoslav Lawyers Committee for Human Rights*, Yugoslavia
69. Nasreddinova Latobat, *Women's and Family State Committee*, Tajikistan
70. Nakovzik Nora, *Network of 16 NGOs, President of Women's Council*
71. Nechitailo Galina, *Environmental Women's Assembly*, Moscow, Russia
72. Nemeskery Gabriella, *Women's House*, Hungary
73. Nogrady Judit, *NANE/Women for Women Together Against Violence*, Hungary
74. Novakova Jolana, *Government: Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs Division for Equality for Men & Women*, Czech Republic
75. Nowakowska Urszula, *Women's Rights Centre*, Poland
76. Nowicka Wanda, *Federation for Women and Family Planning*, Poland
77. Obradovic-Dragsic Gordana, *Center for Education and Counseling of Women*, Croatia
78. Pancurova Anna, *CEBWA Club*, Slovakia
79. Papp Erika, *Women's Studies and Creativity*, Yugoslavia
80. Papp Ulle-Marike, *Government: Ministry of Social Affairs, Bureau of Equality*, Estonia
81. Petsina Liudmila, *Women's Independent Democratic Movement*, Belarus
82. Paranosic Snezana, *Association of Business Women*, Yugoslavia
83. Potapova Elena, *Center "Anna", Association NO to Violence*, New Brunswick, USA
84. Popovic- Pantic Sanja, *Association of Business Women*, Yugoslavia
85. Pugh Lin, *ILAV, European Women Action 2000 website*, the Netherlands
86. Radovnovic Mara, *Women's Organisation "LARA"*, Bosnia and Herzegovina
87. Raicevic Ljiljana, *Safety Female House*, Yugoslavia
88. Rancan Sbina, *"ORLANDO" Women's Association*, Italy
89. Rapolti Anna, *Open Society Institute, Network Women's Program*, Hungary
90. Rexhaj Arieta, *Women's Center*, Kosova
91. Robezniece Gunta, *Government: Ministry of Welfare*, Latvia
92. Rudi Florinda, *Legenda*, Kosova
93. Salanova Zarifa, *Association of Azerbaijan Women*, Baku, Azerbaijan
94. Sewall Rebecca, *USAID*, U.S.A.
95. Shirobokova Aliubina, *Baikal Region Union of Women*, Azerbaijan
96. Simerska Lenka, *Gender Studies Center*, Czech Republic
97. Smoliar Liudmila, *Odessa Scientific Center of Women's Studies*, Ukraine
98. Solik Aleksandra, *Women's Association for Gender Equality-Beijing 1995, Karat Coalition*, Poland
99. Suslova Olena, *Women's Information Consultative Centre, WICE*, Ukraine

100. Suleymanova Elmira, *Azerbaijan Women and Development Center*
101. Szabados Argentina, *IOM*, Hungary
102. Szabo Erzsebet, *Center for Democracy and Information Foundation, KARAT Coalition*, Hungary
103. Szczecinska Magda, *KARAT Coalition*, Poland
104. Tarasiewicz Malgorzata, *Baltic Gender Center, Polish ICC Network*, Poland
105. Terenzi Calamai Barbara, *AIDOS, Italian Association for Women in Development*, Italy
106. Terzic Mirjana, *Human Rights Office Tuzla*, Bosnia and Herzegovina
107. Thun Eva, Hungary
108. Timar Horvath Veronika, *BME EET*, Hungary
109. Tlenchieva Gulsara, *Almaty Women's Information Center*, Almaty, Kazakhstan
110. Todorovska Savka, *Union of Women's Organisations*, Macedonia
111. Toth Gyorgyi, *NANE/Women for Women Together Against Violence*, Hungary
112. Trakymiene Ramune, *Government: Prime Minister's Office, State Counselor on Foreign Relations, Equal Opportunities and NGOs*, Lithuania
113. Tugelbaeva Bermet, *"Diamond" Association*, Kyrgyzstan
114. Vasic Slavica, *The Roma Women Center "Bibija"*, Yugoslavia
115. Venelinova Rossanka, *"Nadja Center" Foundation*, Bulgaria
116. Vidovic Gordana, *Buducnost Modrica*, Bosnia and Herzegovina
117. Vladescu Gabriela, *USAID Romania/Volunteer Outreach Coordinator*, Romania
118. Vladisavljevic Aleksandra, *Star Network*, Yugoslavia
119. Vonkova Dagmar, *CEBWA Club*, Slovakia
120. Vucaj Suncica, *SOS Hotline and Center for Girls*, Yugoslavia
121. Yuniku Melihate, *Center for Protection of Women and Children*, Kosova
122. Zakharova Tatyana, *All Ukrainian Federation of Families with many children*, Kharkiv, Ukraine
123. Zmuncila Ludmila, *Gender Center*, Moldova
124. Zogaj Merushe, *Women Forum Pristina*, Kosova

ANNEX C

**INFORMATION REGARDING WOMEN'S
ORGANIZATIONS: UWOM, ESE, AND ANTIKO**

UWOM'S Program 2000

- Women's economic and political rights
- Contributing a new project
- Establishing a national plan for women's political developing in Macedonia
- Protecting women from violence
- Respect and implementation of laws against violence and their observation
- Equal participation of women in political parties with equal election opportunities
- Peace promoting and building



UNION OF WOMEN'S
ORGANIZATION OF
MACEDONIA

TOGETHER
WE ARE STRONGER

UNION OF WOMEN'S ORGANIZATION OF MACEDONIA

...UWOM is a non-governmental, non-profitable & non-political Women's volunteer association in the Republic of Macedonia established on October 1994.

It is net of 45 independent women's non-governmental organizations, without taking account their ethnicity, race and nationality. This include Macedonian, Roma, Serbian, Vlach and Albanian women

We develop, progress, understand and completeness fulfilling the International Conventions and Universal Declaration for equality, rights and freedom without gender discrimination.

UWOM's vision statement is gender equality, guarantee of women's right as human and elimination of discrimination of women in the society and the family.

UNION OF WOMEN'S ORGANIZATIONS
OF MACEDONIA

"WOMEN'S CENTRE"

president: Savka Todorovska

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P.O. box 571

tel: ++399 91 220-570
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110-162

fax: ++38991 134-39
126-185

e-mail: sozom@mt.net.mk



UWOM

Our Mission

Goals

Our main goal is progressing & strengthening the women right, to improve a position of the women and to provide:

supporting

- ↓ local women's organizations (groups)
- ↓ and individual women

developing

- ↓ women's participation in public life
- ↓ cooperation with institutions & organizations;
- ↓ projects related to alleviate women's problems and necessities

creating

- ↓ new relations in the society and the family to overcome the traditional subordinate role of women
- ↓ cooperation and mutual support

advocating and promoting

- ↓ women's right
- ↓ combating violence against women and women's abuse, trafficking, sexism and discrimination
- ↓ guarantee of equal rights and participation in all spheres of society and personal life as well as equal opportunities to the society resources

encouraging

- ↓ tolerance, dialogue & promotion
- ↓ promoting and bulging peace in the region
- ↓ higher participation of women in the power and dissection-making
- ↓ economical independence of a women
- ↓ improvement of the social and economic status of women and development of the internship

organizational structure of UWOM
Assembly, Presidency-executive committee,
President, Supervisor's committee

Our Activities

☞ **education and training** in respect of women's improvement, self-respect, healthcare, and reproductive right

☞ **psycho-social support of women's group and individuals**

women in critical condition, special requirement and necessities (abused women, women refugees, women in poverty, women prisoners)
support of women's group for self-support

☞ **humanitarian activities** and social aid to women with difficult socioeconomic situation and social risks.

☞ **providing place in the media**, a greater presence for women in the media

☞ **writing proposals & project realization** preparation and implementation of projects in order to have easier solution of certain problems connected to women

☞ **edition of women magazine "KISS-JANA"**, bulletin, books

☞ **women's study**



UWOM

Projects realized in 1999

☐ **OPEN DOOR I** founder: LINDA BRKOVICA
Support to Albanian women refugees from Kosovo

☐ **OPEN DOOR II** founder: ZORAN BALDOKUN BOGDANOVIC
Help and Support to Roma, Serbian and other women refugees from Kosovo and from Yugoslavia

☐ **WOMEN VICTIMS OF VIOLENCE** founder: SONJA FIJAVE PROGRAMER
counseling for women victims of violence, providing law, psychological & medical assistance.

☐ **SEXUAL EDUCATION OF GIRLS IN RURAL AREAS** founder: Marijana Cerme for International Cooperation
Understanding the role and meaning of the sexual instinct and learn how to avoid problems. 4

☐ **EDUCATION OF MOTHERS OF ROMA STREET CHILDREN** founder: Ega Budisnik Foundation
Help to the mothers with problems with their children and also to help mothers themselves

☐ **PSYCHOLOGICAL SUPPORT FOR REFUGEES AND DISPLACED PEOPLE** founder: Ega Budisnik Foundation
Establishment of the camps for the refugees and giving humanitarian aid psycho-social support.

☐ **IMPLEMENTATION OF GOOD COMMUNITY RELATIONS** founder: Emina M. Katic
Over come the religion, culture and language enforces barriers, and traditional separation of Macedonian and Albanian communities.

☐ **EDUCATION OF ROMA GIRLS** founder: World Bank
Extend the girls horizons beyond Shato Orizari

☐ **WOMEN'S STUDY** founder: Orla Pallas International Alternative woman's studies

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ASSOCIATION FOR EMANCIPATION, SOLIDARITY
AND EQUALITY OF WOMEN



ASSOCIATION FOR EMANCIPATION, SOLIDARITY AND EQUALITY OF WOMEN

The Association for Emancipation, Solidarity and Equality of women is a non-governmental, non-partisan, non-profit organization, established in 1994 and registered as an Association in 1995. The main vision of the Association is empowerment of women and increased participation of women in decision-making.

The work of ESE focuses on the consequences that the period of transition has on the position of women in the Republic of Macedonia, particularly on women in the villages and marginalized women.

The general mission of the Association for Emancipation, Solidarity and Equality of women is to advocate all women, regardless of their religion, nationality and age, remains. It is also related with the concept of gender.

MAIN OBJECTIVES OF THE ASSOCIATION?

The Association for Emancipation, Solidarity and Equality of women strives to:

- Establish a database unit, that will document the changes in the situation of women in the period of transition, particularly in the four spheres of interest of the Association for Emancipation, Solidarity and Equality of women.
- Educate women in basic health and legal education.
- Educate and work with volunteer groups on women's issues (domestic violence, discrimination of women at work, health and participation of women in the political structures).
- Influence for enhanced participation of women in decision making and politics.
- Lobby on the enactment of new legal regulations that will improve the position of women in the Republic of Macedonia.

WHEN WAS ESE FORMED?

WHO STARTED ESE?

WHY WAS ESE FORMED?

The Association was established in July 1994 as a project of Dutch Interchurch Aid and the Ecumenical Women's Solidarity Fund. In the period until the project has grown into an Association (February 1995), small projects were realized in the part of health education with regards to reproductive health and support of newly formed women's organizations, beside the research of the position of women in the Republic of Macedonia in the period of transition.

This was the basis for the Program of work of ESE in 1995, which comprised programs: "Women and health" with two cycles of health education for girls and women from Romany and Albanian population; additionally with the program "Women and the media" with television programs and articles that enabled a broader interpretation of the women's issues.

This program gave more detailed explanations on the current events from the aspect of women's issues.

"Women and employment opportunities" was a program, which during 1995/96 enabled 225 women from the villages to get a certificate of a sewing course. This certificate, beside the diploma for primary school is the only diploma that they have acquired and which enables their access to the labor market.

"Women and education" is a program, which started in 1994, as a project of assistance for acquisition of schoolbooks for children whose mothers could not provide for it. All of these programs were just a basis to define the three major directions of work for the Association for Emancipation, Solidarity and Equality of women: health, legal education and education for equal opportunities for women in the decision-making bodies.

1996 was a year important for the Association for Emancipation, Solidarity and Equality of women. It was a year of work on specific projects, but also a year of education of the personnel of ESE and a year of capacity building. As a direct result of the attempts to act as a link between women from different regions, educational, social, religious, professional backgrounds and religious affiliations and the public, ESE formed four volunteer groups that will continue their work in the following years on the topics of:

"Legal education and legal action"

"Domestic violence"

"Health education" and

"Participation of women in the politics".

What has ESE been doing during the last three years?

1997, 1998 and 1999 activities of ESE expanded in all four directions:

DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

Mjellma Mehmeti,
program coordinator

- Survey implemented in May 1997 among students of the University "St. Cyril and Methodius" in Skopje. The results of the survey together with much information on the problem of domestic violence were published in a book "Rhea Silvia", the first ever published book on domestic violence issues in the Republic of Macedonia. The book was published in three languages: Macedonian, Albanian and English.
- From the 25th of November till 10th of December 1997 ESE initiated and organized the Campaign against domestic violence "Whisper". A brochure and a poster were printed and distributed around the country.
- 12 educative two-day seminars were organized on topics concerning domestic violence. Seminars were dedicated to representatives of women NGO's and representatives of institutions that are in contact with the victims of domestic violence (health workers, lawyers, attorneys, judges, social workers).

LEGAL EDUCATION AND LEGAL ACTION

Jasminka Friscic,
program coordinator

- 14 educative two-day seminars were organized on the matters that pertain to procedures in general and particular legal disputes where lawyers were able to understand more of the practical moments of the enforcement of law, the course of the procedures and regulations.
- 2 brochures on these topics were published.
- "In the name of equality" is a book published by the end of 1997 containing a comparative view on the Macedonian and American legislation on certain topics concerning women.
- From the 24th until the 26th of April 1998 a Regional Conference for Women Lawyers was organized in Struga. More than 100 women lawyers from the region gathered to discuss matters like: Position of women and the legal regulation for trafficking in women and children; Women and Law and women in the Legal Profession; International Legislation related to women.
- Implementation of the project "Lobbying the legal regulation for domestic violence", which has resulted in preparation of the draft-changes to the Criminal code, criminal procedure and civil procedure. After the successful public hearing held in September, ESE will submit the final version of the draft to the Ministry of justice.

HEALTH EDUCATION

Biljana Gerasimovska,
program coordinator

- Health education organized for:
 - Reproductive health-12 workshops-
 - a) young girls from 3 towns, in total 60 young girls, in 1998.
 - b) women from the villages of 5 towns (13 villages), 250 women, in 1999.
- Mother and child health care-6 workshops-
- a) women- refugees from Kosovo, from 4 towns, total 600 women, in 1999.
- A group of medical doctors that work in the sphere of health education of women - especially reproductive health, was established and educated.
- Health education materials prepared-sets for reproductive health (materials for workshops-short lecture, exercises and tests).
- Six brochures prepared (Self-examination of breast, AIDS, Contraception, Benign and malignant diseases of the reproductive organs, Sexually transmitted diseases and Abortion).
- Members of 6 NGO's were education on organization of projects for health education.

PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN IN POLITICS

Daniela Dimitrijevska,
program coordinator

- Organized 30 seminars on topics concerning lobbying for women's issues within political parties and institutions, techniques and basis of organization and carrying out a political campaign, working with the media etc.
- The education was organized with women politicians, on the techniques and basis of organization of an electoral campaign, work with the media etc.
- In 1998 implemented a survey on "The ways for further interest of the women's body of election to vote for women".
- On June the 19th 1999 a gathering of more than 2000 women was organized in Skopje. Political party leaders signed a Declaration for advancement and promotion of women in the political parties and the decision-making bodies.

ESE attempts to influence legislation

ESE's latest activities have been directed towards offering training and support to women NGO's in the field of Lobbying for legislative changes. However ESE itself is involved in coordinated Lobbying activities for enactment of the proposed Draft Changes of Law in the field of Domestic Violence. ESE has been working and advocating for legislative framing of the problem of domestic violence since 1996.

In which region(s) ESE operates?

ESE is a women's organization, organized and operating in the territory of the Republic of Macedonia. ESE also cooperates and implements activities with regional character with women NGOs from the region and further.

Who benefits primarily from ESE's activities?

Beneficiaries of our programs are women of different professional background (primarily: lawyers, attorneys, judges, politicians, physicians, psychologists, social workers), women activists in women's NGO's in Macedonia, women from the marginalized areas (distant towns and villages). All four (4) programs of ESE are designed to fit and be understood from women representatives of different ethnic groups in Macedonia.

STRUCTURE OF ESE GOVERNING AUTHORITIES OF THE ASSOCIATION

1. General Assembly

The General Assembly is the highest governing authority of ESE. The General Assembly is composed of individual and honorary members of ESE and it determines the general policy of the Association.

2. Executive Board

The Executive Board is the executive authority of the Association and performs its rights and responsibilities based on, and within the framework of the Bylaw and the general act of the Association. The Executive Board is composed of a President and at least three, but not more than ten members.

3. President of the Association

The President of the Association is elected on session of the General Assembly by a public vote for four years mandate with a right to be re-elected. The President represents and acts on behalf of the Association.

Biljana Gerasimovska is the president of the Association.

4. Staff of the office

The Association has its own staff office that works on the fulfillment of the duties and tasks described in the Association's goals and objectives. The organizational structure and work of the staff office is governed by acts adopted by the Executive Board.

Jasminka Friscic - program manager;

Daniela Dimitrievska - program coordinator;

Mjelima Mehmeti - program coordinator;

Silvana Naunova - program assistant;

Veselinka Gligorova - secretary

BACKGROUND

The women's group initiative "ANTIKO" was formed as a result of the collective work and women's socializing as well as of the clear-cut desire on the part of activists who wished to see democratic changes in FYR Macedonia. This urge was based on the need for setting up new models of trust, civil responsibility and mutual understanding between the citizens (both female and male) of FYR Macedonia and for the building of civil society. The decision regarding the founding of this initiative was brought about within the process of educating and empowering women and which had its start in Ohrid (September 1999) and whose first phase ended with a seminar in Skopje (January 2000). This is related to the process touched upon within the project: *Transformation of Conflict - For Women Leaders in Local Communities* and which was realized and implemented with the financial support of The Network of World Learning and Kvinna till Kvinna.

The knowledge that FYR Macedonia does not have a tradition in democratic institutions and does not have a developed democratic culture neither as a tradition nor as political participation, is important in the understanding of transitional changes and the articulation of women's roles within them. Postsocialist changes have left FYR Macedonia without a true identity and this is why our work recognized the politics of tolerance, acceptance and respecting of differences.

Clarifying the concept of violence and retribution by way of a new in-depth understanding of conflict resolution has helped us to consider how the learning of forgiveness is a key element to reconciliation and the absolving of conflicts between discordant sides. This is possible through acknowledging the importance of the phenomenon of national identity in all its aspects and differences, and which has a practical value in the stimulating of interethnic respect and tolerance. Therefore, we encourage women to talk about their lives, about problems, politics, personal fears, mutual prejudices and expectations when it is related to a shared life within specific local communities.

Education is the most important channel for women to be encouraged to step forward in their community and take on a political role in the public domain. Education is also important for new ways of carrying out activities and the culture of dialogue. The seminars for women leaders which we already held had exactly this role in establishing a link between women's groups in order to encourage them in their activities within the community so as to exchange information, and provide support and protection to one another.

Our experiences have shown that open and honest dialogue about the specific problems of national communities in FYR Macedonia, about the mutual prejudices and expectations, and about the different forms of national and spiritual ties, also assumes the yearning for interethnic cooperation and understanding.

The creation of various subcultural and alternative groups who discard the traits of the dominant majority and the self-identification or self-definition of women leaders who wish to undertake something due to the needs within the community leads to a creation of new concept of a women's network: one with a democratic structure, one that is dehierarchized and decentralized, one that is fresh and creative and which is open towards the encouraging of women of various backgrounds and nationalities in FYR Macedonia.

THE PROBLEMS WHICH WE WISH TO ADDRESS:

- the national identities of minorities towards the nationally-dominant groups in FYR Macedonia (how to bring them to awareness and to understand them in the context of the multinational Macedonian community)
- the question of assimilation and its consequences (a strong identification with the dominant culture, and a weaker identification with one's own ethnic culture), or rather, separation (a strong identification with one's own ethnic culture and a weaker identification with the dominant one)
- marginalization (women's and national) and how to deal with this
- problems and impermeable boundaries between women's groups
- organizational development: hierarchical structures within groups and the introduction of a new model for team work
- weak communication channels
- the question of the creation of ad hoc organizations focused mainly on the providing of service - each to one's own ethnic group (the majority of these are in direct opposition to the creation of a pluralistic civil society)

EXPECTED RESULTS:

- to understand the role and importance of non-governmental organizations in the creation of a civil society in FYR Macedonia, and the culture of dialogue and non-violence
- to establish a model of open communication between women without prejudices, the problem of language and hate
- to show that we respect, understand each other and validate our differences through mutual work
- to have an influence in the dispelling of prejudices about different nationalities in the community
- to enable the linking of women of various nationalities around concrete needs within the community through the process of mutual learning, empowering and support
- to enable women to take on leadership roles within their communities and to show the possibilities for mutual activities between the women of various nationalities through a series of seminars, public lectures and workshops throughout FYR Macedonia

- to show that women's togetherness is the most correct form of behaviour and action through the example of a regional team of trainers from all the countries of former Yugoslavia

ANNEX D

**INFORMATION REGARDING STABILITY PACT
GENDER TASK FORCE, MACEDONIA PROJECTS**



Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe

Stability Pact

GENDER TASK FORCE

**FIRST PLAN
OF
ACTION 2000**

I would like to specially thank:

- * to all national partners of the SP GTF, from the governments and NGOs who worked so hard to formulate their projects.
- * to Ambassador Robert L. Barry, Head of the OSCE Mission to BiH, who was the first and permanent supporter of the idea and gradual development of the SP GTF
- * to Elisabeth Rasmusson, Head of the Democratization Department in the OSCE Mission to BiH, for her strong personal engagement in all crucial moments for the birth and growing of the SP GTF
- * to Mary Ann Rukavina, "Women in Politics" Program Manager in OSCE Mission to BiH, for her day to day support and concrete work not only on big strategic phases of this project but also on the boring details which make all important initiatives start and move further on.
- * to UNIFEM and Mrs. Zina Mounla, UNIFEM Programme manager for Europe and CIS Section, personally, for encouraging us to call a donors' conference in the framework of the UN ECE Beijing + 5 preparatory meetings in Geneva, to prepare this publication in such a short notice and to finance this part of the SP GTF Plan of Action for 2000.

Sonja Lokar
Chair of the SP GTF

Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe
Working Table on Democratization and Human Rights
GENDER TASK FORCE

"We the undersigned no longer accept that women of this region are victims of predominately male politics.

We demand and accept as a vital part of civil society to work together with representatives of our governments and of the international community towards the lasting peace, good neighborly relations and stability for our individual countries as well as for SE Europe, as conditions for further European integration.

Women are the stakeholders and have a vital interest in peace, prosperity and sustainable human development of this region, which can not be achieved without the active participation of more than a half of its population"

From the Appeal to the Participants of the Stability Pact for South East Europe,

July 29, 1999

GENDER TASK FORCE

PLAN OF ACTION 2000

This brochure was sponsored by UNIFEM

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OSCE

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Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe
Working Table on Democratization and Human Rights
GENDER TASK FORCE

BACKGROUND

The establishment and inauguration of the Stability Pact Gender Task Force was facilitated and sponsored by the OSCE Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina and strongly supported by the connections and expertise of the CEE Network for Gender Issues in Budapest.

Gender Task Force was born out of the Appeal to Participants of the Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe. By July 29, 1999 this Appeal, calling for active and direct participation of women in development and implementation of the Stability Pact, had been signed by more than 150 women's civil society groups from 10 countries of South Eastern Europe - Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Greece, Hungary, Romania and Slovenia.

Before the Summit in Sarajevo, the Special Coordinator of the European Union for the Stability Pact, Minister Bodo Hombach, welcomed women's initiative and agreed to include gender equality issues in all Stability Pact work plans, specially into the framework of the first Stability Pact Working Table on Democratization and Human Rights. He also suggested the preparation of the concrete plan for promotion of gender equality within the Stability Pact.

On October 8-9, 1999, the Ad Hoc Stability Pact Gender Task Force, made up of the representatives of signatories of the Appeal from all 10 SE European countries, came together in Budapest and formulated its Recommendations to the Stability Pact Special Coordinator. Representatives from the women's civil society groups asked for:

- Establishment of the Stability Pact Gender Task Force, with a permanent seat at the Working Table for Democratization and Human Rights.
- Establishment of the GTF Information Clearing House and Chair's office,

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Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe
Working Table on Democratization and Human Rights
GENDER TASK FORCE

- Nomination of Sonja Lokar, Executive Director of the CEE Network for Gender Issues, as a Chair of the SPGTF.

They also proposed:

Draft plan of national and regional projects of political empowerment of women in the SE European region, focused on promotion of gender equality in electoral campaigns and positive action in electoral legislation, in media, education and governance.

Draft plan of the needs of the GTF is funding of the Information Clearing House in Sarajevo, funding of the Chair's advisory board, office, staff and functioning of the co-Chair and Chair; support in finding donors for the entire budget of the GTF on regional and national level.

At its first meeting in Geneva, on October 18, 1999, the Working Table on Democratization and Human Rights accepted the Recommendations and the chairman, Mr. Max van der Stoep, asked Ambassador Robert L. Barry, Head of the Mission of OSCE in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the special envoy for Chairman in Office for regional matters, to call the inaugural meeting of the SPGTF in Sarajevo.

On November 8, 1999 at the inaugural meeting of the SP GTF, the structure of participants of this women's civil society initiative changed fundamentally: besides representatives from women's NGOs, there were also representatives from the governments of the SE European countries and some Western European countries (Denmark, Norway), most of the crucial international organizations and networks with the human rights and gender equality mandate in the region (Council of Europe, European Parliament, OSCE, ODIHR, OHR, UNHCR, UNDP, Oxfam, World Bank, ABACEELI, Star Network, Kvinna till Kvinna, CEE Network for Gender Issues).

Sonja Lokar, Executive Director of the CE Network for Gender Issues was nominated the Chair and Lona Dybkjaer, EMP from Denmark was nominated as a co-Chair of the GTF.

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Three main goals were set :

- Promoting of greater women's political participation by establishing national and regional plans for women's capacity building.
- Formulation of and campaigning for positive action in national electoral legislation to increase women's chances to stand for election and to be elected.

- Strengthening of national machinery for gender equality promotion in all the countries of the SE Europe.

An agreement on working methods and follow-up steps was made:

- GTF will build on the synergy of working together of governments, women's NGOs and international organizations and networks with the human rights and gender equality mandate in the region, crossing party lines, national borders, cultural differences, using best practices.

- GTF will make the best possible use of internet technology and e-mail communication, setting up a web site, linked to Stability Pact web site and all important gender equality promoting web-sites, using e-mail list and electronic conferences for mutual exchange of information and expertise.

- GTF will call upon all governments of democratic developed countries and all other international donors to lend their political and financial support to its efforts.

- Representatives from governments and NGOs of all 9 countries of SE Europe and Montenegro, and women NGO representative from FR Yugoslavia took a commitment to prepare their national projects of political empowerment of women for the Stability Pact Gender Task Force Plan of Action 2000 by the end of 1999 in order to present it at the meeting of the Stability Pact Working Table on Democratization and Human Rights, planned for January 24, 2000 in Budapest.

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GTF REGIONAL PROJECTS IN 2000

1. E-mail GTF information-mailing list and internet web site development.

DM 20 000

Applicant: GTF Clearing House

2. Short TV film/video cassette about female and male political leaders who were crucial in establishment of quota systems in the parties in Sweden, Norway, Denmark, UK, Germany and Austria, and of successful formulation of electoral positive action in Belgium, Bosnia and Herzegovina and France. Translation of this film in the languages of the Stability Pact region.

DM 300 000

Applicants: CEE Network for Gender Issues, Morana Paliković Gruden editor and owner of Croatian magazine "Zaposlena", Sanja Ljubičić author of the documentary film: "In their own name"

3. Commented comparative review of the best solutions of positive action concerning equal women's representation in elected and appointed political decisionmaking bodies, translation and publishing this review in a brochure or in public newspaper serials in the languages of the Stability Pact region.

DM 50 000

Expected applicants: Council of Europe, experts from international idea institute and from Stability Pact countries

4. Commented comparative review of the best solutions of the national gender equality machinery, translation and publishing of this review in a brochure or in public newspaper serials in the language of the Stability Pact region.

DM 50 000

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Methodology and phases of the project:

- setting up the board, office, staff and editorial plan of the Bulletin for four issues a year in printed and electronic versions
- organizing free of charge distribution of the Bulletin - DM 61 850
- holding four expert conferences on special issues of women human rights as a basis for each issue of the bulletin - DM 40 000

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FYR of MACEDONIA

NATIONAL PLAN OF 5 PHASES - PROJECT OF POLITICAL EMPOWERMENT OF WOMEN IN THE FYR OF MACEDONIA IN 2000

Applicants: Governmental Unit for Gender Equality and NGOs: Union of Women's Organizations of Macedonia, CEE Network for Gender Issues

Duration: from March to November 2000

Estimated budget: DM 182 715 *

Background:

Since the last national election and a year-long national women's political campaign in 1998, the percentage of women MPs has risen from 3% to nearly 8%. In November 2000 Macedonia will have local elections. At present, women make up only 8% of membership in local councils and there are only a few women mayors.

Project goals are:

- to define common women's issues in the local election campaign and joint women's strategy for this campaign;
- to prepare trainers for local training of future women candidates in local elections;
- to help women candidates to stand for public office with the aim to make a difference - to bring into Macedonian local politics new values, different priorities and a new political culture;

* The Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs in FYROM is willing to cover 10% of the total budget

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- to evaluate the results of local seminars and to exert public pressure on all political parties to open up at least 30% of eligible places on their list to women candidates;
- to compare best favorable foreign experience and to build political consensus in the Macedonian government, Parliament and women's NGOs on the issue of how best to define the mandate and structure of the Macedonian gender equality machinery in order to make it more efficient.

Target groups are:

- women from all the national groups
- women from all political parties, trade unions and women's NGOs, working on the political empowerment of women in Macedonia

Methodology:

A 5-phase project will be implemented through conferences, seminars, courses and evaluations prepared for a large number of women participants.

Phases of the project are:

- one-day conference to be attended by 250 women leaders from all political parties, trade unions, political NGOs, women mayors, heads of local councils, women MPs, senior governmental officials, business women, women artists and friendly editors and journalists;
- two train-the-trainer for the "Women Can Do It" weekend seminars;
- 120 one-day local "Women Can Do it" courses for 2 400 future women candidates from all political parties;
- a one-day Evaluation Seminar in Skopje;
- a two-day Consultative Seminar for upgrading of the Macedonian national machinery for gender equality.

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ROMANIA

NATIONAL PLAN OF IMPROVEMENT OF WOMEN'S REPRESENTATION IN POLITICAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE DECISION-MAKING BODIES

Applicants: National Machinery for Gender Equality,
Coordination of Women's NGOs in Romania, CEE
Network of Gender Issues

Duration: one year

Estimated-budget: DM 165 750

Background:

The only initiative ever made in Romania for affirmative action in electoral law was proposing to give higher state subventions to those parties which put more women at the top of their electoral lists. At first, the proposal was widely supported by and passed all parliamentary procedures, however, it was rejected in the final vote.

Project Goals are:

- building women's capacity to participate and take part in decision-making processes;
- raising awareness of public opinion and political leaders on the necessity of including the female point of view at all levels of decision-making processes;
- amending Romanian electoral legislation to support placing of women candidates in eligible places of electoral lists;
- upgrading national gender machinery.

Target Groups are:

- women candidates in local and general elections
- the general public

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STATE	GOVERNMENTAL FOCAL POINT PERSON
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ANNEX E

**REPORT ON THE FORMATION OF THE MACEDONIAN
WOMEN'S LOBBY**

**REPORT ON THE FORMATION OF THE
MACEDONIAN WOMEN'S LOBBY**

(Initiative of the GENDER TASK FORCE in the Republic of Macedonia)

The formation of the Macedonian Women's Lobby is the first organized activity of the GENDER TASK FORCE in the Republic of Macedonia. The idea was to get the women in Macedonia united with regard to the priorities of the Stability Pact Initiative, irrespective of their ethnic, religious or political background. This unity of the women from different structures (non-governmental organizations, political parties, the Parliament, the Government, local self-government and media) would enable them to be fully informed about the initiative, to be involved on equal grounds, and to act in an efficient manner in order to put the strategy agreed at State level into practice.

The Initiative Committee for the formation of the Macedonian Women's Lobby was composed by:

- Mrs. Savka Todorovska, participant at the meeting on 29 July 1999 in Sarajevo and the *focal point* of the NGO sector;
- Mrs. Elena Grozdanova, the *focal point* of the Governmental sector; and
- Mrs. Liljana Popovska, participant at the meetings on 8 October 1999 in Budapest and on 8 November 1999 in Sarajevo.

In the interim between the inauguration of the Gender Task Force and the formal promotion of the Macedonian Women's Lobby, the Initiative Committee had contacts with the leading people of all relevant female non-governmental organizations and of the women groups within the political parties, with female members of the Parliament and local self-government representatives, with representatives of the state administration dealing with human rights and gender equality issues, with a number of female journalists, as well as with several eminent persons from the women's movement in the country. All of them accepted the invitation to participate in the work of the so-called Working Body of the Lobby, which during that period had three meetings at which the objectives, the structure and the basic principles related to the functioning of the Lobby were defined.

On the concept of the Macedonian Women's Lobby, we talked with the Coordinator for human rights in the OSCE mission in the Republic of Macedonia Mrs. Melinda Lord, as well as with Mrs. Mary An Rukavina from the OSCE mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina, who both gave their support to this initiative.

The formal promotion of the Macedonian Women's Lobby took place on 1 March 2000. Present were more than 400 guests, including:

- the Ambassador of the OSCE mission in the Republic of Macedonia, Mr. Karlo Ungaro;

- the Coordinator of the Human Rights Sector within the OSCE mission in the Republic of Macedonia, Mrs. Melinda Lord;
- the Coordinator of the Media Sector within the OSCE mission in the Republic of Macedonia, Mr. Karl Schenker;
- the Representative of the European Commission in the Republic of Macedonia, Mr. John Penny, and
- the wife of the British Ambassador in the Republic of Macedonia, Mrs. Christina Dickinson.

The promotion was organized as a formal conference and had a Charing Body composed of the following persons:

- Mrs. Savka Todorovska, President of the "SOZM" (the Union of organizations of women of Macedonia);
- Mrs. Elena Grozdanovska, Head of the Division of Gender Equality within the Ministry of Labor and Social Policy;
- Mrs. Mirjana Dimovska, President of the "OZM" (Organization of organizations of women of Macedonia) and Editor in the Macedonian TV;
- Mrs. Mukereme Rusi, President of the "SAZM" (the Union of the Albanian women of Macedonia);
- Mrs. Marija Jordanova, a Member of the Parliament of the Republic of Macedonia and President of the Union of Women of the political party VMRO-DPMNE (VMRO-Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity);
- Mrs. Eleonora Petrova, Coordinator of the Clubs of Women in the political party SDSM (Social-democratic Union of Macedonia);
- Mrs. Violeta Alarova, President of the Women's organization in the political party DA (Democratic Alternative) and Editor in the Macedonian Radio;
- Mrs. Gordana Siljanovska, President of the National Committee of Gender Equality and an expert in electoral law;
- Mrs. Gjulumsera Kasapi, President of the organization "The woman and the family";
- Mrs. Nadire Selman, President of the Association of the Gypsy women "Esma";
- Mrs. Suzana Musli, President of the Association of the Turkish women "Derja";
- Mrs. Elena Papacafa, President of the Union of the Wallach women of Macedonia;

- Mrs. Liljana Popovska, Coordinator of the Forum of women of the political party LDP (Liberal-democratic party);

The Chairperson was Mrs. Liljana Popovska, who also gave the introductory input, explaining the motives for this initiative. First, the effort toward gender equality:

We announced the formation of the Macedonian Women's Lobby. This announcement didn't have for purpose to scare anybody, but quite the contrary, the purpose is to get allies and supporters of this so natural, logic and just idea of gender equality. We are not going to, holding a flag in the hand, assault barricades and conquer the men's world, in order to govern it. We don't have the intention to give up our femininity in order to prove that we are equal with men. We simply want to use the power of arguments in order to occupy the place that naturally belongs to us – to be shoulder to shoulder with men, in a partner relationship.

And immediately after this, the expectations that by carrying out these activities, one does something helpful for his/her country:

Aware that the level of democracy in our country is also assessed through the situation of the woman in the society, we will try, with our activities, to improve the status of the Republic of Macedonia internationally. This will be possible, bearing in mind that the Lobby is a part of a broader international initiative. Namely, the Macedonian Women's Lobby is the first organized activity of the so-called Gender Task Force – an initiative within the Stability Pact in the Republic of Macedonia.

Further on, the objectives, the structure and the way of functioning of the Lobby were explained:

By definition, the Macedonian Women's Lobby should be a group for putting pressure on the general public, on the institutions and on the media in order to increase the participation of the women in the decision making structures in Macedonia. It is composed of representatives of non-governmental organizations, political parties, media, the Parliament, the Government, the local self-government, as well as women who are experts in different areas. Activities will be organized through the Working Group and through open sessions. In its nature, the Lobby is an open structure, with practically unlimited number of members and supporters of its objectives. The ultimate goal is of course the equal representation of the sexes in all the areas of the public life, but in the meantime, the efforts will be directed towards:

- **greater representation of women in politics and in the decision making structures;**
- **upgrading of the legislation and its implementation in the direction of providing for the rights of women.**

After the introductory speech, the assembly was greeted by the Ambassador Carlo Ungaro, who donated to the Chairperson a check on 5000 Euros, as an expression of the support from the OSCE mission in the Republic of Macedonia.

It was followed by greeting speeches of the members of the Chairing Body, and of Mrs. Teuta Chuchkova Krashnica, President of the Committee for peace and civil initiatives, as well as of Mrs. Nada Geshovska, a distinguished actress and activist of the "SOZM" (the Union of organizations of women of Macedonia).

The promotion of the Macedonian Women's Lobby aroused an interest of the public and was well covered by the media both before and after the event. The public was informed through reports in the main news on almost all the electronic media, as well as in all daily editions of the printed media. In addition to this, 6 interviews on this topic were filmed on the electronic media, lasting from 5 to 60 minutes.

The Macedonian Women's Lobby worked intensively, after the promotion, with the non-governmental female organizations in order to make richer the offer of the Republic of Macedonia in terms of new projects meeting the criteria set forth in Gender Task Force.

Enclosed with this report are the photographs and the video-tape showing the formal promotion.

March 16, 2000.

The report was prepared by:

- Savka Todorovska
- Elena Grozdanovska
- Liljana Popovska.



ANNEX F

**PROPOSALS FROM JUNE 2000 DONOR CONFERENCE ON
WOMEN AND LOCAL ELECTIONS**

CONTENTS

- National Plan of Political Empowerment of Women in Macedonia in 2000
- Regional Project “Equal Rights and Equal Opportunities For Women in Political Life in Macedonia” – a research project as a tool for advocacy, campaigning and lobbying for changes
- Campaign “I Vote, Means I Exist”
- Administrating of the Macedonian Women’s Lobby
- Participation of Albanian Women in Politics
- Next to Minimum-Gender Sensitive Consciousness Raising of Voters
- Women’s Vote – to Women
- Women’s Lists

Name of the Project: National Plan of Political Empowerment of Women in Macedonia in 2000

Funding need: February - November, 2000.

Total budget: \$93 700

Project	Budget
Project 1 One day National Conference Goals of this Conference are to define common women's issues of the local election campaign and joint women's strategy for this campaign	US\$ 15 000
Project 2 Training for trainers The 40 women leaders will be trained by trainers from overseas in two-days residential workshops. (gender awareness building and training of political skills needed in local electoral campaign)	US\$ 12 500
Project 3 120 one day local "Women Can Do It" courses for 2 400 future women candidates from all political parties which will be led by 40 already trained trainers (Project 2)	US\$ 56 700
Project 4 One day Evaluation seminar, to evaluate the results of 120 local seminars and to concentrate public pressure on all political parties to put at least 30 % of women on eligible places of their lists.	US\$ 4 500
Project 5 Two day Conductive seminar for upgrading of Macedonian national machinery for gender equality	US\$ 5 000
Total (5 Projects)	US\$ 93 700

Other commitments:

The project 1 was supported by OSCE with \$ 4795.

The project 2 was founded by Embassy of US with \$ 6000.

The project 3 is financed by Embassy of Norway with \$ 12 400.

Funding Required: US\$ 70 505

Geographical Area: The whole territory of Macedonia

Area of work: Gender Issues

Relevant Working Table: Working Table on Democratization and Human Rights

Description:

1. The project " National plan of political empowerment of women in Macedonia" is in five phases. It started with National Conference (Project 1) which establish the agenda items which women want to see included in Parties' manifestos and define common women's issues of the local election campaign and joint women's strategy for this campaign. Time: April, 20, 2000.

2. Then in (Project 2) trainers from overseas come to train 40 women leaders in two, two-days residential workshops, which will take place in the Project 3. This trained 40 trainers will lead 120 local training of future women candidates in local election (gender awareness building and training of political skills needed in local election campaign) Time: May, 5-7, 2000.

3. Project 3 - the 40 trained trainers will lead the 120 one-day local courses "Women Can do It" in 120 election unit for 2400 future women candidates. The goals of this courses is to help women candidates to stand for the post with the aim to make differences - to bring in Macedonian local politics new values, different priorities, new political culture. Time: May - June, 2000.

4. Before the election (which take place in October) a forced Evaluation seminar (Project 4) will be held in Skopje, to review the results of 120 local seminars and to concentrate public pressure on all political parties

to put at least 30 % of women on eligible places of their lists. Time: 14 days before the dead line for submission of partly lists.

5. Finally in November 2000, when the results of the election have been analyzed (Project 5) an evaluation will be made of the total Project. It will be held a two day Consultative seminar for upgrading of Macedonian national machinery for gender equality.

Goals: to compare best foreign experience and to built political consensus in Macedonian government , Parliament and with women's NGO-s on the issues of how to best define the mandate, structure in order to make Macedonian gender equality machinery more efficient.

Background:

The year 2000 will see local government election (October 2000) in Macedonia. We have only 8% of women in local council and not any women as mayor. During the Parliamentary election in 1998 UWOM ran successful campaign "51%" which had two effects – it brought many more women to the polling booths and it tripled the number s of women in Parliaments. The implementation of this projects (1-4), actually with this programme will provide empowerment of women in the election processing in 2000, bigger number of women in politics, in local councils and women mayors.

Progress to date:

This project started in February 2000 with the first phase and it will finish at the end of November 2000. It's a new initiative which started with agreement from the inaugural meeting of the Stability Pact Gender Task Force in Sarajevo on November 8, 1999.

Organizations Involved:

The Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs

Union of Women Organizations in the Macedonia

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Contact person, Savka Todorovska , President of the Union of Women Organization in the Macedonia

Name of the project: Regional Project "Equal Rights And Equal Opportunities For Women in Political Life in Macedonia" - a research project as a tool for advocacy, campaigning and lobbying for changes

Funding needs:	One year (January - December, 2000)
Total Budget:	\$10,000.00
Funding required:	\$10,000.00
Geographical area:	Republic of Macedonia, Republic of Bulgaria, Republic of Albania
Area of work:	Gender issues
Relevant working table:	Working Table on Democratization and Human Rights

Description:

Main goal:

Raising of the level of the political culture for equality of sexes

Objectives:

The equal participation of woman in political life in the countries in our region is a guarantee for real democracy. Although in all the countries - Macedonia included, this principle is recognized there is no philosophy, neither practical measure for it's implementation in real life. There is no public debate about the equal/unequal opportunities in this sphere. Equality of women and men in political life is regarded as something already achieved and even taken for granted, inherited from socialist times. Only women's NGO's have tried to challenge this view so far.

Agenda of activities:

January to May: research on the existing laws, mechanisms and practices for political participation of women in Macedonia. Historical review of the participants of women in the political-life laws and political tradition, the Constitution of ASNOM - 1944 (the Antifascists Assembly of the National Liberation of Macedonia), the landmark for gender equality, the socialist legislation;

May to September: study of the current legislation and practice - the Constitution of 1991, the electoral laws - for the election of the Members of Parliament, of the local authorities, of President and vice president, other pertinent laws from the point of view of gender equality. Assessment of their gender impact;

October: Two-days seminar in Ohrid in the first half of October 2000. Study of the international and regional standards of gender equality in political participation;

December: Publication of a report with the results of the study and dissemination till 30th December 2000.

Background:

This objective in Macedonia, could not be achieved without reconsidering the system and, namely, the electoral system and practices which allow the enhanced participation for women in the political life in the country. This will finally, contribute to the restructuring and peace process in the region and not only to the reconstruction but also to the prevention of any kind of military conflicts. Besides this overall political objective, enhancing the political participation of women will be of benefit of building a gender balance democratic society in Macedonia.

Progress to date:

This is an expansion of an existing project "Women and politics", which started in 1998, as a home project, helped by the foreign donors. Now, we want to expand it in a regional project. The project began in January 2000 and the research on the existing laws, mechanisms and practices for political participation of women in Macedonia and historical review of the participation of women in the political-life laws and political tradition are already done. We will start in May with the study of the current legislation and practice, and after that in October, we are planning a two-days seminar in Ohrid and a publication of a report with the results of the study and dissemination till 30th December 2000.

Organizations involved:

Organization of Women's Organizations (OWOM) of Macedonia in cooperation with department for equality of the sexes in the Government of the Republic of Macedonia, Bulgarian Gender research Foundation and Albanian Women's Forum.

Lead Agency:

OWOM Vasil Gjorgov br. 39, baraka 71000 Skopje, Macedonia Tel./fax: ++ 389 91 227918, Tel./fax: ++ 389-91 121280, e-mail: owom@freemail.org.mk

Contact persons:

Milka Ristova - Coordinator of the project ul. Vasil Gjorgov br. 39, baraka 7, 1000 Skopje, Macedonia, tel./fax: ++ 389 91 227-918, e-mail: owom@freemail.org.mk

Mirjana Dimovska - graduated Law Faculty, employed as editor in Macedonian TV, President of the OWOM ul. Svetinikolska br. 4, 1000 Skopje, Macedonia, tel.: ++ 389 91 119088, e-mail: owom@freemail.org.mk

Name of the Project: Campaign " I Vote, Means I Exist "

Funding needs:	June 1, till September 30, 2000
Total budget:	\$51,920.00
Other commitments:	None
Funding Required:	\$51,920.00
Geographical Area:	Territory of Macedonia(rural areas)
Area of Work:	Gender Issues
Relevant Working Table:	Democratization and Human Rights

Description:

The Programme for national plan of political empowerment of women in Macedonia started in February and is running by Union of Women Organizations in the Macedonia. This proposal project is a part of this national plan and the purpose of this project will be for increasing the number of women-voters in the local elections in October, 2000.

The activities of the project will be railed in the three phases.

In the first phase of the project we plan a training seminar of women educators, a phase that will enable the educators to be more efficient at their work with the women. One two-day seminar will be organized in Tetovo, and leaded by experts in this field. The seminar will be organized by the both partnership projects carriers.

The second phase will be education for women to get a right information about their right to vote and to stimulate them to go to vote. There will be arranged and organized 16 workshops. This phase will be conducted by LSGHM. They will prepare and organize 16 educational workshops for four months. Each month will have 4 workshops.

The third phase of the campaign will be propaganda campaign. The last phase will go under UWOM conduction. This will be medium campaign for voting and UWOM will prepare and print pamphlets, placards and flyers. Also UWOM will make a video spot and engage the journalists to do the Medium campaign.

Background:

The first problem that we can define is a small number of women who go voting. To achieve bigger effects on this programme-empowerment of women in politics, in the local councils, as women-mayors too, the initiative for bigger number of women-voters is more than necessary. Loyal to their tradition and patriarchal customs, our women are not expose enough for the election period and mostly they let the others to vote for them. From the past experience of the parliamentary elections we concluded that a small number of women go voting. This situation was caused by many reasons, a lot of women did not know their right to vote, other people vote instead of them because they are not informed. As a democratic society we can't ignore the fact that there women in Macedonia who are unable to use their right to vote. Women's right to choose and to decide is owned by their husbands, especially for the women in rural areas. They never can express their opinion about some issue in politics. They might be passive observers

only. We can't let women to be used as a tool for male exclusive right to dominate and lead. Women need to be educated, introduced, encouraged and stimulated in their rights.

Considering that the local elections are ahead of us, and especially having in consideration the small percentage of women voting on the elections and disappointedly small number of women (8%) participation in the City council and not any women mayor. So, educating women on politics and voting is the most urgent thing that must evolve in, especially, rural areas. Our main goal is raising the women awareness for her human rights as a decision-maker and voter. She has a right to vote, and that shouldn't be abused by anyone.

Progress to date:

This a new initiative and also one of the "quick start projects". It should start on the first of June until the end of September.

Organizations Involved:

League of Albanian Woman of Macedonia, Macedonia 91 220 Tetovo "101" 6

Phone: ++389 94 20-176

Contact person: Mukeremi Rusi

Union of Women Organizations of Macedonia, Macedonia 91 000 Skopje "11 Oktomvri" 17,

Phone: ++389 91 220-570, 235-562, Fax: ++389 91 134-390, E-mail: sozm@mt.net.mk

Contact person: Savka Todorovska

Lead agency:

Union of Women Organizations of Macedonia, Macedonia 91 000 Skopje "11 Oktomvri" 17,

Phone: ++389 91 220-570, 235-562, Fax: ++389 91 134-390, E-mail: sozm@mt.net.mk

Contact person: Savka Todorovska

Name of the Project: Administrating of the Macedonian Women's Lobby

Name of the project:	Administrating of the Macedonian Women's Lobby
Funding needs:	One year (June 2000 - June 2001)
Total budget:	\$24.000
Other commitments:	
Funding required:	\$24.000
Geographical area:	Republic of Macedonia
Area of work:	Gender Issues
Relevant Working Table:	Working Table for Democratisation and Human Rights

Description:

Macedonian Women's Lobby is the initiative of Gender Task Force - Stability Pact in Macedonia. It enables the women from different structures to be fully informed about the initiative, to be involved in it on equal terms and to act in an efficient manner in order to put the strategy agreed at the state level into practice.

Macedonian Women's Lobby is a group for putting pressure on the institutions, public and media with two main goals: 1. Greater representation of women in politics and public life, especially on policy and decision-making positions; 2. Improving the legislation and its implementation in the direction of providing the women's wrights.

It is consisted of representatives of NGO-s, political parties, media, Parliament, Government, Local Government, and women experts on various fields. It acts on the basis of a Programme, including: building a strategy for development of gender machinery, strenghtening the awereness of gender equality, campagns for more women on the election lists, analyses of the laws from gender prospective, data basis of capable women, organised media promotions of influential women in the country and abroad, etc. It works through the coordinational body and the open forum sessions.

Background:

In Macedonia equal rights are declared through the legislative, but in practice the participation of women in politics and public life is very low. Although about 52% of the students with degree, and about 51% of the governmental and local administration are female, the number of women on decision-making positions is very limited. In the Parliament there are only 8 women, which is 6,7% (doubled since the last elections after few NGO campagns). This autumn the country will meet local elections, which will be another oportunity to check the awereness of gender equality. But what is necessary for Macedonia is a permanent campagn to increase the number of women in politics and public life, through coordinated activities of the women from defferent structures in the country. Now is the wright moment for Macedonia to do it, after the very succesfull promotion of Gender Task Force initiative in March 2000, when the women from different background (national, confesional and political) agreed to work together on "women cause". If we want to keep all these women working together we need at least elementary conditions, which means an office and an administrator.

Progress to date:

Macedonian Women's Lobby was promoted on 1st March in Skopje in the presence of more than 400 guests, including the Ambassador of the OSCE Mission in Macedonia, Mr. Carlo Ungaro, the representative of the European Commission in Macedonia, Mr. John Penny and other honoured guests from foreign missions in the country.

At the moment of the promotion, one project was applied :” The political empowerment of women in Macedonia in 2000”, a wide campaign for more women on the lists for local elections, a project of the Union of Women Organizations in Macedonia and Ministry for Labour and Social Policy. It has already started with the first two phases - a conference of 250 women for creating a strategy for local elections and a training for trainers course of 40 women educators. One of the conclusions of the conference was to create a model for lobbying at the political parties, through the discussion of the Coordinational Body of Macedonian Women’s Lobby. This discussion is going on at the moment. Later a strong campaign for promoting this model will have to be organized by Macedonian Women’s Lobby.

In the meantime, six new project raised, on the goals of the Gender Task Force initiative, by the leading women NGO-s in the country. All these projects have to be supported very soon, because most of them concern the local elections in autumn. Thas is the reason of organizing the Donor Conference in Skopje, with the support of the Institute Open Society -Macedonia and the Ministry for Labour and Social Policy.

Organizations involved:

Elena Grozdanova, focal point for Governmental sector of the Gender Task Force for Macedonia; Advisor for gender equality in the Ministry of labour and Social Policy; phone/fax: 129-308; e-mail: Savka Todorovska, focal point for NGO sector of the Gender Task Force for Macedonia; President of the Union of Women Organizations in Macedonia; phone: 220-570; fax: 134-390; e-mail: sozm@mt.net.mk.

Liljana Popovska, coordinator of Macedonian Women’s Lobby and member of the Advisory Board of the Gender Task Force - Stability Pact; phone: 233-555; fax:235-435.

Funding needs: 6 months (June-November 2000)
Total budget: \$11,550.00
Funding needs: \$11,550.00 F-13
Geographical Area: Local communities in Macedonia where the majority is Albanian
Area of Work: Gender Issues
Relevant working table: Working Table on Democratization and Human Rights

Description and background:

One of the biggest problems concerning the Albanian women in Macedonia is related to their general participation in the political life in the country. The lower level of their education, their unemployment, the predominance of the traditional values about the position of the women and many other factors, contribute to a situation in which those women have very little knowledge about the general principles of democracy and human rights, especially of their own rights as citizens and particularly related to the gender issue. The process of their resocialization is very slow and takes a lot of effort on all levels, but it is a fact that the NGO sector had so far had more success than the governmental one. For those reasons, the proposed project will attempt to contribute to the processes of political resocialization and building of an adequate political culture of perhaps the biggest victims of political manipulation in the society - the Albanian women.

Project aims:

- training (seminars) for the Albanian women who are willing to be candidates on the local elections 2000 in all regions of Macedonia where the majority is Albanian, which will provide them with the necessary information on the lobbying and pre-election campaign technique.
- working with unemployed women - voters in order to stimulate their participation in the elections and practicing of their own political will.

Agenda of activities:

- preparation of first seminar for women candidates: June 2000
- seminar 1 - July 5-7
- field work with unemployed women July-October 2000
- seminar 2 with women candidates - October 2-5
- Lobby - support for elections - October - November

Progress to date:

The project is new and covers an area which has been neglected so far. It can start immediately.

Organizations involved:

The project will be realized through the NGO "Woman and Family" with a cooperation of an expert team from the University in Skopje.

Leading Agency:

Women and Family

Contact person: Djulumsera Kasapi, Director of the NGO

address: John Kennedy br.2\ 1/15

tel. 618 886, cellular: 070 268 386

***Name of the project: Next to Minimum-Gender Sensitive Consciousness
Raising of Voters***

F-14

Funding needs: one year
Total budget: \$86,130.00
Soros commitments: \$28,710.00
Other commitments: \$3,300.00
Funding required: \$54,120.00

Geographical Area: Macedonia

Area of Work: Gender Issues

m) Encouraging a more active role for women in the political process of the region.

Relevant Working Table / Task Force

Working Table on Democratization and Human rights

Description

Overall goal:

- Overcoming of gender stereotypes for ability of women in Macedonia to be active in participation in decision making processes.

Objectives:

- To raise the awareness among women voters for importance of greater representation of women in politics
- To encourage voters to vote women candidates
- To influence political parties to candidate more women on the top of the proportional lists, and candidate more women to run for Mayor
- To establish and promote the specific interests and need with respect to the politics and decision making processes
- To influence the overcoming gender biases of Macedonian media regarding participation of women in politics
- To contribute in overall campaign for greater representation of women in politics

Target groups:

- Voters
- Political parties
- Media
- Women's NGO's

In order to accomplish the stated goals and objectives positive strategic approach will be undertaken, by promoting positive aspects of active women participation in decision making structures, raising awareness for the standards of women candidates in advocacy for women issues in decision making, involvement of the media as partners in the project.

Agenda of activities:

- Hand book of the strategic guidelines for the Gender Sensitive Consciousness Raising of Voters will be produced;
- TV campaign will be organized which will included in video clip and debates on the issue;
- Leaflets, flyers in which voters can put questions for candidates and send to the media as a base for debates, and brochure (explaining the basic women's human rights and stating the principle argument for supporting the idea of grater representation of women in politic and

decision making structure) will be issued to the widest possible public (100 000 flyers, 20 000 leaflets and 20 000 brochures).

F-15

Background

This autumn (October, November, December) 2000 Local elections will be held. This is the second local elections ever organized since 1990 when multi partisan system is endorsed.

Women participation in politics is unsatisfactory both on national and local level. On the last general (Parliamentary) elections, out of 120 Member of Parliament, only 9 women (7,5%) were elected. On the last local elections from 124 electoral districts no women is elected on the position of Mayor. In the local councils the number of women Councilors varies depending of the region and the city.

So far, various NGO's have initiated numerous training projects for women politician (potential candidates). However, up until now the voters have never been a target group in similar campaigns and initiatives. Stereotypes on female politician and candidates are reflected in the media. They usually question women's ability to maintain political engagement and family, which is not the case with male politicians and candidates.

Progress to date

This is the new initiative within the Macedonian Women's Lobby campaign for greater representation of women in politics. The team that will conduct this project has been established, based on capacities and previous experience and activities in the field. It consists of Daniela Dimitrievska-ESE (campaigns for greater women's participation in politics, '98 and '99, 30 trainings for women politicians), Slavica Inzdevska, Marija Savovska-FOSI (support of women human rights and gender equality, support and collaboration with Macedonian women NGO's), Katerina Kolozova-"Euro-Balkan" Institute, Research Center for Gender Studies (support research and organize seminars on gender). Elaborated strategies and plans of activities have been set up and developed.

Organizations Involved

OSI-Macedonia Women's Program

"Euro-Balkan" Institute, Research Center for Gender Studies

Association for Emancipation, Solidarity and Equality of Women-ESE

Lead agencies

, Katerina Kolozova

e-mail: kate@osi.net.mk; phone: +389 91 23 69 23; fax: +389 91 23 69 23; Plostad "Makedonija" 33/5, 91000 Skopje

Association for Emancipation, Solidarity and Equality of Women-ESE, Daniela Dimitrievska; e-mail: esem@unet.com.mk; phone: +389 91 21 14 53; fax: +389 22 48 23; bul. Partizanski odredi 37-1/24 91000 Skopje

OSI-Macedonia Women's Program, Marija Savovska; email: msavo@soros.org.mk; phone: +389 91 44 44 88 ext.106; fax: +389 91 44 44 99; bul. Jane Sandanski 111; P.O. Box 378 91000 Skopje

Name of the Project: Women's Vote – to Women

Funding needs: eight months F-16
Total budget: \$130,100.00
Other Commitments: -
Funding required: \$130,100.00
Geographical Area: Republic of Macedonia, target area of League of Albanian Women in Macedonia (LGSHM); Skopje, Kumanovo, Tetovo, Kicevo and Debar and surrounding suburban and rural settlements;
Area of work: Gender Issues
Relevant Working Table: Working Table on Democratization and Human Rights

Description:

The purpose of the project is to:

- Raise the awareness among women in the Republic of Macedonia about their independence in the act of voting, and consequently;
- Raise the support for women – running for the position of municipal council members in the proportion voting lists as well as those running for Mayor's offices in the 2000 Local Elections.

The specific objectives of this project are to encourage and support full independence of women in the expression of their political views, during the voting act in the forthcoming Local Elections. This would be done through a range of focused activities in local communities. The whole project would significantly contribute to greater support women running in these elections.

The activities of this project are:

- Survey of the level of awareness of women about election rights and the electoral procedures;
- Registration of women;
- Educational activities that will focus on women from different religious and ethnic background that find it difficult to vote independently because of its traditional role in the family and society;

To achieve our purpose and specific objectives we'll organize and implement project activities through a network of volunteers who will identify (through a survey), and then register the target group of women that will then attend the education events "Gender equality – for a general benefit".

The survey forms and the registration lists will then be processed, after which a written materials (field curriculums) and educational brochures will be prepared.

All these activities are designed to create a comprehensive campaign for awareness raising among women about the right and the need to choose independently whom to give their vote during the elections.

Activities	May	June	July	Aug	Sept	Oct	Nov	Dec
I. Survey								
- Plan for Surveying	X							
- Preparation and printing of survey forms	X							
- Surveying – preparation and implementation		X						
II. Registration								
- Registration planning		X						
- Preparation and printing of registration forms		X						
- Implementation of registration			X					

III. Education								
- Plan for Education			X					
- Processing of the educational working materials (brochures, etc)			X	F17				
- Education activities								
- Preparation			X					
- Implementation				X	X	X	X	
IV. Operational Plan	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
V. Coordination								
- Preparation of a surveying methodology (coordination)	X							
- Preparation of the registration methodology (coordination)		X						
- Education methodology coordination			X					
VI. Monitoring								
- Monitoring Plan	X	X	X					
- Monitoring		X	X	X	X	X	X	
VII. Evaluation								
- Evaluation plan	X	X	X					
- Evaluation		X	X					X
VII. Reporting								
- Monthly reports	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
- Final reports		X	X				X	X

Background

A great number of women regardless of their ethnic, religious and other social background are still under "the umbrellas" of their husbands in terms of the expressions of their social and political viewpoints, as well as on the level of the overall role in social dynamics. One other major problem is the lack of motivation for seeking their own human and civil rights, and partially this find its root causes in the traditional roles in the society from the gender perspective. There is also a lack of education of women that gives its contribution to the under-representation of women in the social institutions. The raising of the awareness of women on the need of its own representation in the social and political institutions of this country will try to break a vicious cycle contained in its traditional (self)perceptions and thus, move a step forward in the overall strive for its full equality in the society. The intention of this project is to open new frontiers in the women's influence in the political processes through **awareness raising and education** as entry points. If women are not educated from its abstinence and ignorance, then they will remain in the same darkness leaving its fate in other's hands.

Progress to date

The project idea and initiative derives from a number of roundtables and debates on the topic "Obstacles of inclusion of women in the state and social institutions". The initiative itself, is a new one and shows our intention of moving towards an approach that is more focused and gives more impact. The project team and groups of volunteers have already been established and are currently doing the preparatory activities in the grassroots level.

Organizations Involved

The League of Albanian Women in Macedonia (LGSHM) and its network of branches throughout Macedonia

Lead Agencies

The League of Albanian Women in Macedonia (LGSHM) Address: Ul. Braka Miladinovci, No. 172 Tetovo, R. of Macedonia Phone: ++389 94 331 493 Fax: ++ 389 94 331 493 or ++ 389 94 31 933 e-mail: lgsh@mt.net.mk F-18

Contact person: Fata Murtezani Phone: ++389 91 616 925, Address: Drimkoll, No.12 Skopje, R. Macedonia

Funding needs:	8 months (April - November 2000)
Total budget:	\$49,200.00 <i>Sharo</i>
Funding required:	\$49,200.00
Geographical area:	Republic of Macedonia
Area of work:	Gender Issues
Relevant working table:	Working Table on Democratization and Human Rights

Description:

In Republic of Macedonia, 50 percent of the electoral body are women. At the end of October 2000, local elections will be held by proportional model. Macedonian Law gives a possibility for the political parties and groups of citizens to propose candidate's lists. This citizen's lists are equal in the elections and they can be involved in procedure with 200 citizen's subscriptions. These citizen's lists are excellent opportunity for the women members of NGO's to be candidates in these elections. Organization of Women's Organizations of Macedonia will be mentor and logistic base for these women's lists. Lists will be lead by women. They will be consist of, at least 80% women candidates and in the rest 20% it will be able to include men who will stand for women's electoral programs.

Agenda of activities:

April to August - preparation and previous activities
 September - participation in campaign
 October - participation in elections
 November - results and post-electoral period

Background:

In Republic of Macedonia there are high percent of educated, capable and authoritative women who are not members of political parties and therefore they can not be candidates on a party's lists. Besides, the parties candidate mostly men, and the low percent women candidates are on the down part on the lists and that's why they have small chances to be elected. Therefore, in Republic of Macedonia in the councils there are only 6,3 % women and no one woman mayor. That percent at the Albanian women is lower although there are a lot of women who can or should be found on these lists or in the councils. Women have priorities for the local elections, because councils and mayors are solving basic problems of the citizens in their place of living: communal issues water supplying, local roads, streets, public lightning, local trade, primary health protection, care for poor people, ecological protection, primary education, organized children's care, old people's care, cultural activities etc. These problems are closest to the women and they can contribute to their solving. OWOM in the local elections 1996 stood behind the women's list in Bitola, after Skopje, the biggest community in Macedonia. Then we didn't have means for electoral campaign, and still, that list was on second place in popularity. We are convinced that with good campaign on forthcoming elections we have big chances. OWOM has a big experience for involving the women in politics. OWOM has teams of women - lawyers, politicologists and former functionaries. So far, we have participated in preparing the electoral laws, with our suggestions to the government. OWOM, 1995 directed public memorandum, parties to candidate at least 20 % women. We initiated women's groups in the parties, we had educative seminars with women candidates, we held meeting with women candidates from all the political parties for the Parliamentary elections in 1998, we had meetings with all the Presidential candidates to put women's applications. We consider that with these activities we contributed to increase the number of women deputies and ministries twice. OWOM as a national network has 60 members - community's organizations. Till five years ago, in Republic of Macedonia there were 34 communities. With local reorganization now, there are 123, but really now old community centers are the strongest. In them exactly OWOM has its own strongest and biggest organizations and through them it will participate in the local elections 2000.

Progress to date.

OWOM has an experience with making women's lists, but only in separate communities. OWOM in the local elections 1996 stood behind the women's list in Bitola, after Skopje, the biggest community in Macedonia. Then we didn't have means for electoral campaign, and still, that list was on second place in popularity. Now, we are making these lists at republic level. The preparations and previous activities have already started and they will continue till the end of August. After that we will participate in the electoral campaign and then in elections.

Organizations involved:

Organization of Women's Organizations of Macedonia, 34 community organizations - members of OWOM and the Union of Albanian Women in Macedonia.

Lead Agency:

OWOM

Vasil Gjorgov br. 39, baraka 71000 Skopje, Macedonia Tel./fax: ++ 389 91 227918, Tel./fax: ++ 389 91 121280, e-mail: owom@freemail.org.mk

Contact person:

Mirjana Dimovska - graduated Law Faculty, employed as editor in Macedonian TV, President of the OWOM ul. Svetinikolska br. 4, 1000 Skopje, Macedonia, tel.: ++ 389 91 119088, e-mail: owom@freemail.org.mk

Campaign " I VOTE, MEANS I EXIST "

Funding needs: June 1, till September 30, 2000

Total budget: \$ 57 920

Other commitments: None

Funding Required:\$ 57 920

Geographical Area: Territory of Republic of Macedonia (rural areas)

Area of Work: Gender Issues

Relevant Working Table: Democratization and Human Rights

Description:

The Programme for political empowerment of women in Macedonia started in February and is running by Union of Women Organizations in the Macedonia. This project-proposal is a part of this programme and the purpose of this project will be for increasing the number of women-voters in the local elections in October, 2000.

The activities of the project will be railed in the three phases.

In the first phase of the project we plan a training seminar of women educators, a phase that will enable the educators to be more efficient at their work with the women. One two-day seminar will be organized in Skopje, and leaded by experts in this field. The seminar will be organized by all partnership projects carriers.

The second phase will be education for women to get a right information about their right to vote and to stimulate them to go to vote. There will be arranged and organized 16 workshops. This phase will be conducted by DAJA, ESMA, PHURT and CERENA. They will prepare and organize 16 educational workshops for four months. Each month will have 4 workshops.

The third phase of the campaign will be propaganda campaign. The last phase will go under UWOM conduction. This will be medium campaign for voting and UWOM will prepare and print pamphlets, placards and flyers. Also UWOM will make a video spot and engage the journalists to do the Medium campaign.

Background:

The first problem that we can define is a small number of women who go voting. To achieve bigger effects on this programme-empowerment of women in politics, in the local councils, as women-mayors too, the initiative for bigger number of women-voters is more than necessary. Loyal to their tradition and patriarchal customs, our women are not expose enough for the election period and mostly they let the others to vote for them. From the past experience of the parliamentary elections we concluded that a small number of women go voting. This situation was caused by many reasons, a lot of women did not know their right to vote, other people vote instead of them because they are not informed. As a democratic society we can't ignore the fact that there women in Macedonia who are unable to use their right to vote. Women's right to choose and to decide is owned by their husbands, especially for the women in rural areas. They never can express their opinion about some issue in politics. They might be passive observers

only. We can't let women to be used as a tool for male exclusive right to dominate and lead. Women need to be educated, introduced, encouraged and stimulated in their rights. Considering that the local elections are ahead of us, and especially having in consideration the small percentage of women voting on the elections and disappointedly small number of women (8%) participation in the City council and not any women mayor. So, educating women on politics and voting is the most urgent thing that must evolve in, especially, rural areas. Our main goal is raising the women awareness for her human rights as a decision-maker and voter. She has a right to vote, and that shouldn't be abused by anyone.

Progress to date:

This a new initiative and also one of the "quick start projects". It should start on the first of June until the end of September.

Organizations Involved:

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>1. Union of Women Organizations of Macedonia
Macedonia 91 000 Skopje "11 Oktomvri" 17
Phone: ++389 91 220 570, 235 562
Fax: ++389 91 134 390
E-mail: sozm@mt.net.mk
Contact person: Savka Todorovska</p> | <p>2. Association of Roma Women - DAJA
Macedonia Kumanovo
"Ivo Lola Ribar" 46
Phone/Fax:++ 389 901 30 961
E-mail:daja@mt.net.mk
Contact person: Dilbera Kamberova</p> |
| <p>3. Association of Roma People – CERENA
Macedonia Stip
"Radanski Pat " 202
Phone:++389 92 384 248
Fax:++389 92 392 917
Contact person: Enise Demirova</p> | <p>Organization of Roma Women -ESMA
Macedonja 91000 Skopje
"Smilevska" 18 A
Phone:++389 91 611 655
Fax:++389 91 652 202
Contact person:Nadire Selmani</p> |
| <p>5. Humanitarian association of Roma people - PHURT
Delcevo Macedonia
"Skopska" 39
Phone/Fax:++389 903 412 337
Contact person: Anifa Demirovska</p> | |

Lead agency:

Association of Roma Women – DAJA
Macedonia Kumanovo
"Ivo Lola Ribar" 46
Phone/Fax:++ 389 901 30 961
E-mail:daja@mt.net.mk
Contact person: Dilbera Kamberova

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ROMA WOMEN ASSOCIATION "ESMA"
"Makedonsko Kosovska Brigada", br. 61, Skopje, Macedonia
tel./Fax: 091/652 202

The Organization of Roma Women "ESMA" is a voluntary, social, humanitarian, non-governmental and non-party organization. The Organization was founded on 26th March 1995 and it is a constant legal member of the League of Women Organizations of Macedonia.

The program of our Organization is consisted of many tribunes, seminars, and conferences in our country and abroad, all in order to increase the educational level of the Roma women, their emancipation and their involvement in the Non-governmental organizations.

The Vision of the Organization of Roma Women "ESMA"

- equality among sexes;
- freedom of the Roma Women from the traditional customs;
- involvement of the Roma women in the women NGO's;
- evaluation and realization of the programs and declarations given by the Beijing Conference for EQUALITY, PEACE AND DEVELOPMENT;
- education, emancipation and new educational programs;
- involvement of the Roma women in the government and the state decisions;
- fight against the torture and the violence towards women and children;
- activities for a better social-economic status of the Roma women;
- stop the poverty;
- **WOMEN RIGHTS ARE HUMAN RIGHTS.**

Realized projects of the Organization of Roma women "ESMA"

- *Emancipation and Ecology* – sponsored by Institute for sustainable communities and USAID;
- *Young girls, You are the one who can continue our work in the future* – sponsored by UNICEF and World Bank – evaluation period 2 months (July – August 1999);

Projects in the 2nd phase of their realization:

- *Street Children* – sponsored by SOROS (Open Society Institute Macedonia) and King Boudain Foundation – Belgium – evaluation period 1 year (1st January 1999 – 31st December 1999);
- *Let's get to know each other in order to create a better future* – sponsored by King Boudain Foundation – evaluation period 6 months (1st July 1999 –

1st December 1999). This project deals with the Roma Refugee problems during their stay in our country;

- *Through Education to a larger emancipation* – sponsored by MOZAIK Foundation – Denmark. Evaluation period 1 year (1st January 1999 – 1st December 1999)

Projects still evaluating:

- *Multi – ethnic groups (Roma, Macedonians and Albanians)* – sponsored by JVC-Italy. Evaluation period 2 months.

The project "Young girls, You are the one who can continue our work in the future", sponsored by UNICEF and the World Bank, which was realized in July and August 1999, motivated us in making new projects and apply to Your Foundation, all in order to increase these kind of projects, that deals with the problems of the adolescent girls and Roma Women, as well.

As a result from a traditional custom, when the father doesn't allow the daughter to continue her education after the elementary school, we can notice that the percentage of educated Roma women is very low. Other cause for the appearing of this situation is that many of these Roma young girls decides to marry during the adolescent period of their lives. These pre-matured marriages destruct the normal social and health situation in the country.

This project was realized in the biggest Roma settlement in our country, Suto Orizari, where there are around 13 000 Roma people living and where 90% of the people are Roma.

There are 2 elementary schools in this settlement and we have a good cooperation with the official personnel, which can be seen from the common realization of many seminars and tribunes of educational character.

In the settlement is also activated the Local Self – Government, with whom we have good cooperation. We have meetings with the Major of this settlement, Mr. Nezdet Mustafa, a Roma from Skopje, whenever help is required. We must stress that the office of our organization is settled in this settlement, and we are sure that we made the right chose because in this way we can meet with people all day long and figure the problems they face.

Name of the project: WOMEN HAVE MINDS, WOMEN HAVE HEARTS;

Organization who applies: ASSOCIATION OF ROMA WOMEN "ESMA"

Responsible Persons for the project: Nadire Selman, Kevsera Memedova

Location: Skopje, Gostivar City, Tetovo City and many different Roma settlements.

Time - table of the project: 15th June – 30th September, 2000.

"WOMEN HAVE MINDS, WOMEN HAVE HEARTS"

as a part of the initiative for Political Strength of the Women in Macedonia

Background of the project:

As a part of the Initiative Board for creating a Macedonian Women Lobby, the Association of Roma Women "ESMA" continues with the activities for political strength of the women in Macedonia. This project is just a necessary continuation of the bondage of needs for increasment of the conscience of the Roma women as a part of the political life (active and passive); and the following local elections in Macedonia, as well. Based on the previous experience in non-governmental organization and work, especially in Macedonia, we had many occasions to face the total apolitics of the Roma women. The idea of this kind of project is existing from the start of our NGO work, but probably of the facing with the that time not so good organizational capacity and the urgently solving of some actual problems, as well, the needs and the conditions for this kind of project are considered. The plan for political strength of the women in Macedonia in the year of 2000 is real chance and moment for realization of the idea. This kind of education is necessary for learning the human rights and freedoms of the Roma women and the citizens of Macedonia, as well. This kind of education will bring a different angle of their lives – as a major factor in the building of the social life, sharing the responsibilities and the consequences approaching.

ORGANIZATION WHO APPLIES:

The Organization of Roma Women "ESMA" is a voluntary, social, humanitarian, non-governmental and non-party organization. The Organization was founded on 26th March 1995 and it is a constant legal member of the League of Women Organizations of Macedonia

Здружение на Жени Ромки ЕСМА F-27
Ул. Македонско Косовска Бригада бр. 61, 91000 Скопје
Тел/факс: ++ 389 91 652 202
UNION OF ROMA WOMEN "ESMA"
Ul. Makedonsko Kosovska Brigada br. 61, 91000 Skopje
Tel/fax: ++ 389 91 652 202

PROJECT PROPOSAL

**" WOMEN HAVE MINDS
WOMEN CAN MAKE IT
BY THEMSELVES"**

Projects still evaluating:

F-28

- *Multi – ethnic groups (Roma, Macedonians and Albanians) – sponsored by JVC Italy. Evaluation period 2 months.*

The project "Young girls, You are the one who can continue our work in the future", sponsored by UNICEF and the World Bank, which was realized in July and August 1999, motivated us in making new projects and apply to Your Foundation, all in order to increase these kind of projects, that deals with the problems of the adolescent girls and Roma Women, as well.

DEFINITION OF THE PROBLEM:

Low percent of Roma women electors during the elections and lack of interest for taking part in the elections lists.

According to our previous experience with Roma women, in any part of Macedonia, we've noticed that the number of them who have the right to vote during the election period is very low. Bigger problem is that some of these women, during the election period are voting in name of their husbands. According to our analysis, this situation is based on the inter – family relations, i.e., the pressure of the "Head of the family" to vote for the person chosen by himself; other cause is that these women don't know a lot for the elections rights and freedoms; family friends, the degenerate position of these women in the society etc.

The contacts we had with the Roma women showed that they did not want to talk openly about the politics in the country and the region, and as they said: "leave those things for the men". Anyway, we've noticed a large interest of talking about actual problems, economy of the state, the will for solving problems in the environment, safe future for their children etc. We believe that these facts are the needed base for solving these problems – the local government. They offer qualitative solutions for the future of their families, they can be good mothers, good wives and house holders, and good workers, as well. Our aim is to actualize and solve the prejudices for the place of women in politics, and stimulate in their wishes for showing the community good solutions for good future. The role of the women in the elections is often connected with their role as an object, but what we want to do is transformation of the object into a subject, an equal treatment in all parts of the social life.

The program of our Organization is consisted of many tribunes, seminars, and conferences in our country and abroad, all in order to increase the educational level of the Roma women, their emancipation and their involvement in the Non- governmental organizations.

The Vision of the Organization of Roma Women "ESMA"

- equality among sexes;
- freedom of the Roma Women from the traditional customs;
- involvement of the Roma women in the women NGO's;
- evaluation and realization of the programs and declarations given by the Beijing Conference for EQUALITY, PEACE AND DEVELOPMENT;
- education, emancipation and new educational programs;
- involvement of the Roma women in the government and the state decisions;
- fight against the torture and the violence towards women and children;
- activities for a better social-economic status of the Roma women;
- stop the poverty;
- **WOMEN RIGHTS ARE HUMAN RIGHTS.**

Realized projects of the Organization of Roma women "ESMA"

- *Emancipation and Ecology* – sponsored by Institute for sustainable communities and USAID;
- *Young girls, You are the one who can continue our work in the future* – sponsored by UNICEF and World Bank – evaluation period 2 months (July – August 1999);

Projects in the 2nd phase of their realization:

- *Street Children* – sponsored by SOROS (Open Society Institute Macedonia) and King Boudain Foundation – Belgium – evaluation period 1 year (1st January 1999 – 31st December 1999);
- *Let's get to know each other in order to create a better future* – sponsored by King Boudain Foundation – evaluation period 6 months (1st July 1999 – 1st December 1999). This project deals with the Roma Refugee problems during their stay in our country;
- *Through Education to a larger emancipation* – sponsored by MOZAIC Foundation – Denmark. Evaluation period 1 year (1st January 1999 – 1st December 1999).

AIMS OF THE PROJECT:

F-30

- raising of the conscience of the women to vote for women electors;
- raising the interests of the Roma women for taking part in the election lists for the following local elections;

AIMING GROUP:

The aiming group of this project is consisted of Roma women from many Roma settlements in Macedonia: Magjari, Topansko Pole, Dukjangjik, Topaana, Novoselski Pat, Chair, Gostivar City, Tetovo City and Suto Orizari. A special accent will be put on the girls who already became or will be in near future mature, which will be of a good cause for the future generation's political and citizen education.

PROJECT ACTIVITIES:

- educational workshops;
- tribunes;
- media activities – flyers, posters;
- Informational center.

WAY OF IMPLEMENTATION:

The project will be implemented in two phases. At the first phase, according to the need of information of the public for the future activities of the project, *media activities* are planned, realized through:

- printing and distribution of informational flyers;
- printing of posters;
- media information (15 minutes radio presentation of the weekly project tribunes in Skopje, Gostivar and Tetovo).

The flyers will be consisted of information about the project activities and needed information about "REASON MORE TO VOTE FOR WOMEN". After the printing, the flyers will be distributed among the public at the Skopje Roma settlements and parts of Tetovo and Gostivar City.

The distribution will be realized by 3 volunteers, who are well known by the Roma settlements in the particular city. The distribution will continue during the project realization.

The *Information Center* will begin with work as the project starts, aiming to inform the women for any question about the elections, the election

rights and freedoms, and registration of their ^{F-31} interests in becoming part of the election lists for counselors and City Majors in October, as well. The Center will be open for public every day (except Sunday), from 9am to 9pm, starting from 15th June to 30th September, and for the cause, 2 persons will be engaged.

The Second phase deals with organizing and realizing *educational tribunes*:

- 1* 2 hours weekly in Magjari – Skopje (14 educational workshops);
- 1* 2 hours weekly in Topansko Pole – Skopje (14 educational workshops);
- 1* 2 hours weekly in Dukjangjik – Skopje (14 educational workshops);
- 1* 2 hours weekly in Topaana – Skopje (14 educational workshops);
- 1* 2 hours weekly in Novoselski Pat – Skopje (14 educational workshops);
- 1* 2 hours weekly in Chair – Skopje (14 educational workshops);
- 1* 2 hours weekly in Gostivar (14 educational workshops);
- 1* 2 hours weekly in Tetovo (14 educational workshops);
- 2* 2 hours weekly in Suto Orizari – Skopje (14 educational workshops);

The educational workshops will be organized and realized by trained educators, professionals in this field of work (human rights and election process). Many Roma women will take part in these activities. There are 140 total planned workshops.

In this phase, tribunes are also planned to be organized, an activity for making Roma women be a part of a scientific discussion from this field and sharing experiences with Roma women who are already part of the political life in Macedonia.

The tribunes will be organized:

- 1*2 hours monthly in Magjari settlement – Skopje (4 tribunes);
- 1*2 hours monthly in Topansko Pole settlement – Skopje (4 tribunes);
- 1*2 hours monthly in Dukjangjik settlement – Skopje (4 tribunes);
- 1*2 hours monthly in Topaana settlement – Skopje (4 tribunes);
- 1*2 hours monthly in Novoselski Pat settlement – Skopje (4 tribunes);
- 1*2 hours monthly in Chair settlement – Skopje (4 tribunes);
- 2*2 hours monthly in Suto Orizari settlement – Skopje (4 tribunes);
- 1*2 hours monthly in Gostivar City (4 tribunes);
- 1*2 hours monthly in Tetovo City (4 tribunes).

For this activity, professionals in this field will be engaged, persons from the public life who are involved in the political parties, the Government, the local Government and NGO's. There will be total 40 organized tribunes.

At the end of the project, a questionnaire will be prepared for the upward settlements and cities where the project will be realized, and the needs of the women written in the questionnaire will be sent to the members of the election lists.

BUDGET (USD):

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Project expenses	Costs per piece	Months	Total
Rent for the room for educational workshops	40 x 20	3,5	2800
Rent for the room for tribunes	10 x 25	3,5	875
Rent for the Information Center	200	3,5	750
Computer	1000	1	1000
Printer	200	1	200
Refreshments (coffee, tea, juice)	70	3,5	245
Transport costs for the coordinator, assistants, educators	6 x 34	3,5	714
TOTAL:			6584

Costs for the media activities	Costs per piece	Months	Total
Posters	500 x 1	1	500
Flyers	3000 x 0,2	1	600
TOTAL:			1100

Allowance	Costs per piece	Months	Total
2 Coordinators	2 x 300	3,5	2100
2 Assistants	2 x 200	3,5	1400
2 Educators	2 x 250	3,5	1750
4 Experts	4 x 100	3,5	1400
2 persons for the Informational Center	2 x 200	3,5	1400
Unexpected costs			200
TOTAL:			6850

THE TOTAL BUDGET OF THE PROJECT IS 15 934 USD.

ESMA's PARTICIPATION IN THE PROJECT:

P-33.

Costs	Costs per piece	Months	Total
Office materials	30	3,5	105
Telephone	50	3,5	175
Fax	20	3,5	105
Electricity	50	3,5	175
Water	50	3,5	175
3 Volunteers	3 x 200	3,5	2100
TOTAL			2800

Responsible persons for the project:

Nadire Selman



Kevsera Memedova



Campaign “ I VOTE, MEANS I EXIST ”

Funding needs: June 1, till September 30, 2000

Total budget: \$ 57 920

Other commitments: None

Funding Required:\$ 57 920

Geographical Area: Territory of Republic of Macedonia (rural areas)

Area of Work: Gender Issues

Relevant Working Table: Democratization and Human Rights

Description:

The Programme for political empowerment of women in Macedonia started in February and is running by Union of Women Organizations in the Macedonia. This project-proposal is a part of this programme and the purpose of this project will be for increasing the number of women-voters in the local elections in October, 2000.

The activities of the project will be railed in the three phases.

In the first phase of the project we plan a training seminar of women educators, a phase that will enable the educators to be more efficient at their work with the women. One two-day seminar will be organized in Skopje, and leaded by experts in this field. The seminar will be organized by all partnership projects carriers.

The second phase will be education for women to get a right information about their right to vote and to stimulate them to go to vote. There will be arranged and organized 16 workshops. This phase will be conducted by DAJA, ESMA, PHURT and CERENA. They will prepare and organize 16 educational workshops for four months. Each month will have 4 workshops.

The third phase of the campaign will be propaganda campaign. The last phase will go under UWOM conduction. This will be medium campaign for voting and UWOM will prepare and print pamphlets, placards and flyers. Also UWOM will make a video spot and engage the journalists to do the Medium campaign.

Background:

The first problem that we can define is a small number of women who go voting. To achieve bigger effects on this programme-empowerment of women in politics, in the local councils, as women-mayors too, the initiative for bigger number of women-voters is more than necessary. Loyal to their tradition and patriarchal customs, our women are not expose enough for the election period and mostly they let the others to vote for them. From the past experience of the parliamentary elections we concluded that a small number of women go voting. This situation was caused by many reasons, a lot of women did not know their right to vote, other people vote instead of them because they are not informed. As a democratic society we can't ignore the fact that there women in Macedonia who are unable to use their right to vote. Women's right to choose and to decide is owned by their husbands, especially for the women in rural areas. They never can express their opinion about some issue in politics. They might be passive observers

only. We can't let women to be used as a tool for male exclusive right to dominate and lead. Women need to be educated, introduced, encouraged and stimulated in their rights. Considering that the local elections are ahead of us, and especially having in consideration the small percentage of women voting on the elections and disappointedly small number of women (8%) participation in the City council and not any women mayor. So, educating women on politics and voting is the most urgent thing that must evolve in, especially, rural areas. Our main goal is raising the women awareness for her human rights as a decision-maker and voter. She has a right to vote, and that shouldn't be abused by anyone.

Progress to date:

This a new initiative and also one of the "quick start projects". It should start on the first of June until the end of September.

Organizations Involved:

1. Union of Women Organizations of Macedonia
Macedonia 91 000 Skopje "11 Oktomvri" 17
Phone: ++389 91 220 570, 235 562
Fax: ++389 91 134 390
E-mail: sozm@mt.net.mk
Contact person: Savka Todorovska
2. Association of Roma Women - DAJA
Macedonia Kumanovo
"Ivo Lola Ribar" 46
Phone/Fax:++ 389 901 30 961
E-mail:daja@mt.net.mk
Contact person: Dilbera Kamberova
3. Association of Roma People – CERENA
Macedonia Stip
"Radanski Pat " 202
Phone:++389 92 384 248
Fax:++389 92 392 917
Contact person: Enise Demirova
4. Organization of Roma Women -ESMA
Macedonia 91000 Skopje
"Smilevska" 18 A
Phone:++389 91 611 655
Fax:++389 91 652 202
Contact person:Nadire Selmani
5. Humanitarian association of Roma people - PHURT
Delcevo Macedonia
"Skopska" 39
Phone/Fax:++389 903 412 337
Contact person: Anifa Demirovska

Lead agency:

Association of Roma Women – DAJA
Macedonia Kumanovo
"Ivo Lola Ribar" 46
Phone/Fax:++ 389 901 30 961
E-mail:daja@mt.net.mk
Contact person: Dilbera Kamberova

ANNEX G

**NATIONAL ACTION PLAN FOR GENDER EQUALITY,
PART B, REGARDING ROLE OF WOMEN IN
GOVERNMENT AND DECISION-MAKING**

G-3

**NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR
IMPLEMENTATION OF THE BEIJING
PLATFORM OF ACTION**

**DEPARTMENT FOR IMPROVEMENT OF
GENDER EMANCIPATION**

**UNDP OFFICE IN THE REPUBLIC
OF MACEDONIA**

Proposal: NATIONAL ACTION PLAN

**Coordinator:
D-r. Gordana Siljanovska-Davkova**

4. Amending criminal, administrative, labour, family and inheritance regulation with provisions relating to mechanisms for eliminating discrimination, as well as providing sanctions therefor.
5. Enabling efficient protection and punishment in case of violation of women's rights, regardless of the status of the violator and his relationship with the victim.
6. Simplifying administrative procedures.
7. Organizing free legal assistance for women not being able to pay for it.
8. Continuously following the subject of the human rights of the woman.
9. Establishing an inter-resource monitoring body comprising, in addition to government officials, representatives of women's non-government organizations and experts.

B. THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN GOVERNMENT AND DECISION MAKING

The political engagement of the woman is a significant indicator for the (non-)democratic feature of the political system.

The Universal Declaration on the human rights provides for that everyone has the right to participate in the government of his/her country.

The aim of the Economic and Social Council in the UN is to have at least 30 percent of elective offices made up of women.

Article 23 of the Constitution of the Republic of Macedonia guarantees each citizen the right to participate in the performance of the public functions. However...

The politics in the Republic of Macedonia is a male function. Making up only 7,5 percent of the National Assembly, Macedonian women rank at the very European bottom. Participation of women in the Government has been improved (four members out of 27 are women, two being vice-presidential positions, which totals 14,8%), however, it is still far from having the necessary realistic impact.

In the Republic of Macedonia there is no woman mayor, no woman leader of a political party, and the parties' highest bodies predominantly consist of males.

The parties' programs declare that they recognize the role of the woman. The "woman's" question is present therein; however, putting into practice and realizing principles, standpoints and initiatives are still lacking.

The Macedonian political culture suffers from Balkan patriarchal traditions and prejudices with respect to the function and the role of the woman in society.

Enactment of laws and declarations can not change the political culture; rather and it is a long-term process of socialization will build up a profile of women than the "domestic" type. However, the policy of emancipation depends to a great extent on the political will of the current authority, as well as their vision on what should be considered as a priority.

Hence, the Government of the Republic of Macedonia has set the following strategic objectives:

B1. Building up (completing) a national machinery to overcome gender inequality at all levels

Activities of the Government:

1. Revising the location and raising the status of the department for improvement of gender equality¹.
2. Engaging a minister without portfolio in this field.
3. Standardised specification of the status, functions, structure and relations with the government and non-government sector of the National Committee for Gender Equality as a permanent body.
4. Establishing a Committee for Gender Equality within the Assembly of the Republic of Macedonia.
5. Establishing Committees for Gender Equality within local self-government units.
6. Providing gender balance in the ministerial functions and the officials appointed by the Government.
7. Creating a database on all men and women possessing special abilities and knowledge in separate fields.
8. Promoting a system of recruiting government officials based on their knowledge, skill and ability (merit system).
9. Supporting research on the impact of gender (in) equality in political decision making.

Activities of political parties:

1. Developing mechanisms for expressing women's interests (woman's lobby groups, woman's forums etc.).

Activities of NGO's:

1. Promoting ideas, projects and solutions in the National Committee.
2. Lobbying within the Parliament and Government in favor of gender equality.
3. Lobbying within the parties with the aim of including women in the process of making crucial decisions.
4. Determining a common strategy for women's NGO's.

¹ To have the name of this body also revised (changed).

5. Institutionalising co-operation among women's NGO's by establishing a coordinating body, with the aim of organised appearance before the Government and beyond.
6. Including more citizens in these activities.
7. Creating a database on the skill levels of members.
8. Becoming an equal partner of the Government and a significant subject and authority of civil society.

B2. Providing for equal access of women structure into politics and into the empowerment and decision-making

Activities of the Government:

1. Treating gender equality as a policy priority in the Government Program.
2. Obtaining a complete statistical profile from the viewpoint of gender participation.
3. Periodic reporting on the progress toward gender balance in the field of politics.
4. Education and training of government personnel in view of leading a gender equality policy.
5. Providing local and international resources for supporting projects directed to an institutional and substantial strengthening of the national machinery for gender equality.
6. Establishing monitoring of government activities.
7. Pursuing a gender equality policy in nominating candidates for the UN, the European Council and other international bodies and organizations.
8. Providing gender equality in ambassadorial and other functions abroad.
9. Revising the election law (especially the election model; the composition of the lists) from the aspect of increasing the number of women-delegates and members of the councils of local self-government units².
10. Adopting a law on gender equality.
11. Initiating discussions in the Parliament on the necessity of gender equality for the development of the Republic of Macedonia.

Activities of political parties:

² (The comparative election experience shows that the proportional election model, with its flexible and open list of candidates instead of a fixed and closed one, increases the election chances of the women).

1. Treating gender equality as a priority program objective.
2. Including more and more women in the highest party organs.
3. Democratic nomination (instead of the patron model of nomination monopolized by the party leaders in promoting a bureaucratic model) so the membership can have an active role.
4. Imposing a system of quotas in the nomination (an "ad hoc" solution).
5. Transforming the role of party conventions from ceremonial into primary electoral ones.
6. Nominating more women at the uninominal elections and at the higher positions in the proportional lists.
7. Stimulating and cherishing women's leadership.

Activities of NGO's:

- Running a permanent campaign in the media against stereotypes of women.
- Organizational support of women candidates and encouraging women to vote for women.
- Changing the male political vocabulary (e.g. woman minister, instead of minister).
- Permanent pressure as a lobby to change the inequality in politics.
- Organizing local and international seminars, workshops and open forums on the need of including women in the politics.
- Strong efforts to overcome the personal woman blockade (prejudices) around the personal position as a political subject.
- Stimulating dialog among the women's NGO's, women's party forums, women delegates, women ministers, the National Committee and the Department, with the aim of destroying the last Macedonian male bastion - politics.

B3. Enhancing the ability of women for a meaningful participation in the sphere of politics

Activities of the Government:

1. Opening gender studies.

ANNEX H

**JUNE 15 MEMO TO D. PONASIK REGARDING
GENDER ISSUES AND ECONOMICS/AGRICULTURE**

MEMORANDUM

TO: Diane Ponasik

FROM: Marcia E. Greenberg

RE: Gender Issues and Economics/Agriculture

DATE: June 15, 2000

In response to your request, first indicated in discussions of our SOW and again reiterated in our initial meeting and at the end of our debriefing, this is a preliminary look at some of the issues and opportunities regarding women within USAID/Skopje's programs on business, economic development and agriculture. In this short time I have managed to meet with Moznosti, the Dept. of Labor program, ACIDI/VOCA, Land O Lakes; review documentation from the rural credit program; and attend the meeting regarding a women in business conference (BOW/APHA). This memo is intended to pick up common themes or issues. For specifics, summaries of my conversations and partner-specific suggestions are at the end.

Why Is It Important to Focus on Women in Economic Growth and Agriculture?

There are two fundamental reasons to focus on women's participation and roles:

1. **Women's contributions** are critical for achieving **results now**, and for **sustainability**. It is important to engage those Macedonians who demonstrate determination and commitment. Many women are among those. Many women are those who will contribute the grit and perseverance after technical assistance ends.
2. Failing to focus on women risks the creation and/or perpetuation of gender-based stereotypes. If men have the public face, receive the training, and are featured in the media . . . then the next generation of girls and young women will not think of the possibilities for their contributions. Whether it is politics (young girls now seeing only men as mayors, and mostly men as MPs) or business or agriculture, the future of Macedonia will be weakened if young people get unintended messages about who should take what roles. It is clear that much of the work in government, business and agriculture is currently being done by women—but they are not always seen. USAID must **take care not to strengthen and feature only the public players, men, to the detriment of future women in those sectors.**

Where are Women in Business and Agriculture?

Historically in Macedonia (or in former Yugoslavia) economic enterprises were "self managed". This means that there was competition and opportunity in economics, and all "workers" had the right to manage. As a result, **women have experience at all levels of**

business. Also, as is common throughout the region, women have **typically had the financial positions.** As a result, we find women as financial officers in municipalities (hence Leah April points out that while there are very few women in the organization of municipalities (none of the 123 mayors, and very few heads of town councils), many of the members of the financial officers' association are women); as the bookkeepers and accountants of companies; and as the responsible member of a family business or farm.

SOME CONSTRAINTS AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN BUSINESS AND AGRICULTURE

- There is a **move among USAID's partners to "scale up" by working with associations** rather than with individuals. While this makes sense in many ways, there are gender implications. Often the person who represents a company or member unit is a man (in the case of dairy associations, for example, the general manager (man) or the husband of a family business will be the member. This may be problematic in terms of getting information to the women, including women's perspectives in association decisions, and ensuring that association decisions are accepted and implemented by the women back in the business.

Two possible approaches are:

1. Ask the general manager to bring his financial officer or assistant (who may be the one who really does the work, and all representatives from family dairy businesses to bring their spouse.
 2. Be sure to prepare written documents, simple but illustrative, for the meetings. Then the man who participates can bring it home, it will relay information to his wife, and can be the trigger for their discussions.
- An additional problem for associations is the **need to have democratic, transparent structures.** This facilitates the sharing of information, mobilization of all interested "constituencies," etc. At a time when we are hearing more about decentralization of government and greater control by political parties at the local level, associations have the potential to centralize. We heard from a number of USAID partners, and saw for ourselves regarding the women's associations, that the old style of hierarchical decision-making and failure to share information prevails. It is important that technical assistance focus on this, and that associations have a good idea of their role. (Maybe a study tour to include representatives of business, dairy, women's, environmental, scouts, etc.?)
 - It is important to consider the **"gender impacts" of programs and laws that do not address women on their face.** For example, the person who signs a loan document is often a man. For collateral, he is putting up the house that his wife, children and maybe parents or in-laws are living in. The other members of the family have a right and need to know what he is doing, and to ensure that their home is not at risk. Laws relating to collateral and procedures relating to lending should require some "disclosure provisions,"

such as notice and signatures for each adult in the family. Similarly, newly reformed pension laws do not explicitly address women, but women are very much at risk. Pension calculations depend on the years and level of salary. But many women are unemployed, underemployed or employed in the gray market. For that period of time, they do not earn credits for pensions. In addition, they are often paid at one level, but have contracts that say one HALF of that level. For calculations of the pension fund, they appear to have earned less. At the time of retirement, these women will be seriously at risk.

- **Information flows with difficulty**, even in a small country like Macedonia. Groups outside of Skopje, groups that rely on associations or umbrella organizations for information that is not in fact shared, groups without fax and internet, and women in Albanian homes who are not in the public realm, are all without information. Therefore when Moznosti has more money for women's lending groups, there are groups that are not aware of the possibilities. Information should be shared with USAID's partners at the local level (e.g. DAI, ISC), with other donors (e.g. OSI, Kvinna til Kvinna), and perhaps at the meeting on the first Saturday of each month with the Presidents of member organizations of UWOM, to disseminate information.

FINDINGS BY PARTNER

ACDI/VOCA

Findings:

- Four areas: production, food processing, education & extension, policy & governance; women participate in varying degrees.
- Ag/livestock production predominantly male; but women do fruit-picking; in greenhouse production, ethnic differences and Albanian women in fields.
- Food processing and family farm finances very much women. Men do marketing.
- Several women as real success stories.
- In former state-owned companies, women in management.
- Re education, women in veterinarian research; extension is male dominated.
- Many women-entrepreneurs come to ACDI/VOCA for help.
- Next iteration of project: Dairy associations and interest in a union: but very male dominated. Will be working with committees, boards of directors, decision-making.

Suggestions:

- Do not forget women as entrepreneurs. If no longer capital and TA from ACDI/VOCA, other USAID partners? Moznosti?
- Women as managers in companies: have need for skills, should be included in training and in association work.
- Beware the associations: if not have women, are missing some of the necessary expertise, are reinforcing stereotypes re leadership and decision-making, may have difficulty with implementation of decisions/advice back on the farm (if the woman says “no”). Solutions: invite women to meetings (for “couples”), send written minutes home for women nonparticipants to read.

DEPT of LABOR/PriSMa

Findings:

- Women “tip scales” in terms of % of partners; many in management, small businesses, local government structures and NGOs; also in gray economy jobs.
- Women are working on teams, building confidence and skills, making networks and contacts, gaining respect of men and of colleagues.
- The project trains all leaders re public affairs campaigns, media and public speaking; feature women in interviews.
- See women in general manager positions, but also *many* as secretaries.
- 4 of 6 “industrial adjustment specialists” are women.
- National Employment Bureau collecting.

Suggestions:

- There are women on local teams who could step into politics (and participate in USAID DG training or capacity-building programs).
- Women could use capital, training, economic resources.
- The NEB should collect sex-disaggregated data

Land o' Lakes

Findings:

- Focusing on association development: e.g.: meat and dairy, approx 100 member companies; most representatives are men. But at level of business, women are there, particularly for production processes and administrative/financial.
- Compare with family farms, with sheep, milk, cheese: women are making cheese and doing operations.
- In family farms, are partnerships and women are equally accepted; different for associations, companies, government. But when LOL works with family, the “public boss” is the man; women are accountants and finance—the decision to ask for a loan seems to be man’s, but the woman prepares paperwork, and the man signs the documents.
- For Albanian, need to meet with women separately.
- Women’s inclusion in businesses varies by industry. Textiles, which labor intensive and women 85%; of construction that 95% men. Such traditions continue.

Suggestions:

- Again, focusing on associations means working more and more with men. Absent purposeful efforts to include women, they will be excluded.
- Women have knowledge and expertise; and therefore need to be included in technical assistance, capacity-building and efforts to introduce new production and business practices.
- If men sign lending documents but pledge homes as collateral, women and children are at risk. Check bank practices and collateral/lending laws.

Moznosti

Findings:

- Of nearly 2000 clients, 27-30% are women. Have individual loans (same for men and women) and group loans designed especially for women: at least 3 in group, build confidence and support, repayment 100%, find women through APHA workshop, markets; still have funds.
- Types of businesses: beauticians, language schools, sewing; NOT childcare, laundry, eldercare or handicapped.

- Had contact with some women's organizations, but difficult to arrange collaboration with M. control.
- For Macedonian women, difficult because carry almost all family responsibilities. Economic situation (lack money) not allow to pay for household help. Also culturally difficult: expect all to be done by the family (read: woman) or the government.

Suggestions:

- Encourage more links with local women's organizations (not umbrella groups) to find borrowers and new groups.
- Take some role to encourage new sorts of businesses—to support the women who have financial resources and interest in politics, etc.

ANNEX I
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CONTACTS LIST

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