

# On to a New Globalization!



"Globalization is not a policy choice – it is a fact. ... For my part, I am determined to pursue an aggressive market opening strategy in every region of the world."

US President William J. Clinton, in his address to the Second WTO Ministerial Meeting in Geneva, Monday, 18 May 1998 <a href="http://www.wto.org/english/thewto-e/minist-e/min98">http://www.wto.org/english/thewto-e/minist-e/min98</a> e/anniv-e/ clinton\_e.htm>



What are we to understand from Mr. Clinton's words? Is globalization a 'fact' of nature, a natural process nobody can stop, not even the powerful governments of nation-states? This is the official version, developed by the new generation of neoliberal 'social-democrats' like Tony Blair, Gerhard Schröder, William Clinton. Or is it a historical process, driven by historical people like Mr. Clinton himself with their 'aggressive' strategies in 'every region of the world'?

Globalization is not a project of mere deregulation. It is a complex scheme of global restructuring of control, of access to and distribution of resources, which goes along with the development of innovative and powerful instruments of re-regulation under the control of the governments of the most industrialized nation-states. Globalization would never have happened if the strategy of expropriation through development within the colonial system had not failed, if the factory regime had continued to return profit to investors, if the patriarchal structuring of economic, social and cultural life had not been attacked by the feminist movement and women in all situations of life.





It is the struggles of people in the colonies and the countries kept dependent, the struggles of the workers against the inhumane factory regime, the radical critique of patriarchal structures that destabilized traditional patriarchy, that put the patriarchs of the world with their back against the walls and forced them to find new ways of perpetuating their system by changing it.



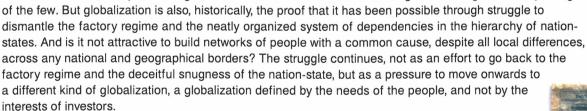
Not more trade, more exchange, more migration - a qualitatively different form of production is the distinctive feature of globalization. Benetton gave the lead in Italy, where workers' struggles in the 1970s were strongest, by delocalizing and outsourcing their chain of production. Cotton grown in one place, thread spun in another, fabrics woven in a third, patterns designed in a fourth, textiles printed in a fifth, garments designed in a sixth, all this made into clothes by the hands of women in a seventh, and marketed and distributed through yet another network of resellers and shops - the entire production chain being controlled centrally, by the Benetton management. This installed the competition of locations and undermined the classic strategies of workers' struggles linked to the strike.



What made the development of this 'headquarter economy' possible are new technologies, mainly those of communication - enhanced phone networks, the fax, later culminating in the Internet. The flow of information lies at the basis of the new system of control.

Globalization by design produces many losers, and have launched visible protests against the deci-

large coalitions full of inner contradictions





Alain Kessi, editor-in-chief

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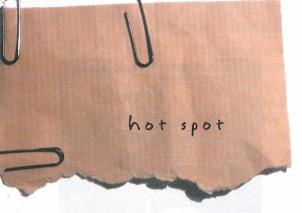
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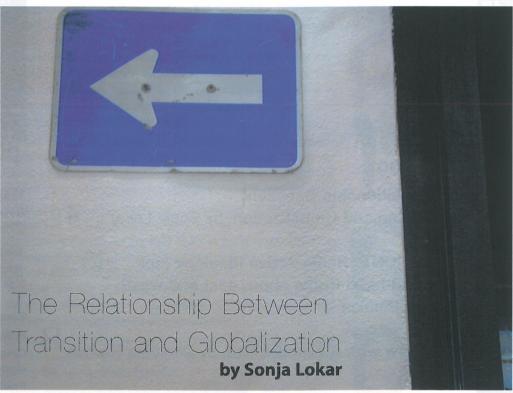


When experts from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (WB) start deciding on the development model in a certain country, it can be said that that society has joined globalization. At the same time, seeing every street corner being taken over by McDonalds, Benetton, and other famous brands signalizes that a society is truly globalized.

Sonja Lokar is the executive director of the CEE Network for Gender Issues, and chair of the Stability Pact Gender Task Force.

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**T**ransition in itself is a type of globalization, whether it is peaceful, as in the Velvet Revolution, or bloody, as seen in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The end result is exactly the same in both cases. Countries that used to be known as the Eastern Bloc and lagged behind in development are now a part of the global world market.

**Transition is re-colonization.** Today, countries in transition are importers of values, knowledge, technology, capital, cheap goods for wider use and luxury items for the new rich and a thin layer of statesmen and profiteers. These same countries have become exporters of their best brains, natural resources, cheap labor, economic emigrants, refugees and slaves. Evidence of this can be found in IMF (International Monetary Fund) and WB (World Bank) statistics. Countries in transition used to be known for their excess of egalitarianism, whereas today they face extreme social differences. About one third of their population lives at or below the poverty level. I argue that transition is re-colonization because it is a process of destruction of already developed industrial and human resources. An example is the closing of numerous factories in Hungary, which were used to operating in a closed system. When the Hungarian market opened for Korean TVs, the market for domestic products disappeared. The black and white TVs produced in Hungary were no longer needed when the Korean TVs were better and cheaper. Developed



industries kept shutting down for lack of funds for further development. In transitional countries one can often find scientists selling cigarettes on the street. The black market is their only way of survival. The institutions where they used to work have closed down, or the impoverished state can no longer support their professional work.

# **Indicators of the Economic Status of Women**

The four main indicators of the economic status of women in transitional countries are: opportunity for education, opportunity for paid work, opportunity to choose motherhood, and opportunity to participate in decision-making political processes. Decision-making is extremely important because in all transitional countries, politics are the only existing economy. Only if there are enough women in politics will they be decision makers and problem solvers. If there are only a few women present in the centers of political power, they will only execute someone else's politics, which does not address their problems.

# **Opportunity for Education**

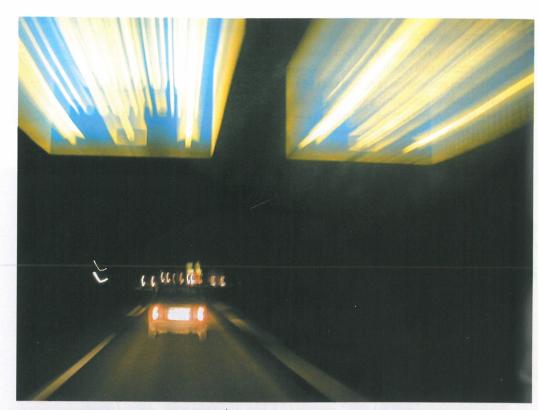
There is a significant difference between the transitional countries of Europe, where human capital is more developed and better qualified, and those of Asia and Africa. In transitional countries, even in the 1980s, young and middle-aged women started becoming

better educated than men. After completing high school and college, as many women as men went on to receive a PhD in science. In the 1990s, the number of women in school increased in Central Europe due to a simple reason: jobs for young people, especially women, were impossible to find. Therefore, their parents forced them to go on studying. However, when the school systems, and especially the universities, were partially privatized, the cost to be covered by parents increased. Faced with the choice of sending their daughter or son to school, most parents will, unfortunately, choose their son.

All countries in transition have witnessed a sharp decrease in their active population and a great increase in poverty.

# Poverty has always been feminized, but in socialism this phenomenon was invisible, as it was not talked about.

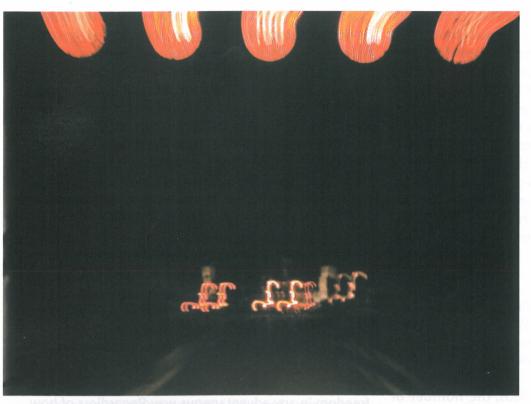
Later analyses have shown that the visible feminization of poverty in transitional countries is nothing but the deepening and widening of an already existing situation. Differences in pay for equal work between men and women have not significantly increased, but as a rule, better-paying jobs are reserved for men. Jobs that are becoming better paying are shifting from women to men. A typical example is the judiciary





in Slovenia, which used to be low paying and feminized. When it became a separate branch of government, judges' salaries rose significantly, and shortly after, these positions were given to men.

Women make up 70% of all young educated unemployed people. A specter of a terrifying future for women's employment. There are a large number of female employers, although they do not reach 50% in any country. Women





start up their own companies because self-employment is the only viable option for them. As soon as the economy starts improving, the majority of womenrun companies close down. Women move from the sphere of paid labor to that of unpaid labor, serving as a buffer in the labor market. Transition, which raised hopes that women would finally have a chance to choose between work and family, has proved to be a grand illusion. Against all odds, women have put

enormous efforts into staying alive on the labor market and have been successful at it.

# Motherhood

One of the limiting factors for women on the labor market is motherhood. Employers cannot ignore the fact that women give birth. In the early 1990s, mainstream politics in transitional countries proclaimed that a woman should be the queen of the home and the mother of the nation. This sentiment was more prominent in the countries where the crisis was deeper (see FairPlay No. 6/ 2002, Staša Zajoviæ, Birth, Nationalism and War). In the mid-1990s, there was an extensive decrease in women's reproductive rights: abortion was made illegal in some places due to ideological reasons, while in others its cost rose drastically, along with that of birth control - everything that helped women be equal on the job market became more expensive. In countries like Hungary, Poland and the Czech Republic, childcare centers were closed down or their prices increased. In Hungary, childcare facilities were closed under the rule of socialists, because the only way for Hungary to receive a loan from the World Bank was to close down childcare centers and cut down maternity leave. As a result, maternity leave was reduced from three years to six months. It is interesting to compare Poland and Slovenia. Poland made abortion illegal and did everything to force its women to give birth (see FairPlay No. 4/2001, Wanda Nowicka, The Status of Abortion in Poland). Slovenia gave its women the freedom to choose. Since 1984, Slovenia has been experiencing a decrease in the abortion rate. However, in both countries women's reaction with regard to giving birth was the same. The overwhelming response was not to have children until there was some kind of security. As a result, the birth rate decreased by one third in both countries. Nationalists have claimed that nations were dying out because of evil women who do not want to give birth. In fact, the decrease in birth rates is a response to transition and globalization. Faced with the choice between work without children or children without food, women choose not to have children.

# **Women and Power**

When considering political participation of women, we can notice two opposing trends. Women's political participation consistently increases in Scandinavia, the European Union and other developed Western countries. We witness the opposite trend in transitional countries. In the 1970s and 1980s, the number of women in governing bodies slightly increased, followed by a slow decrease in the mid 1980s. In the early 1990s, the political changes caused a complete breakdown. The first signs of a change for the better are coming only just now. However, these changes are taking place in a still destabilized environment. As a result, the crisis continues.

# There can be only one remedy: a united women's movement strongly connected within the borders, but also helped out from the outside.

Bosnia and Herzegovina shows the success of this approach. If these two conditions are not fulfilled, as in Slovenia, Hungary, Poland and Slovakia, no changes will take place.

# **Female Strategies of Survival in Transition**

Although women did not have fully developed grand strategies at hand, they did have strategies of personal survival. They could not allow themselves to commit suicide. In Russia, the rate of female suicides was much lower than that of men, although their stress was equal. Because women were taking care of the children and the elderly, they had no choice but survive. They devel-

oped networks of survival through their families, professional contacts and neighbors. They worked the land, took black market jobs and, in many cases, turned to prostitution, which has always been a profitable business. But the most significant solution strategy they came up with is the third sector, i.e., the creation of services for people who need them, but do not have access to them. They worked on building up the third sector under very hard circumstances, including war. Women have proven that they are ready to learn new things, to work for the community, to take a job for which they are overgualified, to work for a minimum wage, even under the minimum imposed by the trade union. They have worked part time, without legal contracts, unprotected. They have been and still are exposed to age and sex discrimination, and even sexual harassment at work, just to keep their jobs. They would rather give up their marriage than lose their jobs.

Women have paid a very high price during the transition. Transition freed them of the tutelage of the state, but did not give them a real opportunity to use this freedom in any advantageous way. Regardless of how we view these processes:

# women in transition are not losers, but survivors.

Women today have a new negotiating position in defining the new politics and developing strategy for countries in transition. The first and most important step is to secure access to up-to-date knowledge and invest more in adult education. I do not believe that women 35 years of age are too old to change their occupation, considering that we live to be 80 years old or older. To receive social aid or to be dependent on one's family should not be the way to live. It is very important to help girls to show interest in new and more profitable professions and to enable women who show talent to develop and use it. Without an increased purchasing power for the population of this region, there is no room for enabling such developments as to provide women with an opportunity to work, create a better health and school system, child protection and organized care for the elderly. In order to achieve this, wealth must be redistributed, and differences between the highest and lowest salary must be decreased. Minimum salaries, pensions and unemployment checks need to guarantee survival, but this is not the case in any of the transitional countries.

# Reform of the Social State

The social state as we knew it during socialism is no longer possible. The reasons do not lie in the maintenance cost of the system but in its destruction, in badly organized state monopolies and the lack of efficiency in the service sector. In our region, we have to develop what the Anglo-Saxon literature refers to as the welfare mix.

It is equally important to change the common view on the protection of motherhood. We should not demand protection of motherhood as such, but the possibility of parenthood for both sexes, a big and important move ahead in consciousness. The state has to provide equal childcare for both parents. Only then, young women and young men will be equal on the labor market because their work potential will be equal in value. It will not be automatically assumed that women will stay home to be with their children.

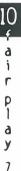
A genuine gender-specific action plan for employment is needed. It is essential to strengthen social partnerships between unions, NGOs and all other contributors to the renewal of social policies. We need a societal consensus on the priorities of development, which is very hard to build. For example, the Stability Pact has contributed to collecting a large amount of funds designated by wealthy countries to be invested in our region. However, if one asks our politicians about strategic directions of development, i.e., how the money should be invested, their answers are unclear and indirect. Therefore, foreign investors end up investing where they can get the biggest returns, primarily to speed up globalization. They invest in new freeways, new bridges, even new houses and hospitals, but there is no development of industrial or post-industrial production that would keep the population in the country and enable it to live normally.

If women want to change the situation in the society, they are faced with serious challenges. Values, priorities, the rules of the game and political culture all need to be changed. Today's values are capital and profit, while the leading value should be satisfying human needs. The current rules are those of a zero-sum game, i.e., there cannot be winners without losers. This does not have to be the case: if our goals are laid out correctly, we can all be winners and have a win-win game. Politics have to be skillfully directed towards the common good, with women playing a major role in this process.

If they want to make changes in the society, women have to work together. We need a large number of women to enter civil society and be aware of what changes have to be made. The women's movement is global; the Beijing Declaration stands in Croatia, Bulgaria, China or Zimbabwe. Although the problems women face vary from country to country, in a nutshell they are the same, and the way to solve them is common to them all. No women's organization can work without contacts to the rest of the world – contacts which speed up processes. In this global women's movement, we learn from each other and work together on how to speed up things and move ahead common initiatives. This is a movement based on synergies, cooperating across societal sectors. Multi-sector cooperation is the basis of the modern women's movement, which is not afraid to combine everything that can be combined. The best part of it is that it all started a long, long time ago, but only now has it appeared as a movement.

# Globalization has not only brought great difficulties for women, but also new opportunities.

After the initial shock and big losses, women managed to bring things under control. They know what is going on and are capable of turning globalization to their advantage. Globalization must not be only that of resources, but also of justice, solidarity and the interconnection of human energies.



















Ana Peraica is a freelance curator and art theorist born 1972 in Croatia. She graduated in philosophy and art history from the University of Zagreb, Croatia. Since 1997 she has curated, and selected works for, a wide variety of contemporary art events. Ana Peraica is one of the most active minds and critical voices in the contemporary arts and media activism scene. She prefers to intervene with her texts on mailing lists, in which she receives direct feedback to her thoughts, rather than publishing printed books that will leave her wondering whether anybody reads them. This text was originally written as a contribution to

Communication Front 2000, which took place in June 2000 in Plovdiv, Bulgaria. It will be published shortly in the CFront 2000 Book "Crossing Points East-West"

<a href="http://www.cfront.org/cf00book/index.html">http://www.cfront.org/cf00book/index.html</a>, in English and Bulgarian language.

# Con/FRONT!

# radio-active ideology junk

# [second-hand truths about east and west]

by Ana Peraica, in collaboration with Geert Lovink

The place where Empire could first be noticed was in the rubbish containers, which expanded a point on privacy of the tale of the Emperor's new clothes; a public place that becomes one of embarrassment. Capitalism seemed to be all about junk – colorful, seductive, dangerous and conspiratorial at the same time; junk that is hard to resist [and that is where the whole resistance of the socialist system failed; not even the "candy store effect," but a trash inventory of delight].

The ecological movements of the eighties have been networking West and East (and all other directions), implanting radical versions of junk catastrophes into the popular awareness, making the world aware of the globality of the side effects of after-usage. Junk of the world was inter-changed silently, as a parallel phenomenon to polite exchanges – only that rubbish went on its diplomatic mission first.

Archaeology of the twentieth century is an archeology of un-disintegrated waste, trash yards are taking more space underground than all graveyards. That archeology deals not with the dead, but with what was made to survive death. And is that only plastic, or are there

different seeds bunkered deep in the ground? Archeology of rubbish replaces the naiveté of ecology, it is critical [it identifies and locates specifically]. In the Paleolithic of the West/East question Western tourists thoughtlessly polluted the sea with a variety of sun creams, bins and plastic bottles. At the same time Eastern European cheap and badly designed products were floating towards the West. Western tourists could not survive without importing their own rubbish, and Eastern illegal migrants could not survive without their own.

What happened next was the introduction of the rubbish economy. Eastern Europe began storing nuclear and chemical waste at dumping prizes. The region turned into a huge dumpster of bad, used and outdated machinery. In exchange Eastern Europe sent "human rubbish" (gangsters, drug traffickers, weapon traders, prostitutes) to the West. It was a "money for old rope" marketing for both sides.

Before the rise of that economy of waste, leaving garbage in a neighbor's yard was a normal thing to do. Later on this became an act of conspiracy. Everyone against everyone. Getting rid of waste and protecting oneself from it had become one of the main issues of the underdeveloped world. Smelly and ugly waste became perfumed, representable, but dangerous. Rubbish in the East before 1989 was uniform. Most of it related to the union of agricultural and factory workers' heaven of exchange. Organic junk was collected and sent to villages for fertilization, while the technological was sent to cities for recycling or reinventing. There were only few products, few designs. The content of trash bins was not interesting at all. Rubbish therefore belonged to local area networks, had mere pragmatic usage. The purpose of garbage was known.

A first symptom of the change of the large-scale economic system could be traced in rubbish, which started to differentiate. With it, collectionarism appeared – a new semiotics for reading the urban environments. Eastern Europe became a museum for Western junk. Emptied bins that German tourists had thrown in the sea, boxes of American cigarettes were to be found everywhere on the streets.

Due to the isolomania syndrome [of being on the border of the bizarre rubbish exchange, and getting

















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only its side syndromes], messages were decoded. And the message was simple: the more colorful, the more expensive a package, the more it is going to be thrown away anyway, that is – the more developed the world. The design of the rubbish became important, as it had already been in the West.

With the diversity of it, leaving rubbish in the neighbor's yard became a public political statement. Since then, rubbish has been hidden in black bags, as a conspiracy, soft and sustainable for ages of non-disintegration to come, as a Pandora's box lurking on survival. The first symptom of the new rubbish stratification could be seen not only in its colors, but also in its quantity, that suddenly decreased. Rubbish containers and disintegration places started to show bizarre symptoms of social stratification, becoming a rare place for social interactions. Certain parts of society were communicating through it, and in extreme cases about it.

People started arriving at the rubbish dumps. That was the official fall of the idea of social justice. For the first time in Eastern Europe, junkies appeared on the streets. The junkyard became a perverted social place, and with it the whole idea of social equality.

A Catholic sentence of blaming and controlling says: "By your actions I will know you." Being deeply rooted in the capitalist notion of the "sinner," "public" or "consumer," [as idiots incapable of and not invited to any exchange, who need to be led and informed, as opposed to the "social" term of atheism]. This sentence can be translated as: "By your garbage I will know who you are." And it entered into the East, infected [primitive?] atheistic societies.

In the neo-phase, the archeology of rubbish indicates a fusion with the new global economy. Trash becomes global and predictable, while the hidden message of all the colorful and designed trash imported is finally discovered. The world has identical garbage now, and its designers are known: Coca Cola, Nescafé, Dash, Palmolive... Garbage has names, that the public, the sinner, or consumer has lost, as they have lost a society. Society is on the dump today.

There is hardly any local garbage any more, though it has been a global problem for a long time. Global brand names, once an object of desire, revealed their 'real' nature as secondary commodities.

Besides the phenomena of the global rubbish economy, we may mention other levels of thinking

about garbage – the semantic and political as well as the ontological. All powers (interpretative, executive and hypothetical or desired) produce their own trash. And here the archeology of rubbish is called to raise a new question about the passivity of the public, and the secrecy of interchange.

The ontology of anything is a tactic of conspiracy. Ontology notes existence [or hides it], which is the most radical politicality. The ontology of rubbish recognizes topics of the used and the no-more-used (abandoned). The latter is withdrawn in a second sort of existence – waiting to be recycled, reinvented, or reused. If it cannot be, if it cannot be controlled, that kind of rubbish is only an abandoned danger. Forgotten rubbish, or the rubbish pushed into the back of our consciousness, has the power to decide on accidental events. That kind of garbage, hidden to our attention, turns into the contrary of its positioning – a compressed surprise, beyond the calculation of any economy or the prediction of any politics. It is that garbage that will finally decide on both.

This happens even when the concept ends up on the rubbish dump, when an ideology appears as historical junk. A trashcan of ideas was finally more active in recycling, especially with the ecological movements of the eighties, which also indicated a fall of the overtheoretical rubbish of socialist ideology.

But what is the intrinsic relation between rubbish and communism?

It seems that socialism turned out to be only a badly designed version. Maybe it would never have fallen if the human need to glorify their own excrement did not produce a wish to color and paint them.

Communism. It is a place without rubbish, an ideal place of recycling and networking, in which everything is in relation with something else. It is a utopia of humankind without excrement, in which the focus on rubbish is social, not productive. There is social rubbish, denied and used in the eyes of Marxism, that would gain its value in a promised system. Therefore, in socialism, rubbish becomes expensive. And the expensive is barely reachable, as is today the whole concept of communism.

For those still dealing with it, not to recognize the historical rubbish means to leave it to the chance of its rebirth in an uncontrolled and unpredictable version. Long live the rubbish of the Empire! The next fight will be underground.













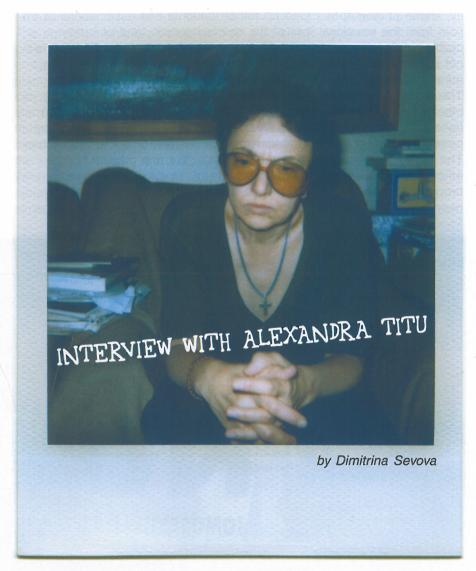




Think positive !!

We Can Do H





- Do you find there is a context for contemporary art in Romania?

The problem is quite complex, but in Romania, where Byzantine universalism and Western civilization meet, how should I say – here there are more types of culture. I think that what has been happening lately is the struggle of the person really involved in the field of culture, to submit to what is very simple and muddy in the tendency of globalization. The universal and the global - the universal is always a tendency imposed from above. Even the latest universalism is coming from above, modernism comes from above. Spiritualism on the other hand is understood at a different level.

The person remains marginalized, excluded, the person involved in art that is. After 40-50 years of submission, there is another wish to submit once again. A new social justification, a different dress, a mask, a fear of being yourself. That's how a doubt and a wish to manipulate come about, a which to have some values that can justify tradition, to find mechanisms, ways...

You have to see feminism in this zone of maximum pressure that leads to inter-gender war. The universal does not create anything superfluous. Men are a necessary type, and traditional family ties are far from out of

This interview with Alexandra Titu was taken by Dimitrina Sevova in the context of her work "In Someone Else's Skin" <a href="http://xplaces.cflow.net">http://xplaces.cflow.net</a> in October 2001 in Bucharest, Romania.
The aim of the project was to explore the realities and strategies of women artists, curators and art theorists in Romania

Alexandra Titu is one of the most active and appreciated curators and art historians in Romania. Some of her most important work she made after turning blind due to an illness.

fashion, forbidden or rejected. In my opinion family ties are still important. They are a structure based on which various freedoms can form and appear. This is a contemporary problem that society poses itself once again. I had an interesting experience with social groups of disables persons who have been marginalized and have not succeeded in integrating themselves into society. One of their fundamental problems was the lack of healthy family ties. It's very easy to struggle against the superfluous when you are rich. It's very easy to be outraged when you are surrounded by love. It's very easy to be skeptical towards culture when you have grown up in the middle of much culture. It's easy to be critical when you have all that. When you are marginalized, when you live in poverty, in the sub cultural sewer, the real sewer, with a total lack of love, among the lowest passions of violence in everyday life,

and a sadistic guy prevented from

developing by the lack of love kills you in the woods... Then the problem of the family presents itself in a different way, as a protective environment for children. We have at hand the model of Sparta, where children were educated in monotony. towards social submission and physical strength. This cannot be compared to the model of Athens. The freedoms linked to the family in Athens have been marginalized in Athens itself. This is a different model, which needs to be studied in-depth all over again. I think that the family is very important for the couple. For partnership, which is a very risky zone, it is a stabilizing factor. It helps to have a certain weight in a context. I oppose the existence of a concentrated world. Atoms need bonds. I prefer water to the separate elements (oxygen and hydrogen). This applies to the family as well. When you are strong you can fight. If you have ideals, you are ridiculous, but only in the contemporary context. What I said about the couple also applies to other types of ties. In the couple, purely sexual bonds are overcome, and emotional bonds are reached. In this context I would like to mention Torres, who was homosexual. When his long-time partner died of AIDS,he exhibited photographs of the empty bed with naked, painful sensitivity. These photographs called up rather thoughts and associations of the pain from the emotional loss of the beloved person, and of family, coziness, closeness, mutual trust, love in its cleanest form. They were not a symbol of a sexually frustrated personality, but of a personality emotionally hurt by the loss of the beloved one.

The family is the first unifying element in a model. Around the family, other types of ties can be organized. This does not mean that I don't believe in freedom. I felt much freer after I got married. I then had the possibility to have various friends from the position of a married woman. The family is an economic protection, but in the first place it is an emotional protection. Of course there are families in which there is terror, but we have to ask ourselves who creates this terror. We also need to keep in mind the social pressure. In such cases, not having a



family is in no way a protection. There are cases of good relations within families that are socially disadvantaged. Poverty is not always an obstacle, such things do happen throughout the world, even if they are in contradiction with the new economic model. At the economic level, the emphasis on power relations is the fundamental flaw of the postmodern interpretation of the world. Beginning with the power of the father within the family, and all the way to economic problems and pressure. Freedom is a risk (freedom is responsibility and power), but it does not protect from stupidity, doubt, economic problems, death, etc. The truly free person can both take responsibility for the family and consciously choose loneliness.

This fixation on the material limitings us – to seeing it as a source of calmness which allows us to work creatively, to feel free. It worries us, something that has to be created in addition becomes a flaw. Postmodernism is a contemporary reediting of the Baroque. Constantly, this need arises to elevate and glorify art, to be interested in exceptional

situations. We discover the same spirit of mining and setting up traps. The person involved in culture and art can always emigrate and integrate in a culture that is foreign to them. For instance, a Romanian artist emigrates to Paris, and after a time becomes a French artist of Romanian origin. A culture, on the other hand, can never emigrate. An American culture cannot integrate itself in Romania, or vice versa. Globalism started as a financial strategy which turned out to be defective. Look at the problems in America now, which has discovered racism again, or the demonstrations in Pakistan against America, all this is the result of the system falling apart, not being able to resist its own pressure. When we speak about feminism, I see a link to ideology. My interest is natural. I find myself in my own context, while feminism finds itself in a stronghold that needs to be taken over, so that the specter of the



previous inhabitant keeps roaming around.

- How are the roles and responsibilities traditionally distributed in the family couple in Romania?

The woman is the one who deals with maintaining order in the house, the kids, cooks...

The man is traditionally the one who contributes a higher income for the family, fixes the faucets in the bathroom, does the shopping...

- Does the shopping? Women carry a much bigger load in their everyday lives, the great struggle with everyday things falls mainly on them, and at the same time they have to go to work, not out of their own free choice but due to economic needs of the family, from work back home and then you sleep, and again to work... Doesn't this represent a typical example of a patriarchally structured East European family?

Yes! But only at first sight.
Things are not quite like that
in Romania. If our society was
more normal, or there was a
to p.18 ->

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Steve Bradley is an Associate Professor of Visual Arts at the University of Maryland Baltimore County. He is currently on a sabbatical until fall 2002.

The photo-comics used for the cover page of this issue of FairPlay, "Transgressive Tourists," was made by Steve Bradley specifically for the CFront 2000 Book <a href="http://www.cfront.org/cf00book">http://www.cfront.org/cf00book</a>, to be published shortly in English and Bulgarian. It is inspired by his visit to Bulgaria and the theoretical discussions on East-West relations and new technologies at CFront in June 2000, and reflects his reaction to a sense of Eastern Europe being re-colonized by Western economic and cultural interests, and a self-ironic perception of himself as a "transgressive tourist."





steve bradley

fair play presents





### Artist's statement:

Steve Bradley considers himself to be a transmedia artist or generalist. He converts systems of cultural iconography via media and technology into an analytical and satirical inter-mediated narrative. He has been conditioned by the media



culture, so that television (media) easily serves as his preferred mediated landscape. The computer serves as the primary tool through which Bradley links many other tools, medium technology rather than high technology. By digitizing, manipulating and re/digitizing the electronic images of media, Bradley illustrates how "propaganda is to democracy what violence is to totalitarianism." (Chomsky) Noam Chomsky's admonition to those who attempt to analyze the methods and messages of public control speak to artists as well as political theorists:

"For those who stubbornly seek freedom, there can be no more urgent task than to come to understand the mechanisms and practices of indoctrination. These are easy to perceive in the totalitarian societies, much less so in the system of 'brain-washing under freedom' to which we are subjected and which all too often we serve as willing or unwitting instruments."

# Noam Chomsky, The Manufacture of Consent

Bradley's own daily awareness of TV/print propaganda through image and script and what is not written or filmed is translated into art that speaks in the language of mass culture but offers "coverage" and interpretation that is erased or ignored in mainstream TV culture. His objective is to share his outrage and sense of absurdity to effect some point of awareness in the vast network of cyberspace and wall space. By "naming" the codes of control, Bradley seeks empowerment for himself and the community so we can stay awake in the midst of the media's pervasive anesthesia that numbs us to hear no evil, speak no evil and see no evil.



# -> from p.15

more normal economic system, maybe you would be right. But if we take as an example the period of the great crisis of 1983, going shopping and finding products, food products, was equal to hunting in the stone ages. While the woman stayed in the cave, the man had to find prey, food in the hostile outer environment. There was nothing to buy in the stores, so people had to wander around for hours or to hang around all day queuing in order to find food products of first necessity, elementary things that their children and families need on a daily basis. You did not shop for food; you looked for it and got it after great efforts and even risks to your life. I witnessed a fight with frozen chickens in a supermarket. When it became clear that their number is limited and there will not be enough of them for all the irritable, hungry people having waited for hours, a real fighting ground materialized. Everyone was trying to get their hands on the prey, risking their lives in the hope to be able to feed their families. So that shopping was in every sense of the word a struggle for survival. Now the problems are different. You can find anything you want, stores are well supplied, but people can't afford elementary things. Now, even more complicated social situations and pressure are turning up, which are hard to classify. For instance, the problem of unemployment. Men are its most obvious victim. Certain professions disappear, certain categories of labor, and the system does not provide alternative options. It is very difficult to change a man through text and ideology. To change him into a dependent personality, to

It is very difficult to change a man through text and ideology. To change him into a dependent personality, to force him to submit to the women... This dependence of the unemployed man sitting at home, dependent economically and emotionally on the women, calls forth yet more

domestic, everyday violence.

- In Bulgaria there is a similar problem. When men lose their job, in most cases not only the economic problems fall upon the woman, but she usually also has to take upon herself most of the moral guilt for the deadlock situation that has come about. This means that she has to bear the moral and physical punishment. Even men with a higher education who understand that their wives are in no way personally guilty of the situation in which they find themselves, sitting at home without a job for extended periods of time, definitely refuse to take on the role of the "house-wife" in the family in order to ease the tension. On the contrary, with great pleasure they indulge themselves in various forms of depression, manias, phobias, violence, and unfaithfulness. Perhaps for many families this leads to heavy social, psychological and sexual problems and complete falling apart, a vicious circle of everyday personal violence from which in many cases there is no escaping?

In this situation I tend to understand men and even to exculpate them. The miners, of which there are two million in Romania, are one of the groups that have suffered the most from this situation. In entire regions in the province this was the main source of income for

people. Now the mines are going out of business, and in many families the men lose their jobs. The miners are very dependent on their status. They cannot change, because they don't have a sufficiently refined education, culture and context. They suffer from the collapse of a social system that leaves no other alternative but existence at the lowest level of everyday survival. This can also happen to a woman, in a completely different social context. When the world suddenly and unexpectedly collapses around you. This has happened to me. When I became ill, I started having problems with my eyes, I started losing my eyesight. My work is connected to text, as a writer, philosopher, theorist and critic. My entire world fell apart. I could have retired, stopped working, renounced the struggle and indulge in desperation. A "friend" even proposed that I retrain myself and learn to embroider and knit, arguing how well blind people can deal with this type of work. I chased her away. I could not accept that everything was over, that I would have to give up my favorite work, everything that gave sense to my life. After the problems with the illness, the problems with the eyes, I wrote some of my best texts and books, curated exhibitions, I continue to teach at the university. For economic reasons I could not afford to hire someone to help me with my work, and the greatest part of it fell onto my family. In order to be able to continue working, I needed help. I turned into a monster, terrorized my entire family, of course without beating them, forced them to read corrections and to do many other things connected to my work and to myself, entire nights on end. During the 19th century, women in Romania were quite emancipated for their time. In the circle around the gueen, the model was quite close to the French. This of course applied to the elite, but even in the lower classes there was a wave of women who chose and practiced men's

was a wave of women who chose and practiced men's professions. The first pilot was a Romanian. Many family names show a matriarchal link. Of course I don't want to idealize our history, neither today's situation with respect to these questions. But I can say that the sexual scandal and violence have kept culture moving ahead. When we speak about the feminine situation and the situation of women, we see a projection of the male. Feminism tries to take the position of power, to express itself in the male. I do not want to express any given ideology through my work, but to present a position, a complete settlement of women's situation. To be involved in art, to express your own views, without any connection to ideology. "I am

culture, and she is a woman."

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# Statement from the European Women's Conference for a Sustainable Future

Celakovice, Czech Republic, March 17, 2002



Organized by WECF - Women in Europe for a Common Future. For more information please contact <wecf@wecf.org> or check <a href="http://www.wecf.org>">http:

(True to the focus of this issue of FairPlay, we publish the recommendations that came out of the workgroup on globalization. The full document can be found at <a href="http://www.antenna.nl/wecf/EWCstatement.html">http://www.antenna.nl/wecf/EWCstatement.html</a>.)

Globalisation: Precedence Of Human Rights, Health And Social Justice

# Economic globalisation

The current economic liberalisation, and the policies of the International Financial Institutions and the World Trade Organisation must be reformed in order to conform to principles of sustainable development, democracy and gender justice. Research, assessment and monitoring of the effects of policy for women, children and the poor are needed. Free trade and market liberalization should never be an aim in itself. Multinational corporations have to be held accountable, and there is a need for reregulation of markets and economy. Respect for existing local experience and structures must be ensured.

# Stop worldwide militarisation

Aggression as a response to aggression only generates more aggression and conflict. The current escalation of worldwide militarisation must be stopped, and governments and the military industry should be held accountable for the all-destructive effects of armed conflicts, including environmental, social and psychological consequences, and the violation of human rights and violations against women and children.

Our Women's Action Agenda for Sustainability calls for responses on the following key issues:

- -> A stop to worldwide trade liberalisation, carrying out an evaluation of the effects of trade liberalization and an assessment of the specific needs and preconditions of different countries. Only then should democratic future planning in accordance with environmental, social, and gender justice be pursued.
- Sustainable Development regulations in the WTO and International Financial Institutions must be implemented, laying down principles for environmental security, democracy, transparency, social development and gender justice.
- Establishing of global regulations on the activities of corporations, to ensure social development, gender justice, and environmental security.
- -> Regulate Foreign Direct Investments so as to ensure that they do not compromise sustainability.





Statement from the European Women's Conference for a Sustainable Future

# Seminar on Strategic Planning for the NIS Women's Non-Governmental Organizations Assembly

The seminar was held in Minsk on 3-6 December 2001. It was organized with the support of the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) by the Executive Office of the Assembly (Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan), jointly with the Civic Organization "Women's Independent Democratic Movement of Belarus" (Minsk).

# Brief history of the NIS women's NGO Assembly

In the year 2000, representatives of the NIS region women's NGOs (Azerbaijan, Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Russia, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan and the Ukraine) constituted the Assembly as an international organization with the mission to promote gender equality in the NIS region by advancing women's interests in the sphere of decision making and monitoring compliance with international documents and agreements.

Within a year, the Assembly acquired judicial status as an international women's non-governmental organization. Information was spread about its first meeting, and the print and electronic version of the Assembly's booklet were distributed among NIS women's NGO, international women's organizations and networks. Significant research was carried out in the field of NIS legislation devoted to the issue of domestic violence. A result of this research was the Central Asia seminar "Exchange of experience in the field of legislation on preventing domestic violence" in September 2001.

In view of furthering the aims of the Assembly and improving its mechanisms of collaboration and organizational structure, it was decided to hold a seminar on strategic planning.

# Preparatory stage

The preparatory work relied on e-mail discussion, which took place in two steps. The first involved representatives of the founding NGOs and aimed at evaluating the Assembly's activities over the past year. The second stage took place in November 2001. Information was spread among 250 women's NGOs from NIS region. More than 50 women's NGOs, eager to participate in the regional network, actively participated in the discussion. The discussion showed that time was ripe for widening the scope of the Assembly's activities and accepting new members. Representatives of the women's NGOs demonstrated their high expectations of the Assembly and noted that it may become a concrete consolidating force for advancing women's interests on the national and international level.

# Seminar in Minsk

**22** representatives of NIS women's NGOs, including both founding members of the Assembly and newcomers, attended the strategic planning seminar in Minsk.

The moderators of the seminar were two collaborators of UNIFEM office for the NIS, Damira Sartbaeva, regional director and Dina Shukurova, program specialist. Susana Fried, international consultant of UNIFEM from the USA, and Stanimira Hadzhimitova from Bulgaria, representative of the international women's network Karat Coalition, also took part in the work of the seminar

During the seminar, the participants evaluated the conditions and problems of women as a social group in the NIS region. Such issues as feminization of poverty, weak participation of women in decision making, the rise in all forms of violence against women, the low efficiency of solving the problem of gender equality at the level of legislation and institutional mechanisms, the spread of sexism, the insufficient development of a gender component in culture



Taking into account the above-mentioned problems, the participants of the seminar refined the mission and aims of the Assembly.

**Mission of the Assembly:** Promote gender equality in the NIS region by advancing women's interests in all spheres of decision making and by monitoring the compliance with international documents and agreements.

# Aims of the Assembly:

- -> Contribute to enforcing international documents and agreements concerning women's human rights.
- -> Contribute to strengthening women's status in the NIS through advancing civic, political, social, economic and cultural rights.
- -> Facilitate the potential of NIS women's NGOs and strengthen their voice at the national, regional and international level.

For accomplishing these goals, a plan of the Assembly's activities over the next two years was elaborated, the main tasks of the Assembly were defined and organizations responsible for project realization were named. The main directions of the Assembly's activities are as follows:

- -> Elaborate model legislation for state implementation of the policy of gender equality and its lobbying in the NIS region;
- -> Conduct a gender expertise on national legislation;
- -> Elaborate a strategy for ensuring gender education;
- Create an informational space for strengthening the efficiency of the regional network of NGOs.

To enhance effectiveness, much attention was paid to the question of how to refine the structure of the Assembly. Susana Fried presented an overview of the main principles of networking and pointed out the most effective models of modern networks. Stanimira Hadzhimitova presented the experience of the Karat Coalition network. The participants discussed the advantages of networking and presented their vision of the organizational model. As a result of the discussion, it was decided to change the present structure of the organization. The structure is based on the principle of organization representation; national coordinators and subregional administration were abolished and new criteria and principles for membership defined.

Special attention was paid to fundraising strategies, as well as to informational coverage of the Assembly's activities.

The seminar ended with the signing of the agreement and memorandum and with the adoption of personal commitments by all participants of the seminar. It was followed by a press conference with journalists of the leading Belarusian mass media, representatives of the Belarusian women's NGOs and sponsor organizations.



# Our team has become larger and more effective

We have two new members on the Karat team: Rita Zydlo and Anita Seibert. Both have started work on Karat's newest project funded by UNIFEM - Gender and Economic Justice in European Accession and Integration, at the beginning of January. They were selected in a careful recruitment process out of 160 candidates.

# We have moved to a new office

The need for Karat to move to more suitable premises has been evident for some time. Karat's new office is located in a very convenient, centrally located yet quiet pocket of central Warsaw. Our new address:

Karat Coalition ul. Karmelicka 16 m.13 00-163 Warsaw, Poland Tel/Fax: (48 22) 636 83 07

# Efforts to increase Karat's technical and ICT capacity

Using modern Information and Communications Technologies (ICT) in its work is extremely important for Karat. This is partly due to the fact that most of our communication with Karat members, including the Board, partner organizations, and potential partners is conducted via e-mail and the Internet. Until now we did not have adequate hardware and software to do this effectively. Karat had only two computers, only one of which was reasonably good. We lacked a permanent Internet connection. With Karat leading the way in promoting the use of modern technologies in women's NGOs in the region, having access to appropriate equipment is particularly important.

In the framework of the project funded by UNIFEM we have purchased three new computers with the necessary software, and installed a permanent Internet connection. As a result, each member of the

team now has her own computer connected to the Internet, with her own mailbox for e-mail. and all the computers are linked together in a network. These innovations have already proved to be extremely helpful in carrying out our work.

# Information dissemination: **Karat News** and Karat Website

A good system for dis-



News from Karat

# January 2002 - 31 # March 2002

seminating information is essential for Karat, in order to actively communicate with our members and

partners, and to inform the broader community about our activities. Karat News and the Karat Website were developed specifically to address this need. In the beginning of January we developed the format of the News and data collection mechanism. We have established an extensive database of organizations and persons receiving Karat News.

The maintenance of the database of the News recipients is an ongoing and very important process. News are sent to Karat members, various national and regional women's organizations, other relevant organizations, and to individuals interested in our activities. It is produced twice a month. From the publication of the first issue, Karat has been receiving extremely positive feedback. All the issues of Karat News can be viewed on Karat's Website <a href="http://www.karat.org">http://www.karat.org</a>.

In parallel to developing Karat News, the team has focused its energy on developing the Karat Website. This involved a meeting between Małgorzata Peretiatkowicz and Lenka Simerska, Karat member from the Czech Republic (Gender Studies), who until then had been responsible for the Website. The meeting took place in Prague, where Małgorzata and Lenka worked together from 27 to 31 January. The main objective of the meeting was the transfer of duties associated with developing and maintaining the Karat Website.

The principal goal in creating the Karat Website was to increase the effectiveness of the flow of information within Karat, and to disseminate significant information about Karat's ongoing activities and the most relevant issues connected to gender justice through the region. Like Karat News, the Website has received a great deal of positive comments from its visitors.



# The Economic Literacy Workshop – 25-28 April 2002

The preparation for the Economic Literacy Workshop started in 2001 with the identification of the speakers and the agreement with WIDE that they would conduct its economic literacy section. At the beginning of 2002, we developed a questionnaire for potential participants. The application information was distributed very widely. By the deadline we had received almost eighty applications, the great majority of which meet extremely high standards. It is very pleasing for Karat to see that our region can boast so many talented and enthusiastic women. Nevertheless, receiving so many applications made the selection process extremely difficult, given that



the workshop was designed and funded for thirty participants only. Fortunately, in addition to the participants we were able to accommodate a number of significant strategic observers and guests. Those included representatives of Karat partners (among which WIDE, the Clean Clothes Campaign, UN ECE, NEWW, UNIFEM) as well as persons from organizations Karat intends to develop relationships of collaboration with (like AWID, Star Network, Trade Unions).

After selecting the participants, we developed a second questionnaire designed to establish the level of participants' economic knowledge. The information collected helped us match the level of the workshop's sessions with the educational needs and interests of the participants and address the objectives of the workshop as the first part of the entire project.

After extensive research, we chose the Conference Center in Konstancin near Warsaw as the most appropriate venue. We also established a system of communication with our participants designed especially for the purposes of the workshop. The workshop was attended by 34 participants from 14 countries as well as numerous guests. Together with the organizers and lecturers, more than 60 women took part in the event.

The workshop was organized over four days. The first day included presentations by invited guests, among them the Polish Plenipotentiary for an Equal Status between Women and Men, Izabela Jaruga-Nowacka, and Zina Mounla, representative of UNIFEM, and experts addressing the central issues of the workshop. These included Ewa Ruminska-Zimny, Bettina Musiolek and Silke Steinhilber. Day two focused on the economic literacy training provided by Emily Kawano of WIDE. Day three was dedicated to working groups addressing selected issues. The aim of the working groups was to develop proposals for activities to be undertaken as part of the project and which enhance Karat's economic expertise. The final day was predominantly dedicated to the meeting of the strategic group.

Beside increasing the economic literacy of the participants, the workshop included the initial planning for writing National Shadow Reports to complement the Regular Progress Reports compiled by the European Commission, and securing the commitment of some of the workshop participants to being involved in the writing process. It was also decided to establish a reference group for the project. The realization of several other projects proposed at the workshop, including reports on the impact of SAPs (Structural Adjustment Programs) on women in our region and addressing issues related to social security, will require securing additional funds.

# Researcher to work on the Economic Indicators

One part of the project consisted in identifying Economic Indicators to, among other things, establish the regional impact of the project. The search for an appropriate consultant for this task turned out to be fruitless. Therefore we are considering the option of Karat making preliminary research to identify the trends and hot issues, and only then will we turn to an external consultant who will develop the indicators. A reference group will also be established for this purpose. Anita, who has extensive research experience, will be largely responsible for coordinating this task. Currently, Kinga and Anita are reviewing documents addressing the issue of economic indicators in order to prepare Karat for this activity.

# Cooperation with Karat's project partner NEWW-Polska

Meetings with NEWW-Polska were held on 15 February and 10 April, to discuss cooperation on the project in general and in organizing the workshop, respectively. Unfortunately, NEWW-Polska has not yet received its UNIFEM funding for the project, which restricts possibilities for cooperation.

# **Building strategic partnerships**

Over the past three months Karat has also focused on strategic partnershipbuilding with following organizations:

- a) WIDE cooperation in the context of the 'Gender and Economic Justice in European Accession and Integration' in organizing and implementing three economic literacy workshops and in adapting, translating and updating WIDE's economic literacy manual;
- b) Clean Clothes Campaign cooperation in their work addressing economic justice. Karat and the CCC will work together in order to address labor and social standards. Bettina Musiolek of the CCC took part in the Economic Literacy Workshop.
- c) International Labour Organization/Budapest, represented by Silke Steinhilber. Ms Steinhilber has indicated a great interest in cooperating with Karat on social-security issues in CEE. One of her plans is to develop a project aiming to increase the knowledge of CEE women about social-security standards. She also participated in the Economic Literacy Workshop.
- d) Economic Commission for Europe represented by Ewa Ruminska-Zimny, Gender Adviser. Ms Ruminska-Zimny agreed to participate in the Karat Economic Literacy Workshop and to form a group of experts on gender and macroeconomics with Karat, ECE and other appropriate organizations and individuals.

Establishing partnerships with international organizations working in the CEE region continues to be a priority for Karat. This will help promote the project in the CEE and the EU, identify experts and issues, and form a Gender and Economics Advisory Group to guide the project. In identifying new partners we are focusing on women in trade unions, universities, institutions dealing with economics, employment and trade, and women's NGOs in the EU.

# **Participation in International Conferences**

Members of the Karat team attended the following international conferences:

# The 4th PrepCom to the UN Conference Financing for Development (FfD), New York, 14-20 January 2002.

Attended by Kinga who lobbied international organizations to ensure changes in our region as far as gender issues are concerned. Another important aspect of Karat's lobbying was to direct appropriate attention to the problems faced by countries in transition, given that until now, issues concerning our region have gone largely unnoticed as the emphasis has been on the dichotomy between developed and developing countries.

### UN Conference on Financing for Development, Monterrey, N.L., Mexico, 8-22 March 2002.

Attended by Kinga who took part in the fourth roundtable (A-4), "Partnership in Financing for Development," and presented a statement on behalf of the women's caucus and the caucus of women's NGOs from CEE/CIS. As a result of Kinga's presentation, a recommendation: "Gender mainstreaming at all levels and in all policies" was included into the proposal that was added to those already contained in the draft Monterrey Consensus. Kinga's roundtable two-minute presentation can be viewed in full on Karat's Web page <a href="http://karat.org/links/pages/Detailed/91.html">http://karat.org/links/pages/Detailed/91.html</a>.

# Impact of Privatisation and Structural Adjustment in the Transition Countries on Economic and Social Position of Women, Subotica, Yugoslavia, 22-24 February 2002.

Kinga and Anita participated in this conference. Their contribution consisted in presentations on "Beijing+5 and further actions and initiatives to be taken at CEE level regarding women and economy" and "New Gender and Economic Justice project." Kinga informed largely about the Financing for Development process, describing and analyzing the recommendations developed by women's NGOs from CEE/CIS within this process.



European Women's Conference for a Sustainable Future, Celakovice, Czech Republic, 14-17 March.

Anita participated in this conference and contributed to the recommendations for the UN Sustainable Development Summit in Johannesburg.

# Main activities to be undertaken by Karat in next three months

- -> Conducting research identifying 'hot' issues and trends relevant to the project. Followed by identifying and engaging a researcher to work on economic indicators aimed to evaluate the regional impact of the project.
- -> Developing Karat's Public Relations strategy. This will include the promotion of Karat in Poland, the official opening of Karat's new office being the first of the promotional events. Information about the Economic Literacy workshop that was held will be spread broadly, as well as information about the Economic and Gender Justice in Economic Accession and Integration project as a whole.
- -> Identifying partners and speakers for the next workshop focusing on the European Union.
- -> The Karat Board meeting will take place in May or June and will be devoted to developing Karat's ethical code and preparing the General Assembly, to be combined with the annual conference on trends on the labor market in CEE.
- -> Raising funds for Karat's General Assembly (GA). The GA will take place in the second half of the year. Raising funds is however quite time-consuming and difficult, and will be Karat's next priority.
- -> Developing Karat's fundraising strategy, focusing on securing funding for future major and minor projects.
- -> Further professional development of Karat's employees. This will include Kinga participating in the second part of the Human Resources Management course, to take place in June.
- -> Finalizing the introduction of the computerized accounting system.





# WOMEN'S ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITIES AND CAPACITIES IN CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE AND CIS A JOINT RESEARCH PROJECT

**BULGARIA - HUNGARY - KAZAKHSTAN** 

The objective of this research project, funded by UNIFEM (project No. RER/98/W02), is to improve women's access to the market and to current and future employment opportunities in three countries of Central and Eastern Europe and the CIS (Bulgaria, Kazakhstan and Hungary) within the context of privatization and globalization.

Available evidence in the region suggests that while women have played a significant role in the economic development of their communities, current macro-economic changes are having a major impact on patterns of labour and on women's and men's employment and incomes. While many traditional jobs disappear, new and increasingly market-oriented opportunities are opening up. However, women lack information on economic trends and on how to take advantage of new opportunities. In many cases, they are also constrained in responding to market trends through their unequal access to land, credit and other factors of production. The studies undertaken through this project will seek to inform women and their organizations of current and future potential economic trends, as well as providing a forum in which results of the studies can be jointly discussed with government departments, international agencies and the private sector with a view to formulating plans to enable women to continue to contribute fully to the development of their economies.

Studies have been undertaken in 3 countries - one each in Central Europe (Hungary), South Eastern Europe (Bulgaria) and the CIS Kazakhstan). In each country, the results of the studies have been discussed at a national policy workshop, attended by relevant governmental and non-governmental organizations as well as development agencies and other donors. The final report is up-coming soon.

Lead NGO:

Women's Alliance for Development (WAD)
52, Neofit Rilski Street
1000 Sofia

Pavlina Filipova pavlina @infotel.bg Wad @infotel.bg

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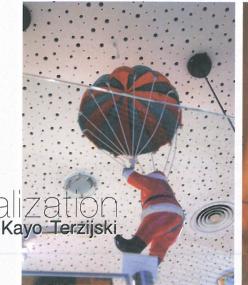
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Kayo Terzijski is a Bulgarian writer and journalist. After flaving worked in his original profession as a psychiatrist for some years, he has worked for Sax magazine, before moving on to write for the Egoist montply, also based in Sofia. With his unpretentious style and sense of humor, he manages to get to the point and work out the human longings hidden behind layers of public discourse on globalization.

This text will be published shortly in the CFront 2000 Book "Crossing Points East-West"

<http://www.cfront.org/cf00book/index.html>, in English and Bulgarian language. It was first published in Bulgarian in the now defunct Sax magazine, January 2001, p. 8.

Translated from Bulgarian by Zornitsa Dimova.

The Earth is one, it is round and it is smallish. It is built of iron, chrome, silicon and magnesium, and its fine roasted crust is comparatively rich in carbon, very suitable for the emergence of life. The atmosphere contains a delicate mixture of inert nitrogen and hyperactive oxygen. Oxygen is willing to enter into chemical reaction with anything. Burn it, rust it or make it breathe. This fosters on our tiny ball processes that are inherently strange and bizarre, and this is why we call them by the strange and bizarre name Life.

We all live on the crunchy roasted crust of our tiny ball of a planet called Erthe, Airtha or Earth: we humans as well as all kinds of moulds, rodents, insects, yeasts, seals, the rinderpest virus and the strange creature of Loch Ness. A wild variety of species gathered on the shell of an egg.

Five and a half billion people are by now aware that they live on a tiny rotating globe. All these five and a half billion get dizzy rotating, or rather thinking about it. No one is fooling themselves any longer that they might escape this matter of fact. That's the way it is. There are no parts left. No exotic mysterious places are spared the overall rotation. The globe is unified and floats mercilessly through cosmic dust among debris from other, long-gone globes, silently whizzing through the dark sorrowful Space.

Thousands of years ago the Earth was flat, probably a bit like an upside down dinner plate. It stood on the backs of elephants, which in their turn stepped on the back of a whale. The whale probably also lay on something bigger yet, but nobody seems to know about that. The magnificent and brave Phoenicians cruised Their Sea – Mare Nostrum, which was the center of the entire world. There was no other world but this, full of islands with demigods and nymphs. The Phoenicians crisscrossed the tiny World, surrounded by the complete unknown, and spread their strange Phoenician signs. The world was unified and familiar. Everyone knew all the languages.

This is the first Globalization.

The world as one. A strange idea that has always dwelt in people's minds. Repeatedly it has faded away over the course

of hundreds of years, just to explode again and perplex everyone. The Phoenicians became aware that the Gates of the World, the rocks of Gibraltar, are not the End, but rather a new Beginning. They headed south, further and further south, where they expected to see the edge of our flat Earth, to feel the hems of giant Ge's skirt, whose belly they cruised with their tiny nimble ships.

That is when the existential anxiety arose that the world is not limited to what we know. The idea of the one familiar and closed world was shattered. Oh, these Phoenicians. They went back to their mud and reed houses and told their wives that somewhere out there beyond the Hyperborean lands there are strange people with eyes blue like water, with hair like flax and legs as long as three steps. The idea of the one familiar and shared world collapsed.

Until recently, Humanity did not exist. Who came up with the notion of Humanity? No one in the Middle Ages has ever made the experience of Humanity. He had a perception of his parish, and perhaps of the neighboring two or three parishes. The humans created by Adam and his explant Eve were somewhere else. No citizen of Augsburg in the 12<sup>th</sup> century ever considered himself as belonging to something called Humanity – he would have felt rather strange if someone had lumped him together with Amazonian Indians and West Sahara Tuaregs.

Then in the 15th century – Renaissance has made its appearance – people want to have another go at reviving their idea of the one world in which everybody lives according to common laws and driven by common motives. An Italian from Genoa sails westwards to find a passage to India. Of course a crazy idea for which some have perished on the stake. His countryman Giordano Bruno was burnt, a quite unpleasant outcome of his scientific dispute with the Inquisition.

But Cristobal Colon, later called Christopher Columbus, was an exceptionally obstinate man and kept heading west. He reached a land we still call the West Indies – the Antilles. Perhaps he shouldn't have done it, or at least should have kept his discovery from the world after he had done it.

Poor Cristobal discovered America. And ever since then the world has lost all chances of being the good Old Comfortable Semi-Unfamiliar World, in which it is interesting to live, just like it is interesting to reach into the pockets of trousers you have not worn in a long time.

### Globalization.

Magellan went full circle around our globe and dispersed all doubts about its spherical shape. This led to something unusual: People began to experience an odd feeling of infinity as it became clear that it is not possible to reach the End of the World. They also felt the first symptoms of claustrophobia. After all, the globe turned out to be small, and it was well within the reach of man to travel all around it. Some brilliant lunatics like Leonardo began thinking up ways to leave the Globe...

In fact that may be the point at which people began to long persistently for roundish things – footballs, well-rounded female asses and breasts, big round sums.

## Globalization.

The problems of the Globe have become the problems of Humanity. The two new notions of the Globe and Humanity have taken such a strong hold on people's imagination that by now there is not one problem that does not regard Humanity as a whole. Global warming, global pollution, global aging, global stupidity.

There are no private problems. They are not interesting.

When did globalization-as-we-know-it start? With the creation of the Internet perhaps, or with the first advertising of Coca Cola in the village of Dryanov lyk?

The best Bulgarian yogurt is produced by the French. We're faced with this scary sense of the World, wound to a Globe, extremely small and totally globalized. In Estonia Thais sell Australian beer to Serbo-Croats.

Who is against globalization? Those wretched mediocre creatures scared by the Wide White World who want to live in quiet secluded huts in Wisconsin or Kroushovitza - with no phone or fax? Perhaps this feeling of the oneness of the world scares the weak and unprepared? Who knows... In its informational, economic and cultural aspect globalization is an objectively necessary process that takes place like photosynthesis. Clearly and implacably. It is pointless to resist it, just like it is pointless to resist breathing, sex or scratching an itch. It is taking place constantly, imperceptibly and painlessly. You see, many Hollywood actors are followers of the Dalai Lama. The President of Peru is of Japanese origin. Dutch doctors leave work an hour earlier to go skiing in the Black Forest. And the weirdest one of all - a Bulgarian can go to Paris whenever he feels like it and have a coffee in some cafú at Pigalle.

#### Globalization.

The economic aspect of globalization was explained to me by a medium-scale manufacturer of furniture. He said: "There's no way to make something in Bulgaria if it can be made in China as well. It is really terrifying that there is China, too. If we make something for two dollars, they make it for two cents. They are many and eat rice... no chicken, no pork, just rice. And they are willing to work. A Chinese manufacturer offered to provide me with tables to be imported to Bulgaria. He asked me how many millions of tables per month I want."









Here is a private problem: an actor from a provincial theatre in Southern Albania wishes to create his pure art and get his share of the audience's applause. But that same audience has the possibility to watch over thirty satellite channels and enthuse over Robbie de Niro and Al Pacino. The South-Albanian actor does not stand a chance of receiving the dose of applause he needs so badly. The mechanism of world monopolism over legends, myths and ideals has started ticking.

It is quite unlikely that the maker of traditional Bavarian wooden cuckoo clocks will be strong on the market. Japanese traditional Bavarian wooden cuckoo clocks are much better. Cuban cigars are made in the Czech Republic. The ultimate German car, the Volkswagen Beetle, is made in Brazil. In London the biggest banks are Arab. The blue jeans that symbolize the American West are made in East Turkey.

Every fifth person in the world lives there, in China, and as they open up to the small round world the Chinese will indeed become every fifth person we see on the streets, who cooks our food or who helps our weak-sighted grandmothers cross the street. Together with India, Indonesia, Pakistan and Bangladesh, China makes one-third of humanity. China has nuclear weapons and the best computer specialists in the world. In China, the number of people per year who die in car crashes is higher than the population of Slovenia.

#### Globalization.

And here Bulgarians come thundering on!

Bulgaria is no more a prison for white niggers. We will no longer need letters of excuse for being Bulgarian and hav-

02

ing accidentally, with or without a good reason, found themselves in the World. Goodbye, visas!

The Bulgarian will be able to roam, cruise, loaf around. The IT specialist will go to Liechtenstein to get the best dentures in the world, while the grocer will visit the Fxroer islands to study old Viking rock inscriptions. The Bulgarian will no longer suffer from the torturous feeling that the world is unreachable, just made to tease him and make him feel inferior.

For the Bulgarian the world has suddenly grown wider and no longer extends from "Druzhba 2" to the motel at the turn-off to Ihtiman. Now a Bulgarian who has traveled Somewhere can even return home... because he will no longer fear that once he's come home, there will be no going back out into the World.

The world has become big and round.

A gifted young surgeon who had operated a sufficient number of larynxes to fill a small telephone directory with the names of their owners went to San Francisco.

He had a green card. Again: a sort of letter of excuse for not being WASP (white, Anglo-Saxon, protestant). In San Francisco he became a sales assistant in a food and consumer goods store. When he came back he said that pasta sold very well over there. And kept on successfully operating larynxes.

He found himself in San Francisco again on an Otorhinolaryngology congress. As he was walking along the streets familiar to him, he ran into the owner of the store he had worked in. The happy owner slapped his shoulder and said: "Listen, boy, come back to me. Things are going very well, I'll give you a ten percent raise." The surgeon answered: "Thank you very much, but I must go back to Bulgaria." The owner shook his head, smiled and said: "Well, alright... then give my regards to Bulgaria and all of Africa."

The surgeon also told about how the streets of Chinatown awfully resemble Pirotska Street.<sup>2</sup> This had moved him right to tears.

# Globalization.

When you see someone talking to himself on the street with a small device with antenna stuck to his ear, you never know if he isn't really speaking with the Seychelles Islands where his wife is having her two-week holiday. In fact he may as well be ordering fried chicken over the phone.

Communication is fantastically easy – connecting with Manhattan or Magadan is as easy as blowing your nose into a scented handkerchief. In fact it's easier. You can earn your money on the phone. You can lose your money on the phone. You can send a fax of the Grape Gathering in Arles by Van Gogh.³You can email a Rostopovich concert to your friends in Brooklyn. Terrific.

What is disappearing with Globalization is the esoteric of the small closed human world. I want – do you understand me? – to live in my own world. My world.

The world is too large for people's imagination. Nobody

would want to get the feeling of being locked into a vanadium steel capsule one kilometer under the Arctic ice cap. Nobody can endure the idea of this terrible Excessiveness of the World. This small World is in fact too big for us to grasp.

Watching the news on TV we get the terribly false impression that there is one world which is small and is ours. In this world there are about two dozen newspersons who keep talking about a hundred Chechens, two or three hundred Palestinians, five hundred Serbs and a thousand Americans whose votes are being recounted manually so that they too will have a president... What saves the global person is the feeling that there are very few people in the world and we know them, and then there are some Others, but for us they don't Count. If someone is forced to realize how big this globe he lives on really is and how countless are those Others who are not He, he will go mad.

A widespread form of madness is the feeling that you own the entire world. Globally.

When I hear 'globalization' I often think of the ninety-year old woman from Izvor mahala who has never left her village except once in her life, when she went to the town of Kula. She knew the world as well as anyone, and she also knew hundreds of herbs and balsamic plants. They say that some of them are lucky charms.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Kula is a small town in Northwest Bulgaria in the region of Montana; Izvor mahala is a tiny village that is part of the municipality of Kula - eds.



<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Druzhba 2 is a neighborhood on the outskirts of Sofia; Ihtiman is a small town about 70 kilometers south-east from Sofia, along the highway to Plovdiv - eds.

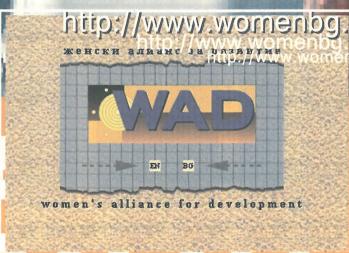
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Long and old shopping street in Sofia - eds.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Vincent Van Gogh, The Red Vineyard (oil painting, 1888); it is Paul Gauguin's painting of the same vineyard which is known as Grape Harvest in Arles/Human Misery (also 1888) – eds.



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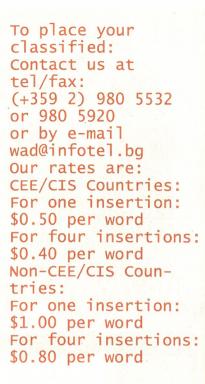
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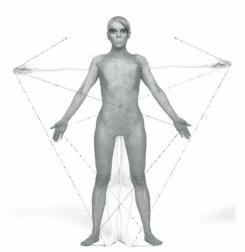
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"Illuminations on-line. Binary man." 1998/99 (8 [d]photograms x 92/120cm)



"Greetings","Multiple Portrait" 1998/2000 (5 pieces 42/60 cm)

# Barbara Konopka's "Binary Man"

# (excerpts)

Łukasz Ronduda, Łodz, 21 August 2000

"Those who make it impossible for unity to develop are the makers of angels."

James Joyce

Thanks to the redundance of the modified version of the portrait, Barbara Konopka shows its mechanism as a stuffy space for the production of a split personality - as the slit between the cognitive subject and its object (which are supposed to be identical in this case) where the "I" is wrought.

"[...] Even when the other is only me, me playing the part of another "me" in a double role: of the sender and of the receiver. Between those two roles, between me and the others (even if I am "them" myself), a split appears which makes any completeness of identity quite impossible." (\*)

The abovementioned split becomes the internal space for the ever repeated attempts at constructing the identity of the subject. The real world becomes only an element of the internal psychomachia within this space. The solipsistic relation is the reason why man as a being for himself is not able any more to enter the optimal interpersonal relations. The on-going privatization of society and the separation of man from other people lead him to create his internal space of the superego, where he feels an exile.

When Barbara Konopka exorcises the "I" in a multiple portrait she gives up the prerogatives of the subject lost in the nuances of its own interior in order to introduce the figure of a binary man in her series of digital photograms called "Illuminations. On-line." The binary man becomes the material used to form virtual subjectivities in their relation with the exterior, with the other, not with the Identical. Konopka presents the binary man as a double being, empirical and transcendental, made up of two bodies - the physical and the media body.

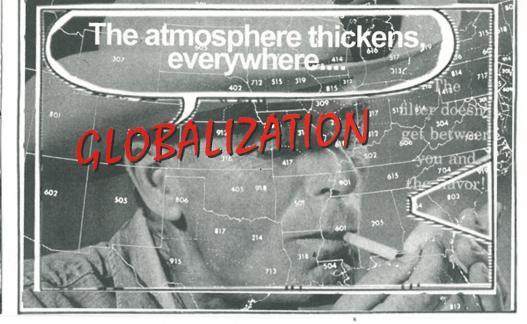
The binary man as a set of analytically atomized physical and mental elements forms the potential for the constitution of subjectivity. It is the frame in whose space osmoses and interphases take place and where ephemeral identities crystallize as the result of contacting any given other.

Constant movement, nomadic dismemberment and the location in space makes the binary man a phenomenon which constantly improves and broadens its communicative potential. The possibility of permanent transgression and personality transformation denies thinking in terms of identity-as-foundation.

(\*) M. P. Markowski, "Efekt inskrypcji. Jacques Derrida", p. 396

Relaxed timeless fusion of style and technology.

a whole microcircuitry of desire, ideology and expenditure for processed bodies drifting through the cyber-space of ultracapitalism.







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