



Project No.: CIT4-CT-2006-028698

**RECON**  
**Reconstituting Democracy in Europe**

Integrated Project  
Priority: 7 - Citizens and Governance in a Knowledge-Based Society

**Deliverable No. 45**  
**Workshop on gender and democracy in the EU**

Due date of deliverable: November 2009  
Actual delivery date: 12-13 November 2009

Start date of project: 1 January 2007

Duration: 60 months

Lead contractor for this deliverable:  
Partner 10 QUB  
Queen's University Belfast, UK

Final version

Project co-funded by the European Commission within the Sixth Framework Programme (2002-2006)		
Dissemination Level		
PU	Public	
PP	Restricted to other programme participants (including the Commission Services)	
RE	Restricted to a group specified by the consortium (including the Commission Services)	X
CO	Confidential, only for members of the consortium (including the Commission Services)	

## 1. Introduction

RECON Deliverable No. 45 – *Workshop on gender and democracy in EU* is part of work package 4 – Justice, Democracy and Gender. The core objective of WP 4 is three-fold: (a) to explore the status of gender equality within the enlarged EU; (b) to analyse what kind of gender policies can be justified with regard to the three RECON models; what policies do the different models give scope for, and for what reasons; and (c) to arrive at specific recommendations for how gender equality can best be fostered within Europe. WP 4 has a normative and an empirical component. The examination of the status of gender equality in Europe requires first a clarification of how best to conceive gender equality in normative terms.

One of the main objectives of WP 4 in months 25-42 has been to focus on empirical data gathering and analysis of country cases informed by the theoretical and methodological work undertaken in the first two years of the project. The findings of national studies are presented in this workshop, and will be related to the three RECON models. The proceedings of this workshop will be revised and published as a RECON report (D73).

## 2. Presentation of the workshop

The workshop *Assessing Gender Democracy in Europe* took place on 12-13 November at the Centre for the Advancement of Women in Politics, Queen's University Belfast. The workshop was organised by WP 4 leader Yvonne Galligan and RECON researcher Sara Clavero, and brought together leading experts on gender research from various institutions. The intention was to provide an opportunity for in-depth discussion on the national case studies that assess the quality of gender democracy as between the EU and member states.

The workshop had two main objectives: to discuss the methodology for assessing gender democracy in the EU, and to present findings from the supranational and national level.



The workshop opened with an introduction by WP 4 leader Yvonne Galligan, who provided an overview of the methodology of the study, as well as describing the main results of the democratic assessment at the supranational level. This study examined the processes leading to the adoption of two recent EU directives: equal treatment in access to and supply of goods and services and the recast directive on equal treatment and equal opportunities in matters of employment and occupation. The presentation was followed by a lively discussion on the design of the study and its preliminary findings led by three prominent scholars in the field of democracy and gender: Marian Sawer (Australian National University), Linda Trimble

(University of Alberta) and Nicole Doerr (Free University Berlin). After this introductory section, the remainder of the day was devoted to the presentation and discussion of the findings from the national case studies of Austria (Nora Gresch and Birgit Sauer, University of Vienna), Hungary (Roza Vajda, Eötvös Loránd University) Greece (Yota Papageorgiou, University of Crete) and Croatia (Marjeta Sinko, University of Zagreb).

On the second day of the workshop, the presentations of the results of the national case studies continued with the presentation of the findings from the Spain and Poland by Sara Clavero (Queen's University Belfast) and Katarzyna Zielinska (Jagiellonian University) respectively. The presentations of the national case studies revealed some degree of variation with respect to the national strategies adopted to transpose the goods and services directive. Thus for example, while in Spain the requirement to comply with EU norms on gender equality was taken as an opportunity to enact an all-encompassing law, in two other countries under investigation – Austria and Hungary – the opposite strategy was used, in that the obligation to comply with EU norms was seen as an opportunity to water down existing national legislation on gender equality. Despite those differences, however, the majority of the countries examined seemed to have opted for a strategy of minimum transposition, whereby the governments' chief goal were to meet the minimum requirements which were necessary to comply – i.e. by 'literally' incorporating the different articles of the directive into existing national legislation.



Regarding the democratic quality of the transposition processes, three recurrent issues were highlighted by all the country findings. These were:

- A virtual absence of a public debate during the transposition process.
- A low participation of women's civil society groups in the process, due either to lack of access to the agenda setting stage, lack of involvement with the issues at stake, or both.
- A high degree of opaqueness due to lack of governmental information about various aspects of the legislative process in relation to interests, ideas and institutions.

A presentation by Nora Fisher Onar (Bahçeşehir University) on the adultery and headscarf debates in Turkey and cosmopolitanism (discussed by Victoria Montgomery from Queen's University Belfast) served as an introduction to the second part of the workshop, which centered on a discussion about how to operationalise the three RECON models for democracy in Europe from a gender perspective. Early in the debate, workshop participants concurred that the processes of adoption and implementation of EU gender equality norms would display features associated to each of the models, though the overall discussion soon concentrated on model three – post national democracy. The reason for this was the shared

idea that, if there is any policy area in the EU where clear signs of ‘cosmopolitanism’ were to be found, this is bound to be in the area of gender equality. Given this view, it was agreed that the gender democracy assessment being conducted in the context of WP4 provided ideal material for testing the post national democracy model. Drawing on the preliminary findings from the gender democracy assessment study, a number of indicators for this model were proposed, such as the creation of non-hierarchical women advocacy networks operating in different public spheres and at different levels – including the international level also (e.g. UN) and the prominence of a discourse focused of universal human rights.

The workshop ended with a concluding note by Yvonne Galligan, who highlighted the main lessons learnt during the meeting and their contributions to the three RECON models from a gender perspective, as well as setting the milestones for further research.

### **3. Participants**

Birgit Sauer	University of Vienna
Borbola Kriza	Eötvös Loránd University
Katarzyna Zielińska	Jagiellonian University Krakow
Linda Trimble	University of Alberta
Marian Sawyer	Australian National University
Marjeta Šinko	University of Zagreb
Nicole Doerr	Free University of Berlin
Nora Fisher Onar	Bahçeşehir University
Nora Gresch	University of Vienna
Roza Vadja	Eötvös Loránd University
Sara Clavero	Queen’s University Belfast
Victoria Montgomery	Queen’s University Belfast
Yota Papageorgiou	University of Crete
Yvonne Galligan	Queen’s University Belfast

### **4. Programme**

See attachment.

# Assessing Gender Democracy in Europe

Belfast, 12-13 November 2009

## Programme

Thursday, 12 November 2009

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- 09:30 – 09:45    **Introduction**  
Gender justice and democracy in the context of the RECON project  
**Yvonne Galligan**, Queen's University Belfast
- 09:45 – 10:15    **A methodology for assessing gender democracy in the EU**  
Findings from the supranational level  
**Yvonne Galligan and Sara Clavero**, Queen's University Belfast
- 10:15 – 11:00    **Discussion**  
**Nicole Doerr**, Free University of Berlin  
**Marian Sawer**, Australian National University  
**Linda Trimble**, University of Alberta
- 11:00 – 11:30    *Coffee*
- 11:30 – 13:00    **Findings from the national studies**  
Austria and Hungary  
**Nora Gresch**, University of Vienna  
**Roza Vadja**, Eötvös Loránd University  
Discussant: **Marian Sawer**, Australian National University
- 13:00 – 14:30    *Lunch*
- 14:30 – 16:00    **Findings from the national studies**  
Greece and Croatia  
**Yota Papageorgiou**, University of Crete  
**Marjeta Šinko**, University of Zagreb  
Discussant: **Linda Trimble**, University of Alberta
- 19:30              *Dinner*

**Friday, 13 November 2009**

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- 09:00 – 10:30 Findings from the national studies  
Spain and Portugal  
**Sara Clavero**, Queen's University Belfast  
**Katarzyna Zielińska**, Jagiellonian University of Krakow  
Discussant: **Nicole Doerr**, Free University of Berlin
- 10:30 – 11:15 Women's rights in Turkey as a gauge of its European vocation  
The adultery and the headscarf debates  
**Nora Fisher Onar**, Bahçeşehir University  
Discussant: **Victoria Montgomery**, Queen's University Belfast
- 11:15 – 11:45 *Coffee*
- 11:45 – 13:15 Three models for reconstituting democracy in Europe  
From a gender perspective  
*Operationalising the models: An introduction*  
**Yvonne Galligan and Sara Clavero**, Queen's University Belfast  
*Open discussion*
- 13:15 – 13:30 *Closing remarks*