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Establishing a women's and gender studies program at AUK

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Establishing a Women's and Gender Studies Program at AUK

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Contents

Abbreviations

AUK-American University in Kosovo

GDI-Gender Development Index

GDP-Gross Domestic Product

KCGS-Kosovo Center for Gender Studies

KHDR-Kosovo Human Development Report

KWN-Kosovo Women's Network

MDG-Millennium Development Goals

MPA-Ministry of Public Administration

NGO-Non-government Organization

RIT-Rochester Institute of Technology

UNIFEM- United Nations Development Fund for Women

UNSC WPS-United Nations Security Council Women Peace and Security

UN-United Nations

WB-World Bank

WDR-World Development Report

WGS- Women's and Gender Studies

Abstract

The aim of this research project is to serve as a guiding document towards the establishment of a taught Women's and Gender Studies minor program at AUK which would offer students the opportunity to critically expand their views in the field of gender and actively promote the political, social and economic empowerment of women in Kosovo and the wider region through proactive gender equality initiatives and projects. The Gender Studies program will tackle the main theories that revolve around issues of gender, status of men and women in several spheres, analyze the discrepancies that can be found based on gender, with the purpose of applying those theories in the context of Kosovo. As a result, students would be able to identify the most vulnerable groups of women and focus on issues that women face by producing knowledge and research that can be used as a reference point by policymakers to create programs/projects that are carefully tailored to help women attain education, which is arguably the best tool to enhance women empowerment and a program in women's studies at AUK aid in the betterment of position in Kosovar Society.

The establishment of a WGS program at AUK would provide an academic framework and a firm theoretical grounding of how social variables such as gender can shape the economic, social and political state of a country, with Kosovar women being at the central focus. Thus, the WGS program would treat problems such as the inability of women to access education (particularly in rural areas), lower employment possibilities for women seeking jobs, or the issue of the disregard of rights when it comes to inheritance and women property ownership through research projects and advocacy initiatives. Further, the academic capacity at AUK and its position as one of the leading academic institutions in Kosovo makes this project a valuable undertaking for the impact on policy making centered on quality analysis through gender-balanced approaches.

Additionally, in order to evaluate whether there is student interest to attend the WGS and the reasons that determine their demand, data were gathered through a stratified random sampling method. After identifying the answers to these questions, a probit regression was run to estimate what the probability of each student is to attend the program as based on the identified variables. Thus, based on the theoretical research and also through own finding the project offers some of the main recommendations and limitations that result from the study.

Problem Statement and Background

The underrepresentation of women in state institutions, the conviction that women need to fulfill their family roles as determined by tradition, and the stereotyping of women as weak and unable to serve in leading job positions are features that characterize the wide-spread mindset in regards to gender in Kosovo. But, why does belonging to the female gender position an individual automatically a rank lower? Why are women and girls deprived of various life opportunities? And, how can change towards gender equality be furthered? In order for these questions to get answered and improvement to start in terms of public policy especially through informing policy-makers, there is a great need for a study program to be established that would allow students to study gender as an integral category of understanding of life dynamics and policy creation while serving as a as foundation to the comprehensive understanding of the linkages between gender and various functions of life.

The notion of gender throughout the document will refer to the "socially and culturally produced ideas about male-female difference, power, and inequality that structure the reproduction of these differences in the institutionalized practices of society" (Gal & Kligman, 2000, p.5). In addition, the inability to exercise the rights for which women are entitled by law are not manifested only in state institution, rather they are deeply rooted in the family as an institutionalized practice that historically has served to promote women's submission to the collective cultural expectations. These seemingly separate spheres of public and private, of state and family, of culture and political-economy, are considered here holistically for the potential in transforming institutions, a view that was analyzed more on Nancy Frasers's "Feminism, capitalism, and the cunning of history" (Fraser,2009, p.97). Therefore, the aim of this project is to serve as a guiding document towards the establishment of a minor program at AUK, which in addition to identifying the at-risk target groups would serve as a framework through which to answer the questions stated above.

The purpose of the WGS is to provide qualitative and quantitative research knowledge in the field gender as it interrelates areas of life such as economic, political, or social aspects that is partially treated in the current scholarly works produced in Kosovo. The Women's and Gender Studies (WGS) program will focus on developing knowledge on data collection and establishing projects for data collection and analysis. In turn, the gathered data and finding can be used to

inform policy formation and project development as once you have good data you know what students need to learn, what kind of policies you need to develop and propose, and how to design projects that target the needs identified through data collection.

Methodology

The aim of this research project is to identify the need for the establishment of a WGS program at AUK, to evaluate whether AUK has the capacity to implement such a program, and most importantly to assess whether there is interest by students to attend the WGS program. In the identification process of these issues, second-hand data were consulted, and first-hand research was conducted. The research process of my project involves the gathering of relevant second-hand data from established scholars and research in the field of women and gender studies such as Bell Hooks "Teaching to Transgress", or Wendy Brown's Women & Politics, articles from various newspapers such as the "Time for Women", reports such as the World Development Report, Kosovo Human Development Report, and databases and websites that contained information crucial towards answering my research inquiries

In order to identify the need for the establishment of a WGS program I primarily referred to a concept-note that was prepared by Prof. Nita Luci and Abby Ingraham as a joint effort of AUK and Dartmouth College to investigate the possibility of starting such a program at AUK. The concept note included a series of interviews that were conducted with women in government, civil society, academia, and other stakeholders that were considered key players in identifying the need for political, economic, legal and social empowerment for women, and the ways in which through a study program that takes a gender perspective in the collection of knowledge and research development they can affect policymaking. Among the interviewees who were part of the study done by Luci and Ingraham were Lujeta Vuniqi, Direcor of KCGS, Igo Rogova, Director of KWN, Ariana Qosaj Mustafa as a representative of the President's Cabinet, the representatives of the Coalition of Shelters, and Edona Hajrullahu the director of the governmental Agency for Gender Equality. Further, their study showed that there is an interest and need to advance the education of students in the field of gender studies, particularly as there is a great need for quality research that would have a better gender-focused approach which is

crucial for balanced policy making in Kosovo, and which currently is inexistent at the academic level.

Furthermore, their research concluded that there is a significant absence in the abilities of students, including those of AUK, to read data, and based on those data to formulate policies, projects and recommendations that will be unbiased in regards to gender. Simply, in Kosovo, people at large and specifically students who are involved in scholarly work, are not aware of the actual lives that women in Kosovo lead, how their resources and contributions can be used, how they can be educated and trained, and in one way or another increase their chances to become integrated in the several aspects of society. Apart from this research study, in identifying the need for greater attention and study to be focused on gender, I looked at several trends that shape gender inequalities in the field of education, labor force, and property rights as they relate to economic development, political representation, and to the ways in which women and men are represented.

The main theories, studies, and analyses regarding gender and its intersection with economics, politics, or media were subtracted from credible sources that deal with such issues and that produce relevant reports on the discrepancies between men and women in terms of life opportunities. Then, there was an attempt to link those theories and studies to the context of Kosovo by similarly looking at the education levels of men and women, employment levels, property ownership, political representation, and the ways in which Kosovar media create or maintain gender stereotypes/representations. These parts of the research can be seen under the subtopics of *Gender and Economic, Politics of Gender,* and *Women, Men, and Visuals*.

Firstly, in order to evaluate whether AUK has the institutional/human capacities to run such a program, special attention was paid to the relationship that it has with other academic institutions especially with RIT from where the taught program would be drawn. Therefore, the potential courses that AUK would choose to offer in its WGS program would have to be in full compliance with those that are currently being offered at WGS program at RIT. In this regard, the courses that have been identified as being more relevant to the current needs in Kosovo and interest of AUK students can be grouped in major categories such as economics, politics, media, and technology, were elaborated more throughout the paper.

Thirdly, a very important part of the study was to determine whether there is an actual interest of AUK students to attend the WGS program. In order to assess their interest, I prepared a questionnaire that in part consisted of open-ended questions which were used inter alia to see how familiar AUK students are with the scope of a WGS program and what they would expect from such a program, while the other part of the questionnaire consisted of close-ended (quantitative) questions that were used to form a Probit regression model in order to evaluate the expected probability of students to attend a WGS as determined by the main variables that were identified to have a significant impact on the model.

The data used for the questionnaire were gathered through a Stratified Random Sampling[1] research method by convenience, meaning that the respondents were randomly selected within the AUK campus. Then, the respondents were stratified though their academic levels (Freshman, Sophomore, Junior, and Senior) and then 15% of females in each academic year and 15% of males in each academic year were been selected in order to comprise 15% of the total number of students at AUK that were needed to create the random sample that would be appropriate for the Probit regression method.

Literature Review

A growing body of theory and research is emerging with the aim to explore women's issues related to their gender, and as such the aim of this study remains to explore how gender is having an impact in the position of women in society, the means by which that position is used to produce the dominant societal culture, and the role that changing trends throughout the years have had in the status of women, whether it improved, or just got adopted to the new dominant social "requirements" (Gentry et. al, 2003, p.1). In this study, I will focus on the various books, articles, journals, and websites that have proven to be relevant in the area of women studies, by influencing trends of thought and ways in which people approach women issues based on their gender. Specifically, my research will be centered on some of the courses that are available in the

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[1] The division of a population into smaller groups known as strata, which are formed based on members' shared attributes or characteristics. A random sample from each stratum is taken in a number proportional to the stratum's size when compared to the population. These subsets of the strata are then pooled to form a random sample (Investopedia, n.d).

women studies program at RIT which are considered to be applicable to the women studies minor program at AUK.

Courses such as *Foundations of Women and Gender Studies* covering the rise of feminist consciousness in the western world, the dominance of patriarchy, and efforts of women to conceptualize an alternative world view, *Women in Politics* explaining the ways in which public policies affect women and determine their participation in the political world, *Women, Work, and Culture* dealing with issues that have shaped the status of women as a result of the emerging global economy and *a Special Topics Course* which would allow different visiting scholars to lecture on several topics that may be selected out of the choice of the students (RIT, 2013, par.1, 13, 14). In the following paragraphs I will point out some of the reasons why these courses are essential for the minor program of women and gender studies at AUK as well as for students who are primarily Kosovars and in such an environment these courses will serve as enriching sources to the understanding of gender from a social and cultural view as well as related to the fields of politics and economics.

To begin with, the course of *Foundations of Women and Gender Studies* is crucial in that it will cover the theoretical part which will serve as a basis for the practical component. According to Joan W. Scott the term "gender" has primarily appeared among American feminists who persisted on the "fundamentally social quality of distinctions based on sex" (Scott, 1054). Therefore, the taught program should not be a women's studies program solely, rather a Women and Gender Studies program as the study of only women would be too narrow considering the fact that women and men are defined "in terms of one another, and no understanding of either could be achieved by entirely separate study" (Scott, p.1054). In the year of 1975, Natalie Davis stated:

> "It seems to me that we should be interested in the history of both women and men, that we should not be working only on the subjected sex any more than an historian of class can focus entirely on peasants….Our goal is to understand the significance of the sexes, of gender groups in the historical past. Our goal is to discover the range in sex roles and in sexual symbolism in different societies and periods, to find out what meaning they had and how they functioned to maintain the social order or to promote its change" (qtd in Scott, p.1054).

Through the study of women and gender, scholars would not only add "a new subject matter but would also force a critical reexamination of the premises and standards of existing scholarly work" (Scott, p.1054). In this manner a "new history", that would include and account for the experience of women, would be based on a large part on gender as an established category for analysis (Scott, p. 1054). Further, Scott argues that three categories are needed to develop such a history, namely class, race, and gender as "an interest in class, race, and gender signaled first, a scholar's commitment to a history that included stories of the oppressed and an analysis of the meaning and nature of their oppression and, second, scholarly understanding that inequalities of power are organized along at least three axes" (Scott, p.1054). Scott continues to argue that theories about gender "have remained within traditional social scientific frameworks, using longstanding formulations that provide universal causal explanations" but which also remain limited due to the reductive and simplified generalizations that "undercut not only history's disciplinary sense of the complexity of social causation but also feminist commitments to analysis that will lead to change" (Scott, 1986, p.1055).

Furthermore, there have been descriptive and causal approaches with the attempt to understand gender, which in a way begin to denote "cultural constructions"- "the entire social creation of ideas about appropriate roles for women and men" (Scott, 1986, p.1056). Thus, through this social aspect of sexual difference gender implies the "exclusively social origins of the subjective identities of' men and women" and by definition becoming a "social category imposed on a sexed body" (Scott, 1986, p.1056). It is important to understand that women and gender studies implied that they should be linked only to the relationships of sexes and as a result the writing of history would not include the study of women as related to spheres such as politics or power. In this regard, feminist historians have been confronted to choose between three theoretical positions that attempt to analyze gender, namely, the origins of patriarchy, a Marxism tradition with feminist critiques, and French post-structuralist and Anglo-American object-relations theorists (Scott, 1986, p.1057).

The theory on patriarchy is faced with criticism as it does not present the way in which gender inequality structures all other inequalities and in effect the influences on those spheres (Scott, 1986, p. 1058). In regards to the Marxist view the economist Hedi Hartmann says that "it is

necessary to eradicate the sexual division of' labor itself to end male domination" as "economic casualty takes precedence, and patriarchy always develops and changes as a relation of production" (Scott, 1986, p.1059). Whereas, Joan Kelly suggested that "economic and gender systems interacted to produce social and historical experiences: that neither system was causal, but both "operate simultaneously to reproduce the socioeconomic and male-dominant structures of [a] particular social order" (Scott, 1986, p.1060). Such important issues such as the interaction between gender and labor would become a concept on the *Women, Work, and Culture* class. There is a dense body of theory pertaining to the study of gender and its interconnectedness to several aspects of life, but which has to be analyzed and understood by the students who might potentially choose the minor program, and in effect act as agents of change in future policy-making. According to Joan W. Scott "changes in the organization of social relationships always correspond to changes in representations of power, but the direction of change is not necessarily one way" (Scott, 1986, p.1967). As such, the first proposed course will be mostly theoretical in structure as like Bell Hooks also points out through theory we can make sense of past events, envision potential futures and better comprehend what is happening now(Hooks, 2006, p.61).

The third course, which is on *Women in Politics*, presents a crucial part of study which needs to be considered in the further understanding of gender differences and implications in the representation of power, as it pertains to politics. According to Wendy Brown for the most history of Western political history "women have been shadowy, mute characters" who have been "mentioned occasionally buy rarely through their own voices" (Brown, 1987, p.3). The important thing here is the manner of their depiction as "only in terms of their relation to or effect upon the central players" (Brown, 1987, p. 3). The French philosopher Michel Foucalt points out that the way in which political power has been consolidated to women at a large part has to do with the fact of women being defined in "sexual terms" (Brown, 1987, p.10). Consequently, since "women are body and sex, men are mind and spirit", and it is from this distinction that the other activities of life originate while "women makes man" but "man makes the world" (Brown, 1987, p.10).

Audre Lorde in the New York University Institute for the Humanities conference presented her paper entitled " The Master's Tools Will Never Dismantle the Master's House" in which she talks

about the role of differences in the lives of women, in her case the American Women. Lorde believed that difference "must be not merely tolerated, but seen as a fund of necessary polarities between which our creativity can spark like dialectic" (Lorde, 1984, p.1). Then, it is possible that these differing elements that coexist in women start to be seen as unthreatening (Lorde, 1984, p.1). She continues that only within that "interdependency of different strengths, acknowledged and equal, can the power to seek new ways of being in the world generate, as well as the courage and sustenance to act where there are no charters" (Lorde, 1984, p.1).Further on the concept of interdependence between women she purports that "within the interdependence of mutual (nondominant) differences lies that security which enables us to descend into the chaos of knowledge and return with true visions of our future, along with the concomitant power to effect those changes which can bring that future into being", and difference is that "raw and powerful connection from which our personal power is forged" (Lorde, 1984, p.2). Difference seems to be a recurring issue on her writings because Lorde is troubled by the fact that women have had two possibilities, namely, either to ignore the differences or to refer to them as "causes for separation and suspicion rather than as forces for change" (Lorde, 1984, p.1).

Being identified with the community is considered to imply the oppression of individual differences, and the inability to find liberation. Throughout her work, Lorde was preoccupied especially with differences of age, sex, race, and class as they determined the course of the lives of the American women, and she thought that their personal visions have the potential to form a groundwork that can lead to political action. And as a critique to the second wave feminists, the only white-middle-class women she argues that "the failure of academic feminists to recognize difference as a crucial strength is a failure to reach beyond the first patriarchal lesson. In our world, divide and conquer must become define and empower" (Lorde, 1984, p.3). As Simone de Beauvoir said "It is in the knowledge of the genuine conditions of our lives that we must draw our strength to live and our reasons for acting" (qtd.in Lorde, 1984, p.4). "Women of today are still being called upon to stretch across the gap of male ignorance and to educate men as to our existence and our needs. This is an old and primary tool of all oppressors to keep the oppressed occupied with the master's concerns "(Lorde, 1984, p.4).

In her book "The Disorder of Women: Democracy, Feminism, and Political Theory", Carole Pateman, a well-known political theorist, talks about the manners in which liberal democratic systems of states are not being able to foster equal rights for men and women to prosper at equal levels. Central to her work are concepts of democratic theory, and critiques to the mainstream political theory from a feminist perspective, particularly as they relate to the social-contract theory, a concept known as a "voluntary agreement among individuals by which, according to any of various theories, as of Hobbes, Locke, or Rousseau, organized society is brought into being and invested with the right to secure mutual protection and welfare or to regulate the relations among its members" ("Social Contract", 2013, p.1).

Considering that the dichotomy between the public and the private has been seen as the focal point of political struggles, Pateman attempts to explain how feminist criticism is mainly focused in the opposition between the private and the public, particularly in practice and liberal theory (Pateman, 1989, p.118). According to feminist critics "liberalism is structured by patriarchal as well as class relations and that the dichotomy between the private and the public obscures the subjection of women to men within an apparently universal egalitarian and individualist order" (Pateman, 1989, p.120). Not approving that liberalism is related to patriarchy, Benn and Gaus neither approve that the "separation and opposition of the public and private spheres is an unequal opposition between women and men" (Pateman, 1989, p.120). The reasons why women and men are positioned differently are rooted in the differing natures of women and men, specifically, the nature of women is subject to men and "their proper place is in the private, domestic sphere", while quite conveniently, men "inhabit and rule within both spheres"(Pateman,1989, p.120). Further, Pateman takes into regard Locke's notion on the separation of the public and private, but emphasizing his sexual division. Since according to Locke "natural differences that exist between men such as age or talents, are irrelevant to the political equality", on the other hand, for women it is a different scenario (Pateman, 1989, 121). In his *Second Treatise*, Locke purports that these natural differences that lead women's status to be more subordinate to men, than men to men, then they cannot be at the same time free individuals and equal (Pateman, 1989, 121). Since he distinguishes the paternal from political power, he inadvertently distinguishes the private from the public where the natural subordination is contrasted by free individualism (Pateman, 1989, 121).

"What is the gender case a case of?" is an important question to answer in applying the equality principle to gender-related issues. In this regard, the American feminist Catherine Mackinnon has done quite an amount of work in explaining the ways in which gender has constructed popular thought by approaching it though a sameness/difference principle. Mackinnon talks about the sameness/difference theory of sex equality by counting it as a prevalent factor in sex discrimination law and policy (Mackinnon, 2006, p.244). Since the political, legal, and social world has been exposed to the notion of sex equality as an "equivalence" rather than a distinction, then, as a result, "the legal mandate of equal treatment-which is both a systematic norm and a specific legal doctrine-becomes a matter of treating likes alike and unlikes unlike; and the sexes are defined as such by their mutual unlikeness" (Mackinnon, 2006, p.244).

Mackinnon continues that "gender is socially constructed as difference epistemologically; sex discrimination law bounds gender equality by difference doctrinally" (Mackinnon, 2006, p.244). Since we look at equality as something that presupposes sameness, we look at sex as something that presupposes difference, then sex equality becomes "a contradiction in terms, something of an oxymoron, which may suggest why we are having such difficult time getting it" (Mackinnon, 2006, p.244). As a result, women are left with two alternate paths to follow, with the purpose of achieving equality, namely, be the same as men, or be different from men, with each of these paths having its own implications (Mackinnon, 2006, p.244). If women choose to follow the first path, that is, to be the same as men, this path is known as "gender neutrality doctrinally and the single standard philosophically. It is testimony to how substance gets itself up as form in law that this rule is considered formal equality. Because this approach mirrors the ideology of the social world, it is considered abstract, meaning transparent of substance; also for this reason it is considered not only to be the standard, but a standard at all. It is so far the leading rule that the words "equal to" are code for, equivalent to, the words "the same as"-referent for both unspecified" (Mackinnon, 2006, p.244).

On the other hand, the alternate women who want to pursue the equality route but do not think of themselves as "the same as men" they are entitled to follow the second path i.e. be different from men (Mackinnon, 2006, p.244). According to Mackinnon, this equal recognition is "termed the special benefit rule or special protection rule legally, the double standard philosophically (2006, p.244). Considered an exception to true equality and not really a rule of law at all, this is the one

place where the law of sex discrimination admits it is recognizing something substantive (Mackinnon, 2006, p.244). The philosophy underlying the difference approach is that sex is a difference, a division, a distinction, beneath which lies a stratum of human commonality, sameness. Further Machkinnon purports that the moral thrust of such a doctrine is to make normative rules to conform to the empirical reality through giving women access to what men already are able to access (2006, p.244). Although the branch that deals with differences is seen somewhat patronizing, it still is necessary to be acknowledged as is "exists to value of compensate women for what we are or have become distinctively as women (by which is meant, unlike men) under existing conditions" (Mackinnon, 2006, p.244).

On this sameness/difference approach she says that "on the first day, difference was, on the second day, a division was created upon it' on the third day, irrational instances of dominance arouse" (Mackinnon, 2006, p.244).In this regard "Division may be rational or irrational. Dominance either seems or is justified. Difference is" (Mackinnon, 2006, p.244). The political factor underlying this story is centered on the fact that man has become the "measure" of all things (Mackinnon, 2006, p.245). Considering this "sameness" standard women in evaluated as they corresponded, and through this approach equality is judged by looking at how close to men they are(Mackinnon, 2006, p.245). Whereas, from the difference standard, women are measured by looking at how different they are from men, meaning that womanhood is judged by the distance from men's measure (Mackinnon, 2006, p.245). In this regard, gender neutrality is merely the standard of men, while the special protection rule is merely the female standard, but "do not be deceived: masculinity, or maleness, is the referent for both" (Mackinnon, 2006, p.245). Mackinnon continues that "is truly a situation which is more or less" because "approaching sex discrimination in this way-as if sex questions are difference questions and equality questions are sameness questions-provides two ways for the low to hold women to a male standard and call that sex equality" (Mackinnon, 2006, p.245).

MacKinnon in the "Feminist Standpoint Theory Reader: Intellectual and Political Controversies" proposes that the state is male, and in turn the legislature acts upon women the way men see and treat women (Harding, 2004, p.169). Further, "the liberal state coercively and authoritatively constitutes the social order in the interest of men as a gender, through its legitimizing norms, relation to society, and substantive policies. It achieves this through embodying and ensuring

male control over women's sexuality at every level, occasionally cushioning, qualifying, or de jure prohibiting its excesses when necessary to its normalization. Substantively, the way the male point of view frames an experience is the way it is framed by state policy (Harding, 2004, p.169).

In courses such as *Women, Work, and Culture* the intersection between gender, and work and culture can be evaluated by looking at employment trends, feminist approaches to work and the position of women in the workplace, sexual division of labor and the theories that are used to understand these changing/recurring trends in the formation of women's position in the workplace Further the course would focus on structures of power – political and economic – and particularly look at class and ethnicity/class, with focus on nationalism as a structure that reproduces patriarchy and inequality.

 Peterson argues that:

 "Gender is conventionally invisible because the longue duree of masculinism obscures the power required to institutionalize, internalize, and reproduce gender hierarchy and its associated oppressions. In this sense, gender is hard to see because it is so taken for granted. But gender also resists visibility and critique due to its pervasiveness and our personal investments: it is not only 'out there' structuring activities and institutions and 'in our heads/ structuring discourse and ideologies; it is also 'in here'-in our hearts and bodies-structuring our intimate desires, our sexuality, our self-esteem and our dreams. As a consequence, our investments in gendered selves fuel heroic and self-sacrificing as well as despotic and self-serving actions"(qtd. in Whitworth, 2006, p.2).

Gender and Economic Development

Amartya Sen, the winner of the Nobel Prize for economics coined the term of "missing women" to account for the fact that "the proportion of women is lower than what would be expected if girls and women throughout the developing world were born and died at the same rate, relative to boys and men" with an estimation of 6 million women missing per year (Duflo, 2012, p.1). However, as astounding a number as this may seem, it still does not capture the differences in the treatments of boys and girls as for "each missing woman, there are many more women who fail to get an education, a job, or a political responsibility that they would have obtained if they had been men" (Duflo, 2012, p.1). Although data obtained in the recent years show improvement in areas such as access to education, still for instance in low and middle income countries the enrollment rate of girls in secondary school has been 34 percent in the year 2010, while for boys

it was 41 percent even two decades ago (Duflo, 2012, p.1). A contributing factor to the enrollment of females in education seems to be the rates of return that they get after graduation, especially in terms of labor market opportunities. It is acknowledged that women are less likely to work, less likely to be paid equally as their male counterparts for the same job, and even if they work they are more likely to be in poverty (Beniell and Sanchez, 2011, n.p.).

Therefore, acknowledging that gender indeed can be regarded as an important factor in determining opportunities and (in)equalities of men and women in several spheres, the need emerges for a study of such differences to be done, particularly at the academic institutional level. The main purpose of having a WGS program at AUK would be to provide students the opportunity to learn about the dynamics of gender differences, and to have a chance to explore and research on gender related issues as they apply to Kosovo. Then, through a collection of data that would take place at AUK on issues relevant to women's and men's economic status, employment opportunities, or property rights, policy makers would be able to use such data and take informed decisions regarding the main issues that the society of Kosovo faces-without being gender biased. Courses such as *Economic Role of Women* would apply economic theory to explain choices faced and selected by women concerning marriage, fertility and labor market participation, alongside government policies that have targeted those decisions, which would enable students to conduct studies that could be used to understand the changing demographic profile of families, poverty and the labor force (RIT, 2013, par.17). While courses such as *Women, Work, and Culture* would offer students the opportunity to understand sociological issues that affect women, work and culture as a result of the emerging global economy and technological revolution which also at great length can have various effects in Kosovo (RIT, 2013, par.12). But, most importantly students would become competent in conducting research that regards gender as a category of analysis and as it affects education opportunities, labor force participation and property ownership and how they interrelate to economic development. Since it is crucial to understand how gender inequalities are measured in the aforementioned spheres, how they are impacting economic policies within a country, and the ways in which policies that are gender-conscious increase efficiency, the following paragraphs under this topic deal with these issues in more detail.

Since gender refers to "the social, behavioral, and cultural attributes, expectations, and norms associated with being a woman or a man" gender equality refers to "how these aspects determine how women and men relate to each other and to the resulting differences in power between them", it crucial to understand how these patterns of (in)equality unfold within a country and how they relate to economic development (Gender Equality and Development, 2011, p.3). According to the World Development Report (WDR) gender equality matters intrinsically because "the ability to live the life of one's own choosing and be spared from absolute deprivation is a basic human right and should be equal for everyone, independent of whether one is male or female" and instrumentally because "greater gender equality contributes to economic efficiency and the achievement of other key development outcomes" (Gender Equality and Development, 2011, p.3). Stretching on to Sen's view of development as "a process of expanding freedoms equally for all people" gender equality becomes a fundamental objective within itself as smaller gaps in the opportunities for men and women are of equal importance to the economic development as are less poverty, or more access to justice (Gender Equality and Development, 2011, p.3).

Scholars who have been involved in studying the gender-related disadvantages in society have focused in three core dimensions: "the accumulation of *endowments* (education, health, and physical assets); the use of those endowments to take up *economic opportunities* and generate incomes; and the application of those endowments to take actions, or *agency* [2], affecting individual and household well-being where the gap in equal opportunities leads to a gap in income (Gender Equality and Development, 2011, p.4). But, measuring inequalities as they derive from differences in gender is quite different from inequalities that are based on other attributes such as race, because the wellbeing of males and females that inhabit the same household is problematic to be assessed disjointedly , the needs and preferences of females and males can change systematically "reflecting both biological factors and "learned" social behaviors" and because gender cuts across differences of pay and class (Gender Equality and Development, 2011, p.4). Thus, there is a widespread concern whether gender equality should be analyzed as a function of equal pay, or whether it should be analyzed as a function of equal opportunities. Scholars who claim that gender equality should be assessed by looking at the level

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[2] The ability of a person to make choices and one's ability to make choices and convert them into wanted results

of equal opportunities believe that such a method enables them to "distinguish between inequalities that arise from circumstances beyond the control of individuals and those that stem from differences in preferences and choices" and "if men and women differ, on average, in attitudes, preferences, and choices, then not all observed differences in outcomes can be attributed to differences in opportunities" (Gender Equality and Development, 2011, p.4).

On the other hand, there are scholars who argue that "differences in preferences and attitudes are largely "learned" and not inherent—that is, they are the result of culture and environment that lead men and women to internalize social norms and expectations" and continuous differences in status and power among men and women start to become internalized in goals, attitudes, and preferences that extend the inequalities (Gender Equality and Development, 2011, p.4). Therefore, they claim that it is hard to define equality of opportunity while not regarding the way in which actual outcomes are distributed, and only if there is an attempt to equalize such outcomes one is able to "break the vicious circle of low aspirations and low opportunity"(Gender Equality and Development, 2011, p.4). Although not all scholars agree on what is the best way to measure gender equality, they nevertheless share the common belief that "gross manifestations of gender inequality should be eliminated" (Gender Equality and Development, 2011, p.5). According to the World Development Report, gender equality is considered as "smart economics" because it has the ability to improve economic efficiency and other development outcomes in three ways (2012, p.6).

First of all, removing barriers that prevent women from "having the same access as men to education, economic opportunities, and productive inputs" can generate broad productivity gains that are highly evaluated especially in today's world that is driven by competition and the trend of globalization. Secondly, improving the women's absolute and relative status "feeds many other development outcomes, including those for their children" and thirdly "leveling the playing field—where women and men have equal chances to become socially and politically active, make decisions, and shape policies—is likely to lead over time to more representative, and more inclusive, institutions and policy choices and thus to a better development path" (World Development Report, 2012, p.6). An important determinant of economic development can be considered the productivity factor, and in a global workforce that is comprised 40 percent by

women, in order for the economy to reach its full potential "women's skills and talents should be engaged in activities that make the best use of those abilities" because when the labor of women is underused as a result of market or institutional discrimination that prevents them to finish their education, join specific occupations or earn equally as men, then it can lead to economic losses (World Development Report, 2012, p.6). In order to prevent such economic losses, there is an increased need to create policies that target the increase of the gender equality by increasing opportunities in education, or in labor force. For instance, the Figure 1 below shows how supportive policies enable markets, informal institutions, households, and formal institutions to function towards the achievement of the goal of gender equality, while serving as an facilitator of the process even when there are bottlenecks[3] .

Figure1. Framework that explains how education progresses through targeted policies
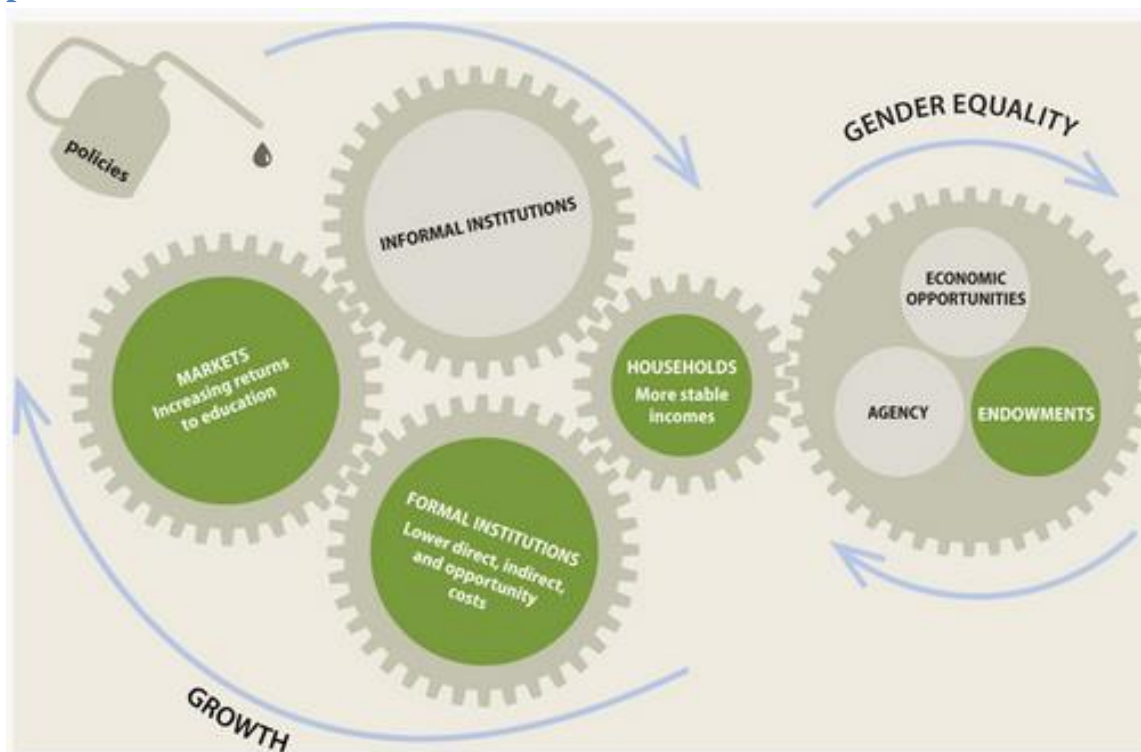

Source: World Development Report, 2012

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[3] A place or stage in a process at **which** progress is impeded

Wolfensohn points out that education for girls has a "catalytic effect on every dimension of development" and will also "enable more and more women to attain leadership positions at all levels of society: from health clinics in the villages to parliaments in the capitals" (qtd. in Duflo, 2011, 19). Further, a study done by Derek Chen shows that there is a statistically significant positive relationship between gender equality in education and economic development (2004, p.3). Related to this, the scatter plot below in Figure 2 and the linear regression line show the ratio of female to male literacy rates in year 2000 against the level of per capita GDP (PPP adjusted) in 2000 which tends to be positively associated with levels of GDP per capita, which proves that the more educated/literate the females are, and the smaller the ratio between males and females is, the gross domestic product of a country will be increased, and in effect higher economic efficiency can be achieved.

Figure 2. Positive Correlation between Literacy Ratio and GDP per capita
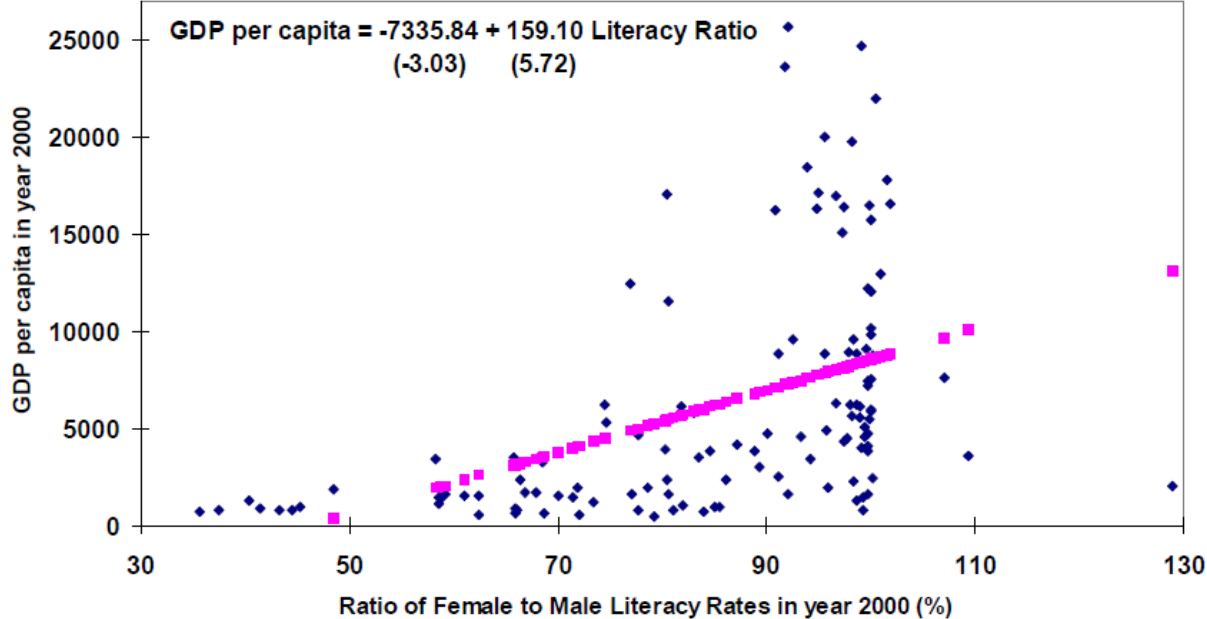

Source: *Gender Equality and Economic Development: The Role for ICTs,*

Since education has been identified as a major indicator of gender equality and a dimension of economic development, it is important to look at the education trends between females and males in Kosovo, not just recent data but also earlier data with the purpose of identifying what reasons

are lead women to drop out from school, give up on their rights to own property, and to not pursue their own goals/calling in life, rather keep being subordinate and dependent on other members of their families. Although in the area of equal opportunities to education among men and women have witnessed improvement, when looking at the status of women who live in urban areas versus the women who live in rural areas we can observe considerable discrepancies. Only 27.3 percent of women in Kosovo have finished upper-secondary degree, while 60.65 of men have, implying that when it comes to access to education men is more advantaged ("Living Conditions and Arrangements", 2011, p.18). The Graph 1 below illustrated the differences in education levels based on gender and location of persons up to the age of 27 years, and it showed that education is more accessible to the persons that live in urban areas, as compared to those who reside in rural ones, as well as it is more accessible for men than women.

Graph1. Distribution of the population by level of highest educational attainment, gender, and location

(only people aged 27years or more are considered)
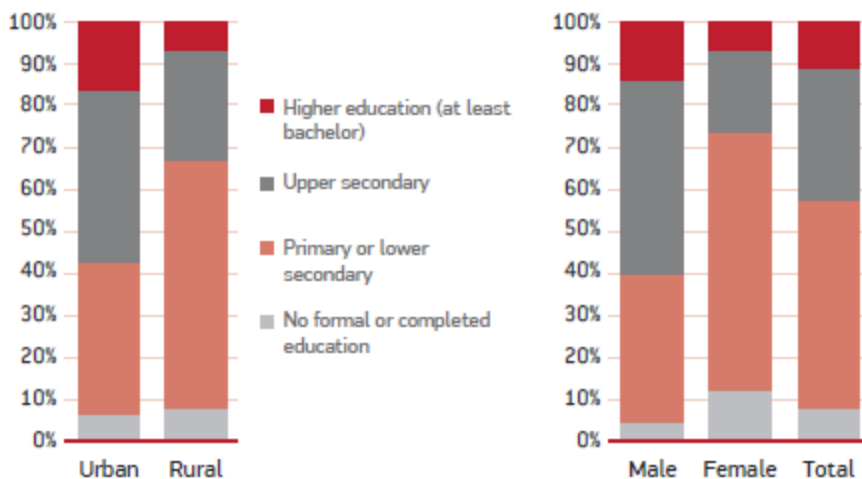
Source: SOK, Living Conditions and Arrangements, 2011

Such similar discrepancies among men and women as a result of their differing levels on the attainment of education continue to be present even when we look at the other age groups, namely, from the age of 21, until the age of 40+. As the Table 1 below shows, the discrepancies

between men and women have started to decrease, still women are lacking opportunities to get a higher education, particularly those who live in rural places as they remain seriously disadvantaged regarding personal capacity of socio-economic insertion ("Living Conditions and Arrangements", 2011, p.21). Some of the reasons why women in such areas are lagging behind as compared to their male counterparts have to deal with them being less educated, less knowledge of foreign languages and much reduced access to modern technology which in a direct manner keeps women more isolated from access to information, knowledge, or social networks ("Living Conditions and Arrangements", 2011, p.21).

Table1. A comparison of highest educational attainment levels among generations

A comparison of highest educational attainment levels among generations

	People aged 21-29				People aged 30-39				People aged 40+			
	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Urban	Rural	Male	Female
No formal or completed education	1.93	1.97	1.48	2.47	2.17	2.58	1.44	3.37	9.74	13.95	5.38	18.73
Primary or lower secondary	20.74	38.10	24.70	38.82	34.44	58.03	35.02	62.10	38.13	56.71	36.78	60.70
Upper secondary	59.36	50.95	61.96	45.74	48.27	33.54	52.80	26.34	34.25	22.27	40.36	14.74
Higher education (at least bachelor)	-	-	-	-	15.12	5.86	10.74	8.20	17.88	7.07	17.48	5.83
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Source: SOK, Living Conditions and Arrangements, 2011

As a consequence of the different opportunities in education, and in the advancement of their personal skills, women are constrained to obtaining job positions and securing their own source of income as women with a lower level of education women are prone to receiving lower wages, or do not fit for employment since the unemployment ratio marks 62.8 percent for women, while 35 percent for men ("Woman and Man in Kosovo", 2009, p3). Thus, being that women are less

like to get a job, they become discouraged and just add up to the economically non-active ratio[4] of the population, as the Table2 below shows.

Table 2: Distribution of the population aged 15-64 according to the activity status

Distribution of the population aged 15-64 according to the activity status

	Urban			Rural			Total		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Economically active	80.8%	56.8%	68.7%	79.6%	44.4%	62.2%	80.1%	49.3%	64.7%
Not economically active	19.2%	43.2%	31.3%	20.4%	55.6%	37.8%	19.9%	50.7%	35.3%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: SOK, Living Conditions and Arrangements, 2011

Based on the attainment of education, and the possibilities to be actively part of the labor force it follws that in the labor market the main effects are going to be felt. For instance, the Graph 2 below shows that once again when looking at disparitites between males and females in the distribution of opportunities, we are able to see how women remain behind and "lead" in a unfavorable manner the unempployment rate while negatively affecting their possibilities of generating income.

Graph 2: Emplyment/Unemplyment rates, by gender

Employment/Unemployment rates, by gender
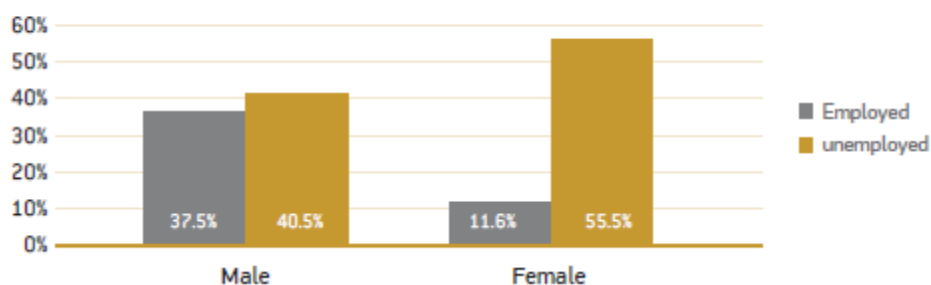
Source: SOK, Living Conditions and Arrangements, 2011

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[4] Refers to other all people from the age of 15-64 years who do are not working and not looking for a job as they might be in the process of attaining an education, may be retired, not work to fulfill family duties at home, or unable to work (Living Conditions and Arrangements, 2011, n.p)

Considering these differences in the (un)employment levels it becomes clear that women, especially those in rural areas who lag behind and face difficulties of accessing education or other vital parts of life opportunities, if choosing to turn to a new way of living they would have no economic survival. Therefore, they become "economically and emotionally dependent" on patriarchal structures (Susan, n.d., p.13). On the other hand, a great number of women who even have university degrees are not suited for work because there are different expectations based on gender perspectives, expectations of being mothers and caretakers of homes, children, the elderly and the sick. One reason why this is the case today is because the state has withdrawn from social policy – services like nursing, child rearing, etc. have moved to the private sphere – the market, and the home. Therefore, you need to be able to afford these services and purchase them or people move these to the private sphere of homes where it is free. Even when women work, data show that men earn four times more money than women, respectively €134 versus €42 per month (Equal Opportunities for Women and Men in Kosovo, n.d., p.5). Further, while 41 percent of men make a living primarily based on their personal income, only 13 percent of women do so, which implies that economic dependency for women is twice as that of men, respectively 77 percent for women and 33 percent for men (Equal Opportunities for Women and Men in Kosovo, n.d., p.5).

Considering the importance of gender equality to the economic development, the WGS program would enable students to study how gender intersects with spheres such as economics and how important it is to design and implement policies that regard gender-specific implications and outcomes which can arguably determine the policies' impact and real effect. Courses such as *Women, Work, and Culture* would enable students to understand how the position of women in the global economy is being shaped and how much is has changed and evolved from earlier of periods of time. After looking at the trends in the labor market and opportunities in decision making at international level, special focus would be paid to the position of women in the labor market in Kosovo, particularly at the rate of change, in order to understand the driving forces of the specific data.

Figure 2. Framework that explains persistent segregation and earnings gaps
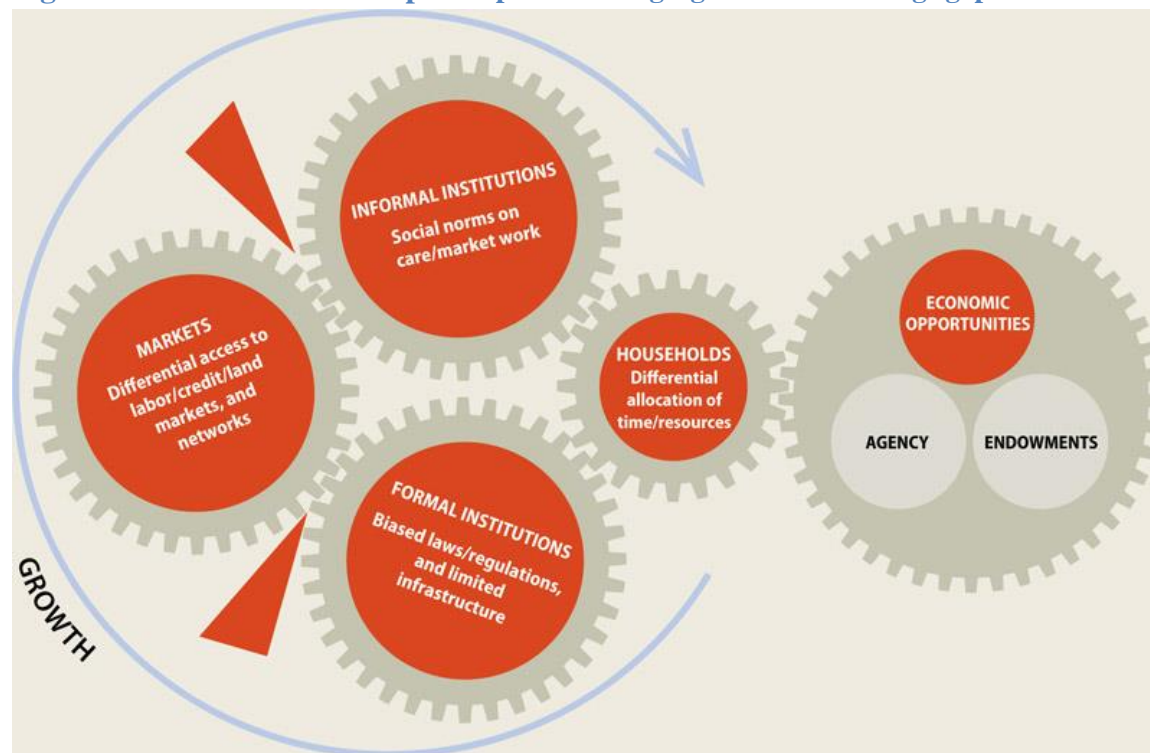
Source: World Development Report, 2012

A similar framework that was presented in Figure 1 can be adopted to explain how women and men have a tendency to perform their economic activities in different areas of economic space and in more low-productivity activities because as entrepreneurs they tend to operate firms that are smaller in size, they tend to concentrate in sectors that are no-so profitable, while taking "female" occupations (World Development Report, 2012, p.16). According to the World Bank report, as Figure 2 illustrates that "gender differences in time use, in access to assets and credit, and in treatment by markets and formal institutions (including the legal and regulatory framework) all play a role in constraining women's opportunities" (2012, p.18). Such constraints are represented in Figure 2 below in the form of "wedges" that impede the functioning of supportive policies in direction of gender equality. Since women and men spend different amounts of time in various activities, they give way to these differences in gender pay gaps, because while women dedicate their time to perform work that is related more to the household and caregiving, men allocate more time to perform activities that are related to the market and directly to income generating activities. Further, since there are differences in the years of

schooling obtained between men and women, there are also differences in endowments, especially as they pertain to access to credit that is directly related to the right of owning property and the impact that their time contains have on their productivity.

Another important factor that may add up to the variable of determining economic efficiency is the right of women to own property and make investments in order to generate income and become self-sufficient. It has been acknowledged that in countries where women have weak property rights or where property rights for women are inexistent, women are faced with additional risks and deprivations that lead also to striking poverty. According to a research done in the area of women's rights to land and property, about 41 percent of women-headed households live below the poverty threshold that is defined for their specific location and around one third of the world's women are homeless and excluded from access to land (Benschop, 2004. p.1). Further, the study conducted by Htun and Weldon shows that women are still deprived from independent rights to "own land, manage property, conduct business, or even travel without their husband's consent" (2011, n.p). The persistence of "discriminatory laws, policies, patriarchal customs, traditions and attitudes in various countries are still blocking women from enjoying their rights", and economic implications for such unequal treatment of property rights can be noted among women who have been widowed and evicted from their house by their in-laws, experience domestic violence, women who have been displaced because of armed conflict, and lack of documentation (Benschop, 2004. p.2). As with the equal rights to education, and employment opportunities, having equal rights to own property can significantly impact how income is generated and whether women get the chance to equally contribute to the economy of a country. In regards to this, having a legal basis that ensures equal rights to women and men in the afro mentioned area seems not to be sufficient as among men and women alike "there still is a lack of gender and human rights awareness, of the serious repercussions that the denial of women's rights continue to have and of the possible strategies towards actual implementation of these rights on the ground" and many women lack the information that they are actually entitled by law to enjoy the same opportunities in life that their fathers, brothers, husbands, and sons have had over the years (Benschop, 2004, p.4).

In Kosovo, the issue for women is the exercise of the right to own property, which although attributed by law, obedience to family costumes and tradition impede women of enjoying their

rights to own property since those who are dependent on male kin for social and economic security do not claim their rights to inheritance. This makes clear that "culturalist" explanations and arrangements are underpinned by economic and political structures, that what appears as issue of mindset and mentality, is actually "the patrilineage totally appropriates both women's labor and progeny and renders their work and contribution to production invisible" (Kandiyoti 1988, p. 279). In addition, due to the lack of state institutions that ought to protect women's rights because a state does not promote equality when women own only 8 percent of real estate in the country (Gojani, 2010, p.85), and while only 6 percent of businesses are owned by women (Gojani, 2010, p.86). A staggering number of 81.5% of Kosovo's women claim to have no access to information about the laws in their country and 66.7% expressed that they do not know how to find this information ("Helping women survivors of war rebuild their lives", 2013, p.1). A survey conducted by the KCGS showed that women have lost their motivation to demand the rights that they are entitled to by law and that has come as a result of "delays in dealing with inheritance cases, time-consuming judicial procedures, delays in executing and implementing judicial decisions" ("Women's Property Rights Inheritance Laws", 2011, p.9). But, in case that they indeed demand their rights, 31.03 per cent of women fear that they will be ignored and judged by their family members, 30.35 per cent believe that demanding their rights on property would be obstructed by their family members (e.g. brothers, relatives), while 10.91 believe that this issue will be passed over in silence ("Women's Property Rights Inheritance Laws", 2011, p.10).

During the 1990s state was seen as foreign and so it was kept away and all support was expected to come from family. Now, there is distrust of the state but for different reasons. As the study by KCGS shows, if women were aware of cases where courts concluded in favor of women's rights, the number of women demanding the rights on property would increase, at the same time such transparency by courts would prevent the customary law to rule over the civil law("Women's Property Rights Inheritance Laws", 2011, p.11). Considering such levels of inequality on the distribution of rights among men and women in Kosovo, there is an increased need for an academic source to act as a promoter of women's rights and a developer of knowledge that will gradually transform the traditional thinking in regards to gender that is currently prevailing in areas such as education, work, and property ownership.

When positioned in the context of Kosovo, factors such as equal rights to education, to labor force participation, and to own property are particularly important for women in Kosovo, than in spite of the existing laws that 'ensure' gender equality, there are many obstacles that impede them from being realized. Many obstacles are rooted in culture and tradition, but these are also produced by larger structural realignments. In a developing country such as Kosovo, the optimization of human resources is crucial towards the improvement of the living conditions of the citizens and contributing to a heightened level of economic growth that implies the usage of the full potential of the population, not only a part of it. Namely, a population that is in half comprised by men, and in half comprised by women, should manifest similar participation in the workforce, hence in the generation of income that could lead to an improved standard of living. In the "Knowledge for Development Program of the World Bank Institute", Chen writes that "promoting gender equality is an essential component of an effective economic and human development strategy" (Chen, 2004, p.3).

Further, World Bank emphasized that "there is now a shared understanding within the development community that development policies and actions that fail to take gender inequality into account and fail to address disparities between males and females will have limited effectiveness and serious cost implications"(World Bank, 2003, p4). However, in Kosovo we can see many discrepancies in the allocation of resources and opportunities that take alternative forms mainly based on gender. Thus, the female part of Kosovo's population does not have equal chances for education, labor participation, or political representation because it is faced with barriers that impede them from realizing their full potential and offering their fair share of contribution to the overall improvement and development of the country. According to Abdixhiku, women in Kosovo are faced with barriers to success that result from social norms, patriarchal order and arrangement in the family, society, and working sphere, as well as to a considerable degree the mere self-hesitation of women to take initiative (Abdixhiku, 2012, p.13). The gender-derived inequalities have led to major differences between male and female employment opportunities, unemployment rates, and property ownership rates which are related directly with the ability to become self-sufficient and financially independent.

According to a UN officer in Kosovo, "there's a distance between the law and people's actual customs and habits," because although there is a progressive legal face there is a "hidden reality

on the other side" (Building gender equality in Kosovo, 2008, p.1). This means that, although women are legally entitled to get an education, find a job, inherit property, their family member s or the families of their husbands prevent them to do so, and when "women are held back from their rights to earn income, a cycle emerges which makes it extremely hard for them to escape abusive households and other situations" and leaving would not be an option for them since they would face social exclusion and in many cases would not even be allowed to see their children (Building gender equality in Kosovo, 2008, p.1). Thus, the obstructive stereotypes that exist about what the contributions of women in the social, political, and economic life should be, prevent the economic growth of the country and in effect the wellbeing of the citizens. Marie and Mukarutesi argue that "economic models, policies and budget frameworks and processes have not adopted a gender perspective, and how this has caused women to bear the brunt of poverty" and since "men largely dominate and control not only the means of production but also economic decision-making" the actual quality of living for women is often ignored (2011, p.1).

Esther Duflo from the National Bureau of Economic Research in U.S. argues that there is a direct relationship between women's empowerment[5] and economic development, and for that reason the gender gap in education, political participation, and employment opportunities should be reduced as it can have beneficial outcomes in economic efficiency (2011, p.18). What is more, in 2005 the secretary general of United Nations, Kofi Anan in the Millennium Development Goals (MDG) report emphasized that "the full participation of women to all levels of decision-making is a basic human right" and that gender equality is a "prerequisite" of achieving the other identified MDG goals, such as eliminating poverty, reducing infant mortality, achieving universal education, and eliminating the gender gap in education until the year 2015 (Duflo, 2011, p.4).Focusing on women empowerment as a route to increasing economic efficiency has the potential to shape on a global level the policy debate and also the resulting economic policies. For instance, by offering micro-credit schemes targeted mainly at women because women invest the money in goods and services that improve the welfare of families and that tend to enhance economic development (Duflo, 2011, p.19).

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[5] Enhancing the ability of women to access the constituents of development—inparticular health, education, earning opportunities, rights, and political participation.

Therefore, a WGS program at AUK would enable students to research on these issues at more depth, while at the same time acting as an advocacy group within the society so that the needs and issues that women face are to be represented in the process of drafting and implementing initiatives that deal with the promotion of the rights of women and gender equality in general. During the International Summit on Women's Empowerment that was held in Kosovo, U.S. Ambassador At-Large for Global Women's Issues Melanne Verveer and former congresswoman and current head of the Woodrow Wilson International Center, Jane Harman pointed out to empirical evidence linking women's empowerment to overall economic performance and productivity and in this way emphasized the role that gender equality plays within a society by reflecting on the progress made in seeing women attain positions of leadership in government, politics and business, but also noting that more needs to be done to see full gender equality realized in practice, not just on paper ("International Summit in Kosovo Produces "Pristina Principles" to Increase Women's Empowerment", 2012, par.8). The Summit also produced the Prishtina Principles which call for a number of objectives this program would address and aid in implementing.

Politics of Gender

In light of the Women's Liberation Movement (WLM) in the 1960s, the political significance of gender began to be recognized as a separate category of study in the understanding of politics and political representation in particular. Prior to the WLM, the political behavior of women at best went unpronounced, while at worst misrepresented, but even when women were regarded in the political discussions their main role was to serve inferiorly as "surrogates" of men (Lovenduski, 2002, p.603). According to Lovenduski, women were widely believed to be "less politically interested, active and competent than men", arguments that were primarily based on prejudice and a reflection that was not of scientific analysis or reasoned debate, rather of sexism that resided in a male-run profession (2002, p.603). Following these new developments in the political sphere, a new subfield within politics started to grow which was now accounting for the study of gender in politics and presenting to the male-dominant discipne a new challenge, namely the mere presence of women(as a start). Although it is difficult to understand how the voice of (nearly) half of the world's population had been left unrepresented in the governing

institutions of countries, the discriminating trend did not start to diminish immediately after the feminist movement, rather for change to start feminist political scientists and political theorists were providing a feminist critique to the system in an active manner so that the gender factor in politics could no longer be disregarded and not considered as a serious issue.

As Lovenduski points out, the WLM marked an upswing that was noticeable in the political mobilization of women as well as their integration with politics which was mostly pronounced in voting behavior, political activism, agenda construction, policy formulation and political organization (2002, p.604). The impact of such changes in the political system has been far-reaching and has sparked the interest of many scholars who were dedicated in studying the interactions of males and females in the political scene. Just as the role of men cannot be studied solely as it affects politics, neither the study of women in politics cannot be comprehended without looking at the interactions between gender and the distribution of power in relation to men along the course of the political process. Considering the complexity of such interaction, gender as a political category remains a challenge that needs further analysis and exploration in order to give way to common interests and proper policy formation. For that reason, regardless of the major or field, students who are interested in dealing with issues of public policy need to have a deeper understanding of the implications that can stem from gender biases.

Thus, students at AUK would have the opportunity to take courses such as *Foundations of Women's and Gender Studies* and *Women in Politics* which would familiarize them with the main theories and political issues that revolve around gender in the area of politics. However, apart from informing students about the historical changes that have been done throughout the years and that have shaped the status of men and the status of women, students would become competent in critically accessing the arguments that go in favor or at times even against gender equality in the political institutions. Particularly important in this sense is the identification of mechanisms that society can use to achieve gender equality and equal representation in the governing institutions, as after being aware of the role that women and men have within our society, gender becomes a critical subject even when dealing with international issues that are linked to economic development and also conflict resolution. The 1970s do not seem so far when we try to imagine how controversial the situation of women has been during that time in most

countries around the world, and the first studies that were conducted to analyze how women fitted in the political process and how they behave in politics were constrained by not having enough data to evaluate, and that was a result of the invisibility of women that was largely prevalent. Although the road to gender equality has been paved, the struggle to achieve it has a long way to go even in today's dynamic and technologically advanced society.

In the context of Kosovo, the participation of women in the political life was faced with various barriers such as high illiteracy rates and a strong patriarchal mindset that characterized the decades after the Second World War, and limited space for female political activity during the nineties as constrained by the Serbian regime ("Image of Women Politicians in the Kosovo Media", 2009, p.19). Change in the political, economic and cultural system of Kosovo began by the year of 1999 which gave way to quantitative and qualitative restructuring of social activity such as the study of gender, because until then the political involvement of Kosovo women for gender equality was suspended in favor of the struggle for human rights ("Image of Women Politicians in the Kosovo Media", 2009, p.5). But, after June 1999 the change in the political system began which enabled a narrower insight of gender studies as a distinct category ("Image of Women Politicians in the Kosovo Media", 2009, p.5). These changes in the system triggered the need for further analysis between gender and its intersection with the political institutions as the understanding of such an interaction was a crucial for the societal development of Kosovo. Probably, the first initiative to increase the participation of women in politics has been through the applicability of quotas in the election lists of 2000 which required that 30 percent of the seats in the Kosovo Assembly and in Municipal Assemblies to be held in reserve for women. Although, the use of quotas was an attempt to increase the level of democracy within the country, it still did not result as successful as it was anticipated taking into account that a mere 8.6 percent of women were voted for councilors of Municipal Assemblies of Kosovo ("Image of Women Politicians in the Kosovo Media", 2009, p.19).

As a result of such a low turnout for women, it was necessary that affirmative actions such as quotas to be applied also in the second local elections of 2004 that lead to higher numbers of women in assemblies("Image of Women Politicians in the Kosovo Media", 2009, p.19). According to N. Wood, quotas help promote democratic reforms in countries that are going through periods of transition from authoritarian regimes to democracies and affirmative

measures are required in order to make up for the lost time under male dominance in the public and the private sphere (2001, par.27).

One of the main issues about gender-related inequalities is that they present a continuous struggle to each generation, and for that reason it is important to shift our focus to these susceptible issues that might impact the development of a free and equal Kosovar society. An example of the altering trends in political representation of women can be noted when we compare data of leading positions of women in the central and local government throughout a period of time. In 2006, 20.78 percent of women were in leading positions at central government, while in 2007 such a percentage increased to 22.95 percent. But, in 2008 the percentage of women who held senior managerial position at the central level was only 13.71 percent ("Image of Women Politicians in the Kosovo Media", 2009, p.21). If we look at the position of women at the municipality level, we can note a similar trend which started to positively increase from the initial level but at a certain point it decreased even further, namely in 2006, 10.22 percent of leading positions at municipal level were held by women, 12.95 percent of those positions were held by women in 2007, while in 2008, a mere 7.24 comprised senior managerial positions ("Image of Women Politicians in the Kosovo Media", 2009, p.19).

Considering how within a few-years-time the number of women representatives in the political institutions just when it started to increase, it decreased again shows that there are lingering needs for institutions to take affirmative measures and correct for the past gaps that are preventing current improvement and development. Even though, the use of quotas[6] in a way serves as a mechanism for change, a study done by the KCGS shows that 62 percent of the respondents in their study believe that the inclusion of women should not be previously determined, rather the presence of women in politics should be dictated by merits (2009, p.9). This type of thinking relates to the inquiry whether people respond to female politicians in the same way as to male politicians, especially in terms of relating to them and perceiving them as equally competent. Still, according to the same study, 90.5 percent of the interviewees were of the opinion that more women should be in decision-making positions and boards of public enterprises, 85.7 percent of them believed that women would be in decision-making positions at

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[6] As stated in the Constitution "The composition of the Assembly of Kosovo shall respect internationally recognized principles of gender equality" (Constitution of the Republic of Kosovo, Article 71:2).

the University of Prishtina, 85.7 percent thought that they should be in government institutions, while another 85.7 percent of them were in favor of having more women in the institutions of justice (2009, p.9).

Taking into account the above mentioned differences in the political representation of women in the main state institutions in relation to men, we have to regard for a gender gap factor that is an indicator of how socially accepted and pre-determined roles within a society can act as determinants of main state structures. One of the earliest attempts that researchers used to unveil the reasons behind the gender gaps that were widespread in several spheres in society was by looking through the theory of glass ceiling. The concept of glass ceiling refers to the impossibility of women to progress higher than they already have in a number of professions because invisible obstacles prevent them from doing so even when they are ambitions and strong-willed (Lorber, 1994, n.p).As Martin and Lorber put it glass ceiling is described as "those artificial barriers based on attitudinal or organizational bias that prevent qualified individuals from advancing upward in their organization into management level positions" (1991, p.227). The existence of stereotypes plays an important role in shaping the way people think about what the roles of women and men are, and most of the time placing men as those who are deemed to rule the public, deal with politics, external affairs and leadership, while women are deemed to commit themselves to the other end, the private sphere, the family and the house-related regular duties which seem to be their primary link, leaving them less connected to professions and the public (Zamfirache, n.d, 177).

According to Shehu, when judged by the political participation of women one could have never guessed that women comprise half of Kosovo's population because due to deeply-rooted stereotypes about gender roles many people believe that women's "place" is in the kitchen while men are meant to do the talking, decision-making and the business of the household (Skenderi, 2008, par.3). Further, one part of the problem is that gender considerations are done mainly in the central level of governance, while little talks about gender-related discrimination are done at the local level, in spite of the fact that the main effects of such discrimination is present at rural/municipal level. While the use of quotes remains the main mechanisms to encouraging female participation in political decision-making, its actual implementation remains

discouraging[7] as only two out of 350 directors in municipalities are women, which adds up to the great need for greater advocacy for the rights of women (Skederi, 2008, par.23). But, another problem attached to quotas is that women who enter parliament through a such a means are not rendered the same political legitimacy and respect as their male colleagues since they are perceived as" second-rate politicians, "clients" of the state on whom they depend for their seat-holding'" (Galligan, 2007, 563).

Moreover, the recent Human Development Index[8] Report that was conducted by the UNDP shows that one of the main drawbacks that have lead Kosovo to rank a score of 0.713 on the HDI is gender-based exclusion which apart from channeling drastic differences in opportunities for education and employment it is highly present in the participation of women in political life of Kosovo (Kosovo Human Development Report, 2012, p.12). As it has earlier been estimated, women held between 22 and 28 percent of the seats in each municipal assembly in 2009 predominantly as a result of quota enforcements, rather than a genuine reflection of empowerment (Kosovo Human Development Report, 2012, p.12). Moreover, such a low percentage of women in the political scene reinforces the belief that women lack opportunities to develop politically and can be more noticeable particularly at the local level of governance. It is quite unbelievable to grasp the fact that until now no women has been able to hold a director position in one of the Kosovo's municipalities. As it is stated in the KHD report "no municipal assembly is led by a woman, nor among Kosovo's minority communities is any senior political position held by a woman" (2012, p.12).

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[7] According to the Electoral Law "If, after the allocation of seats the candidates of the minority gender within a Political Entity have not been allocated at least 30% of the total seats for the Political Entity, the last elected candidate of the majority gender will be replaced by the next candidate of the opposite gender on the reordered candidate list until the total number of seats allocated to the minority gender is at least 30%" (General Elections Law", Article 111.6).
[8] "measure of the average level of human development of people in a society once inequality is taken into account"

Table3.Women in Positions of Political Power

	Total	Women	Men
Ministers	18	2	16
Permanent Secretaries	18	2	16
Members of Parliament	120	40	80
Chairs of Parliamentary Committees	13	2	11
Mayors	36	0	36

Source: Kosovo Human Development Index, 2010

Referring to the Table 3 above we can note that the number of women who are in positions of political power is considerably lower than that of men and which can be attributed to existing gender stereotypes that tie women to their homes and allow them little opportunity to make their own choices considering there are economically dependent on others, their choices are confined to the plan that other family members have for them. The low participation of women in decision-making is a real barometer for social exclusion in Kosovo, as for instance 36 out of 36 mayors of municipalities are male. Due to such exclusion women are less likely to get an education, participate in the workforce, or raise their voice in the political process as the chances of getting favorable returns out of these activities are considerably lower for women (Kosovo Human Development Report, 2012, p.13).

What is more, Kosovo ranks a score of 0.76 on the Gender Development Index which is the lowest in the Balkan region ("Promote Gender Equality and Empower Women", 2010, p.1). Women do not enjoy enough influence in decision-making processes of political party structures and as we noted in the table1 the number of women in decision-making positions remains minimal considering that none of the municipalities or municipal assemblies is led by women while only two out of 17 ministries of the central government are women ("Promote Gender Equality and Empower Women", 2010, p.1). Further, more evidence that reinforces the conviction that women, especially those in Kosovo are confined to their homes and housework

duties by sacrificing their will for personal career advancement as the involving hours, travel, and stress create conflicts between work and family life.

The inability to make use of life opportunities has left women uneducated and underrepresented and a striking 14 percent of rural women are illiterate, as opposed to 4 percent of rural men (Kosovo Human Development Report, 2012, p.12). As a result, most women in Kosovo are more likely to be perceived as they have "duties" rather than rights which is not a surprise when they are deprived of education opportunities or participation in the labor market (Kosovo Human Development Report, 2012). Particularly, women's role and contribution to politics was disregarded as their work was praised and judged only on the way they support their husbands or they look after the children just as it is in compliance to the traditional rules (Kosovo Human Development Report, 2012, p.13). The unequal status of women in the private and the public sphere can be attributed to the low number of women in leadership position, and most importantly to the lack of a cultural consensus that credits this absence as part of the problem itself, and a matter of social concern (Rhode and Kellerman, 2006, p.1). In a U.S. speaker program about the critical role of women in leadership positions, Stephanie Foster pointed out that even though we belong to different countries, share different histories, and inhabit different continents, the issues that women in Kosovo face are very similar to a lot of the same issues as women in the United States and around the world have (2010, par.1). According to Foster "the challenges are very much the same: how do we access power in our societies, how can we increase the space for women in the community and policy dialogue, and how we can make a difference in society" (2010, par.4).

In the early 19th century the main inquiries of women were to have the legal power over themselves as they had no rights to vote, no property rights, no rights on the custody of children but other forms of legal submission, as only husbands had legal power and responsibility for their wives to the extent that they could "imprison or beat them with impunity" (Stanton, 1848, n.p). In today's world the legal infrastructure has improved and made crucial changes in most countries (not all) in regards to gender equality before the law, even though the enforcement of such laws remains a challenge in itself mostly constrained by the traditional mindset and culturally accepted norms. However, nowadays the main issues that gender studies deal with among others are reproductive rights, domestic violence, maternity leave, equal pay, sexual

harassment, sexual violence, equal political representation as the quest of equality struggles in the male dominated structures of society ("Progress of World's Women, 2012, n.p). For instance, according to the KWN report "the government and donors allocated significantly more resources to protection (€2,088,581) than prevention (€526,264) or rehabilitation and reintegration (€399,585)" which implies that state need to focus more on policy making that prevents domestic violence and rehabilitates the existing victims in order to ensure that incidents to not happen in the first place ("At what cost", 2013, p.1). Nevertheless, the gender-related issues that a country faces pertain to the ability of the community to identify those issues, and most importantly to seek ways that go towards their resolution. In this regard, Foster emphasized the importance of women parliamentarians, women NGO leaders, business owners and managers, and women on community councils who according to her are creating a new option for thinking about power, and how to define power and leadership, and at a great extent they are serving as role models for the younger generations (Foster, 2010, par.5). But, not only women, rather every person should be involved in matter of politics because in such way we can ensure that the views that we hold on issues affecting our daily lives and future can be heard, and regardless whether we have the status of a politician we are in one way or another linked to politics as "life is all about finding compromise and making trade-offs, which goes to the heart of politics" and if we do not get involved " in essence we are giving up our right to participate in decisions that affect us every day" (Foster, 2010, par.6).

Another important aspect to look at when talking about politics and female participation is by observing the number of women that are involved in foreign diplomacy, as it is one of the most pervasive situations that determine that distinction between the private and the public, and women who are engaged in foreign policy in a way move out of their private sphere that is seen as their place of belonging and enter the sphere where the struggle for gender role positioning is even tougher. For Kosovo, foreign diplomacy is considered by many as the duty that is destined to be done by men especially when such a conviction is backed up by statistics. In 2012, out of 18 ambassador positions that were open in the embassies that Kosovo had in foreign countries, only two of these positions were held by women, specifically Ariana Zherka-Hoxha was serving as an ambassador in Bulgaria, while Shkëndije Geci-Sherifi was an ambassador in Hungary who were chosen from a pool of nine women candidates ("Diplomaci Burrash", 2012, p.2). On the second round of the selection of ambassadors there were six openings but the entire nominations

were for men, however, the issue about this was that not only there were no women nominations but also there was a negative relationship for them, since the ambassador Ms. Ariana Zherka-Hoxha was replaced by Mr. Shpend Kallaba as the new Kosovan ambassador in Bullgaria ("Diplomaci Burrash", 2012, p.2). According to the Women Caucus this act was seen as a violation of the constitution and not in accordance with the law on gender equality which foresees that in cases of the appointment of ambassadors there should be an equal representation by both genders ("Diplomaci Burrash", 2012, p.2). But, after the pressure of the Women Caucus, the number of women candidates for ambassador positions increased by three ("Diplomaci Burrash", 2012, p.2).

In a pronunciation, the deputy to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Ibrahim Gashi reinforced the male domination of foreign policy by saying that diplomacy is like military, a profession that women do not seek because of their "specific" position ("Diplomaci Burrash", 2012, p.2). This statement shows a discriminating view on women and the contribution that they can give to state affairs, by underestimating them through similar pronunciations that present women as useless to the state affairs. Gender equality as it pertains to the equal presentation of men and women in decision-making presents one of the challenges in democratic state structures, considering that democracy offers equal opportunities to each citizen, then when the institutional structure is not in accordance with the actual numbers that exist based on gender, then democracy is seriously challenged. Therefore, it is important for academic institutions such as AUK to deal with issues of equal representation and for students to embrace a system of thought that is based upon the principle of equality and that is critical to the decision-making process. Until now, progress can be noted in increased women political activity, also through a series of steps that were undertaken to adopt better practices as they were in accordance to the Resolution 1325 of the UNSC WPS which promotes the participation of women in decision-making (Jahjaga, 2012,p.3). Although having a women President as the head of state is one big step forward, still there is a great need to have more women actively participating in politics, economics, health, and judicial system as when all the fields word in sync towards a balanced policy-making then the level of discrimination and violence based on gender can diminish to an end. It is important to analyze the interactions of men and women in terms of power and representation in order to find potential solutions that can serve as a basis to the enforcement of the equality principle of our private and public spheres. When it comes to leadership positions, there are great differences in

the perception of women as opposed to men, as they face trade-offs that men do not. For instance, if a women is ambitious and tough, she is less accepted or liked while for men this is not the case, because while they are more ambitious and tough they are seen as more assertive and more likely to be good leader (Rhode and Kellerman, 2007, p.8). Thus, there is a need for the gender stereotyping to change, and when one is a "working mother" not to have negative connotations for the workplace, just as a "working father" would not have (Rhode and Kellerman, 2007, p.8). If courses such as *Women in Politics* were to be taught at AUK, students would be able to study the intersection of gender and politics through several theoretical positions, starting from an organizing principle of social movements, an expression of personal experience, mechanism of international relations, a defining principle of political though, as a constituting principle of states, or as modality of economic production as described in the tentative course syllabus that was developed by Prof. Nita Luci (see Appendix 1).

In October 2012, the President of Kosovo, Atifete Jahjaga hosted The International Summit on Women's Empowerment, entitled "Partnership for Change—Empowering Women" which was organized by NDI and USAID, and resulted in the formation of the Pristina Principles. These principles affirm the rights of women to political participation and representation, economic resources and access to security and justice, and appeals for further actions to realize these principles ("International Summit in Kosovo Produces "Pristina Principles" to Increase Women's Empowerment", 2012, par.2,4). The U.S. Secretary of State Madeleine Albright during the summit emphasized that "women's rights are fundamental precepts of democracy and that all nations must ensure that female citizens are able to exercise their human rights fully and equally" and that "no nation can earn the world's respect without first respecting the rights of women and girls" ("International Summit in Kosovo Produces "Pristina Principles" to Increase Women's Empowerment", 2012, par.5,6).

Women, Men, and Representation

The position of men and women within a society is determined by a variety of factors that are linked to the traditional values and beliefs that certain countries hold, and the ways in which those convictions are practiced in the private and public sphere, particularly as they relate to the gender roles and the equality principle. When discussing about the influential factors that lead to a certain positioning of women and men in society, looking at the way how gender is portrayed

in the visual elements to which we are exposed every day becomes crucial. In this regard, the role of media stretches far from just an influential factor; rather is serves the role of a producer of culture that through the use of television, news, magazines, film, entertainment, music, and advertisement shapes how we think of men and women, what we consider their "appropriate" roles to be within the community and effectively the distribution of opportunities that society assigns to them as individuals. Through its wide coverage and massive use, media has the potential to reach large numbers of people and in this way convey effectively different sorts of messages. But, the ability of media to convey direct messages into our consciousness has not always been used to represent the actual reality, or through its impact influence it for the better. Rather, media is constantly bombarding us with visual images that contribute to gender stereotyping, misrepresentation of men and women, and distorting the views of the audience by giving way to new judgments that people make based on their perception. According to Ray, " media through its reach to people at large has been instrumental though not to the extent desired in supporting the movement for women emancipation by focusing neglect and marginalization of the position of the women in society" (n.d., p.1).

While media often times misportrayes men and women alike, the extent to which women are misrepresented by the media goes way out of proportion. Thus, it can be noted that media entails a gender bias within itself as women are objectified by having to fulfill the ideal of beauty, misrepresented as narrow-minded wives/girlfriends/mums who are preoccupied with dieting, shopping or cleaning, exploited for their bodies and female sexuality to increase company revenues, distorted in terms of unrealistic representations of "beauty" and presented as weak or incompetent to fulfill leadership positions that are determined for typical male stereotypes (Representations of Women in the Media, 2012, par.4). Such distorted views on women give way to a plethora of implications that impact the distribution of opportunities to women as they are affected positively or negatively by the perception of others, or in other terms the perception of their representation that others have decided to make on behalf of them. Consequently, while others may begin to create a certain appropriateness of the role of women at home, in workplace, or in the government, in turn, women as well will begin to generate a self-perception that is often times linked to negative feelings such as low self-esteem, lower self-worth, or discouragement to seek new challenging opportunities or leadership roles. In this regard, numerous scholars have

pointed attention to media and its immense effect in shaping societal culture and what people perceive as the norm.

Taking into account how an increasing number of academic papers is making the link between media, gender, and life prospects it is important for students to be aware of such studies, understand the implications and connotations of representation, and be able to critically evaluate the visual trends that are being presented to us through a wide assortment of media. Pertaining to this field, the WGS program would contain courses such as *Women and the Visual Arts* which would include topics of the variety of women, the evolution and change of these imaged over time, media images of women (different from art images), images of women by men, and issues of their relationship, selected women artists and their work, relation of their work to the specific period of time, and the current issues that relate to media and the status of women (RIT, 2013, par.21). Further, in courses such as Gender, Science, and Technology students would have the change to take a gender perspective while intersecting technology and the ways in which it can shape power in the context of visual communication, especially by focusing on the social and cultural dimensions of scientific and technological practices such as development of theory, method and application (RIT, 2013, par.15). Moreover, students would also have a competitive advantage when having the opportunity to select other courses such as *Bodies and Culture* which would take a comparative approach to the cultural construction of bodies, the impact of ethnic, gender, racial differences on body practices such as surgical alternation, beautification, surrogacy, or the formation of normative discourses of the body in mass media while encouraging students to acquire a range of analytic skills in terms of research and interpretation (RIT, 2013, par.16).

To begin with, one of the primary issues that is linked to the distortion of the image of women is that of misrepresentation of women who are in leadership positions, because most of the time these women are presented in such a way that emphasis is put on their physical appearance, rather than her political agenda. Such a distinction can be noted as we do rarely see media pointing out to male politicians and making similar assumptions about them. Since women are perceived as either sexual objects, or as unattached to positions of power or of intellectual relevance, the effects of such a perception pushes women to not stay true to themselves, to embrace "masculine" traits as they are judged by society and minimize features that are "typical"

(as stereotypes) for women (Zamfirache, 2010, p.181). Research has shown that there is a sex distinguished way of perceiving the images of politicians referred to as the "gendered mediation" according to which as far as media is concerned male is the norm in news frames and constructs politics in stereotypically masculine terms (qtd. in. Zamfirache, 2010, p.181). The male stereotypes that construct the norm are constantly reminded by the media while creating the perception that women do not belong in politics (qtd. in. Zamfirache, 2010, p.181). Thus, in terms of media representation and projection of leadership values and power, women are seriously challenged by the lenses of media who pose obstacles to send clear and unbiased messages from them to the electorate. As according to Zamfirache" If women are feminine they are weak and untrusting, if they are too aggressive, they stir up negative reactions" and being assertive and strong is not an option either (2010, p.181).

Another point that can be drawn from female representation particularly through daily news in TV or magazines is the behavior of male and female politicians in relation to the accepted norm. Again, scholars have reapproved the opinion that women are more likely to hold on to the rules than men are, particularly as it is relates to politics because if a women violates the norms, the negative judgment of her behavior would increase exponentially, while for men it is a different story (Gidengil and Everitt, 2003, p.212). If men do not behave in accordance to the stereotypes, they will be faced with much less consequences as "men's claim to leadership is unquestioned" Gidengil and Everitt, 2003, p.212). This conviction means that, men take advantage of a greater area of accepted eccentricity and that they can 'get away' with more things that women do, beginning with "the way they dress, who they have lunch with or who pays for the campaign" Gidengil and Everitt, 2003, p.212). On the other hand, women politicians do not share the same benefit of the doubt because they are faced with higher standards for women than for men and in this regard "having the opportunity and exploiting the opportunity are not the same thing for men and for women" (Gidengil and Everitt, 2003, p.212). Particularly as, "women prefer a powerful speech in a woman candidate, whereas men would like to hear powerless ideas", meaning that "the female public would like to have someone to represent their needs and opinions about say abortion, or human trafficking while men would rather hear another men discuss about these problem (Gidengil and Everitt, 2003, p.212). Women politicians are under great social control and scrutiny that constrains them to what they can say, where and to whom

because cultural moves in almost every social set-up determine women's socialization in unambiguous terms and it largely affects the ability to communicate and express their thoughts (Ray, n.d., p.2).

In spite of the scrutiny that women face while presented in the media, there is still a need to increase the presence of women in media because 67 percent of the respondents in a study conducted by the KCGS support the position that a lack of women in decision making is linked to their insufficient presence in the media as applied to the Kosovo context ("Image of Women Politicians in Kosovo Media", 2009, p.12). One reason might be that leaders who are in charge of some of the most important institutions are men, and directly the focus of the media is targeted to them not leaving enough space for women politicians to become a more important part of the journalist's agenda ("Image of Women Politicians in Kosovo Media", 2009, p.12). And, even when there are part of the journalist's agenda, their opinion tends to be asked on issues that deal with family, gender inequality, children rather than on issues that are considered to be more paramount, such as economics, or security ("Image of Women Politicians in Kosovo Media", 2009, p.12). In a study conducted by the KCGS on the representation of women politicians, 52 percent of the respondents agree with the statement that a higher presence of women in leading positions in the media would make for a fairer representation of the image of women through mass communication ("Image of Women Politicians in Kosovo Media", 2009, p.10). Probably, that is one of the ways out of the distortion of women's image, especially as it poses serious implications to those who are engaged in political activity while influencing negatively the electorate as 43 percent of the respondents in the KCGS's study declared that influence of media in voters' determinations is very significant (2009, p.13). For instance, the former Canadian prime minister and the leader of the PCP accused media for her electorate misfortunes as by saying "new politics, old media . . . when you're not a traditional politician, they don't know what to make of you" she referred to the visual distortions that media is responsible to have done during her campaign. On a different note, the study KCGS also tested whether the inclusion of the gender aspect in the regulations of the Independent Media Commission would have a positive influence serving for more sensibility of Kosovo media towards women activities in politics, and it resulted that 45 percent think that current media does not have specific regulatory policies that would provide for a fair presentation of genders, 30 percent are not

informed if such policies exist, 15 percent of interviewees said that media have and implement policies, whereas 10 percent stated that although media have such policies, they do not implement them (2009, p.10,11). Thus, there is a need for Kosovo media and institutions to regulate the sector that presents visually the image of women and men, and the way of they are represented in the media, particularly women is one of the most significant parts that illustrate how democratic a society is in real terms ("Image of Women Politicians in Kosovo Media", 2009, p.11). What is more, according to the KCGS "effective informative communication is one of the most important channels for the growth and development of women in the informal or unorganized sector, as without information regarding services and benefits available through legislation, government schemes, banks and voluntary organizations, women can hardly take advantage of them" (2009, p.11).

Secondly, apart from underrepresenting or misrepresenting women in leadership positions, media plays a major role in objectifying women particularly in the entertainment industry where for the most part they are presented as passive, conforming, self-subordinating and less competent than men (Demarest and Garner, n.d., p.357). For instance, Seggar found that television dramas in the late 70s presented women in roles that emphasized physical attractiveness and dependence on men and whose plot did not stretch outside of the household, while Harris and Voorhees during their 25-year-analysis of TV programs purported that television almost always perpetuates conventional sex role stereotypes (Qtd.in.Damarest and Garner, n.d., p.358).Often times, the female characters who are depicted in film and television project gender stereotypes of women who have a great tendency to be hyper-sexualized in film far more than men(Azad, 2012,par.3). Considering that on average, American teenagers spend 10 hours and 45 minutes absorbing media per day through watching TV, listening to music, watching movies, reading magazines and using the internet the stereotypical representations of women become even more worrying (Azad, 2012,par.3). In most media forms, women are represented as part of a context or a team where they take the role of the helper, or the object which is passive rather than active. Also, these forms of representation tend to be stereotypical in terms of being in accordance to the standard expectations that society upholds ("Gender and Media Representation", 2011, par.13). Evidently, the main talks that regard women's representation by the media are centered around the physical beauty to the near-exclusion of other values, the nonexistence of dominant female role models, and the exceptionally artificial nature of such portrayals bears minimal or no

relation to the actual lives that women experience across the globe ("Gender and Media Representation", 2011, par.14).

Consequently, media as we termed "a producer of culture" is giving way to discrepancies between the perceptions that people would have about men or women if media would not perpetuate gender stereotypes in the many advertisements, television shows, or other mediums It is interesting to note that no matter what type of media you are using or being exposed to, it will seem that the portrayal of gender images has emerged from a unifying vision, or some standard criterion that makes them worthy of being part of that specific media advert. Such standard that media is projecting, is having an impact on what society values to be important and what women and men value to be important to them. For instance, while not seeing enough women in leadership roles and those who actually are being judged through vain ideas such physical appearance, to many women the main idea of success has become to look appear beautiful, particularly to men as and conveying a well-groomed image offers them a sense of accomplishment. While looking at the several ads, we can note that the image of women is used to project someThing that is attractive to the eye, not much a person that is intellectually challenging or that is capable of thinking about various significant issues on political, economic, or social agenda. Rather, the image of women has been "dollified" to transmit to the audience traits of objectification, submissiveness, and of traditionally accepted roles.

Another important attribution that links media, gender, and self-worth is related to the unrealistic images that are present in most advertisements, shows, movies, or music videos. The image of women in such medium is presented through the thin and tall models which intentionally or unintentionally are seen as ideals that younger and older generations strive achieve. But, the problem with such a portrayal is that the thin and tall models make up at the outmost 8 women in 3 billion, and their image to serve as a unifying ideal is beyond reality (Roddick, 2010, n.p.). As a result, the constant exposure to the ideals of beauty as determined by media, and by profit-eager managers, is posing serious threats to the health of women and girls by distorting their self-image or making them unsatisfied with their bodies. According to Susan Butler, there is simply no equality when it comes to the portrayal of women in the media in part because there is an unequal representation of women in leadership positions as only 7 percent of directors, 13 percent of writers and 20 percent of producers are women, and there is a great need

for such an unfair depiction to be analyzed and thought of as it impacts the society as a whole (2013, par.13). Clearly, public and private education institutions that provide study programs in fields such as media, and mass communication should include in their curricula special modules in the fields of gender studies and media("Image of Women Politicians in Kosovo Media", 2009, p.12).   In this regard, with AUK having a Media and Graphic Communication major concentration, offering courses that interrelate media and implications of gender representation through visuals would have a unique opportunity to benefit from those classes that complement their interests, and offer them a comparative advantage in the future career prospect. It is important to note that the role that gender scholars play in assessing the relationship between mainstream media and other visual forms has a deep connection to the status of women in reality, as Noeleen Hayzer the executive director of the UNIFEM put it:

As a result of constant advocacy by women's rights groups over the last 20 years, more and more countries have some type of legislation concerning violence against women. At least 45 nations have specific laws against domestic violence, 21 more are drafting new laws, and many others have amended criminal laws to include domestic violence. To make a real difference, we have to transform words into action and results, This requires governments and the international community at large to stand by their commitments and to allocate resources to translate them into action…I call on the world community to pay close attention to what women are telling us about the world situation we live in-their needs, hopes and visions of a better future. It is our responsibility to amplify their voices and to use them to guide our work and policies. Only then can we hope to achieve a world in which both men and women are able to lead the best lived they can (qtd.in Byerly and Ross, 2006, p.13).

AUK as the Establishing Institution

American University in Kosovo (AUK) offers its students education according to the highest international standards on the fields of economics, politics, management, legal studies, international relations, media, and IT which educate generations on some of the main fields necessary for political, economic and social development. However, becoming an economics, public policy, or management graduate is of low value when at the workplace one is faced with discrimination based on gender. Considering that the majority of AUK graduates reside in Kosovo, a great number of those being women, assuring that both sexes will share equal rights

within the main spheres of the country would become even more important to AUK. Studying, researching, and taking action towards the irregularities in the system on such issues should be set as a primary goal on the agenda of AUK students who would be involved in the WGS minor program.

Therefore, the education system that is preparing hundreds of future leaders should integrate on its programs the concept of gender as an important variable that is affecting negatively the equal optimization of opportunities for males and females, in order for the policy-making and economic dynamics within the country to be enhanced. Especially in a country such as Kosovo, which is considered patriarchal and definitions on gender equality remain blurred, even though a clear definition is provided by the Kosovar law on gender equality, namely to "preserve, treat and establish gender equality as a fundamental value for the democratic development of the Kosovo society, providing equal opportunities for both female and male participation in the political, economic, social, cultural and other fields of social life" (The Law on Gender Equality in Kosovo, 2004, p.1). However, in real terms the practice, obedience, and implementation of it is not done accordingly.

As such, the need for additional support from other forms of institutional actors other than sate became apparent, leading to the emergence of various non-governmental organizations which deal with gender equality and women's rights in particular. Having in mind that institutions that function on central level such as Office of Gender Equality at the Prime Minister Office, Ombudsman office – Gender Unit, Civil servants on Gender Equality in central institutions, Inter ministerial council on Gender Equality, Unit for gender issues–MAPL, the main non-governmental organizations that are attempting to shed light into the gender-ignited problems are Kosova Women's Network, Kosovo Center on Gender Studies, as well as many grassroots NGOs and initiatives throughout Kosovo which present only the starting points towards the long way of change that lies ahead, since research done on this topic shows stark differences between males' and women's development socially, academically, and professionally.

Thus, the need for an increase in the number of actors to be engaged in the creation of equal opportunities for the female gender is still strong. In this regard, the AUK desk review done by

Prof. Nita Luci and Abby Ingraham has shown that there is civil society capacity in research and activism, and since the legal infrastructure already exists there is a need for raising awareness on its implementation. As such, in order to avoid replication of work that was done by the afro mentioned institutions, the aim of the project is to create synergy and create something that is not yet present in our society but which will lead to elevated change in the future. Why would the Women's Study Program at AUK differ from the existing related-programs on gender studies? First and foremost, being that AUK is one of the leading/most prestigious universities in Kosovo, and being an academic institution it allows AUK to take a different approach on gender, taking into account the resources and capabilities of AUK, the outcomes of such a project would be significantly felt among the Kosovar Society.

Second, the Women's study program will be more specific in nature with the purpose of increasing the efficiency level towards the achievements of its objectives because until today there is no academic institution within Kosovo that offers study programs in the fields of WGS. Thirdly, acknowledging the partnerships that AUK has already build with the Rochester Institute of Technology, Dartmouth College, Sciences Po, Lund University, University College Utrecht, and Tony Blair Faith Foundation, as an academic institution it is more likely to increase cooperation on international level. As such, AUK has to make the best use of the available sources that no other institution in Kosovo possesses as well as the connections to contribute towards the improvement of to such an important issue such as gender inequity.

Since upon the decision of approval for the establishment of the WGS program at AUK, the taught program would be entirely reviewed by RIT and courses of WGS program would be as the ones that RIT offers in United States. Therefore, the questionnaire (see Appendix 2) that was distributed to the AUK students contained questions that required students to show their thoughts and their expectations regarding WGS. To begin with, when students were asked whether they are aware of the scope of WGS, some of those who answered "Yes" elaborated it as "a field of study where one can learn about gender definitions/differences", "a contemporary field of study and analysis on the basis of feminism, men's study and sexual minorities", "ways to empower women in all aspects of society", "study of the both sexes, focusing on the position of women towards men in the society", or "a study of discrimination against women which has long been
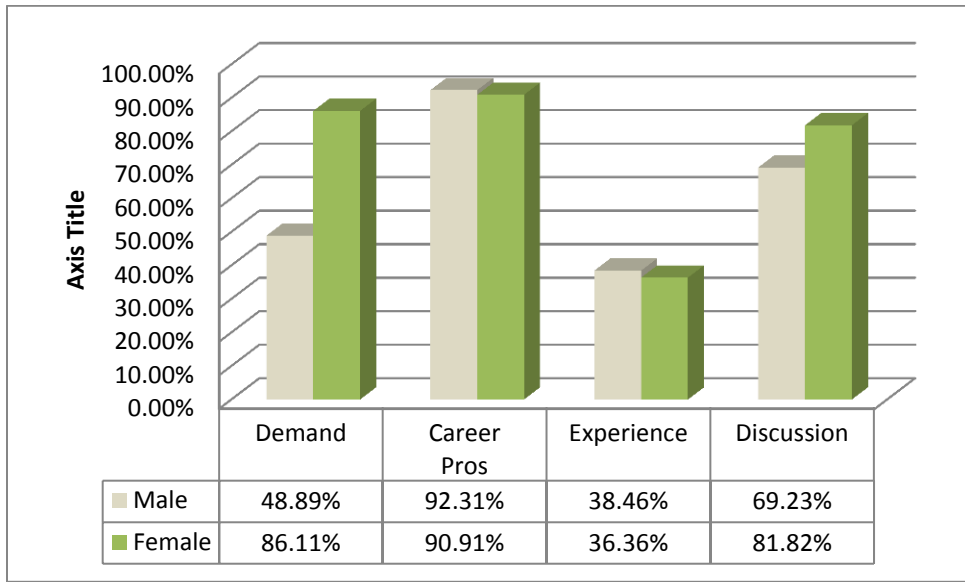
present, as well as a means to raise awareness about female's capabilities and the fact that there is no rational base for such discrimination". On the other hand, those who were not aware about the scope of WGS gave answers such as "I am not familiar with those studies. I have never read something about this topic, but I think that this is something that has to do with woman rights", "I heard about it but I really don't know what it is about", or "No I am not familiar with this scope, what do I understand with this concept is regarding women and their education."

Moreover, after asking about whether or not they were familiar with the content that such programs usually entail, there was a great need to estimate how many of the students from the sample would actually be willing to attend or not attend the program, and to see the reasons for each answer. Out of a sample of 81 respondents, 86.11% of females said that if AUK would offer a WGS program they would be willing to attend it. The main reasons why they would like to attend such a program are because they believed that the program would teach them how to fight the misperceptions regarding gender differences, because being females they think that they would have an opportunity to know to make their voice be heard, and considering the way how women were usually discriminated and how that affected women's lives they wanted to learn more about why that had happened and how to give their best to not let it happen again. While on the other hand, 13.89% of females said that they would not attend this program mainly because they do not really understand what it is really about, because they have discussed about gender in some of the other courses as well, and because they were not familiar with the advantages and disadvantages of attending such a program. Yet, out of the sample, 48.39% of male respondents said that they would attend the WGS program because they thought that Kosovo has a lot of problems in the area of gender studies and women's rights and it was important to have such a program at AUK, because it would relate to their concentration, and because it was important for them to learn more about gender inequalities. On the other hand, 51.61% of males pronounced that they would not be willing to attend the program because they did not see how the program relates to them, because they do not think that there are inequalities between the genders, and because they wanted to see more courses that include in their explanation also men, or the word "men".

On the other hand, it was very important to assess the willingness that students would have to attend a WGS minor program at AUK by testing for some of the main factors that can be considered to potentially impact the students' decision to attend or not to attend the WGS program (see Figure 4). As a result, out of the total number of female student respondents who said that they would attend the WGS, 90.91 % of them believed that attending such a program would have a positive impact on their career prospect, 36.38% of those had previously encountered gender-based discrimination (e.g. at home, work), while 81.82 % were exposed to discussions at class that dealt with the issues of gender inequality. On the other hand, out of the total number of male respondents who affirmed to attend the program, 92.31% of those believed that it would affect positively their career prospect, 38.46% of those had previously experience gender inequality, while 69.23% of those had had in class discussion on the topic of gender inequality.

It is important to note that although females have shown seemingly higher interest in attending the WGS, the male students who have affirmed that they would attend the WGS posed higher values in the reasons of career prospect, or Experience. Although it may be considered striking to get such responses especially from male students, one reason why for example they had higher percentages in career prospect is that those who actually said yes might want to engage in future careers that involve policy making, or working in different international organizations whose mission is to bring about gender equality as a dominant principle in the policy making process. On the other hand, the reason why men in this case are shown to have more experience in regards to gender inequality is linked to the way how the question in the study was framed. Specifically, they were asked whether they or any other members of their family had previously experienced gender inequality at home, at workforce, or at school. Thus, there is a great chance that some of these answers from males to have included the experienced of e.g. their sisters, or their female friends while answering the question, and in turn affecting the results.

Figure 4: Factors that Determine the Demand for WGS

	Demand	Career Pros	Experience	Discussion
Male	48.89%	92.31%	38.46%	69.23%
Female	86.11%	90.91%	36.36%	81.82%

Since gender-based discrimination often times is the focal point of various issues that impact society, students were asked to circle among issues such as Rule of Law, Economic Inequality, Education, Public Policy, Violence, and Culture as to what they consider to be relevant in the area of gender. As illustrated in Figure 3, the results were more or less anticipates as nearly all of these aspects are affected and linked by gender. However, the students ranked Education as being as the most relevant topic on issues of gender, followed by Public Policy, Violence, Rule of Law, Culture and Economic Inequality.

Figure 3: Most Important Topics Linked to Issues of Gender %
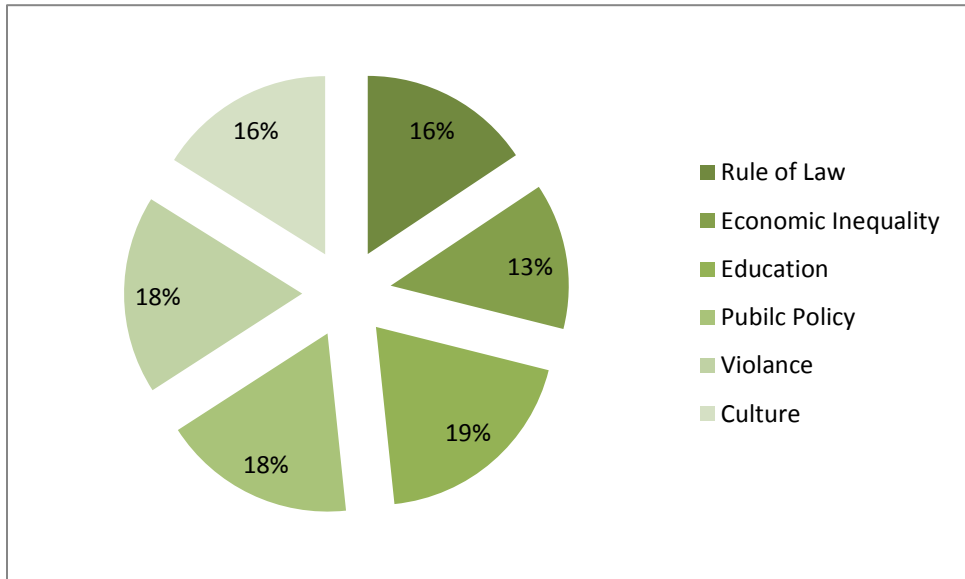
Furthermore, after being presented to the content of the courses (see Appendix 2) that were identified as potentially relevant to AUK students and complementary to the other programs offered currently, the respondents were asked to rank the courses on a scale from 1(most interesting) to 6 (least interesting). The data showed that the most interesting course as it pertains to the preferences of the (total) respondents is the *Economic Role of Women*, followed by the courses *Women and Visual Arts, Women in Politics, Women, Work, and Culture, Foundations of Women's and Gender Studies,* and *Gender, Science, and Technology* as the least important one.

Analysis of Data through Probit Regression

The second part of the Questionnaire that was distributed to the sample students contained close-ended questions of the Yes/No form (except from age). The purpose of these questions was to determine by what amount the independent variables presented in Table 3 affect the dependent variable which is the demand for the WGS.

Table 3: Definitions of the Dependent and the Independent Variables of the Model

Demand (Y)	Yes - 1 No - 0	The demand for a Women's and Gender Studies minor program at AUK
Academic Year(AY)	Freshmen - 1 Sophomore-2 Junior-3 Senior-4	The current academic year of the respondent measured in years
Age(AG)		The age of the respondent measured in years
Sex(S)	Female-0 Male-1	whether the respondent is male or female
Career Prospect(CP)	Yes - 1 No-0	Whether attending a women and gender studies program would positively impact future employment opportunities

Discussion (DSC)	Yes - 1 No-0	Whether the respondent has been part of in class discussions regarding gender inequality
Experience (Exp)	Yes - 1 No-0	Whether the respondent or a member of his/her family have previously experienced gender inequality
Faculty(FCT)	Yes - 1 No- 0	Whether knowing who would teach the program would have an impact on their choice

Thus, considering that the expected answers were binomial in nature, namely the respondents either wanted to attend the WGS program, or they did not want to attend such a program, Probit regression estimation method was used to evaluate the probability of students in attending this program. The Probit Analysis is a specialized regression model of binomial response variables which is used to compare the relationship of the response variable or dependent variable to the independent variable (Vincent, n.d., p.1). As Kotorri pointed out, whenever there is a choice between two alternatives to be examined empirically, then Probit specification is used that determines the likelihood of each of the alternatives to occur (2010, p.18). Specifically, the data set on which the estimation is based has been drawn from a stratified random sample survey of 81 AUK student respondents. Table 4 represents the results from the evaluation of the Probit specification.

Table 4. Probit Estimation of the Probability of the Demand for WGS

Demand	Coef.	Std. Err.	z	P>z
AY _2	1.277545	0.747259	1.71	**0.087**
AY_3	1.509794	1.117531	1.35	0.177
AY _4	1.495458	1.210872	1.24	0.217
AG	-0.227981	0.228348	-1	0.318
S	-1.08278	0.47268	-2.29	**0.022**
CP	2.737739	0.606323	4.52	**0**
DSC	0.2608989	0.505107	0.52	0.605
EXP	1.249278	0.57576	2.17	**0.03**
FCT	-0.273634	0.507015	-0.54	0.589
constant	2.567677	4.05396	0.63	0.526

Further, table 4 shows the results and the relationship among the dependent variable and the independent variables. One of the columns in the table presents the coefficients of independent variables, which measure the relationship among the dependent and independent variables. Another column presents the standard error of each variable, which shows the deviation of respondents from the mean. The table also shows the significance level of each independent variable, which is presented by P>z and shows whether a certain variable resulted to be statistically significant at a certain level of confidence. Using number from table 4, the probability of different students from AUK to attend WGS can be evaluated. Please note that AY_1 is not present in the table since the software used it as a benchmark in comparing the academic year variable. Based on the Probit output, the expected probability of attending WGS is calculated with the following equation:

$$Y= NormalDist\{C + \beta_1 (AY) + \beta_2 (AG) + \beta_3 (S) + \beta_4 (EXP) + \beta_5 (DCS) + \beta_6 (CP) + \beta_7 (FCT)\}$$

Y: Probability of attending a WGS minor at AUK
C: constant
β: coefficient of variables

For example, let us try and calculate the probability of a student attending a WGS program at AUK in the following case. Let us assume that the probability to attend the program is tested for a female student who is in the third academic year, 22 years old, has had experience in gender inequality, has previously discussed regarding this issue at class, but believes that this might not affect her career, and that the faculty who are going to teach the program do not matter in her choice of attending the program. The Probit equation for this student will be as follows:

Y= NormalDist{C+ 1.509794 (1) - 0.227981 (22) - 1.08278 (0) + 1.249278 (1) +0.2608989 (1) + 2.737739 (0) - 0.273634 (0)}

Y = NormalDist (0.572068) = 0.7164

Based on this calculation, the probability of the student at point to attend a WGS program at AUK is 71.64%. Or, for instance if we take as an example a 23 year-old male students who has never experienced gender inequality, is in the senior year, but has been part of in class discussion regarding gender issues at class, and believes that attending the WGS would positively affect his

career then, and regardless of who is going to teach the program, his probability (likelihood) to attend the program is

Y= NormalDist{C+ 1.495458 (1) - 0.227981 (23) - 1.08278 (1) + 1.249278 (0) +0.2608989 (1) + 2.737739 (1) - 0.273634 (1)}

Y = NormalDist (0.461798) = 0.6779

Based on the above formula, various combinations can be made with the identified variables that have been theoretically considered to impact the demand for the program, and based on the answers of the respondents they can be used to make probability estimations through the Probit specification and offer a clearer sense of the likelihood that students based on these variables have to attend the program.

Conclusion

The underrepresentation of women in main institutions, the prevalent gender-based stereotypes that manifest women as submissive to men, and the belief that women have "duties" rather than "rights", have given way to an unequal participation of men and women in areas such as education, workforce, property ownership, decision-making positions, or representation. Thus, the capacities of AUK were evaluated in establishing a WGS program as it would function complementary the existing majors at AUK. Further, through a primary research data collection method, the interest of AUK students to attend the WGS was assessed. Based on the findings, it can be concluded there is a great need for a source of research knowledge in the field of WGS, not only within the program of AUK, but mostly within the country because there are few studies done that portray reality as it is, rather as they consider it to be. Therefore, establishing such a program at AUK would imply that students would be involved in researching, analyzing, and developing projects that take a gendered approach, and as a result serve as guiding documents towards the implementation of sensitive policies that decision makers undertake in Kosovo.

Limitations

Although throughout the development of the project the main important sources were considered, there were still some other issues that because of the scope of the project we left out

and can be regarded as limitations of the research. Not including a financial framework within which the program would operate poses one limitation that is linked mainly to the scope of the project, but nevertheless is an important factor that determines whether AUK would be able to establish and implement the WGS program. Also, the project did not consider a cost-benefit analysis which would be important especially in terms of the feasibility of the implementation of the project. Having to comply in an exact manner with the equivalent program that RIT offers has posed as a limitation to a certain extent because it did limited the project to seek for other topics except of those that were presented through the mentioned courses. Although the data gathered through surveys gave a clearer sense in terms of student preferences and outcomes, still being that a portion of those data involve preferences about the future, or expected results, then in some terms such results might be considered as limitations.

Recommendations

Considering that research has shown that there is a great need among Kosovar society to take investigate more on issues of gender as it shapes the status of men and women, because the there is a considerable lack of robust data and those who exist are limited to only a few cases. Thus, one recommendation would be to start researching on a greater scale about the need for a WGS program in Kosovo, the capacity of AUK as an academic institution and through that manner present a more specific feasibility study that might be a determining factor in the realization of the idea of having a WGS program in Kosovo, and making a gender-balanced playing field a living reality in Kosovo. Further, in spite of this feasibility study, increased cooperation and integration among the AUK partners would enable students to have a wider assortment of class choices and a greater possibility of capturing the main issues that are to be discussed and research about during the program.

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Appendices

Apendix 1. Gender and Politics Syllabus

American University in Kosovo
Instructor: Nita Luci
Course: Gender and Politics

I. Syllabus

The intersection of gender and politics is a complex field of study and can be approached from varied theoretical positions. One may study gender as an organizing principle of social movements, an expression of personal experience, as a mechanism of international relations, a defining principle of political philosophical thought, as constituting principle of states, or as modality of economic production. From these varied approached one claim is certainly evident - gender provides one of the most powerful forms of cultural, economic, and political reproduction.

This course takes the approach of defining this intersection as a study of feminist thought as it applies to the political, economic and social status of women and men. We begin with a review of some key feminist theoretical standpoints and they ways in which feminist theorists have engaged issues of political participation and the assumed public/private divide. Among the questions we will attempt to answer are the ways in which feminists have weighed the impacts on women of colonialism, neo-colonialism and nationalism and local forms of patriarchy? How do feminists build explanations for patriarchal beliefs and practices that take into account differences among their societies' women derived from class and caste systems, ethnic and racial biases? How do feminists understand the role of the state in gendering identities, access and relations? And how do feminists debate the pitfalls and potential benefits of international alliances with feminists of other societies? We will inquire how this theorization has been expressed through women's political movements, state policies, and international conventions and legal mechanisms.

During the second half of the term, students will study a number of policies (public or otherwise) as they apply to and affect women, social and legal norms on gender, and examine the opportunities for women to participate in the political process. These include, but are not limited to health care, urban planning, employment, domestic violence, environment, demilitarization, diplomacy, public administration, human security, LGBT rights, etc.

II. Assignments

1. *Biography of a Woman in Politics.* To get students thinking about and interested in gender and politics, they will select a woman from any country in the world who is or was involved in politics and write an analysis of her life and political work (5 double-spaced pages). This should not simply list facts, such as birth date, schools attended, political office held, but should describe, analyze, and evaluate her political role and contributions to women's political equality. As with any paper you

write, this paper must have a thesis statement that clearly articulates the original argument you will make about the person you have selected. The name and a short description will be submitted for approval at the end of the second week of the semester (1 typed page or less). The biography will be due at the end of the fifth week and is worth 20% of the final grade.

2. Advocacy Paper. This is a group research paper no longer than 20 pages in length that advocates a specific policy on an issue affecting women or pertaining to gender equality. The papers can be directed to governments, international governing bodies or organizations. The paper draft will be due at the end of week seven and the final paper during finals week. Guideline for writing these papers will be submitted to students. Each student will be responsible for particular tasks and will be graded individually for their component; nonetheless the quality of the overall paper will also be graded. The paper is worth 30% of the final grade – 20% individual contribution, 10% synthesis of individual components into one clear paper.

3. Running a class session. Students will be organized into groups to run a class session during week 8, 9, and 10. There will be six groups in total with 3-5 members. Two groups per class session will present on the topic their advocacy paper is based. This assignment will not be organized as a group presentation rather students will use the class session to advocate for the proposed policy. Each group will distribute readings to the class in order to prepare them to hear the proposal. They will identify stakeholders who will be represented by other groups in class whom they have to convince of their policy proposal. The presentation should be 15 minutes in length and the other 40 minutes for discussion. This component is worth 20% of the final grade.

4.   Participation
The course is organized through an even distribution of lectures and discussion. This is a reading intensive class therefore students should come prepared having read the materials. Discussion of the readings for each session is a central part of this course, and is indispensable to your pleasure and learning. Attend faithfully; participate vigorously. To prepare for discussions, it will be helpful for you to think about the following questions well before class: What are the arguments of the reading(s)? How do the readings relate to one another? What are the terms and assumptions the author employs? Do you agree or disagree with the arguments of the author and on what grounds? What are the strengths and weaknesses of the arguments? The materials will be made available on "mycourses" or placed in reserve at the Library. Please make sure you have all the readings for the course and that you bring the relevant readings to class every meeting. Participation is worth 10% of the final grade.

5. Final exam

A final exam worth 20% of the final grade will be held during finals week. The exam will require short essay responses to questions pertaining to the readings (week I – VII). Further guidelines will be offered in class.

III. Grade

1. Biography	20%
2. Advocacy paper	30% (20% individual; 10% group)
3. Class session	20%
4. Final exam	20%
5. Participation	10%

Class schedule

Week I: Doing theory

Joan Scott, "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis," American Historical Review 91, No. 5 (1986): 1053-75.

bell hooks, "Theory as Liberatory Practice" In Teaching to Transgress (New York: Routledge, 1994): 59-75

Wendy Brown, "Where is the Sex in Political Theory?" Women & Politics 7 (1987): 3-23

Audre Lorde, "The Master's Tools Will Never Dismantle the Master's House," (1983), in Feminist Postcolonial Theory, reina Lewis and Sara Mills, eds. (New York, Routledge: 2003): 25-42.

Week II: Liberal feminism and Its Limits

Carole Pateman, "Feminist Critiques of the Public/Private Dichotomy" In The Disorder of Women (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1989): 118-39

Catharine MacKinnon, "Difference and Dominance: On Sex Discrimination," *Feminism Unmodified: Discourses on Life and Law* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1987).

Stuart Hall, "Variants of Liberalism," *Politics and Ideology,* James Donald and Stuart Hall, Eds (Philadelphia: Open University Press, 1986).

Week III: Historical Materialism, Feminist Standpoint and the Uses of Essentialism

Catharine MacKinnon, "Marxism, Method and the State: Toward Feminist Jurisprudence" Signs 8: (1983): 635-58

Heidi Hartmann, "The Unhappy Marriage of Marxism and Feminism: Towards a More Progressive Union," *Women and Revolution,* Lydia Sargent, ed. (South End Press, 1981): 1- 41

Chandra Mohanty, "Women Workers and Capitalist Scripts: Ideologies of Domination, Common Interests, and the Politics of Solidarity," *Feminist Genealogies, Colonial Legacies, Democratic Futures,* M.J. Alexander and C. Mohanty, eds. (New York, Routledge: 1997): 3-29.

Nancy Hartsock, "The Feminist Standpoint: Developing the Ground for a Specific Feminist Historical Materialism," S. Harding, ed. *Feminism and Methodology*

Ynestra King, "Healing the Wounds" In Reweaving the World, Irene Diamond and Gloria Orenstein, eds. (San Francisco: Sierra Club Books, 1990): 106-21

Nancy Chodorow, "Family Structure and Feminine Personality" In Feminist Philosophies, J. Kourany, J. Sterba, and R. Tong, eds. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1992): 309-22

Week IV: Post-structuralism and Intersectionality

Judith Butler, "Performative Acts and Gender Constitution" Theatre Journal 49 (1989): 519-31

Nancy Hartsock, "Foucault on Power: A Theory for Women?" In Feminism/Postmodernism, Linda Nicholson, ed. (New York, Routledge: 1990), 157-75

Yuval-Davis, *Gender and Nation* (London: Sage Publications, 1997): Selections.

Donna Haraway, "A Cyborg Manifesto: Science, Technology, and Socialist-Feminism in the Late Twentieth Century," in *Simians, Cyborgs and Women: The Reinvention of Nature* (New York; Routledge, 1991): 149-181.

Week V: Theorizing Sex, Gender, Homosexuality and Masculinity

Shane Phelan, "(Be)Coming Out: Lesbian Identity and Politics," *Signs* (Summer, 1993)

Judith Butler, "Subjects of Sex/Gender/Desire," *Feminisms,* eds. Sandra Kemp and Judith Squires, (Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), pp. 273-291

R.W. Connell, "The Social Organization of Masculinity," *Masculinities* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), pp. 67-86

Gayle Rubin, "Thinking Sex: Notes for a Radical Theory of the Politics of Sexuality," *Pleasure and Danger: Exploring Female Sexuality,* ed. Carole S. Vance (Boston, MA: Routledge, 1984)

Week VI: Anti-Orientalist, Postcolonial and Third World Feminism

Reina Lewis and Sara Mills, eds. *Feminsit Postcolonial Theory: A Reader* (New York: Routledge, 203) Selections.

Week VII: Globalization, Conflict and Solidarity

Helms, Elissa L, "Women as Agents of Ethnic Reconciliation? Women NGOs and International Intervention in Postwar Bosnia-Herzegovina", In *Women's Studies International Forum.* 26(1) 2003: 15-33.

American Ethnologist Volume 39, Issue 1 (February 2012), Egypt's 2011 Revolt.

Week VIII, IX, X Running a class session

Description above in class assignments.

Appendix 2: Questionnaire

Questionnaire

The purpose of this questionnaire is to evaluate the knowledge and interest of AUK students regarding the establishment of a "Women's and Gender Studies Program at AUK". The data will be used for my honors project on the topic of "Establishing and Implementing a Women's and Gender Studies Program at AUK". All the gathered data will be used to develop an econometric model, and the answers will be kept anonymous.

Respondent

Age:

Year Level:

Ethnicity:

Sex:

Please answer the questions below:

1. **Are you familiar with the scope of Women and Gender Studies? Please explain in your words how you understand it.**

2. **Would you be interested in attending courses in Women's and Gender Studies at AUK? Why?**

   Please read the course descriptions below. Assign a number from 1 to 6 to each course in terms of your interest and relevance of the course - 1 being most interesting/relevant and six least interesting/relevant.

   Course Descriptions:

   Title: FOUNDATIONS OF WOMEN AND GENDER STUDIES - Nr.:
   The course will focus on the rise of feminist consciousness in the western world from the Middle Ages to the late 20th century. It will consider the concept of patriarchy, its dominance for the past four millennia, and the multitude of efforts by women and men to conceptualize an alternative world view. The course will consider key historical patriarchal and feminist texts, study the rise of feminist thought, and consider the history of women's activism and the women's rights movement from the late 18th century through the second half of the 20th century. The course will also consider feminist theory and the rise of feminism.

   Title: WOMEN, WORK AND CULTURE – Nr.:
   Broad sociological issues affecting women, work and culture are a result of the emerging global

economy and technological revolution. The course will consider how the process of gender socialization is complicated by the way in which gender intersects with racial, class ethnic, sexual, and other identities. This course will present the major theoretical perspectives employed in sociology and women's studies and consider how they related to the study of women, work and culture.

Title: GENDER, SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY – Nr.:
This course explores feminist critiques of Western science and technology by investigating the ways in which gender, power and politics shape the content and context of science and technology. Particular attention is placed upon social and cultural dimensions of scientific and technological practices including the development of theory, method and application.

Title: ECONOMIC ROLE OF WOMEN – Nr.:
This course applies economic theory to explain choices faced and selected by women concerning marriage, fertility and labor market participation, alongside government policies targeting those decisions Empirical research will be presented that describes the changing demographic profile of families, poverty and the labor force. Students in this course will gain experience evaluating how economic theory and practice fits into the larger social sciences goal of describing human behavior by focusing on the changing economic role of women.

Title: WOMEN AND THE VISUAL ARTS – Nr.:
Examines the image of women in the visual arts and the role of women image makers. Major topics include the variety of images of women, the evolution and change of these images over time, media images (as differentiated from fine art images) of women, images of women by women and by men, women's images and the issues of their relationship to the images made by men, the nude and pornography, history of women artists, selected women artists and their work, relation of their work to the art of the period, current issues and status of women artists.

Title: WOMEN IN POLITICS – Nr.:
A study of feminist thought as it applies to the political, economic and social status of women and how it has been expressed through the women's political movement. Students study a number of public policies as they apply to and affect women and examine the opportunities for women to participate in the political process.

3. **What did you like and what did you not like about the course content in the description?**

4. **What would you expect/like to learn from Women and Gender Studies that was not included in the descriptions above?**

5. **What topics/issues would you like to learn about from the field of Women and Gender Studies?**

6. **Would you attend a women and gender studies program?**

a) Yes
b) No

7. **Do you believe that attending this program would positively affect your career prospect in the future?**
        a. Yes
        b. No

8. **Why? Refer to the previous question.**

9. **Have any of your university professors talked about gender in their class? If yes, which one?**

10. **Did you find the discussion relevant and helpful, or had the opportunity to use it in other classes, in work situations etc.?**
   a. Yes
    b. No

11. **Have either you or any of your family members experienced gender inequality e.g. at home, at work?**
   a. Yes
   c. No
   c. I don't know

   12. Which of the following topics do you think can be linked to issues of gender – circle/highlight all relevant ones.

a. Rule of Law

b. Economic Inequality

c. Education

d. Public Policy

e. Violence

f. Culture

13. It is believed that prior to choosing their minors, students want to know which faculty members are going to teach the program. Thus, do you consider that faculty members affect your decision of choosing a Women's and Gender Studies Program at AUK?

      a.   Yes

      b.   No

14. Why? Refer to the previous question.

Appendix 3: Data from Surveys

Year level	Age	Sex	Demand	Career Prospect	Discussion	Experience	Topic	Faculty
1	18	Male	Yes	yes	Yes	Yes	c, e, f	Yes
1	19	Male	no	no	no	No	a,b,c,d,e,f	yes
1	20	Male	no	no	Yes	No	e,f	Yes
1	18	Male	Yes	yes	no	yes	e,a	Yes
1	19	Male	no	no	no	No	a,b,c	Yes
1	18	Male	no	yes	Yes	No	a, d, e	Yes
1	17	Male	Yes	no	Yes	yes	a	Yes
1	18	Male	no	yes	no	No	b,d	Yes
2	20	Male	Yes	yes	Yes	No	e	Yes
2	21	Male	Yes	yes	No	No	c	Yes
2	20	Male	yes	yes	no	no	a, c,e,f	yes
2	19	Male	no	no	Yes	yes	b,f	Yes
2	19	Male	no	no	yes	no	a	yes
2	20	Male	Yes	yes	Yes	No	a,b,c,d,e,f	Yes
2	19	Male	no	no	Yes	No	c,d,f	Yes
2	19	Male	no	yes	Yes	no	c	Yes
3	22	Male	Yes	yes	Yes	Yes	a,b,c,d,e,f	Yes
3	22	Male	no	no	Yes	yes	d	Yes
3	21	Male	Yes	yes	Yes	yes	f	Yes
4	21	Male	no	no	No	No	d, f	Yes
4	23	Male	Yes	yes	Yes	No	a,c,d,e	Yes
4	21	Male	no	yes	no	No	b	Yes
4	22	Male	no	no	Yes	yes	d	Yes
4	23	Male	Yes	yes	Yes	No	a,b,c,d	Yes
4	24	Male	Yes	yes	no	No	a	Yes
4	21	Male	Yes	yes	Yes	No	a,b,c,d,e,f	Yes