

Gender and Politics

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The Gender and Politics series celebrates its 5th anniversary at the 4th European Conference on Politics and Gender (ECPG) in June 2015 in Uppsala, Sweden. The original idea for the book series was envisioned by the series editors Johanna Kantola and Judith Squires at the first ECPG in Belfast in 2009, and the series was officially launched at the Conference in Budapest in 2011. In 2014, Sarah Childs became the co-editor of the series, together with Johanna Kantola. *Gender and Politics* showcases the very best international writing. It publishes world class monographs and edited collections from scholars - junior and well established - working in politics, international relations and public policy, with specific reference to questions of gender. The 15 titles that have come out over the past five years make key contributions to debates on intersectionality and diversity, gender equality, social movements, Europeanization and institutionalism, governance and norms, policies, and political institutions. Set in European, US and Latin American contexts, these books provide rich new empirical findings and push forward boundaries of feminist and politics conceptual and theoretical research. The editors welcome the highest quality international research on these topics and beyond, and look for proposals on feminist political theory; on recent political transformations such as the economic crisis or the rise of the populist right; as well as proposals on continuing feminist dilemmas around participation and representation, specific gendered policy fields, and policy making mechanisms. The series can also include books published as a Palgrave pivot.

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Koen Sloopmaeckers • Heleen Touquet • Peter Vermeersch
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The EU Enlargement and Gay Politics

The Impact of Eastern Enlargement on Rights,
Activism and Prejudice

palgrave
macmillan

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PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The idea for this book emerged from a conversation between its editors at the University of Leuven, Belgium, back in 2013. Heleen Touquet, who had been studying social movements and post-ethnic mobilizations in the Western Balkans, and Koen Sloomaeckers, who had begun to work on sexualities and LGBT issues, were joined in their discussions by Peter Vermeersch, a specialist in Eastern European affairs and Europeanization. We asked ourselves a series of questions we thought were becoming increasingly urgent but which could not fully explore on our own: Why and how have LGBT rights become such a controversial topic in international politics in Central and Eastern Europe and the Western Balkans? What is the role of the EU within this larger context? What can be expected from the external transformative power of the EU on an issue like that of LGBT rights, at a time when the EU itself is so evidently grappling with an internal crisis on so many other fields? What does this mean for LGBT rights in the Western Balkans? And what was the situation of LGBT rights in 2004 when the CEE countries acceded? What changed?

In this book, with the aid of our contributors, we seek to provide some answers. Rather than tackling these rather substantial questions head-on, the volume brings together case studies from several layers of politics around LGBT issues in and around the EU. It looks specifically at the role of the EU in the promotion of LGBT rights throughout the enlargement process, but also considers diverse responses (and non-responses) to it in selected member and candidate member states.

We brought together a group of authors who not only were doing excellent research on these and related questions, but were also keen to

share their findings with fellow researchers in our group and to write about their work for the common enterprise that this book has become. The end result is a series of broad, nuanced and diverse explorations that are nevertheless tied together by a common conceptual thread, that of EU enlargement and Europeanization.

Of course, no book bringing different research streams together can cover everything, and this one is no exception. From the outset, we thought it important that our topic should be addressed from different perspectives and should cover a variety of dimensions. But we very soon came to realize that there are too many dimensions to this topic to cover it in its entirety in one volume. The book therefore should not be seen as a reflection of our aspiration to be exhaustive; rather, it shows our ambition to be diverse and to highlight particular studies that we found crucial in particular subareas of the larger question. We have put these together in the context of the introductory and opening chapters, which introduce the broader theme and address mostly the EU side of the matter.

In addition, to some extent, the book seeks to bridge academia and activism. We have included not only research of established academic authors in the field; we also offer here insight into some of the practical knowledge of both young and experienced researchers from international civil society. In particular, we have solicited the input of ILGA-Europe—the European section of the International Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans and Intersex Association (ILGA), an international non-governmental umbrella organization bringing together 422 organizations from 45 European countries.

We want to thank all the authors who have enthusiastically contributed to this volume. We have learned a great deal from their work, and we hope they have also benefited from the discussions and exchanges we have organized with them.

This book is also part of a conversation with people who were not contributors—with a wider group of academic researchers, activists and policymakers. In preparation for the ultimate selection of papers, we participated in several international meetings and initiated a number of meetings ourselves. In April 2014, we organized a panel on “EU enlargement and LGBT rights in Central Eastern Europe and the post-Yugoslav space” at the conference of the British Association for Slavonic and East European Studies (BASEES) in Cambridge, and in that same month we brought together a panel with the same title at the 19th Annual Association for the Study of Nationalities (ASN) World Convention, Columbia University, New York. In February 2015, we held a special two-day conference in

Brussels on “EU enlargement, democracy and the politics of sexual orientation and gender identity,” which we were so lucky to be able to organize on the premises of the European Parliament (EP) and the Royal Flemish Academy of Belgium for Science and the Arts. We want to thank the co-organizers of this event: the European Parliament (the LGBTI Intergroup, Evert Jacobsen, Tanko Jure), ILGA-Europe and Queen Mary University of London. And we want to thank all the people who have generously participated in our panels and conferences with smaller or larger contributions—first, the authors whose work appears in this volume, but also the people who discussed and helped shape this work through their participation: in particular, Phillip Ayoub (Drexel University), Emina Bošnjak (Sarajevo Open Center), Tanya Domi (Columbia University), Adam Fagan (Queen Mary University of London), Vjosa Musliu (Ghent University), David Patternotte (Université libre de Bruxelles), Łukasz Szulc (University of Antwerp) and Lien Verpoest (University of Leuven). We also want to extend our thanks to the MEPs who have given their support to the initiative and also participated in the conference with their own contributions, in particular Tanya Fajon (head of the Slovenian delegation within the political group the Progressive Alliance of Socialists and Democrats, and a vice-president of the Social Democrats) and Ulrike Lunacek (head of delegation of the Austrian Greens, vice-president and foreign affairs spokesperson of the Greens/EFA group in the European Parliament, Kosovo-Rapporteur and co-president of the Intergroup on LGBT Rights).

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CEE	Central and Eastern Europe
CFF	Campaign for All Families
CIFRC	Civil Initiative for the Family and the Rights of Children
CoE	Council of Europe
COHOM	Council Working Group on Human Rights
DPA	Dayton Peace Agreement
DUI	Albanian Democratic Union for Integration
EC	European Community
ECHR	European Court of Human Rights
ECJ	European Court of Justice
EEC	European Economic Community
EP	European Parliament
EU	European Union
EUSR	EU Special Representative
FREMP	Council Working Group on Fundamental Rights and Freedom of Movement
ICTY	International Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia
IGO	Inter-Governmental Organization
ILGA	International Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans and Intersex Association
IPA	Instruments for Pre-accession Assistance
KPH	<i>Kampania Przeciw Homofobii</i> (Campaign Against Homophobia)
LDS	Liberal Democracy of Slovenia
LGBT	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender
LGBTI	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Intersex
LPR	League of Polish Families

LSYS	The League of Socialist Youth of Slovenia
MEP	Member of European Parliament
MP	Member of Parliament
ODIHR	Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights
OHR	Office of the High Representative
OSCE	Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe
PiS	<i>Prawo i Sprawiedliwość</i> (Law and Justice)
PO	<i>Platforma Obywatelska</i> (Civic Platform)
RCC	Roman Catholic Church
RS	Republika Srpska
SAA	Stabilisation and Association Agreement
SDP	<i>Socijaldemokratska partija Hrvatske</i> (Social Democratic Party Croatia)
SDS	<i>Srpska Demokratska Stranka</i> (Serbian Democratic Party)
SDSM	<i>Socijaldemokratski Sojuz na Makedonija</i> (Social Democratic Union of Macedonia)
SEE	Southeast Europe
SFRY	Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia
SLD	<i>Sojusz Lewicy Demokratycznej</i> (Democratic Left Alliance)
SOC	Sarajevo Open Center
TEC	Treaty establishing the European Community
TEU	Treaty on the European Union
TFEU	Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union
TR	<i>Twój Ruch</i> (Your Movement)
VMRO-DPMNE	Internal Revolutionary Organisation –Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity