

III. ЖІНКИ В ПОЛІТИЦІ В УКРАЇНІ: НАЦІОНАЛЬНИЙ РІВЕНЬ

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WOMEN AND POLITICS IN UKRAINE: TOWARDS DEFINING THE PRINCIPLES OF COOPERATION BETWEEN LOCAL AND INTERNATIONAL ACTORS

After Ukraine acquired independence in 1991, the turbulent process of post-soviet transition has produced heavy effects on women's lives. Alongside with exclusion of women from social and economic life, women's participation in political decision-making has become one of the critical issues on the development agenda of the country. According to the statistics, women remain at the periphery of Ukrainian politics – that contradicts Ukraine's commitment to the basic principles and values of human rights. Due to the restricted resources owned by the Ukrainian state to support women's organizations and activities aimed at promoting women's rights, Western support has been and still remains a decisive source of both ideological and financial supplement to gender projects. Local activists are working in a close cooperation with international organizations represented in the region. On this background, securing the whole spectrum of human rights of women in Ukraine and favoring women's participation in political decision-making to a great extent depends upon whether Western and local actors will find effective ways of cooperation and achieve mutual understanding regarding common principles of their work.

The following presentation will 1) shed light on the issue of women's political participation in Ukraine from the perspective of the global agenda of human rights and give a brief account of the universal significance of women's participation in politics. Further, 2) the presentation will inquire

into the main principles of cooperation of international and local activists by analyzing contemporary feminist discussions on the ways and strategies of international feminist interaction. And last but not least, on the basis of the conducted analysis and selected literature on the issue of women's political participation in Ukraine 3) some preliminary conclusions and recommendations will be made with respect to building a productive East-West cooperation to favor the inclusion of women into political decision-making in Ukraine.

The Universal Meaning of the Issue of Women's Political Participation

The universal meaning of women's right to political participation is grounded in recognition, that this right plays an important role for securing the possibility for a personal self-determination and maintaining of human dignity¹. Thus, in the Article 1 of Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR, 1948) it is stated: «All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights.» As long as human rights constitute an indivisible and interdependent whole, the right for political participation should be perceived as an integral element of the whole spectrum of civil, economic and cultural rights, which are essential conditions for maintaining the dignity of a person. Relevance of the whole spectrum of human rights to women is expressed in the article 2 of UDHR, which states: «Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, color, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status». Owing to the mentioned principle of indivisibility of human rights, this statement is also relevant to the right of women for political participation.

As it has been realized at the global level, gender neutrality of the international human rights standards practically

¹ Universal Declaration of Human Rights 1948, article 1. In the Norwegian context, a programmatic elaboration of the universal concept of human dignity is given in, among others, in: Focus on Human Dignity. Some Aspects of the Norwegian Plan of Action for Human Rights White Paper No. 21 (1999–2000). The Royal Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1.

results in disadvantage of women. This is why, aside from UDHR, a range of special 'women's' documents has been elaborated at the global level, such as Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), 1979, reports of World Conferences on Women (1975, 1980, 1985, 1995), Reports of World Conferences (1993, 1994), and different documents on the rights of women in special contexts. Elaboration and adoption of the special women's convention CEDAW has been based on the acknowledgement that first, despite the existence of various instruments for protection of human rights, extensive discrimination against women continues to exist; second, needs of women are not automatically recognized unless they articulate them and fight for them; and third, existing human rights standards applicable to women, are often unknown by the affected women themselves. Deriving from this, CEDAW underlines that discrimination against women violates the principles of equality of rights and respect for human dignity and suggests introducing a 'reverse discrimination', or 'affirmative action', in order to secure the enjoyment of the whole spectrum of human rights by women. It requires the participating States to take all appropriate measures, including changing the local legislation if necessary, to ensure full development and advancement of women. This statement of CEDAW has put a beginning to the practice of the so-called gender quotas. In political sphere gender quotas are being practiced as rotations in the party lists during Parliamentary Elections. As it has been demonstrated by the experience of many countries that have introduced gender quotas in politics, quotas have become effective mechanisms of restoration of gender equality in the sphere of political decision-making.²

² A systematic overview of the United Nation's documents on the human rights of women is made in a range of sources as e.g.: Women and Human Rights: the basic documents. New York: Center for Study of Human Rights. Columbia University 1996; Gudmundur Alfredson and Katarina Tomasevski (eds.) A Thematic Guide to Documents on the Human Rights of Women, Martinus Nijhoff Publishers The Hague/Boston/London 1995; Tomasevski, K., Women and human rights, London: Zed Books 1993; Achworth, Georgi-

After Ukraine acquired independence in 1991 and became an independent subject of international law, it has become a local player in the global context. In spite of the fact that Ukraine has ratified the basic human rights conventions (including CEDAW), the country still shows one of the lowest figures of women's political representation in the region. After the Parliamentary Elections in the year 2002, in the Ukrainian Parliament there were only 5.1% of women (against 94,9% of men). Political parties offer unequal possibilities for women and men for becoming Ukrainian people's deputies. E.g. among 206 candidates, given in the list of the leading parties block «Our Ukraine», there were only 10 women; in the lists of «Block of Julia Timoshenko» there were only 44 women among 223 candidates. The same situation exists in the majority of Ukrainian parties, except for the party «Women for the Future», which does not play a significant role in political processes in Ukraine. In addition, the programs of political parties do not include gender component in its modern interpretation as an element for creation of a just society, but rather use an old soviet formulation of 'improving the status of women', which was rejected by international structures in 1990ies as out-of-date.³

On this background the question arises how is it possible to change the factual situation of women's exclusion from political decision-making in Ukraine and secure possibilities for a full-worthy human existence of women in the country. Taking into consideration that the human rights standards are shared by all, and taking into consideration the mentioned dependence of the transition societies on Western support, it becomes obvious that the practices of international collaboration and exchange of experience from the more advanced to those who need help plays an important

na, Changing the discourse: a guide to women and human rights, London: Change 1993; Т. М. Мельник «Міжнародний досвід утвердження гендерної рівності»// Міжнародний досвід забезпечення рівності жінок та чоловіків. Матеріали міжнародної конференції. Україна, Київ, 30 червня – 1 липня 2003 року.

³ Gender Issues in Ukraine. Challenges and Opportunities. United Nations Development Programme, UN in Ukraine, Kyiv 2003, 9–12.

role in creating conditions for women's advancement at the local level. The universal meaning of the right of women for political participation, which has been expressed in UDHR and in a range of United Nation's 'women's' documents (including CEDAW with its recommendation of 'positive affirmative measures'), as well as a successful experience of a range of democratic countries in incorporating the universal principles of human rights, constitutes the premises for the international collaboration for the advancement of women.

Proceeding from this, we will reflect on the ways and strategies of international cooperation for the advancement of women, and then make some preliminary conclusions and recommendations on the better ways of political advancement of women in Ukraine. By international cooperation for the advancement of women, we mean an interaction of different international and local actors, who are responsible for promoting the rights of women. This involves coordinated activities of different international organizations represented in the region and various local activists, such as the state with its ministries and departments, political parties and parliamentary members, parliamentary commissions, local women's organizations (civil society), academic and research institutes, etc. Regardless of the obvious importance of the international cooperation for promoting women's rights, strategies, methods, and ethics of this collaboration remain undefined and require a thorough elaboration. As the issue of international cooperation for the advancement of women has been mostly discussed by the Western activists of women's movement, we will first make an overview of these discussions and then apply their insights to a specific Ukrainian context and to a broader spectrum of actors.

International Cooperation on the Advancement of Women: towards Defining the Principles of «East» – «West» Dialogue

One of the characteristic features of the contemporary women's movement is a so-called «traffic in feminism», i. e. translation of knowledge and experience together with moral and financial support of different actors from the deve-

loping and transition countries by the organizations from the West. In this context, women-activists ask questions like: is the globalization of feminism another form of Western expansion; what should be the feminist agenda of the 21 century; is it justified to use the concepts of human rights to the many-folded cultures and ways of development in the world; are the fundamental ideas of human rights, including the idea of women's independence, connected to the cultural specificity of development in the West; can human rights and the rights of women be considered to be universal, and others. To my mind, the mentioned debates about the justification of universal values of feminism are rooted in the problem of absence of clear direction marks on the way of international dialogue. One doubts not about the significance of the fundamental values and ideals, but about methods used for their achievement.

Thus, we are being confronted with the question: what should be the most suitable methods and strategies of international collaboration in the field of women's rights? Contemporary feminist discussions of globalization of feminism point out two main perspectives. Some researches underline that international women's cooperation should proceed from the following presuppositions: first, there exist a common world of women; second, strategies of empowerment for women from different parts of the world should be similar; and third, problems and strategies should be first defined in the center, in the developed West, and then translated to the less advanced peripheries, to other countries.⁴ This approach is identified in literature as 'global feminism'.

In contrast to this, another group of researchers gives their sympathies to the so-called «transnational feminism». The adherents of «transnational feminism» underline a difference of women's situations and stress that strategies of feminist struggle could be various in different social con-

⁴ Aino Saarinen: Globalisation and Traffic in Feminism – the Barents Case around Violence and Prostitution, in: Aino Saarinen and Elaine-Belanger (eds.) Crisis Centres and Violence against Women. Dialogue in the Barents Region, 9–16, 10.

texts. Consequently, the ground of international feminist cooperation should not be hierarchic, but should be founded on dialog and alliances of women across the world. They stress the importance of the politics of solidarity, respect for differences and exchange of experience. At the same time, they underline that as far as there are obvious gaps in economic development, a part of this policy should deal with provision of support from the more advanced to those for whom struggle for survival is an everyday life. Additionally, the adherents of the strategy of the second type underline that the very concept of the «West» should be deconstructed, as far as there is a variety of experiences and practices of women's movement in different countries of Western Europe. A decisive point in this argumentation is that we can talk about existence of a common conceptual field and an exchange of ideas, but as far as experience is concerned, it would be more justified to perceive the current state as diffusion:

«...it may be that the themes and issues 'travel' well and have an important part to play in the dynamics of women's movements, but as far as scope, frame, perspective and solutions are concerned, it is fruitful to approach this traffic more as diffusion...»⁵

Do 'global' and 'transnational' approaches to women's international cooperation exclude each other? Not necessarily. «Global feminism» and «trans-national» feminism' can be perceived as the concepts that complete each other. 'Global feminism' can be understood as a strategy that defines the most basic aims and objectives of feminist activities all over the world in the context of fundamental human rights. 'Global feminism' becomes more actual in the conditions of globalization of economy and the following universalization of moral and material values, which are necessary to secure a full-worthy human existence. At the same time, in the development of concrete local activities aimed at promotion of women's rights, universal principles and ideals can be implemented by a variety of methods. 'Transnational feminism'

⁵ Ibid., 11.

with its tolerance to differences allows avoiding the danger of building activities according to some pre-defined schemes and opens possibilities for initiatives and new decisions. Universalism is justified when we talk about values and ideals of women's international cooperation, whereas particularism is appropriate when we try to define concrete suitable ways of solving problems.

The problem of the empowerment of 'Eastern' actors

The question about strategies and methods of the implementation of the ideals of human rights is closely linked to the earlier mentioned problem of the relation between different actors involved into activities aimed at promotion of women's rights. The success in institutionally securing women's rights depends to a large extent on the dynamics of the relationship of the involved activists. Therefore, Western woman-activists and coordinators of the international development projects underline that the current conditions of financial support, structural and conceptual recommendations from Western actors may erroneously result in a one-sided self-perception of Eastern activists as help receivers. In this context, the question arises how can these activists gain control and achieve a full self-realization. In other words, how can women's organizations and other local institutions feel that it is they who put forward initiatives and make decisions? The following solution is suggested: aid recipients can feel themselves as empowered activists only if feminist projects would be re-defined every time by the aid recipients in their unique social contexts:

«Aid on the terms and conditions of those giving it will doubtless increase suspicions concerning feminism. By now, we should have agreed on that it is not a Western export product into the transitional East, but something open that will be defined anew in these new contexts and by these new actors... This will help the aid receivers to become truly empowered agents themselves. In the final instance, ready-made definitions and hierarchic relationships become severe

hindrances to transnational dialogue and learning from other's experiences and analyses...»⁶

As a theoretical justification of their approach, adherents of trans-nationalism use concepts of 'trans-versalism' and deliberative democracy. A re-definition of the frameworks and content of feminist projects presupposes the practice of dialogue and taking a place of the 'other', who is acting in different socio-political surroundings and contexts. Dialogue also makes it possible for productive disagreements and discussions to emerge.⁷ At the same time it is important to add that universal recommendations and norms can serve as a common ground for the trans-national conversation.

From the point of view of a theoretician, it would be fruitful to elaborate on the complex of philosophic concepts of dialogue, deliberative democracy, construction and deconstruction of self-images and images of the 'other', and see how these descriptions could enrich the practice of international women's collaboration. But this would be an extended work that would require much more time than we have for our discussion today. Instead of this, I would like to make a practical argument taken from the experience of participation in international development projects. To my mind, in order to further develop the so-called trans-national practice of international collaboration (which, as we have seen above, necessarily contains elements of universalism) it is important to make efforts to jointly build the whole process of cooperation starting from its planning and commencement to its completion and a possible continuation. Instead of a complicated process of re-definition, international development projects from the very beginning can be executed on the basis of equal partnership. Harmony and equity in the relations of Western and Eastern cooperation partners can be achieved not merely on the conditions

⁶ Ibid., 12.

⁷ Tensions in Combating Violence Against Women in the East-West Transregion of Barents - The «Man Question» in: Aino Saarinen and Elaine-Belanger (eds.) Crisis Centres and Violence against Women. Dialogue in the Barents Region, 69-91, 81.

when Western partners support initiatives of their Eastern colleagues, but rather when all involved activists jointly participate in the defining of the conditions, organizational frameworks and the content of cooperation.

The period when Western institutions have just started to develop cooperation ties with the partners from the Eastern block and the former Soviet Union, during which Western activists have played a decisive role in defining the structure and organizational frameworks of the trans-border cooperation, is slowly coming to its end. At present, there is a pull towards the strategy of equal partnership in the international East-West collaboration on the agenda. The activists, who have had an experience of cooperation on the basis of financial and structural support from the West, should go over to a new phase characterized by a joint fund rising for the projects and a joint definition of structural and organizational principles of their work. By doing this, activists and institutions from Eastern Europe would receive an opportunity to come up with new productive proposals and, if necessary, suggest corrections in defining the structural conditions of the fund-giving institutions. Of course, the leading role in this process will be given to the countries of Eastern Europe who have successfully accomplished the process of democratic transformation, such as Poland, Hungary, the Baltic States, and others. The next turn belongs to activists from the countries of the former Soviet Union, and Ukraine in particular.

Women and politics in Ukraine: Global Perspectives in a Local Context

On the basis of the conducted analysis of the universal meaning of the issue of women's political participation and the ways and principles of international women's collaboration we can draft some directions for answering the question about the most effective ways of implementation of the universal recommendations and norms for Ukraine and the ways of interaction of Western and local activists for the political advancement of women in the country. By doing this, we will draw in an analysis of the Ukrainian scholars con-

cerning the major problems of women's political participation in Ukraine, as well as some latest political documents of the country's development, and try to integrate these materials into the already drafted 'universal' context of the issue of women's participation in politics.

1. On the development agenda of Ukraine there should be an active integration of gender component into the general human rights politics. Ukrainian activists – the state, which plays an important part in promoting human rights in the region, political parties, media, women's organizations and others – should realize that women's rights are integral to human rights. Protection of women's rights (including the right for political participation) should be perceived as an essential part of the overall efforts to secure possibilities for a full-worthy human existence and maintenance of human dignity in the region.

2. It is vitally important for Ukrainian actors to jointly elaborate a new constructive approach to women's representation in politics which should contrast the current formal attitude towards the issue, which has been dominant in the past. As it has been underlined in the post-soviet feminist literature, Ukraine has inherited from the Soviet times a formal approach to the involvement of women in politics. The fact that one third of the people's deputies in the Supreme Council of the Soviet Union were women was, first of all, secured by orders 'from above', second of all, women-deputies represented rather not the interests of women, but the interests of working and farm production and were not allowed to the posts that gave access to power and resources.⁸ One of the characteristic features of the Soviet political system of governance was a so-called 'male-crazy' ('muzhekratia', power of men), which involved obvious gender asymmetries in the system of power, prevalence of men in the leading positions and orientation of political leaders for international and 'global' national issues instead of making

⁸ В. Бондаровська, О. Кириленко та ін.: «Жінки на виборах 2002: психологічний аналіз успіхів та прорахунків» / Програма підтримки партнерства жінок та чоловіків в політиці ОЛЬГА: Матеріали до семінарів із впровадження гендерних підходів у політику, Київ 2002, 54–68.

concrete steps towards solving concrete everyday problems of citizens.⁹ In that system of power there was no place for women to struggle for their own political rights.

The perception of gender politics in the context of the 'protection of mothers and children' prevails in the state development programs and in the programs of Ukrainian political parties until now. Even in the latest development program of the Cabinet of Ministers, which proclaims securing the rights of people as its main goal, women are being mentioned exclusively in the context of overcoming the tendency of birth reduction in Ukraine, whereas the human rights of women and the issues of women's political and social participation are completely ignored.¹⁰

At the same time, after people's demonstrations to support democracy during Presidential Elections in November 2004 and a following radical change of the country's national policy in the direction of the humanization of society and giving priority to basic values of human rights, Ukraine has got a unique chance to introduce gender component into the state politics and elaborate concrete measures aimed at increasing social and political participation of women. Since late 2004, for the first time in the history of Ukraine's independence, the program of development of the new government has been aimed at protection of human dignity and people's interests. Setting forward the issue of women's rights and gender mainstreaming at the development and political agenda could be a logical continuation of the intentions of the new government to humanize the country's policy and make the image of democratic parties and blocks a more attractive one.

3. As a result, Ukrainian state and political parties have a unique possibility to become serious global players acting to promote women rights in the region. Until now, a common belief of the activists of feminist movement in Ukraine was that the ideology of the post-soviet state discourse had been actively and forcibly usurping the rights women to represent their interests, which deprived women and women's organiza-

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ Програма діяльності Кабінету Міністрів «Назустріч людям», Київ 2005.

tions of a possibility to pronounce upon their actual problems and gave a perverted account of the situation of women in Ukraine. That allowed to reach the conclusion that feminism as political project was not possible in Ukraine. Feminist ideology seemed as dangerous mostly for those who held power in Ukraine as long as it criticized the very basis of the patriarchal power and insisted in its reconstruction, whereas other political ideologies did not intend to reconstruct the structure of totalitarian and patriarchal power and criticized only some of its manifestations, separate strategies or laws. Political parties were aware of the dominance of gender stereotypes in Ukrainian society and were afraid to lose electorate by including women in the lists of the main candidates. Consequently, in the post-soviet women's movement any act of representation of women's individuality which did not appeal to the state rhetoric was a genuine feminist act, whether it was openly based on the feminist terminology and the discourse system or not.¹¹

Although the argument about the resistance of the state and political system to gender transformations in Ukraine still has objective grounds, a radical isolation of the efforts to maintain women's individuality and a contraposition of the local women's movement to the retrograde official's activities starts to lose its pathos. The dissident culture of a self-expression through opposition to the totalitarian structures of the state should be replaced by active cooperation with the state structures in a patient educational work, persuasion and dialog between different social institutions.

4. Under Ukraine's international commitments and its goal to reach an improved gender balance by the year 2015 (proclaimed at the UN Millennium Summit in September 2000)¹², Ukrainian state activists should seriously consider a possibility to introduce gender mainstreaming into politics, including the practice of 'positive affirmative measures' to support women's advancement in all spheres, including the sphere of politics. As it has been shown, undertaking 'affirmative action', or gender

¹¹ *Irina Zhrebkina*. «Who is afraid of feminism in Ukraine?» How feminism is possible as a post-soviet political project» (www.kcgs.org.ua).

¹² *Gender Issues in Ukraine. Challenges and Opportunities*. United Nations Development Programme, UN in Ukraine, Kyiv 2003, 21.

quotas, is a universal (valid for all) recommendation, which has been put forward by the United Nations to level off the gender balance in the world societies and create conditions for maintaining human dignity worldwide. Accordingly, gender quotas can be perceived as an integral part of the measures aimed at protection of human rights and a means for building social justice and democracy in Ukraine. The introduction of the practice of 'temporary special measures' could become an integral part of the general course of humanization of politics adopted by the Ukrainian state after November 2004. In this context, local Ukrainian activists should unite their efforts to elaborate a complex mechanism of activities of the state institutions and learn from other countries' experience of gender mainstreaming and gender quotas.

At the same time, proceeding from the argument that the universal recommendations and norms concerning the protection of women's rights can be implemented by a variety of methods, Ukrainian activists should conduct an accurate inquiry into a possibility to introduce gender quotas in the present socio-cultural situation, study the existing alternatives to gender quotas and experience of alternative actions made by other countries, and, if necessary, suggest other possible solutions for the political advancement of women.

5. Since international cooperation to promote women's rights plays an important role in the process of the implementation of the ideals and norms of human rights, Ukrainian activists should actively cooperate with the international organizations and various 'Western' institutions on the issue of inclusion of women into political decision-making.

In Ukraine a range of international organizations are operating and all of them have promotion of the human rights for women on their agenda. They have different mandates and their activities are various. E.g. UNDP Ukraine with its Gender in Development Programme (GIDP) is one of the major actors promoting equal opportunities policy and initiating the process of gender awareness in Ukraine. It is initiating and focusing gender research and gender expertise of legislation, drafting and lobbying for adoption of the Gender Equality Law and promoting women's participation in politics. It is actively co-

operating with academic institutions and Ministry of education to establish gender education in higher institutions as well as primary and secondary schools.¹³ There is a range of other international organizations represented in Ukraine, who make efforts to promote gender equality in Ukraine, e. g. the OSCE Project-coordinator in Ukraine,¹⁴ International Women's Rights Center «La Strada – Ukraine»,¹⁵ and others.¹⁶

Both 'Western' and local activists should cooperate on the basis of a mutual respect and pursuit the equal partnership strategy. This would require local Ukrainian activists to actively use accessible international funds to promote appropriate local solutions; make own initiatives for creating international cooperation projects; report concrete local problems and tasks in the field of women's rights and use existing funds to solve them, etc. Correspondingly, international activists would be required to overcome the static approach of 'help provision' and pursuit cooperation on the basis of the inclusion of their Ukrainian partners into all phases of cooperation projects.

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ЖІНКИ І ПОЛІТИКА В УКРАЇНІ: ВИЗНАЧЕННЯ ЗАСАД СПІВРОБІТНИЦТВА МІЖ РЕГІОНАЛЬНИМИ І МІЖНАРОДНИМИ ЧИННИКАМИ

Анотація

Після здобуття Україною незалежності в 1991 році бурхливий процес переходу до «пострадянських» реалій життя надзвичайно негативно позначився на житті

¹³ More detailed information on the activities of the UNDP and GIDP is available at: www.un.kiev.ua.

¹⁴ www.osce.org/ukraine

¹⁵ www.lastrada.org.ua

¹⁶ Other international organizations, such as IOM Mission in Ukraine, concentrate on running anti-trafficking programs in Ukraine, or promotion of women's economic participation, as TACIC Programme, EU (www.de-lukr.cec.eu.int), Winrock International (www.winrock.org.ua).

жінок. Одночасно із соціальним і економічним «виключенням» жінок їхня незначна участь у процесі прийняття політичних рішень стала однією з критичних тем на порядку денному країни. Згідно зі статистикою, жінки і нині залишаються на периферії української політики, що суперечить міжнародним зобов'язанням України щодо основних принципів і цінностей прав людини.

Через обмежені ресурси Української держави, виділені на підтримку жіночих організацій і діяльності, спрямованої на забезпечення прав жінок, допомога Заходу була і залишається вирішальним ресурсом як ідеологічної, так і фінансової підтримки гендерних проєктів. Місцеві діячі працюють в тісному співробітництві з міжнародними організаціями, представленими в регіоні. З огляду на це, забезпечення усього спектру прав людини для жінок України і заохочення жінок до політичного прийняття рішень значною мірою залежать від того, наскільки західні і місцеві діячі знайдуть ефективні шляхи співпраці і досягнуть взаємного порозуміння стосовно спільних принципів своєї роботи.

Доповідь, по-перше, висвітлює проблему участі жінок у політичному житті України з глобальної точки зору прав людини, а також надає коротку довідку щодо загальнолюдського значення участі жінок у політичному процесі. По-друге, досліджуються головні принципи співпраці міжнародних і місцевих діячів через аналіз сучасних феміністських дискусій щодо шляхів і стратегій міжнародної феміністської взаємодії.

І останнє – на основі проведеного аналізу участі у політиці жінок України зроблено попередні висновки і рекомендації щодо шляхів побудови продуктивної співпраці Сходу і Заходу на шляху до активнішого включення жінок до процесу прийняття політичних рішень в Україні.