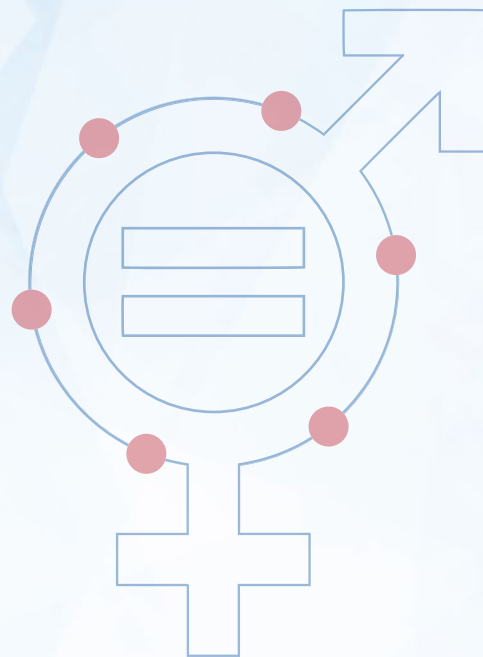


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Gender Issues in the Western Balkans

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Ana Marjanovic Rudan - European Fund for the Balkans

Authors:

Milena Lazarević and Katarina Tadić - European Policy Centre – CEP

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Gender Equality in the Western Balkans:

IN SEARCH OF NEW AND INCLUSIVE POLICIES

Executive summary

The importance of gender equality in the enlargement process has been emphasised in various EU documents, while the European Commission's Country Reports have repeatedly recognised a number of challenges that Western Balkan (WB) countries face in achieving gender equality. The gender (in)equality picture portrayed by the EC comes increasingly close to the illustration of the greatest gender equality issues as defined by the civil society organisations (CSOs) from the WB: gender-based violence, political participation and decision-making, lack of gender mainstreaming, gender stereotyping and discrimination in the labour market.

Gender based violence has been recognised as one of the most pressing gender equality issues, while domestic violence is, according to the available reports and research, the most common type of gender-based violence. All WB countries have ratified the Council of Europe Convention on preventing and combating violence against women and domestic violence (known as the Istanbul Convention), nevertheless the relevant changes in legislative and policy frameworks aimed to improve institutional response and support are yet to be harmonised with its requirements. As a result, the CSOs programmes and mechanisms are frequently the only available support to the victims. Further, **gender stereotypes** are perceived as an underlying cause for almost all other forms of discrimination and a reason for the persistently subordinated position of women in the region's societies. Research shows the prevalence of deeply embedded conservative values in societies, which are promoted and further reinforced through media and education. Next, particularly widespread across the six countries is gender **discrimination in the labour market**, manifested either in low female participation in the labour market or in discrimination at the workplace. The difficulties in balancing private and professional life have been particularly recognised as a reason contributing to the high level of female inactivity in the labour market, but also as an impediment for women in climbing the career ladder. Women still face numerous obstacles **to participation in politics and decision-making**. Despite the fact that all WB countries have introduced female quota for their parliaments, partisan politics has remained a male-dominated field, due to the scarce presence of women in decision-making positions in political parties. Similarly, managerial positions in public administrations are dominated by men, even though in some countries, women comprise a majority in the total civil service. Last, but equally important, **gender mainstreaming** has been recognised as a necessary tool to improve gender equality, and yet it has not been widely applied in the Western Balkan region, nor has it been properly prioritised by the relevant national authorities. The only area where some progress is noted is gender responsible budgeting, but there is still a lot of room for improvement and full application of this tool.

In their efforts to achieve equality, all WB countries' independent bodies are public institutions with a mandate to deal with gender (in)equality. Nevertheless, the institutions overall are under-resourced and characterised as weak and inefficient in ensuring gender equality and protection of rights. On the other hand, the CSOs across the region have been the main driver for development of national gender policies enhancing and promoting gender equality through various activities and programmes. The mutual relations of CSOs with the institutions have always been complex with a fluctuating level of impact on policymaking of the former. Thus, even though public institutions have to some extent accepted cooperation with CSOs as needed, the institutionalised practice is missing, along with well-defined mechanisms for cooperation.

Whereas national authorities are still largely characterised by poor monitoring and evaluation practices and capacities, CSOs have stepped in and provided monitoring and reporting on specific indicators and gender equality policy documents. However, a systematic approach is lacking and no regionally comparable monitoring has been put in place.

I. Introduction

The pursuit of gender equality has been high on the European Union's agenda since the establishment of the European Economic Community in 1957. Enshrined in the Treaty of Rome, the principle of equal pay for work of equal value has expanded over time and today includes the efforts to close the gender pay gap,¹ while at the same time other issues such as gender-based violence, gender mainstreaming of policies, and political participation of women, have equally become prominent themes under the EU policies and actions. In parallel, the EU has become a global leader in gender equality promotion, and particularly a driver of change in the accession countries.

The importance of gender equality in the enlargement process has been emphasised in the Strategic Engagement for Gender Equality 2016-2019², as part of the Union's objective to render gender equality a policy priority for the EU's external relations. Thus, incorporating gender equality principles into domestic legislation and adoption of the related EU acquis has become an integral part of the accession process. Moreover, there are ongoing efforts to include the gender mainstreaming perspective into the actions funded through the Instrument for Pre-accession Assistance (IPA).

In the EU accession process, the WB countries have developed and adopted legal and policy framework, established institutions and gender equality mechanism, but the implementation of gender equality policies remains a challenge. Analysed as part of the political criteria for EU accession, some of those issues, such as gender-based violence, insufficient political participation along with lack of institutional capacities of gender equality bodies, are common to all WB states. Nevertheless, there are some particular challenges that each country needs to overcome. They range from the challenges with property ownership and inheritance in Kosovo to the phenomenon of sex-selective abortions in Montenegro.

1 European Commission. *Action Plan to Tackle Gender Pay Gap*. Brussels, November 2017, available at: http://ec.europa.eu/newsroom/just/item-detail.cfm?item_id=607452

2 European Commission. *Strategic Engagement for Gender Equality 2016-2019*. Luxembourg, 2016. http://ec.europa.eu/anti-trafficking/sites/antitrafficking/files/strategic_engagement_for_gender_equality_en.pdf

The gender (in)equality picture portrayed by the EC comes increasingly close to the illustration of the greatest gender equality issues as defined by the WB civil society organisations (CSOs). According to the regional survey conducted for the purpose of this brief,³ gender-based violence, political participation and decision-making, lack of gender mainstreaming, gender stereotyping, and discrimination in the labour market have been recognised as the most pressing challenges women face in those countries.

This regional policy brief attempts to summarise the main gender related challenges of the region, as seen by CSOs, based both on the conducted survey and the available research and policy products of the WB-based CSOs and think tanks. Each issue which has surfaced as a priority is meticulously discussed in the following pages, along with the identification of key policy actors and, where available, examples of good practices. For each issue, addressed in a separate chapter, a set of indicators is proposed, which could serve for the future efforts of the region's CSOs to monitor the progress of gender policies and evaluate their effectiveness.

Before individual challenges related to gender equality are analysed, it is worth emphasising that they are all interconnected and mutually dependent. For example, a lack of gender mainstreaming in education leads to gender stereotyped curricula, while gender stereotypes contribute to an unfavourable position of women in the labour market. For the sake of clarity and structure, these issues are analysed in separate chapters in this paper.

II. Gender-based violence

Gender-based violence is the term used interchangeably with violence against women as its rate of incidence remains higher for women and girls. It has been acknowledged that gender-based violence is rooted in women's unequal status that reflects the unequal distribution of social, political and economic power between women and men in society along with gender-based stereotypes and biases. Preventing gender-based violence has been a subject of continuous efforts and resulted in the adoption of the Council of Europe Istanbul Convention⁴ which includes concrete measures to improve prevention of violence, protection of victims and prosecution of perpetrators.

Physical violence against women is recognised as the most critical gender-related issue in the WB, according to the results of the online regional survey.⁵ The available data indicates the frequency of this type of violence, but also reveals that the most common form of violence against women is domestic violence, i.e. that performed by a husband or an intimate partner – current or former. In Albania, 56% of women experienced at least one form of domestic violence.⁶ In Serbia, in 2017 at least twenty-six cases of femicide were registered and in most of them the perpetrator was a partner.⁷ The data on Kosovo shows how widespread domestic violence is, with almost 70% of women experiencing it in their lifetimes.⁸

3 The online survey was conducted from 28 March to 2 April and distributed to more than 200 CSOs in the Western Balkans. Overall, forty-five CSOs took part in the survey.

4 The full name is *Convention on preventing and combating violence against women and domestic violence*.

5 Out of forty-five CSOs twenty-nine identified gender-based violence as an issue.

6 Robin N. Haarr and Milika Dharmo. *Domestic Violence in Albania*. National Institute of Statistics (INSTAT), Tirana, 2009. <http://www.al.undp.org/content/albania/en/home/library/poverty/domestic-violence-in-albania---national-survey/>

7 Vedrana Lacmanović. *Femicid – Ubistva žena u Srbiji, Kvantitativno-narativni izveštaj za 2017. godinu*. Mreža žena protiv nasilja, Beograd, 2017. Available at: https://www.zeneprotivnasilja.net/images/pdf/FEMICID_Kvantitativno-narativni_izvestaj_za_2017_godinu.pdf

8 Adelina Berisha, Nicole Farnsworth and Dardan Hoti. *From Words to Action? Monitoring the Institutional Response to Gender-Based Violence in Kosovo*. Kosovo Women's Network, Prishtina, 2017. p. 6. Available at: <http://www.womensnetwork.org/documents/20180312142859762.pdf>

All WB countries, except for Kosovo,⁹ have signed and ratified the Istanbul Convention, which means that relevant changes in legislative and policy frameworks are necessary in order to harmonise domestic practices with the requirements of the Convention.¹⁰ However, even though the gravity of this issue has been recognised, the countries still face a lack of credible and reliable data, but also insufficient institutional response and support. Relevant institutions have not developed universal standards for collecting data, which poses difficulties in tracking crimes and developing efficient and effective policy and legal responses.¹¹ Further, the competent institutions do not systematically monitor and record statistics on the number of murdered women,¹² or on other forms of gender-based violence against women,¹³ due to which the existing data does not show the true size of the problem. Moreover, in some countries, notably Montenegro, research shows that domestic violence is habitually qualified as a misdemeanour offense, rarely as a criminal offense.¹⁴ Processing cases of violence against women remains the main challenge: for instance, in Serbia at least three-quarters of reported cases of domestic violence ended with a warning by police, whereas indictment and trial have occurred in mere 25% of criminal reports submitted to public prosecutors. The same percentage of charges of domestic violence are dismissed, and deferred criminal prosecution is applied in another 15.2% of cases¹⁵. All countries are characterised by insufficient support services and in some cases an exceptionally low number of women's shelters.¹⁶ Hence, the local CSOs are the ones that "women survivors of violence approach most often, and they are often the only ones who have developed the programs and mechanisms for supporting the survivors to some extent"¹⁷.

9 Kosovo is not a member of the Council of Europe due to its disputed status.

10 The evaluation reports by GREVIO on the implementation of the Convention have by now been published only for Montenegro and Albania.

11 Berisha and others. *From Words to Action*. p.35

12 Lacmanović. *Femicid – Ubistva žena u Srbiji*. p. 4.

13 Aleksandra Petric and others. *Report of civil society organizations on implementation of the concluding observations and recommendations of CEDAW committee for Bosnia and Herzegovina 2013-2017*. Helsinki Citizens' Assembly and Rights for All. Banja Luka and Sarajevo, 2016. p. 50. Available at: <http://hcabl.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/11/CEDAW-ENG-web.pdf>

14 Biljana Zeković, Jelena Radulović and Martina Vučelić *Porodično nasilje u Crnoj Gori - teorija i praksa (monitoring studija)*. SOS telefon za žene i djecu žrtve nasilja Podgorica, Podgorica, 2017. p, 107. Available at: <http://sospodgorica.me/wp-content/uploads/2018/01/SOS-Porodicno-nasilje-u-CG-Monitoring-Studija.pdf>

15 Republic of Serbia Protector of Citizens. *Special Report of the Protector of Citizens on the Implementation of the General and Special Protocols on Protection of Women against Violence*, para. 14, Belgrade, Nov. 2014

16 According to the monitoring Report on the implementation of the Istanbul Convention in Albania prepared by the Albanian Women Empowerment Network, women's shelters exist only in four major cities. Available at: <https://rm.coe.int/report-awen-final-draft-jan-17/1680717e19>

17 Stana Tadić, Violeta Anđelković and Sofija Vrbaški. *Women's Rights in the Western Balkans*. The Kvinna till Kvinna Foundation. 2016.p.12. Available at: <http://ukljuciseu.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/05/Womens-Rights-in-Western-Balkans-Indicators-Kvinna-till-Kvinna-2016.pdf>

Box 1: Good practice example – Law on Prevention of Domestic Violence, Serbia

The Law on Prevention of Domestic Violence (LPDV) entered into force on June 1, 2017 in Serbia. The Law introduced numerous novelties in the Serbian legislation bringing it closer to the standards and requirements of the Istanbul Convention. The most significant changes are related to the introduction of emergency measures (temporary removal of the perpetrator from the apartment and temporary prohibition for the perpetrator to contact the victim of violence and approach her), assessment of the risk of repeating the violence, mandatory coordination and cooperation between competent services and institutions and recording the cases of violence. The Law also prescribed the disciplinary responsibility of judges and prosecutors who fail to act within the defined timeframe, as well as compulsory specialized training for those who will act under this law (police officers). Further, the Central Record maintained by the Republic Public Prosecutor's Office will be established electronically collecting the cases of domestic violence, emergency measures and extended emergency measures. Even though some challenges in implementation have already been recognised – establishing SOS telephone lines – it is significant to acknowledge the Law as an example of good practice as well as the intention to mainstream gender-based violence through relevant policy and legal frameworks. Further, the Serbian CSOs are monitoring the implementation of the Law and working on enhancing the capacities of the institutions.

III. Gender stereotyping

A frequent cause of discrimination against women are gender stereotypes which are “preconceived ideas whereby males and females are arbitrarily assigned characteristics and roles determined and limited by their sex”¹⁸. Although gender stereotypes limit both women's and men's capacities, they usually have a disproportionate negative impact on women, particularly in less developed and predominantly patriarchal societies. Yet, the fact that developed countries are not immune to gender stereotyping is shown by the latest Eurobarometer conducted in the EU-28 indicating that “almost seven in ten respondents think women are more likely than men to make decisions based on their emotions”¹⁹.

Even though equal position of women and men has been guaranteed in the legislation in all WB countries, their societies have deeply embedded conservative and traditional values. In Albania, 70 percent of respondents of the 2015 research agreed with the statement “It is better for the whole family if the husband has a job and the wife takes care of the family”²⁰ and the gender of respondents does not make a (statistical) difference. Another example is Montenegro, where the majority of population (60%) believes that the most important role for a

18 Gender Equality Commission of the Council of Europe. Gender Equality Glossary, available at: <https://rm.coe.int/CoERMPublicCommonSearchServices/DisplayDCTMContent?documentId=09000016805963eb>

19 Eurobarometer. *Gender Equality, Stereotypes and Women in Politics, Survey Summary*. European Commission, 2017. p. 5. Available at: <http://ec.europa.eu/commfrontoffice/publicopinion/index.cfm/Survey/getSurvey-Detail/instruments/SPECIAL/surveyKy/2154>

20 UNDP. *Public Perceptions and Attitudes toward Gender Equality in Albania*. UNDP, January 2016, Tirana, p. 31. Available at: <http://www.al.undp.org/content/albania/en/home/library/poverty/public-perceptions-and-attitude-towards-genedr-equality-in-alban.html>

woman is to be a good wife and mother.²¹ Similarly, women's leadership skills are perceived to be lower than those of men, as the example of Kosovo shows, where almost every second person (46%) believes that men are better political leaders than women.²² Stereotypes towards women who belong to LGBTIQ community are even more pronounced and damaging.

Of the many influences on how we view men and women, the most pervasive and the most powerful are media and education. In the WB countries they often stimulate the harmful stereotypes about the women, contributing to their disadvantaged position, while undermining their capacities. Analyses have revealed gender-biased reporting where women are presented either as objects and sex-symbols or as devoted mothers/wives.²³ Moreover, when reporting on cases of gender-based violence, media frequently repeat the male side of story, diminishing the gravity of the violence and further stigmatising the victims.²⁴ Similarly, a hostile media environment additionally contributes to the low level of political participation of women by neglecting their achievements and portraying them exclusively through the prism of physical appearance.

Education is another area through which gender stereotypes are created and encouraged and whose enduring effects are visible in all other social, economic and political spheres. Stereotypes are most commonly reflected in curricula reinforcing and reproducing gender roles and subordinated position of women. It is worth noticing that even though the WB CSOs have recognised education as one of areas that require additional attention, there are few gender reports or analyses dealing with this topic. Nevertheless, the scarce research indicates that curricula more often than not keep the gender-biased language (the preference of the masculine over the feminine), while male characters are more predominant.²⁵ In parallel, the research on gender mainstreaming in higher education in the WB reveals that even though curricula is still for the most part gender insensitive and biased, some progress has been made in terms of introducing gender content in universities' programme.²⁶

21 Koalicija za ravnopravnost KORAK. *Ravnopravnost- regulativa i realnost u Crnoj Gori*, Podgorica 2013 p. 44. Available at: <http://korak-hapi-step.eu/wp-content/uploads/2015/03/cgo-izdavastvo-korak-publikacija.pdf>

22 Mytaher Haskuka, Iris Duri and Donjeta Morina. *The Leadership and Participation of Women in Politics*. UNDP Kosovo, Prishtina, 2014. p. 9. Available at: http://www.ks.undp.org/content/kosovo/en/home/library/womens_empowerment/the-public-pulse-on-gender.html

23 Jeta Abazi. *Media Situation in Kosovo – Gender Representation*. Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, Prishtina, 2014. http://www.kas.de/wf/doc/kas_37921-1522-1-30.pdf?140602103132

24 Zorica Mršević. *Kvalitativna analiza medijskog izveštavanja o nasilju nad ženama u Srbiji*. UNDP, Beograd, 2013. https://www.sigurnakuca.net/upload/documents/Multisektorska_saradnja/Kvantitativna%20analiza%20medijskih%20sad%C5%BEaja%20o%20nasilju%20nad%20%C5%BEenama.pdf

25 Dragana Stjepanović-Zaharijevski, Danijela Gavrilović and Nevena Petrušić. *Obrazovanje za rodnu ravnopravnost: Analiza nastavnog materijala za osnovnu i srednju školu*. UNDP, Niš, 2010. <https://www.rodnara-vnopravnost.gov.rs/sites/default/files/2017-01/Obrazovanje%20za%20rodnu%20ravnopravnost.pdf>

26 Laura Grünberg. *From Gender Studies to Gender IN Studies. Case Studies on Gender-Inclusive Curriculum in Higher Education*. CEPES, Bucharest, 2011. Available at: <http://www.celap.edu.rs/en/wp-content/uploads/2013/01/From-Gender-Studies-to-Gender-IN-Studies.pdf>

Box 2: Good practice example – “Be a Man” project, Serbia

In order to change dominant stereotypes about what it means to be a man and to prevent violence among youth, Centre E8 from Belgrade has been implementing the program “Be a Man” since 2008. This program, also known as “The Young Men Initiative”, is targeting young men to build their knowledge and attitudes concerning gender equality and healthy lifestyles and to decrease levels of all types of violence among youth. On a regional level, the program is coordinated by CARE International Balkan, while partner organizations are coordinating and implementing it in their countries/cities – besides Centre E8, other partners are the CSOs from Sarajevo, Banja Luka, Mostar, Prishtina, Tirana, Zagreb, Mitrovica. The program started in 2006, from small size qualitative research exploring young men’s attitudes and behaviours, then over the years, and through different phases and scaling up, grew into a comprehensive program with different components targeting young people, teachers, educational workers, students, journalists and other important stakeholders. Since the beginning, the program has directly reached over 30,000 young people by implementation of around 2,000 different project activities. The core of the program intervention is a series of group educational workshops that promote a critical and personal reflection on gender, masculinities and health, with a strong focus on violence prevention, done through different models of work – mostly through school-based work and community-based work.

IV. Discrimination in the labour market

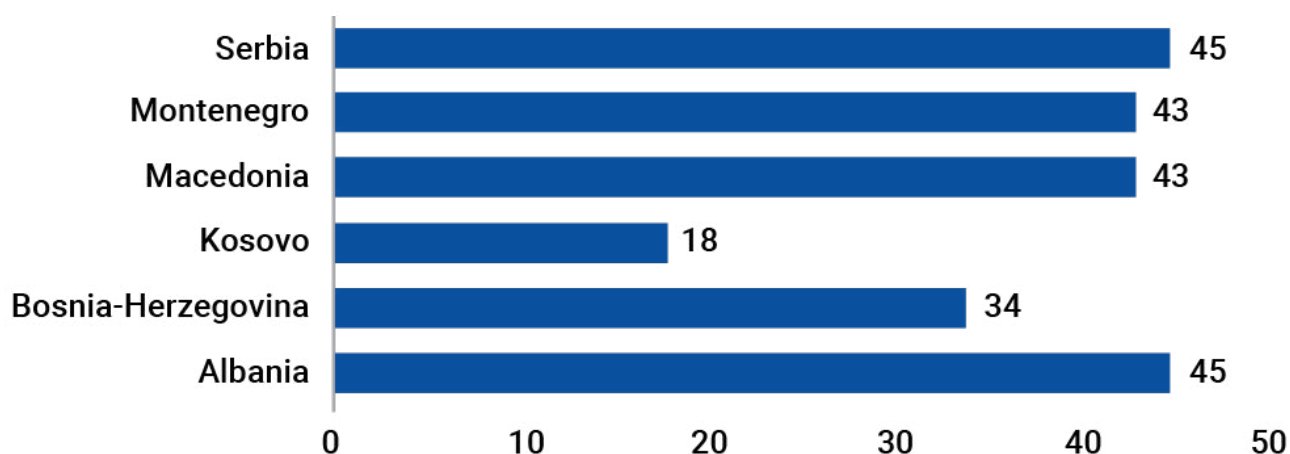
Discrimination of women in the labour market is a widespread phenomenon and one of the main causes of women’s unequal status in society. It is reflected either in low levels of participation in labour or in different forms of discrimination against women at the workplace which favours men. Even though this type of discrimination is present even in the most developed countries, it is nevertheless more persistent and detrimental in patriarchal societies such as the WB, where gender roles in family along with gender-stereotyped jobs are the main cause for women’s unequal position in the labour market.

There is a significant disparity between male and female labour participation rates in favour of males in countries across the region that indicates the labour gap. According to the findings of the Prishtina-based Riinvest Institute, female labour participation in all countries is lower than 50%, meaning that a majority of women in the WB are not engaged actively in the labour market, i.e. either employed or actively seeking employment.²⁷ The most disturbing situation is in Kosovo, where only 18% of women are active. The position of rural women across the region is even more aggravating since their work in households and agricultural holdings is not recognised as work in the legal sense.²⁸ Furthermore, the rate of female participation in the labour market is even lower in minority communities and among members of vulnerable groups (e.g. women with disabilities).

²⁷ Ilire Mehmeti, Dita Dobranja and Alban Hashani. *Women at the workplace - An Analysis Of The Workforce Conditions For Women In Kosovo*. Riinvest Institute, Prishtina 2017. p. 13. Available at: http://www.riinvestinstitute.org/uploads/files/2017/November/10/Women_in_the_workforce1510308291.pdf

²⁸ Izveštaj o položaju žena na selu u Srbiji - Alternativni izveštaj Komitetu za eliminaciju svih oblika diskriminacije žena povodom četvrtog izveštajnog ciklusa Republike Srbije prepared by Kosana Bekre at al. Beograd, 2017.

Figure 1: Rate of female labour participation in the Western Balkans, %



Source: Riinvest Institute, Pristina

Next, women active in the labour market face several types of discrimination that exacerbate their position, as indicated by various examples from all of the countries. The most common type of discrimination occurs in the interview process when women are unlawfully asked about their marital status and future family plans.²⁹ Moreover, the discriminatory (masculine codified) language of job advertisements is identified as discouraging for women seeking employment.³⁰ Further, even when employed, women are paid less than men, with the gender pay gap varying across the countries.³¹ Returning from pregnancy and maternity leave frequently leads to the termination of the contract, thus contributing to women's unemployment. Moreover, available data indicates the presence of glass ceilings, with the small proportion of women in decision-making positions.³²

29 Evropski pokret u Crnoj Gori. *Socio-ekonomski položaj žena u Crnoj Gori*. Evropski pokret u Crnoj Gori i IPSOS, Podgorica, 2011., str. 41. <http://m.portalanalitika.me/storage/2015/04/21/55362efa-d444-4c66-bd72-305c5c338451-socio-ekonomski-polozaj-zena-u-crnoj-gori-1.pdf>

30 GAP Institute. *Labour Market Discrimination How job advertisements create gender inequality*. GAP Institute, Prishtina, 2017. http://www.institutigap.org/documents/20684_LABOUR%20MARKET%20DISCRIMINATION.pdf

31 Sonja Avlijaš et al. *Gender pay gap in the Western Balkans countries: Evidence from Serbia, Montenegro and Macedonia*. FREN, 2013. <http://www.fren.org.rs/sites/default/files/Gender%20pay%20gap%20in%20the%20Western%20balkan%20countries.pdf>

32 The analysis of GAP Institute in Kosovo on publicly owned enterprises shows that out 159 board members in 31 public companies, 135 are men and 24 women, while only five boards are chaired by women. Available at: http://www.institutigap.org/documents/38241_Representation%20of%20Woman%20in%20the%20Boards%20of%20Publicly%20Owned%20Enterprises%20and%20Independent%20Agencies.pdf

Similarly, data on women entrepreneurs shows unfavourable conditions for establishing a business, which as a result has a still insufficient proportion of female entrepreneurs. Situation differs across the WB, since the countries do not have the same legislative and policy frameworks, although social and economic conditions are quite comparable. The main impediments women face are related to family obligations and unpaid household work, lack of property ownership and gender prejudices.³³

Even though there are many economic factors contributing to the abovementioned problems women face, the difficulties in balancing private and professional life has been particularly recognised as a reason that contributes to the high level of female inactivity at the labour market, but also an obstacle in climbing the career ladder. For instance, the research in Montenegro reveals that inactive women in most cases stopped working when they started a family, or for the same reason they have never even looked for a job.³⁴ At the same time, a lack of child care facilities and the necessity to do household work is a hurdle to professional growth and career advancement.³⁵

V. Political participation and decision-making

Participation of women in politics and decision-making is one of the key indicators of gender equality in a society. It relates to the question whether women are in the position to make or influence public decisions on the same footing as men. Despite continuous efforts to increase female political participation and introduction of affirmative measures (gender quota or reserved seats), women still face numerous obstacles to participation in political processes. To illustrate, across Europe, women represent only 28 % of members of national parliaments, with considerable country differences.³⁶

All WB countries have adopted a quota system for their parliaments in order to enable women to enter this male-dominated field. Apart from Bosnia and Macedonia that have quota of 40 percent, other countries have set it at 30 percent for the less represented sex in their national parliaments. Yet, only Serbia, Kosovo and Macedonia have more than 30% of women in their respective parliaments, while the remaining WB countries have less than 30% of female MPs, ranging from 21% in Bosnia to 28% in Albania. Only one country (Serbia) has a woman as speaker of the parliament, while most of the parliamentary committees across the region are chaired by men. It implies that even though the introduction of quota has had a positive effect in increasing the number of elected women in national parliaments, their status participation remains inadequate.

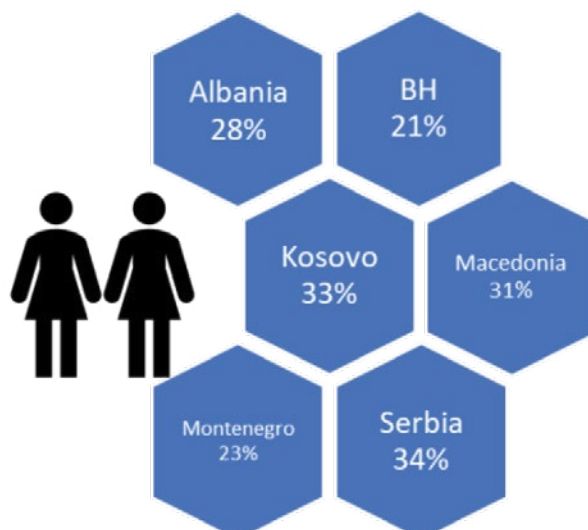
33 Jovana Pantović, Sarita Bradaš, Ksenija Petovar. Položaj žena na tržištu rada. Freidrich Ebert Stiftung, Beograd, 2017. p. <http://www.centaronline.org/userfiles/files/publikacije/fcd-polozaj-zena-na-trzistu-rada.pdf> or http://www.riinvestinstitute.org/uploads/files/2017/November/10/Womens_Entrepreneurship1510307815.pdf

34 Socio-ekonomski položaj žena u Crnoj Gori. p. 42.

35 World Bank Gender Assessments for Serbia/BiH/Macedonia/Kosovo, available at: <http://www.worldbank.org/en/research>

36 Available at: <http://eige.europa.eu/rdc/eige-publications/gender-equality-political-decision-making>

Figure 2: Number of female MPs in the Western Balkan countries



Source: *Gender Quotas Database*³⁷

Namely, as a result of the quota system, the real position of women and their chances for participation in the parliament have been placed within the male-dominated political parties which determine the composition of the party lists and thus remain the biggest hurdle for real political representation of women.³⁸ There are a very few examples across the region of a woman leading a political party.³⁹ On the contrary, they are underrepresented in decision-making bodies occupying the lower positions in the parties.⁴⁰ The study shows that even women who have managed to secure a place on the list and enter the parliament often find themselves in a place where their parties “will replace them with male members of the same party following the election”⁴¹. No WB country has a legislation focused on introducing gender quota in political parties. Women’s parliamentary networks have been created in the different countries, to boost substantial political participation of women.

Bearing in mind the dominance of male power in political parties, it is no surprise that the WB governments are also predominantly controlled by men. Kosovo and Bosnia have the lowest number of female ministers, only two. Serbia is the only country that has a female Prime Minister, who nevertheless was not elected by popular vote, nor is she a member of the ruling party.⁴² Similarly, the former female president of Kosovo also was not elected, but rather appointed. It seems that even when women do occupy the decision-making positions, the power lies somewhere else.

37 See: <https://www.idea.int/data-tools/data/gender-quotas>

38 Elena Nacevska and Sonja Lokar. *The Effectiveness of Gender Quota*. in *Teorija i praksa* let. 54, 2/2017, 394-412. Ljubljana, 2017. https://www.fdv.uni-lj.si/docs/default-source/tip/tip_02_2017_nacevska_lokar.pdf?sfvrsn=2

39 Democratic Party of Serbia and Social Democratic Union of Macedonia are parties that had female leaders.

40 Ana Pajvančić Cizelj i Višnja Baćanović. *Rodna ravnopravnost i žensko političko liderstvo u strankama u Srbiji: Osnovni rezultati istraživanja*. Beogradski fond za političku izuzetnost, Beograd, 2015.

41 Women Rights in the Western Balkans. p. 3.

42 The PM was effectively appointed by the President after he assumed the presidential position.

Similarly, the senior managerial positions in public administrations are largely reserved for men. Even though it is difficult to directly compare the results from different countries, since there are inconsistencies in the research methodologies,⁴³ the available data nevertheless depict the existing inequality in the WB administrations. In Serbian ministries, “women make up 30% of the highest managerial positions (...) although in total civil service they comprise as much as 62%”⁴⁴. Further, the research on assessing women’s participation in senior leadership positions in the government of Kosovo revealed male dominance (only 3 positions out of the total of 58 were held by women in 2015).⁴⁵ Similarly, in Macedonia, out of 68 appointed state positions, only 8 (11%) are held by women.⁴⁶

Box 3: Good practice example – Equal representation in decision-making, Kosovo

The Law on Gender Equality entered into force in Kosovo in 2015. Although the implementation of the Law is unsatisfactory and shows significant structural challenges, the Law serves as an example of good practice because it is in accordance with international standards and more particularly with the EU acquis. Namely, it is the only Law on gender equality in the WB that states that “equal gender representation in all legislative, executive and judiciary bodies and other public institutions is achieved when minimum representation of fifty percent (50%) is ensured for each gender, including their governing and decision-making bodies of women and men”. Hence, the Law introduces the obligation for central and local institutions to ensure equal representation of men and women in decision-making positions, which presents a significant step forward from the dominant practice to require 30 per cent quota for the less represented sex.

43 First, some research refers to state administration while other focus on public administration. Second, due to the different civil service legislative frameworks, countries do not have the same categories of senior managerial positions. Also, data collection can be a challenge, as an example of Serbia indicates gaps in data and analysis, but also a lack of reliable sources for the number of women managers.

44 Kosmina, Katarina and Katarina Tadic. Gender Parity and Decision-Making in the Serbian Public Administration. European Policy Centre, Belgrade, April 2017. Available at: <http://cep.org.rs/en/publications/gender-parity-and-decision-making-in-the-serbian-public-administraton-2/>

45 Kosovo Gender Studies Centre. *Women’s participation in decision-making in Kosovo*. Kosovo Gender Studies Centre, January 2017, Prishtina. p.20.

46 Input received during the online consultation process with CSOs from the WB.

VI. Gender mainstreaming

Since the Beijing World Conference on Women in 1995 and the adoption of the Platform for Action, gender mainstreaming (GM) has become a recognised instrument for ensuring that “before decisions are taken, an analysis is made of the effects on women and men, respectively.”⁴⁷ The Platform called for an “active and visible policy of mainstreaming a gender perspective, inter alia, in the monitoring and evaluation of all policies and programmes.”⁴⁸ It called for ensuring that the relevant national authorities in charge operate at the highest political level and that close cooperation should be established between the governments and the non-governmental sector. GM is understood as “both integrating a gender perspective to the content of the different policies, and addressing the issue of representation of women and men in the given policy area”⁴⁹ and both of these dimensions should be tackled in all stages of the policy-making process.

Despite being widely accepted as a necessary tool to pursue gender equality, GM has not been widely applied in the Western Balkan region nor has it been prioritised by the relevant national authorities in the gender equality policy documents,⁵⁰ though some positive cases do exist (see Box 4 below). Even where nominally recognised and included in the relevant policy documents, few tools have been introduced in practice.⁵¹ The civil society research on the different tools within the gender mainstreaming cycle (see Figure 3 below) is scarce on most element, with a partial exception of gender responsive budgeting.⁵² A lack of research is perhaps not too surprising, considering that the institutional practices in this area are almost inexistent. The existing civil society work on GM has thus rather warned about the lack of such instruments, argued for the necessity of their introduction and provided recommendations for the first steps in that direction.⁵³

47 “Platform for Action”, The United Nations, Fourth World Conference on Women, Beijing, China - September 1995, Action for Equality, Development and Peace, <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/beijing/platform/plat2.htm>

48 Ibid.

49 According to the European Institute for Gender Equality <http://eige.europa.eu/gender-mainstreaming/what-is-gender-mainstreaming>

50 For example, Z. Antonijević argues that neither the authorities nor the policy documents in Serbia have placed an emphasis on GM, despite it being the most important gender equality instrument. Antonijević, Zorana. (2016). *State feminism in Serbia - Institutionalization of feminist policies and practices*. Sociologija. 58. 350-371. p. 364.

51 See: Katarina Tadić, *Gender Mainstreaming of Public Policies in Serbia: A Case for (Light) Optimism*. European Policy Centre, 2016, http://cep.org.rs/wp-content/uploads/2016/11/train_brief_final-1.pdf. Also, see: Saša Gavrić et al. *Narandžasti izvještaj 2016: Godišnji izvještaj o stanju ljudskih prava žena u Bosni i Hercegovini*. Sarajevski otvoreni centar and Helsinški parlament građana Banja Luka, 2016. http://soc.ba/site/wp-content/uploads/2016/02/NARAN.IZVJESTAJ_02_20.02.2014_FINAL_web.pdf

52 For instance, Kosovo Women’s Network conducted a series of research on gender budgeting in various areas: diaspora programme, agriculture and rural development, social welfare, to mention only few. Available at: <http://www.womensnetwork.org/?FaqeID=12>

53 See: Amanda Orza. *What is Gender Mainstreaming and Why Does it Matter*. European Policy Centre, 2014. <http://cep.org.rs/en/publications/what-is-gender-mainstreaming-and-why-does-it-matter/>; Also, see Katarina Tadić, op. cit.

Also, Evropski pokret Crna Gora. *Socio-ekonomski položaj žena u Crnoj Gori*, Evropski pokret CG, Podgorica, 2011. https://www.emim.org/images/publikacije/socio-ekonomski_polo_zaj_zena_u_crnoj_gori.pdf

Looking at the **gender mainstreaming cycle**, the deficiencies are evident in all four main phases, with almost none of the available tools being used by the administrations of the region. This defect is, however, not specific to gender mainstreaming of the policy cycle, but is rather an expected result of the wider problems of the unreformed and underdeveloped policymaking practices more generally.

Define. As the policy analysis phase is poorly developed in most of the region's systems,⁵⁴ and impact assessments are either not done or are done mostly as a box-ticking exercise, the gender perspective of the policy analysis is lacking, too. Impact assessment guidelines – even as poorly implemented – as a rule do not contain provisions on gender impact assessment (GIA).⁵⁵ Nevertheless, even if GIA were to be integrated as a requirement, the generally data-light environments in which the national policymaking happens reflects also on the gender equality policy, making potential application of GIA difficult. Basic gender sensitive statistics, as the first requirement for GIA, has been developing over the past 5 years in the region. For example, there are annual publications about the position of men and women in Kosovo, Serbia, Macedonia, Albania and Montenegro. Still, sectoral statistics is not yet gender sensitised and the use of statistical data in sectoral policy development is largely lacking.

Plan. In planning for policy implementation from the gender perspective, some practices have emerged in the region, in particular with regards to gender responsive budgeting (GRB), which has emerged “as central method of analysing and implementing gender equality policies.”⁵⁶ The most advanced practices are found in Serbia (see Box 4 below), as the Ministry of Finance – with support of UN WOMEN – in 2015 initiated the process of introduction of GRB. The UN WOMEN has also been active in this field in Albania and Kosovo.⁵⁷ Both entities in BiH published gender budgeting manuals as early as 2013/2014, although with limited application thus far.⁵⁸ The CSOs participation in GRB at both national and local level still remains a challenge due to the lack of procedures which would ensure CSO participation in prioritisation or monitoring of budget allocations.

54 OECD. Monitoring report Serbia: *The Principles of Public Administration*. OECD Publishing, Paris, 2017, p. 48. <http://www.sigmaweb.org/publications/Monitoring-Report-2017-Serbia.pdf>

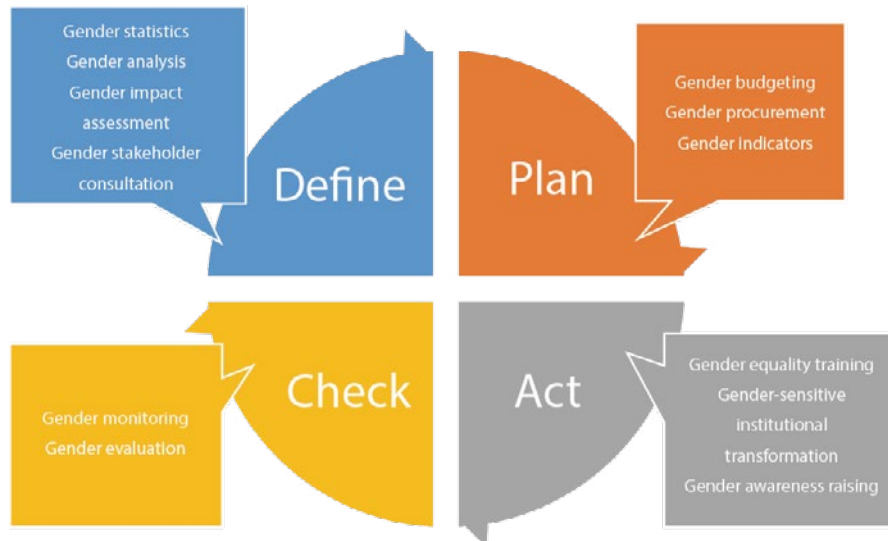
55 With the entry into force of the Law on the Planning System of the Republic of Serbia, passed by the National Assembly on 19 April 2018 and the corresponding bylaw which regulates impact assessment, gender aspects are to be included in the impact assessment methodology.

56 Andrea Spehar (2018): *The pursuit of political will: decision makers' incentives and gender policy implementation in the Western Balkans*. International Feminist Journal of Politics, DOI: 10.1080/14616742.2017.1391709. p. 2

57 Several projects focused on introducing gender responsive budgeting in the region have been implemented with the support of UN WOMEN. Majority of the national/state documents analysed for the purpose of this policy brief were also supported, or in some way involved, UN WOMEN.

58 Information based on the presentation by Zuhra Osmanovic Pasic, held at the gender equality conference organised by the Regional School of Public Administration (ReSPA), 30 January 2018, Belgrade.

Figure 3: Gender Mainstreaming Cycle



Source: European Institute for Gender Equality

Act. To support GM in the implementation of policies, awareness raising and gender equality training are a must, considering the weak capacities of the administrations. An organisation in Kosovo analysed gender mainstreaming in the EU integration process and found lack of awareness and weak capacities at the local level and called for improving them in both the civil sector and the administration.⁵⁹ Although gender-sensitive institutional transformation has not yet been a topic in the region, trainings and gender awareness-raising have taken place, often with the CSOs contribution. However, the focus on mainstreaming has been weak and mostly limited to gender budgeting – in countries and local authorities where such initiatives have been made.

Check. In the last phase of the GM cycle, gender monitoring and evaluation (M&E) would need to be conducted by the government in order to learn from the implementation of the policies in terms of their progress, achievement of the desired objectives, and assessing their impact vis-à-vis gender equality. Whereas the governmental M&E practices are still in the nascent phase, civil society organisations have taken some initial steps to perform external monitoring of the policies from the gender perspective. In 2015, the Female Platform in Serbia published an M&E manual,⁶⁰ which also provides a range of gender indicators that need to be monitored in different horizontal and sectoral policy areas. Nevertheless, already the first report (for 2016) showed the lowest score for the gender mainstreaming indicator.⁶¹ Monitoring and evaluation of the international development assistance projects can be used as a positive example, with some donors integrating the gender perspective quite strongly in their programme and project M&E approaches. Both governments and civil society can learn from these experiences.

⁵⁹ Gender Mainstreaming in European integration, Kosovar Gender Studies Center, Pristina, 2016.

⁶⁰ Sanja Nikolin. *Monitoring i evaluacija Ženske platforme za razvoj Srbije*. Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, 2015. <http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/bueros/belgrad/12171.pdf>

⁶¹ Sanja Nikolin and Aleksandra Vladislavljević. *Prvi izveštaj Ženske platforme za razvoj Srbije Prioriteti za 2017. i 2018. godinu*. Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, 2016. <http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/bueros/belgrad/12991.pdf>

Box 4: Good practice example – Gender responsive budgeting in Serbia

The Law on the Budget System in Serbia in 2015 introduced the obligation of gender responsive budgeting, with gradual inclusion of all budget users by 2020. The GRB is thus being introduced in parallel with the programme budgeting process. Moreover, in 2016, the Law also included the obligation of the GRB reporting within the annual statement of accounts. With support of UN WOMEN, civil servants have been trained on both the national and local level. Several methodological and guidance documents have been developed. Gender experts active in the civil society have been involved in trainings and development of all main documents. In the 2018 budget, the GRB is applied by 33 out of 35 planned budget users, within 42 budget programmes and 57 programme activities. The key challenges identified include a lack of M&E practices, lack of data and statistics as well as insufficient connections between objectives and budget allocations.⁶²

Good practice example – Gender mainstreaming in Albania

The Albanian National Strategy and Action Plan for Gender Equality 2016–2020, contains several provisions on gender mainstreaming, especially in terms of introducing GM horizontally (within Objective 4.1). The Action Plan contains a number of GM measures, including development of manuals and training of civil servants. To ensure gender mainstreaming across the administration, the ‘gender equality employees’ are foreseen in each state authority. Gender employees are civil servants educated with gender issues and principles, gender budgeting, gender equality laws etc. They are envisaged as a transformative mechanism in the administration system. However, available reports show that the implementation has been slow.⁶³

VII. Actors promoting gender equality

As of 2002, after the adoption of Directive 2002/73/EC, the EU Member States and the EEA countries have been obliged to designate equality bodies. As a result, as part of their EU accession efforts, the WB countries have established public institutions with a mandate to deal with gender equality. In all countries, the protection of gender equality and combating gender based discrimination is placed under the competence of independent bodies that deal with non-discrimination, investigating complaints, giving legal advice and assistance, issuing (nonbinding) opinions, recommendations and warnings (Ombudsperson in Kosovo, Commissioner for Protection of Equality in Serbia, Commission for Protection against Discrimination in Macedonia, Ombudsman in Montenegro, Commissioner for Protection from Discrimination in Albania, Human Rights Ombudsman in BiH). In line with the Beijing Platform for Action and the recommendations of the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), the WB states have also established governmental bodies for gender equality – a gender equality mechanism at the executive level.

62 Information from the presentation on GRB in Serbia, by Aleksandra Vladisavljevic, held at the gender equality conference organised by the Regional School of Public Administration (ReSPA), 30 January 2018, Belgrade.

63 See: Evelina Qirjako, Women Rights and Gender Equality as Per Albanian law, Academic Journal of Interdisciplinary Studies, MCSER Publishing, Rome-Italy, Vol 5 No 1, March 2016. P. 202, <http://www.mcser.org/journal/index.php/ajis/article/viewFile/8967/8659>

Some countries have created individual executive gender offices established by Gender Equality Laws responsible for monitoring their implementation (Kosovo, Bosnia), while in others (Albania, Serbia, Montenegro, Macedonia) there are individual units (departments or directorates) within the ministries in charge of social policy or human rights. Nevertheless, the institutions overall are under-resourced and characterised as weak and inefficient in ensuring gender equality and protection of rights, while their influence on policymaking is very limited.⁶⁴

International actors, e.g. the UN agencies, the EU-based organisations and foundations, are also present, but predominantly with the role of supporting the **CSOs** or working directly with institutions on strengthening their capacities and resources. Namely, the CSOs across the region have been the main driver for development of national gender policies, enhancing and promoting gender equality through various activities. The CSOs are important **advocates** of gender equality capable of joining efforts both in national and regional arena contributing greatly to many legislative and policy changes.⁶⁵ Further, the CSOs are still the primary place where the non-formal **education** related to gender equality and elimination of gender stereotypes is conducted and where the gender expertise is still principally located. Next, due to the insufficient institutional support, the CSOs are identified as the most significant actors across the region in **providing direct assistance** to victims of gender-based violence, such as SOS telephone line or legal help and counselling. Moreover, since the institutions lack mechanisms for data collection and analysis, the CSOs have recognised the need for evidence-based policy initiatives and changes, thus focusing on **researching** the causes and manifestations of gender inequality. Also important is the role of the CSOs in **monitoring** the implementation of the policies (especially various strategic documents) and the adopted and enforced legislation.

The relations of the CSOs with the public institutions have always been complex with a fluctuating level of impact on policymaking. Yet, recent developments in some countries, notably in Serbia, illustrate the expert role that many CSOs representatives have in policymaking process due to their years of experience in dealing with gender-related issues. This reveals a shift in gender organisations whose members are now included in policymaking in selective areas, but not necessarily influential enough to have a say over the end solution in public policies.⁶⁶ Nevertheless, generally speaking, even though public institutions have to some extent accepted cooperation with the CSOs as needed, the institutionalised practice has to be developed along with well-defined mechanisms for cooperation.

64 European Commission's 2018 reports for Serbia <https://ec.europa.eu/neighbourhood-enlargement/sites/near/files/20180417-serbia-report.pdf> or Kosovo <https://ec.europa.eu/neighbourhood-enlargement/sites/near/files/20180417-kosovo-report.pdf>

Alexandra Timmer and Linda Senden. A comparative analysis of gender equality law in Europe. European Commission, Brussels, 2016.

<https://www.equalitylaw.eu/downloads/3823-a-comparative-analysis-of-gender-equality-law-in-europe-2015-pdf-1-03-mb>

65 The Draft Law on Gender Equality in Serbia is an example of such initiative, even though it still has not been adopted. Also, the ratification of Istanbul Convention in most of the countries came as a result of the pressure of CSOs.

66 The typology developed by MacBride and Mazur about the influence of female movements, where they identified four types – double response, co-optation, appropriation and no response – can be useful when analysing the relations between feminism and state in WB countries, as it has been applied on Serbia by Antonijević, Zorana. (2016). *State feminism in Serbia - Institutionalization of feminist policies and practices*. Sociologija. 58. 350-371. p. 357.

VIII. Monitoring Western Balkan gender policies

The problems related to a lack of consistent monitoring of policies, widespread in the WB countries, mar the area of gender policy as well. Irregular reporting, lack of policy coordination and monitoring structures is a common problem to all countries, although some examples of good practice can be found. For example, in Albania, the Ministry of Social Welfare and Youth performed regular reporting against the previous strategic document (period 2011–2015) and performed an evaluation of the document, the results of which directly fed into the drafting process of the new strategy and action plan for the period 2016–2020.⁶⁷ However, such good practice examples usually occur owing to strong external technical support,⁶⁸ as the relevant authorities do not possess sufficient capacities to systematically collect and analyse data. As a result, national authorities face difficulties in performing systematic policy monitoring and periodic evaluations.

In the absence of monitoring by competent public authorities, the CSOs often fill in the gap by providing their own monitoring and reporting on policy implementation, including data collection. Civil society monitoring is not a replacement for policy monitoring by state authorities in charge of policy implementation, even though it is often the only available form of monitoring due to the scarcity of governmental policy monitoring practices. External monitoring by the CSOs is rather a form of external control mechanism, which can call into question the reports published by government institutions and offer alternative information and findings.

The examples of civil society monitoring of gender policies can be found across the region. In chapter VI, the example of the Female Platform in Serbia was mentioned, with an ambitious set of indicators to be monitored regularly. In BiH, independent monitoring reports have been produced by civil society organisations, however, not regularly.⁶⁹

A key prerequisite for successful monitoring (as well as periodic evaluations) is the collection of data on a selected set of indicators which can demonstrate progress in policy implementation. In the table below, a list of indicators is proposed, based on a combination of available sources,⁷⁰ which can serve the purpose of regional monitoring of gender policies and projects. The list is presented purely for illustration purposes and should be revised once the priorities are set for regional gender equality policies and projects.

67 UN Women & UNDP (2016). Gender Brief Albania 2016. Prepared by Monika Kocaqi, Ani Plaku and Dolly Wittberger. UN Women, Albania. P. 14.

68 In the mentioned Albanian case, it was the support of the UN agencies and UNDP.

69 The “Orange Report on the state of human rights of women in Bosnia and Herzegovina” was produced annually between 2014 and 2016 by the Sarajevo Open Center, but not in 2017. See: www.soc.ba [last accessed on 19 April 2018]

70 The indicator list contains a combination of indicators of the European Institute for Gender Equality (EIGE) and Female Platform for Development of Serbia.

Table: Indicators for regional monitoring in prioritised areas

Gender based violence
- Number of women's shelters
- Number of SOS call centres
- Allocated funds for prevention of GBV (at local and central level)
- Gender desegregated data regarding the number of complaints on GBV and verdicts
- Type of gender-based violence by the sex of the victim and the sex of the perpetrator
- Percentage of citizens free from fear, by sex and age
Gender stereotyping
- Citizens' attitudes towards gender equality and perception of male and female gender roles
- Number of examples of gender stereotypes in the media coverage of women in public and political functions
- Percentage of school books analysed and approved as "stereotype-free" ⁷¹
- Percentage of school children covered by programmes which mainstream fight against gender stereotyping
Discrimination in the labour market
- Employed people in education, human health and social work activities (%)
- Number of measures supporting participation of women in labour market (entrepreneurship, new employment etc.)
- Funds available for women in agricultural production support and green economy
- Number of gender responsive policies and strategies
- Employed persons with ICT education by sex
- Enterprises managed by the founder – by sex of the entrepreneur
- Self-employed by sex, age and economic activity/occupation/household composition
- Activity (participation in labour force)
- Unemployment rates by sex
- Long term unemployment rate by sex
- Jobless household by sex
- Gender overall earnings gap
- Total employment by area of economic activity
- Time spent in unpaid forms of work by sex and by form of work
- Employees with a flexible work schedule by sex
- Persons providing informal care or assistance at least once a week by sex, age and educational attainment level

⁷¹ Proposed as a new indicator, to be included in a suitable regional civil society programme/project.

Political participation and decision-making

- Share of women in parliaments and chairpersons of the parliaments
 - Share of female ministers
 - Share of women mayors
 - Leaders and deputy leaders in major parties by sex
 - Share of women in senior managerial positions in public administration
 - Number of women heads of the independent oversight institutions (Ombudsperson, SAI president, etc.)
 - Share of women presidents of courts
-

Gender mainstreaming

- Percentage of policy documents (strategies, action plans, laws) accompanied by gender impact assessment
 - Percentage of budget users applying GRB in their budgets
 - Percentage of civil servants involved in policy analysis and development trained on gender mainstreaming
-

IX. Conclusion: An evolving policy with ample challenges

Civil society organisations and female experts have been staunch supporters and promoters of developing gender equality policies in the Western Balkan region. From the wide range of problems on which both the CSOs and the governments have worked to various extents, the organisations have identified – through an online survey conducted for this brief – a list of five priority topics on which action should be stepped up in the coming years, especially at the regional level. These are gender-based violence, gender stereotyping, discrimination in the labour market, political participation – decision-making and, finally, gender mainstreaming, as a rather cross-cutting issue.

The research done for this brief has identified a wealth of research and advocacy products on the mentioned topics, although some areas have been less represented in the CSOs' work. This is particularly true of gender mainstreaming, where the breadth of literature is rather restricted, featuring mainly GRB. **Gender-based violence** has emerged as the most critical and widespread issue, plagued by lack of institutional support and reliable data. Across the region, legal and policy changes are needed to ensure full compliance with the requirements of the Istanbul Convention. To date, CSOs have played the main role in assisting the victims of violence and providing them with legal aid.

Gender stereotypes are widely present in the WB societies, and they affect both women and men. According to all surveys, these societies are dominated by conservatism, which is seen as an underlying cause of many other gender-related problems. Media and education serve as gatekeepers of patriarchy. Media perform the task through gender-biased reporting and education system by reproducing gender stereotypes through text books.

Discrimination in the labour market is reflected in a very disadvantaged position for women. On one side, their participation in the labour market is low, while on the other side, various forms of discrimination at the workplace, gender roles in family and difficulties in balancing private and professional life have been particularly recognised as reasons for that. A lack of child care facilities and the necessity to do household work maybe the greatest obstacles.

Women still lag behind men in the **political and decision-making** structures. Despite introducing affirmative measures (quota systems) in the parliaments around the region, women are still underrepresented. Political parties remain under the dominance of men, whereas in the public administrations, even when women are a majority in the system, they remain a minority in senior positions.

Gender mainstreaming efforts are in an early phase of development in all countries, with gender responsive budgeting somewhat more advanced than other GM tools. Basic gender sensitive statistics is being developed, but this is still not the case across the sectoral policies. The obstacles related to the development of the GM practices are related also to the more general deficiencies of the policymaking systems in the region. Nevertheless, the establishment and gradual strengthening of the institutional infrastructure in charge of gender equality is creating a more positive climate for the introduction of the GM mechanisms.

Civil society remains an important partner and initiator of gender equality policies, though more structured approaches are needed to ensure their inclusion in the policy development and implementation processes. CSOs perform external monitoring of gender policies, a function which will remain relevant and needed even if national authorities strengthen their own M&E capacities.

X. List of Abbreviations

BH	Bosnia and Herzegovina
CSO	Civil Society Organisation
EC	European Commission
EEA	European Economic Area
EU	European Union
GIA	Gender Impact Assessment
GM	Gender Mainstreaming
GRB	Gender Responsive Budgeting
ICT	Information and Communication Technologies
IPA	Pre-accession Assistance
LPDV	Law on Protection of Domestic Violence
M&E	Monitoring and Evaluation
MP	Member of Parliament
UN	United Nations
WB	Western Balkans

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XII. List of consulted CSOs

	Name of the organisation:	Country:
1.	Women's Rights Center	Montenegro
2.	NVO SPES	Montenegro
3.	New Horizon	Montenegro
4.	NGO CREATIVE CIVIC CENTRE	Montenegro
5.	Women's Rights Center	Montenegro
6.	Foundation of local democracy	Bosnia-Herzegovina
7.	Foundation United Women Banja Luka	Bosnia-Herzegovina
8.	In fondacija	Bosnia-Herzegovina
9.	Center for Investigative Reporting (CIN)	Bosnia-Herzegovina
10.	Helsinki Citizens' Assembly Banjaluka	Bosnia-Herzegovina
11.	Association for Social Research and Communication	Bosnia-Herzegovina
12.	Helsinki Citizens Assembly Banja Luka	Bosnia-Herzegovina
13.	Sarajevo Open Centre	Bosnia-Herzegovina
14.	Udruženje "Žene sa Une"	Bosnia-Herzegovina
15.	Sarajevo Open Centre	Bosnia-Herzegovina
16.	Vanjskopolitička inicijativa BH	Bosnia-Herzegovina
17.	European Policy Institute	Macedonia
18.	Reactor	Macedonia
19.	Center ACT for SOCIETY	Albania
20.	Terre des hommes	Albania
21.	Gender Alliance for Development Centre	Albania
22.	Refleksione Women Association	Albania
23.	ACT for SOCIETY Center	Albania
24.	AWEN - Albanian Women Empowerment Network	Kosovo
25.	Women's Association Aureola	Kosovo
26.	Dora Dorës	Kosovo
27.	University of Prishtina, University Program for Gender Studies and Research	Kosovo
28.	Students Center, University of Prishtine	Kosovo
29.	Group for Legal and Political Studies	Kosovo
30.	Riinvest Institute	Kosovo
31.	Initiative for Agricultural Development of Kosovo	Kosovo
32.	Women Wellness Centre	Kosovo
33.	Kosovar Gender Studies Center	Kosovo
34.	Association For Emancipation Of Woman "Alma"	Kosovo
35.	Institute for Development Policy - INDEP	Kosovo
36.	GAP Institute	Kosovo
37.	Peer Educators Network – PEN	Kosovo
38.	European Movement in Serbia	Serbia
39.	BeFem	Serbia
40.	Gender Knowledge Hub	Serbia
41.	Lawyers' Committee for Human Rights - YUCOM	Serbia
42.	Center E8	Serbia
43.	Belgrade Centre for Security Policy	Serbia
44.	Belgrade Fund for Political Excellence	Serbia
45.	Centre Public Policy Research	Serbia
46.	ERA – LGBTI Equal Rights Association for the Western Balkans and Turkey	Serbia
47.	IZ Kruga Vojvodina	Serbia