WOMEN, PEACE AND SECURITY IN THE WESTERN BALKANS

Independent review of translation of UNSCR 1325
into policy in Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina,
Kosovo, Macedonia and Serbia

Albania

Macedonia

Kosovo

Bosnia and
Herzegovina

Serbia

2013

Belgrade Centre for Security Policy

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Abbreviations

ADA	Austrian Development Agency
ADL	Anti-Discrimination Law
AGE	Agency for Gender Equality
AP	Action Plan
ARM	Army of the Republic of Macedonia
ASP	Albanian State Police
BCSP	Belgrade Centre for Security Policy
BFPE	Belgrade Fund for Political Excellency
BIA	Serbian Security Intelligence Agency
BiH	Bosnia and Herzegovina
BPFA	Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women
CIASKSF	Committee on Internal Affairs and Security and the Kosovo Security Force
CRPM	Centre for Research and Policy Making
CSO	Civil Society Organisation(s)
DCAF	Geneva Centre for Democratic Control of Armed Forces
DFID	Department for International Development
EC	European Commission
ENNA	European Network of NGOs in Afghanistan
EPLO	European Peacebuilding Liaison Office
EU	European Union
EUFOR	European Union military operation ALTHEA
EUPM	European Union Police Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina
FBiH	Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina
FIGAP	Financial Instrument for the implementation of Gender Action Plan
FYR Macedonia	Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia
GAP	Gender Action Plan
GARD	Gender Agenda for Rural Development
GBV	Gender Based Violence
GEL	Gender Equality Legislation
GEMs	Gender Equality Mechanisms
GM	Gender Mainstreaming
GNWP	Global Network of Women Peace-builders
HHRC	Helsinki Human Rights Committee in Serbia
IDM	Institute for Democracy and Mediation
IDPs	Internally displaced persons
IMWG	Inter-ministerial Working Group
JSO	Special Operations Unit
KCSS	Kosovar Centre for Security Studies
KGSC	Kosovar Gender Studies Centre
KIA	Kosovo Intelligence Agency

KIPRED	Kosovar Institute for Policy Research and Development
KNAP	Kosovo National Action Plan
KP	Kosovo Police
KPC	Kosovo Protection Crops
KPF	Kosovo Protection Crops
KSC	Kosovo Security Council
KSF	Kosovo Security Force
KWN	Kosovo Women's Network
LGE	Law on Gender Equality
LP	Law on Police
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MFA	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
MFin	Ministry of Finance
MKSF	Ministry for the Kosovo Security Force
MLSP	Ministry of Labor and Social Policy
MLSW	Ministry of Labor and Social Welfare
MNO	Multinational Operations
MoD	Ministry of Defence
MOGE	Municipal Offices for Gender Equality
MoI	Ministry of Interior
MoJ	Ministry of Justice
MoLSAEO	Ministry of Labor Social Affairs and Equal Opportunities
MP	Member of Parliament
MSCB	Multi-Sectoral Coordinating Body
NAP 1325	National Action Plan for the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 1325
NAPGE	National Action Plan for Gender Equality
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NCWM	National Council of Women of Republic of Macedonia
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
NSDI	National Strategy for Development and Integration
NSGEDV	National Strategy on Gender Equality and Domestic Violence
NSGE-DV	National Strategy on Gender Equality and the Fight against Domestic Violence
NSGE-GBV-DV	National Strategy on Gender Equality and Reduction of Gender Based Violence and Domestic Violence
OCKIA	Oversight Committee of Kosovo Intelligence Agency
OECD	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
OFA	Ohrid Framework Agreement
OGA	Office for Gender Affairs
OHR	Office of the High Representative
OSCE	Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe
PC	Political Council

PfP	Partnership for Peace
RCC	Regional Cooperation Council
RS	Republic of Serbia
RS	Republic of Srpska
RWL	Regional Women's Lobby
SAA	Stabilization and Association Agreement(s)
SCG	State Union of Serbia and Montenegro
SDC	Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation
SEESAC	South Eastern and Eastern Europe Clearinghouse for the Control of Small Arms and Light Weapons
SEPCA	Southeast Europe Police Chiefs Association
SGCG	Security and Gender Coordination Group
SHAPE	Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe
SIDA	Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency
SIPA	State Investigation and Protection Agency
SKSF	Strategy of Kosovo Security Force
SSR	Security Sector Reform
THB	Trafficking in Human Beings
ToT	Training of Trainers
UN	United Nations
UN SC	United Nations Security Council
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNIFEM	United Nations Development Fund for Women
UNSCR 1222	United Nations Security Council Resolution 1222
UNSCR 1325	United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security
UNWOMEN	United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women
USA	United States
UWOM	Union of Women Organizations of Macedonia
VBA	Military Counter Intelligence Agency
VOA	Military Intelligence Agency
WB	Western Balkans
WG	Working Group
WIIS	Women in International Security
WPC	Women's Peace Coalition
WPON	Women Police Officers Network in South East Europe
WPON RS	Women Police Officers Network in Republika Srpska
WPS	Women, Peace and Security – all seven UNSC resolutions based on UNSCR 1325 agenda: 1820, 1888, 1889, 1960, 2106 and 2122[1]

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1 http://www.securitycouncilreport.org/un-documents/search.php?IncludeBlogs=10&limit=15&tag=%22Security%20Council%20Resolutions%22+AND+%22Women%20Peace%20and%20Security%22&ctype=Women,%20Peace%20and%20Security&rtype=Security%20Council%20Resolutions&cbtype=women-peace-and-security

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Acknowledgements

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1 This designation is without prejudice to divergent positions on status and in line with UN Security Council Resolution 1244 and the International Court of Justice.

Framework of analysis

Sonja Stojanović Gajić[1]

Much of the spirit of UNSCR 1325 on *Women, Peace and Security* was inspired by what happened in the wars of Yugoslav succession.[2] The use of gender based violence as an weapon in conflicts, the marginality of women-led peace initiatives and hostility towards them from the nationalist rulers of the time, as well as the traditionalisation of the role of women in the re-building of states after the conflicts, are some of the reasons which led to efforts by women's civil society and the international community to define a specific UN agenda aimed at increasing the role of women in all aspects of conflict resolution, security and foreign policy governance.

After the adoption of *UNSCR 1325 on Women, Security and Peace*, it took more than a decade for its instruments to be translated into the national policy agendas of the Western Balkan region. Throughout this period, women's CSOs shared their insights with other CSOs and the rare politicians who showed an interest, networked regionally and internationally and advocated for the focus in security provision to be on human security as well as for women to have a greater role in all aspects of security and foreign policy governance and conflict-resolution. However, their voice was not part of the mainstream, as most were perceived as 'enemies of the state' due to the criticism they leveled against exclusionary ethno-nationalist politics. The window of opportunity for UNSCR 1325 to become part of the region's mainstream politics only opened once the international community, as part of their own governments' and organisations' preparations for marking the tenth anniversary of UNSCR 1325, began supporting work by Balkan governments related to the 1325 agenda. This is not to say that the UNSCR 1325 was imposed externally, but rather that it attained **legitimacy with national political and security actors through interaction with the international community rather than with domestic civil society**. The dominant motivation for Balkan governments' adoption of NAPs is in order to join consolidated democracies' security clubs (e.g. the EU, NATO, the CoE etc.) by strengthening key government institutions for provision of security and gender equality.[3] While NAPs are predominantly focused internally on reforms at home, the language used to justify activities prioritises the strengthening of institutions over dealing with the consequences of conflict and an authoritarian past.

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1 Director of Belgrade Centre for Security Policy
2 Lepa Mladenović and Biljana Branković, 2013, *Međunarodni feministički mirovni pokret koji je doveo do Rezolucije 1325* (Belgrade: BCSP). Available at: http://www.bezbednost.org/upload/document/medjunarodni_feministicki_mirovni_pokret_koji_je_d.pdf
3 See the quote from the Macedonian NAP (p. 4): *The National Action Plan of the Republic of Macedonia for implementation of UN Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security has been prepared as a result of the interests and priorities of the Republic of Macedonia to join the activities of the UN, EU, CoE, OSCE and NATO in this area in an efficient and comprehensive manner.*

In July 2010, Bosnia and Herzegovina[4] became the first country in the Balkan region to adopt an Action Plan[5] for implementation of UNSCR 1325, followed by Serbia in December 2010[6] and Croatia in 2011.[7] At the same time, Macedonia and Kosovo started developing action plans, resulting in Macedonia adopting an NAP at the end of 2012,[8] while at the time of writing, Kosovo's NAP was awaiting approval from the Prime Minister. Montenegro and Albania have initially chosen not to adopt a special document, but to integrate the resolution's objectives in their national gender equality policies. However, Montenegro has now begun work on NAP development.

Analysis of the adopted NAPs gives interesting insight into the broader social and political transformation of the countries studied, as most of the objectives and activities envisaged are designed to assist security sector reform, reconciliation and introduction of gender equality 'at home'. This is in contrast to NAPs in the majority of EU and NATO countries, which are more oriented towards integrating gender equality issues while exporting security and development assistance abroad.[9] The exception to this rule is Croatia's NAP, which is oriented towards the foreign policy agenda to a greater extent than any other NAP in the region.

Examination of which of the issues under the UNSCR 1325 umbrella have been prioritised and translated into national policies and the creation of institutional mechanisms reveals how 'a link between social (gender) change and political (conflict) transformation'[10] is made in the Western Balkan region.

The scope and limits of this study

This publication provides an insight into the opportunities and challenges experienced in the **early stages of deliberation and implementation of UNSCR 1325 by governments in mid-income transition countries, a number of which also suffer from unresolved statehood issues and the heritage of conflict**.

This publication is based on empirical research on implementation of UNSCR 1325 in cases where action plans have been adopted (Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia and Macedonia), in cases where they are currently being finalised (Kosovo[11]) and in cases where the UNSCR 1325 agenda

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4   http://www.1325.arsbih.gov.ba
5   Due to conflicts between Bosnia and Herzegovina's constituent ethnicities over the structure of the state, the designers of the Bosnian plan decided to omit the word 'national' from the name of document as 'it would be a reminder of a unified state, over which there is no consensus'. (Interview with Agency for Gender Equality employees). Henceforth, both abbreviations AP (Action Plan) and NAP (National Action Plan) refer to the same type of document intended to translate UNSCR 1325 into state policy.
6   http://www.peacewomen.org/assets/file/NationalActionPlans/serbia_nap.pdf
7   http://www.peacewomen.org/assets/file/NationalActionPlans/croatia_nationalactionplan_2011.pdf
8   http://www.peacewomen.org/assets/file/NationalActionPlans/macedonia_nap_1325.pdf
9   For an excellent overview see EPLO (2012): *Comparing National Action Plans for implementation of 1325 in Europe*. Available at: http://www.eplo.org/assets/files/2.%20Activities/Working%20Groups/GPS/GPS_Table_Comparing_NAP_Country_March%202012%20(2).pdf [Accessed on 3rd March 2013].
10 Nicola Pratt & Sophie Richter-Devroe (2011): Critically Examining UNSCR 1325 on Women, Peace and Security, *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 13:4, p. 490.
11 This designation is without prejudice to divergent positions on status and in line with the UN Security Council resolution 1244 and the International Court of Justice.

has been implemented without an action plan (Albania).[12] Due to limited resources, the team opted for analysis of fewer countries in greater depth rather than an approach dealing with the entire region. This report does not, therefore, analyse Croatia's NAP or the early stages of NAP development in Montenegro. While recognising that women CSOs were working on the Women, Peace and Security (WPS) agenda long before the adoption of NAPs, we have largely focused on the period since 2008, when some of the region's governments began implementing the WPS agenda by developing AP/NAPs or adopting specific policies aimed at improving gender equality in security governance.

This report provides an independent review of the initial phase of government-led development and implementation of national policies for translation of UNSCR 1325 in the Western Balkan context. The authors hope that this kind of review will be especially helpful for Bosnia and Herzegovina, which is currently developing its second Action Plan, and for Serbia, which is mid-way through implementation of its first NAP. The different stages of implementation of UNSCR 1325 provide fruitful ground for examining the effectiveness of National Action Plans as tools for implementation of the Women, Peace and Security agenda in comparison to alternative strategies developed in countries without NAPs (Albania). It could also potentially assist countries which are currently considering developing NAPs (Montenegro), or which are in the early stages of implementation, to build on lessons learned in neighbouring countries which set out on this road earlier. Moreover, the authors hope that this report will help Western Balkan countries respond to the call made in SCR 2122[13] for member states to review their national objectives regarding Women, Peace and Security before the 2015 high-level review, which will be used to mark the important anniversaries of UNSCR 1325 +15, the Beijing Platform for Action +20 and the target year for the Millennium Development Goals (MDG).

The study provides critical analysis by **civil society organisations** on gender and security reform developments in each country. The research was conducted by representatives of civil society organisations (CSOs) from the countries studied: the Institute for Democracy and Mediation (IDM) – Albania; Women to Women – BiH; the Kosovar Centre for Security Studies (KCSS) – Kosovo; the Centre for Research and Policy Making (CRPM) – Macedonia and the Belgrade Centre for Security Policy (BCSP) – Serbia. The partnership is composed of diverse organisations: a veteran feminist activist CSO (Women to Women), three think tanks specialising in security issues (BCSP, IDM, and KCSS) and a Macedonian think tank which is a leader in the study of gender mainstreaming in a variety of public policies (CRPM). This diversity is evident in the background experience and expertise used for interpretation of the research findings.

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12   Kosovo (UNSCR 1244) and Macedonia (FYROM): "Kosovo" and "Macedonia" in the rest of the report.
13   http://www.unwomen.org/en/news/stories/2013/10/press-release-on-adoption-of-wps-resolution

Objectives of study

The key question this study addresses is: **what are the main achievements and weakness in development and implementation of (national) action plans for implementation of UNSCR 1325 in the region?** In order to answer this, the following was analysed:[14]

- the process of development of APs/NAPs
- the priorities chosen for the translation of WPS principles (participation, protection, prevention, prosecution) nationally
- the actors involved in development, implementation and oversight of the WPS agenda, with special focus on the participation of civil society
- implementation gaps and good practice in the area of gender mainstreaming in security structures
- monitoring and evaluation framework
- funding
- alternative approaches without APs/NAPs

Due to the limited track record of Action Plan implementation, special attention was paid to studying which issues were promoted by statutory and non-statutory actors through initiatives related to NAP/AP development.[15] Authors were asked to particularly address the extent to which NAP development was transparent and inclusive and who the drivers (and spoilers) of this process were. With this analysis, we hope to examine the power (or lack of it) of the various stakeholders in each polity that took part in NAP development. Analysis of implementation focuses on achievements and implementation gaps in gender mainstreaming in the security sector, as early in our research we found that this is the area where the greatest number of measures have been developed and implemented. By looking into the lessons learned about the initial phase of deliberation and implementation of NAPs, we hope to equip ourselves with the evidence needed to formulate **recommendations** on what could be done better in the future.

Research methodology

The research was conducted between November 2012 and April 2013. Authors were asked to produce a documented analysis of the process of NAP/AP 1325 development and implementation in their country. Originally we wanted to analyse how successful national governments have been in translating the four cornerstone principles of participation, protection, prevention and relief and recovery into practice, but empirically we found that most has been done in regard to the representation of women in security institutions. For this reason, gender mainstreaming in the security sector is covered in more depth than other aspects of the WPS agenda.

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14   The original research design did not cover all these aspects, but the editors re-composed the existing material to address the same issues as the Global Technical Review of UNSCR 1325 organised by UN Women between 5-7 November 2013, Glen Cove, New York.
15   Laura McLeud (2012) 'Why should we understand Multiple Meaning of "Gender Security" *Journal of Regional Security*, 1-15. Available at: http://www.bezbednost.org/upload/document/pages_from_6_mcleod.pdf

The study is based on analysis of primary sources (laws, strategies and interviews) and secondary sources (books, articles, websites etc.). Preliminary findings from desk research were verified through national focus groups and consultations and interviews with representatives of state institutions in charge of NAP/AP development and implementation, as well as with representatives of CSOs. The findings were further tested at the regional conference *The Regional Dialogue on Gender and Security: Uniting Governments' and CSOs' Efforts in Implementation of the UNSCR 1325 Agenda*[16] in April 2013, attended by 47 representatives of government security and gender equality institutions, as well as women's and other CSOs. The conference was co-organised by the five CSOs who authored this report and served as a platform for an exchange of real life challenges to the implementation of UNSCR 1325 and good practice rooted in the context of this region. The key findings from this conference were further presented to political decision-makers from national parliaments and security and defence institutions at the conference *Ohrid Initiative – Strengthening the 1325 Community in the Region* organised by the Belgrade Fund for Political Excellence on 11-12 May 2013 in Ohrid, Macedonia. The additional information obtained during both conferences is included in the report.

Structure of the study

The study's first chapter summarises the similarities and differences between the various NAPs/APs and provides an overview of the lessons learned in NAP/AP 1325 development and implementation in the region. The lessons are divided into two comparative chapters based on the insights of the individual authors represented in this publication, as well as conclusions from the two regional conferences where gender equality and security professionals, civil society activists and politicians discussed the main challenges and successes in translating UNSCR 1325 in practice. The comparative chapters, with the main findings common to all analysed cases, are followed by an overview of key recommendations for the way forward.

Developments in regard to NAP/AP 1325 development and implementation in each country are analysed in more detail in the country chapters, listed in alphabetical order. Country studies are followed by a number of useful sources which we hope will assist policy-makers and interested overseers from parliaments and civil society, as well as helping interested researchers to pursue more in-depth study in the future. An overview of existing regional initiatives is provided at the end of publication in order to illustrate the gap between government and civil society led initiatives.

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16   The conference was organised in April 2013 in Ohrid, with the aim of presenting the findings of this study. The conference gathered 47 representatives of state institutions, CSOs, academia and international organisations. For more details about the conference see: http://www.bezbednost.org/BCSP-News/5138/Uniting-government-and-CSOs-efforts-in.shtml

I   GAPS IN DESIGN
Lessons Learned from development of national policies for translation of UNSCR 1325 in the Western Balkans

Sonja Stojanović Gajić

This article provides a comparative examination of the similarities and differences in regards to the early stages of development and implementation of national policies related to translation of UNSCR 1325 into practice in Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo, Macedonia and Serbia.

The text starts with an overview of the national policies through which the region's governments have been formally transposing UNSCR 1325 into their national contexts. Second, by examining the **strategic objectives** prioritised in NAPs, we look at how the resolution's core principles (participation, protection, prevention) have been translated locally. In analysing the concept of security and peace advanced in the adopted documents, we also analyse whether a balance has been struck between national and local level interventions and recognition of the various categories of population that would be impacted by NAP implementation. Third, we analyse the **actors** tasked with implementation and monitoring of NAPs at the national level, in order to see which public policies have been selected as hosts of UNSCR 1325 implementation and how inclusive the process has been. Fourth, due to the relatively short track record of implementation of NAPs/APs, there is a **broad brush review of achievements and gaps** in implementation, while the greater part of evidence is presented in the national chapters. Analysis of lessons learned is divided into **three sub-sections** dealing respectively with: transposition of core UNSCR 1325 principles, participation of civil society in the process and a list of common implementation challenges as described during the two regional conferences.

Which documents have been used to streamline the UNSCR 1325 agenda nationally?

Countries are currently at different stages of UNSCR 1325 implementation. While Albania has not yet developed a plan, Kosovo's plan is awaiting adoption by the government. On the other hand, Macedonia is taking its first steps since the National Action Plan was adopted in January 2013, while Serbia and Bosnia and Herzegovina are in their third year of NAP implementation. Bosnia and Herzegovina is the only country in the region that will adopt a second generation NAP by the end of 2013 for the period 2013-2017.

Table 1. NAP/AP 1325 status

Country	Valid for the period:	NAP/AP 1325 status
Albania		No special document, implemented through *National Strategy on Gender Equality and the Fight against Domestic Violence*
BiH	2010-2013	Adopted in July 2010. New NAP being developed for 2014-2017
Kosovo	Planned adoption for three-year period 2013-2016	Adoption of draft NAP 1325 expected in 2013
Macedonia	2013-2015	Adopted in January 2013
Serbia	2010-2015	Adopted in December 2010

Even though Albania has not developed an NAP, gender is mainstreamed in the security sector under the umbrella of the *National Strategy on Gender Equality and the Fight against Domestic Violence,* the first version of which was valid for 2007-2010 with a revised strategy for 2011-2015. Some of its goals have also been implemented as part of institutional sub-strategies, such as the *Ministry of Interior Action Plan on Diversity* 2011-2013 and the *Human Resources Management Strategy* at the Ministry of Defence.

Lessons learned/Recommendations

- **Albania and Montenegro should adopt National Action Plans (NAPs) for implementation of UNSCR 1325** tailored to their national political contexts and building on lessons learned in other Western Balkan states. Other cases analysed in this publication prove that NAP adoption assists prioritisation of the WPS agenda, helps develop inter-agency and cross-sectoral partnerships and strengthens accountability for implementation of UNSCR 1325. Adopting a specific document for the Women, Peace and Security agenda has proved useful in focusing the attention of government actors on the issues and made the work and potential of civil society more visible. Collaborative work on NAP development and implementation improved coordination among government agencies and helped them develop new capacities and a more comprehensive understanding of security through training received and peer exchange. Despite weaknesses in monitoring and evaluation frameworks in the adopted NAPs, an official WPS policy facilitates oversight and accountability.

- **Development and enactment of NAP 1325 should not be an aim in itself, but rather the beginning of a process** aimed at effecting real and meaningful change. It stands as an entry point for enhanced respect for women's rights and empowerment and for acknowledging a country's commitment to Women, Peace and Security related issues. In order to get meaningful change, implementation should not amount to technical capital-centred efforts but should seek opportunities to effect changes in the everyday lives of women, girls, men and boys throughout the country and in external actions.

- **Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia and Serbia should carry out mid-term reviews of their current NAPs** to streamline their efforts at implementation of the WPS agenda and build in lessons learned from gaps in NAP design and in the initial phase of implementation which are described in greater detail in the rest of text.

NAP/AP structure and neglected issues

All NAPs appear to cover the main relevant principles of UNSCR 1325: participation of women, protection against and prevention of gender-based violence and conflicts. However they differ in the focus and depth they allocate to the various issues and the level of investment in their implementation. The table below gives an overview of the key sections of NAPs. Albania is only partially covered in this overview as it was difficult to trace the objectives through the various strategic documents which Albania is using to implement the resolution's goals. Kosovo's draft NAP was not available to the comparative chapter's author.

Table 2. Issues covered in the region's NAPs*

Issue	Alb	BiH	Kos	Mac	Serb
PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN					
In decision-making on security and foreign policy issues		Increased participation by women in decision-making at all levels of government	Increasing participation by women in decision-making & peace building processes	Increased representation of and participation by women at decision making levels in national, regional and international institutions, conflict management, prevention, resolution and peace building	Increasing the role of women and their participation in decision-making on defence and security
Representation of women in traditional security institutions e.g. military, police…	The Ministry of Interior Action Plan on Diversity 2011-2013, The MoD Human Resources Strategy Management foresees an rise to 15 % by the end of 2015	An increased number of women in the military and police forces and promotion of women as holders of managerial positions within military and police structures			Increasing participation by women in the security sector
Participation in external security provision		Increased participation by women in peacekeeping missions		Gender perspective should be adopted in planning and implementation of peace operations and negotiations	Participation by women in conflict resolution, post-conflict situations and peacekeeping missions
Participation by civil society		Improved cooperation with non-governmental and international organisations on implementation of UNSCR 1325 in Bosnia and Herzegovina			

PROTECTION			
Against gender-based violence at home	The fight against human trafficking	protection: increased attention to the protection of and respect for women's rights (including protection against gender-based violence)	instruments of legal protection of women
Against threats to women based on the heritage of conflict	Reduced risk of mine affected areas in Bosnia and Herzegovina Improved support and assistance networks for women and girls who were victims during the war	Access to justice for victims of sexual violence during the conflict	
Against gender-based violence in peace-keeping missions	Introduction of a gender perspective in training for participants in peacekeeping missions	A gender perspective should be adopted in planning and implementation of peace operations and negotiations	
GENDER MAINSTREAMING			
	Gender mainstreaming in the security sector	Incorporation of a gender-sensitive approach to the creation of a security policy also based on an integrated approach (as part of the legal solutions in the corresponding sectors), particularly through reforms in the security sector; police; defence; crisis management; civil protection; integrated border management;	Creation of institutional mechanisms (gender sensitive statistics, gender sensitive budget, gender advisors etc.)
Education and capacity building	Increased knowledge and capacity of state services for UNSCR 1325 implementation		Education and training of security sector personnel Media support for NAP implementation.

* The table provides only an overview of main aims/sections of analysed action plans, while more in-depth study of the spirit of the aims is looked in the section on their implementation.

Based on our overview of the key objectives of the existing NAPs, we can conclude that all documents mention the three cornerstone principles but do not all pay equal attention to them.

Participation

Participation is most frequently translated into two objectives: firstly increased participation by women in decision-making in general and secondly increased representation of women in operational and decision-making posts in the domestic security sector and in peace-keeping operations. Serbia's NAP is narrower in focus as it only prioritises participation by women in the security sector, leaving participation outside the security and foreign policy arena to be promoted by other strategies. The Serbian and Macedonian NAPs take a broader definition of the security sector than the other countries studied, which focus only on traditional security actors like the military and police. As well as these two institutions, Serbia's NAP identifies the following institutions as desired areas for change: ministries in charge of the military (MoD) and police (Ministry of Interior); the three intelligence services (civilian intelligence –BIA, military intelligence – VOA and military counter-intelligence VBA); and the customs and prison services. Macedonia's NAP aims to increase the recognition of women in security sector institutions dealing with the police, defence, crisis management, civil protection and integrated border management.

Macedonia's NAP and the draft NAP for Kosovo also recognise more explicitly **the role of women in conflict management, prevention, resolution and peace building at home** rather than solely in international peace-keeping missions. More specifically, Macedonia's NAP recognises the need to respect the needs of women affected by the peace building and conflict prevention measures ensuing from the Ohrid Framework Agreement (OFA) which ended the armed conflict between the National Liberation Army and the Macedonian security forces and set a number of measures for improving the rights of Macedonian citizens of Albanian ethnicity. It aims to increase participation by women in politics and in the activities of the OFA Implementation Secretariat as well as in implementation of the *Strategy for Equitable Representation of Communities not Representing the Majority* and the accompanying Action Plan. In a nutshell, it aims to involve women in peace-building at home and also help ethnic minority women be represented at all levels of government.

The three NAPs currently being implemented also recognise the need to **improve participation by women in peace-keeping and humanitarian missions**. Macedonia's NAP emphasises that this can take the form of participation in both military and civilian missions. Recognising a greater pool of potential women candidates for civilian jobs, as well as the need to assist the local population by providing services other than military protection, Macedonia's NAP aims to develop a national civilian capacity for multinational operations by setting an objective to create a centralised roster of capacities for civilian missions. Serbia's NAP recognises the need to introduce a post of gender advisor for operations, the occupant of which would assist in sensitising forces to the protection of women and would also help female soldiers take an active part.

Only the Bosnian action plan highlights, at the level of an objective, the importance of consultation with civil society for the empowerment of women. The other plans recognise the participa-

tion of civil society in the process more as a means or tool to assist the government in achieving its goals.

Who is to be protected from what?

The principle of **protection** is represented in objectives aimed at empowering women and girls and protecting them from gender based violence (GBV) and threats stemming from conflicts. All NAPs contain measures aimed at improving the protection of women both in their home countries and in theatres where national security forces might be deployed as part of peace-keeping operations. Prior to the NAPs, all governments adopted a significant number of laws and strategies aimed at preventing and suppressing discrimination, human trafficking, sexual abuse and exploitation and domestic and other forms of gender-based violence. This is probably why the authors of the NAPs focussed on designing measures either relevant to the role of security actors in implementing strategies for protection against GBV or which address specific conflict-related threats to women. All NAPs have the noble cause of protecting women in common, but they rarely recognise the active role that women can take in prevention of and protection against GBV, as well as in peace and security.

Plans differ in the depth and scope of GBV that they recognise. The Serbian and Macedonian NAPs have a goal which covers a wide range of GBV and other threats to women and girls. A special feature of Serbia's NAP is its focus on the **protection of women employed in security institutions**. This includes the introduction of innovative mechanisms such as 'persons of trust/ trustworthy persons' which are peer support mechanisms for protection against gender-based discrimination.[1] Serbia's NAP and the Albanian MoI both recognise the risk of sexual harassment in security institutions and measures have been proposed.

Bosnia's and Kosovo's plans explicitly recognise the **threats that have emerged due to the heritage of conflict**. Bosnia's AP contains three objectives related to the post-conflict situation: to reduce the risk of mined areas, to protect women from human trafficking[2] and to improve the support and assistance network for women and girls who were victims during the war. The focus in implementation was on ensuring inter-agency cooperation between the services in charge of providing legal and social protection to victims, as well as during criminal procedures. Kosovo's draft NAP puts the protection aim in more political terms, to provide 'access to justice for victims of sexual violence during the conflict'. Women's CSOs and women MPs objected to the adoption of a special law for victims of sexual violence which they believed would stigmatise the victims even more. They requested that survivors of sexual violence during the Kosovo conflict be included in the *Law on the status and rights of martyrs, invalids, veterans, members of the former Kosovo Liberation Army, civilian victims of war and their families* (adopted in 2011) so that they would have

1 A "trustworthy person" is elected by secret ballot for every 60 employees in each organisational unit for a four-year term. Their task is to mediate, advise and undertake measures to address specific problematic issues in the field of gender equality and discrimination. For more details see: Odanović, G. and Bjeloš, M. in this publication.
2 Other NAPs also recognise human trafficking as a threat, but not at the level of an objective. BiH's NAP is the only document that explicitly links the risks of human trafficking not only to socio-economic conditions (e.g. poverty, unemployment, discrimination against women), but also to the post-conflict heritage: the displacement of large number of people.

the status of civilian victims and could receive reparations and financial support, as well as having access to justice in line with the principle of 'do not harm'.[3] The amendment to the law was adopted on its first reading by majority of only three votes in March 2013,[4] after threats were made against Nazlie Bala, a human rights advocate and pressure had been exercised by the Women's Political Network in Parliament.[5] The Government claimed it did not have sufficient resources to implement this provision,[6] so it is questionable how far a NAP could advance this agenda.

All plans pay special attention to developing knowledge about and the capacity to understand **GBV threats to women in the peace-keeping environment**, and have designed measures such as specialised training and force sensitisation. Serbia's NAP also envisages the introduction of the new post of gender advisor in operations. After a limited track record, we can conclude that most has been done regarding development of the capacities of traditional security sector institutions to provide protection in the context of multinational operations. Endeavours to address GBV at home and other types of structural violence were mostly left to already existing interagency structures created for the implementation of national GBV and anti-trafficking strategies.

Women as a target and/or actors of prevention

The **prevention** pillar of UNSCR 1325 should provide for: the application of gender equality in all conflict prevention activities; gender-sensitive mechanisms and institutions for early warning; strengthening of efforts to prevent violence against women; and the fight against impunity for gender and sexual violence.

In the NAPs analysed, the prevention principle is translated into measures aimed at developing the **capacity of security sector institutions to prevent risks of violence and other threats to women.** Examples of such measures are training in conflict prevention, negotiation and mediation as part of training for peace operations (Serbia's NAP) and training police and prosecutors in investigating human trafficking (BiH). Serbia's NAP maintains its focus on changes to security sector institutions by listing measures aimed at preventing risks of sexual harassment and abuse in these institutions,[7] as well as addressing health risks for women employees in security sector in a timely manner. Most of these measures are aimed at developing **prevention measures that will protect women, while failing to include women as active participants in prevention**. There is a vague reference in a number of places to the need to improve relations with civil society for the prevention of GBV and conflict at home and abroad.

The only exception is Macedonia's NAP, which promotes **the active role of women in conflict prevention and the recovery of society after emergencies**. It is the only NAP which acknowledges a gender-based risk assessment for natural disasters, and especially the vulnerability of

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3 http://www.balkaninsight.com/en/article/kosovo-war-rape-victims-need-legal-status
4 http://www.assembly-kosova.org/common/docs/proc/trans_s_2013_03_14_10_4805_al.pdf
5 http://kvinnatillkvinna.se/en/2013/03/22/civil-rights-defenders-and-kvinna-till-kvinna-condemn-death-threat-against-human-rights-defender/
6 http://www.kosovapress.com/archive/?cid=2,92,166782
7 Section VII on Media, Measure 1.3. which provides content on the risks of sexual harassment and abuse in the media of internal security sector institutions.

rural women to natural and humanitarian crises and catastrophes. It envisages the engagement of women in conflict-prevention and recovery at the local level through Prevention Councils and Municipal Councils, as well as in collaboration with civil society.

The desired impact of prevention is mostly located at the level of institutions or at the national level. No NAP explicitly envisages any measures aimed at **preventing the re-emergence of conflicts and other cross-border insecurities at the regional level**. Governments fail to seek opportunities to work together, for example in the area of transitional justice, where most compensation for victims and access to justice depends on cross-border cooperation. This is especially relevant for issues like sexual violence during war, internally displaced persons (IDPs), refugee rights etc.

Lessons learned regarding the thematic focus of NAPs

- When developing and reviewing NAPs, Western Balkan governments should recognise the comprehensiveness of the Women, Peace and Security agenda, including the human security approach, and should develop measures that enable translation of all pillars of WPS to the national context. A positive is that the majority of set measures are aimed at change at home.
- UNSCR 1325 is not only about the quantitative representation of women in security sector institutions or security institutions' response to GBV. Women should be considered active agents in security governance, conflict prevention and resolution and post-conflict recovery. Therefore, meaningful participation should be promoted not only as an objective, but also through the selection of adequate means for promoting participation by women (e.g. involving women's CSOs, professional networks and women recipients of protection in implementation).
- In order to affect the lives of ordinary women, girls, men and boys, NAPs should develop mechanisms for translating national objectives to the local level.
- When prioritising measures to be incorporated into the NAP, a balance should be sought between the various priorities. Objectives and measures should be set which complement other domestic strategies and legislation relevant to the WPS agenda.

Distinguish between categories of female population

The NAPs analysed here fail to recognise the different needs of different gendered identities and the root causes of their vulnerabilities and the inequalities between them. Most of the set measures are aimed at affecting an aggregated category of *women*, failing to recognise the different needs and vulnerabilities of adult women, girls, older women, rural women, refugee and IDP women, poor women, ethnic minorities, the LGBT population, young men and other particularly vulnerable groups. All NAPs lack an understanding of **interesectionality**[8] or how gender intersects with other categories of identity such as class, ethnicity, religion, age and sexual orientation. The insights presented by Elona Anchevska in her case study of Macedonia's NAP in this

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8   An Intersectional Approach, http://www.gender.no/Policies_tools/1086

publication are also valid for the other NAPs. The adopted NAPs are blind to how the intersection of various categories of identity causes women to experience insecurity, conflict and peace building in various ways.

> **Recommendation for taking an intersectional approach to revision of NAPs**
>
> **The authorities implementing WPS should develop an awareness of the different needs of different groups of women, men, boys and girls and take an intersectional approach that recognises that women and men of different age, class, sexual orientation, ethnic and religious background experience insecurity and conflict differently.** This should be followed by application of gender analysis and an intersectional approach during revision of NAPs so as to ensure that measures are sensitive to the diverse vulnerabilities of different groups and create opportunities for their participation that address the root cause of inequalities.
>
> Bearing in mind that this is a demanding requirement, we propose a step-by-step approach to developing capacities to address the needs of different groups. As a minimum step, we suggest that **differences in age and gender** of target groups be acknowledged in the first mid-term revision of NAPs. In this way, it should be ensured that girls are not excluded from efforts at NAP implementation. Another practical proposal would be to organise consultations between CSOs or other groups and the government agencies that are primarily responsible for improving the protection of and participation opportunities for the various listed groups (e.g. Commissariats for Refugees and IDPs, agencies for youth, poverty reduction teams etc.). The goal for consultations could be to agree on only one joint activity that would help these groups to receive improved protection and gain a voice in decision-making on peace and security at a local, national or regional level. We hope that such a minimalistic approach would allow security and other relevant authorities to improve their capacity to assist different groups in society and ensure effective implementation of the measures adopted.

Throughout the texts of the NAPs, women are mentioned as a unified category with very few exceptions. The Macedonian and Serbian NAPs make inconsistent reference to "women" and "girls" but fail to elaborate further on the measures envisaged. As previously stated, the Bosnian and Kosovo NAPs single out women victims of GBV during wars as a group that deserves special protection in order to be able to exercise their rights. Bosnia's NAP also recognises women victims of human trafficking, and within this goal aims to provide special protection to children and juvenile victims (Objective 2/Measure 4). Macedonia's NAP singles out ethnic Albanian women as a group that would benefit from measures aimed at ensuring better representation for the non-majority population agreed as part of the Ohrid Framework Agreement package.[9] Serbia's NAP recognises the special needs of women refugees and IDPs.[10] In addition, a link is made to the greater ex-

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9   However, as Elena Anchevska shows in this publication in her study of the Macedonian NAP, the focus on gender was also reflected in the composition of the working group for NAP development. It included only those women's CSO umbrella networks whose representatives did not consider themselves the voice of women national minorities. This was overcome by local consultations organised for discussion of the draft NAP, during which this group was also targeted.

10   Section V *Protection*, measures 2.4 and 2.5 and Section IV *Participation by women in conflict resolution, post-conflict situations and peacekeeping missions*, measures 2.1 and 2.2.

posure of women to the risk of poverty, but this is interpreted narrowly as the need to 'prevent situations in which girls and women in the security system are more frequently made redundant, even if they are the only breadwinners or are single mothers or are poor' (Section V-Protection, Activity 1.4). This is an even more worrying trend, as in Serbia it resulted in proportionally greater investment in the implementation phase on measures to improve participation and protection of current or potential women employees of security sector institutions (e.g. cadets) over other women and other vulnerable gender identities.

Links to existing national strategies and international obligations

In all of the cases studied, the main international instruments for the protection and observation of human rights and the rights of women, including CEDAW, have been signed and ratified or, as in the case of Kosovo, have been simply incorporated into national legislation prior to NAP development. The majority of domestic legislation reflects the fact that **minimum standards are at least *de jure* respected** in regards to principles of gender equality and the elimination of gender discrimination. Albania and Macedonia have also adopted the second generation of gender equality legislation (GEL), incorporating EU standards[11] of gender equality in the areas of access to jobs, remuneration, working conditions and career advancement. Moreover, all the countries studied also possess a significant number of laws and strategies aimed at preventing and suppressing discrimination, human trafficking, sexual abuse and exploitation and domestic and other forms of gender-based violence. As rightly pointed out in this study by Elena Anchevska, all the strategies analysed here remain **underdeveloped when it comes to commitment to the participation of women in peace and security**.

When developing and implementing NAPs, special attention should be paid to harmonisation with other existing strategies and legislation relevant to the Women, Peace and Security agenda. This is important in order to avoid overlap, improve consistency in implementation, create a synergy of efforts and ensure the sustainability of desired changes.

Harmonisation may take various forms in practice:

- **Incorporation and further operationalisation of NAP objectives in other legislation and strategies and their accompanying budgets.** The most common example would be the incorporation of NAP targets for the desired level of representation of women in legislation for civil servants, the police, the military and the judiciary and harmonisation of these targets with the Law on Gender Equality and relevant EU employment standards.
- In order to ensure the sustainability of the whole process, UNSCR 1325 goals and activities should be **integrated into the medium and long term plans of security sector institutions.** In general, throughout the region, defence institutions have proved more effective in translating UNSCR 1325 objectives to the institutional level due to the strong and coherent planning processes they have in place.

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11 http://ec.europa.eu/justice/gender-equality

- **Further operationalisation in NAPs of other strategies and legislation**. For example, further specification in NAPs of one or several objectives from the national foreign policy strategy, the Poverty Reduction Strategy or strategies against gender-based violence etc. This could be especially useful for improving protection of and participation by various groups in security governance and conflict prevention and resolution. A good model in the region for harmonisation of the WPS agenda with foreign policy is Croatia, which has made a name for itself in providing development assistance with a gender perspective, such as assistance for schools for girls in Afghanistan.

- **Consider translation of national level objectives into the local context by** incorporating some WPS agendas or NAP objectives into local development, gender equality or municipal safety strategies. For a good model consult the Guidelines for Localisation of UNSCR 1325 and 1820, developed by the Global Network of Women Peace-builders (GNWP).[12]

- **Include reporting on the WPS agenda as part of regular international reporting mechanisms on human rights and women's rights** e.g. implementation of Beijing CEDAW, the Millennium Development Goals and the UN Periodic Review of Human Rights. This is especially relevant given the recent adoption of CEDAW General Recommendation No.30 on women in conflict prevention, conflict and post-conflict situations, which explicitly tasks national governments with reporting on the WPS agenda as part of CEDAW. For more details see the section on monitoring and evaluation.

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12 Guidelines are available at: http://www.gnwp.org/resources/guidelines-for-localization-of-unscr-1325-and-1820

Table 3. Selected examples of successful and missed opportunities for horizontal harmonization of the WPS agenda with other policies

	Example of good practise	Gaps in harmonization
Albania	With the assistance of DCAF and UN Women, the Ministry of Defence is currently undergoing a process of gender self-assess-ment which is expected in June 2013. It will serve as the basis for drafting of a policy document on gender equality in the military as a part of the Albanian MoD's medium-term plan, including relevant provisions for implementation of UNSCR 1325. With the support of UN Women, Albanian MoI is drafting an internal policy document on sexual harassment and a safe working environment.	
BiH	The Agency for Gender Equality and the Entity Centers submit-ted proposals for amendments to state and entity laws on police officers in accordance with the Law on Gender Equality in BiH, which is a prerequisite for increased participation by women in the police force and in decision-making.	Criminal legislation is not harmonised with legisla-tion on domestic violence.
Mac	The NAP for Gender Equality – NAPGE (2007–2012) – prepared by the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy, is the first document to specifically include a gender perspective in Macedonia's peace and security policy, containing a strategic goal which partly cov-ers implementation of UNSCR 1325. The NAPGE acknowledges the pivotal role of women and women's groups in Macedonia during the conflict and in the post-conflict setting, through their participation in a strong anti-war movement and their contribution to relieving the consequences of war for civilians, with an emphasis on refugees and internally displaced persons, a majority of whom were women and children. The strategic goal regarding women in peacekeeping activities encompasses five main areas: 1) organising campaigns and educational activities for public promotion of UNSCR 1325; 2) producing educational programs to promote a culture of peace, non-violence and multi-ethnic dialogue; 3) forming training teams for promo-tion of UNSCR 1325, gender perspectives, women's rights and nonviolent communication; 4) designing training programs on gender equality and women's rights for security officers and representatives of peace missions; and 5) analysing the need to adjust relevant domestic legal regulations in accordance with UNSCR 1325	NAPGE does not highlight the marginalisation of women in conflict resolu-tion, their minor participa-tion in peacekeeping projects, analyses and strategies for building peace, as well as their lack of significant representa-tion in the services and in managerial positions in the MoD, the MoI and peacekeeping missions.
Serbia	Development of NAP have highlighted the need for Ministry of Defence to be represented in the Government's National Council for Gender Equality that gathers different government ministries including MoI, MoJ etc.	There is weak harmoniza-tion and coordination with implementation of National Strategy for Gen-der Equality and National Strategy for Suppression

Who is who in national UNSCR 1325 implementation architecture?

By analysing the range of institutions involved in implementing and monitoring the 1325 agenda, we can make conclusions about the comprehensiveness of the desired changes. In this section we first analyse which government agencies are **hosts of the 1325 agenda**. Second, we examine the comprehensiveness of the **agencies involved in implementation** at the whole government and institutional levels. Third, we analyse the effectiveness of **monitoring structures** and mechanisms. A more comprehensive background on the competencies of the mechanisms listed can be found in the country chapters.

By examining the selection of institutions and actors tasked with implementation of NAPs at the national level we can make conclusions about **which public policy has been selected as the host for UNSCR 1325 implementation**. This could also potentially be indicative of the drivers of the UNSCR 1325 agenda at the national level and their possible influence. In Serbia, while decision-making authority is assigned on paper to collective interagency bodies at the executive level (the Multi-Sectoral Coordination Body – MSCB) and the political level (the Political Council), in reality the work of these two groups is driven and supported by two security institutions: the Ministry of Interior (which administers the MSCB) and the Ministry of Defence (which administers the work of the PC). As previously stated in the analysis of NAP objectives, Serbia's NAP is hosted within national security policy.[13] In Albania, due to the lack of one formal policy defining roles and responsibilities for translation of UNSCR 1325 into the national context, it is difficult to identify the primary host for implementation. Some publications[14] list the Ministry of Defence as a driver of activities in this area, while on paper the Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare and the National Council for Gender Equality are mandated to mainstream all other policies, including the WPS agenda, into the broader Gender Equality Strategy. In Bosnia and Herzegovina and Macedonia, the bodies responsible for driving the 1325 agenda are the central authorities for gender equality at the national level: the Gender Equality Agency in BiH and the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy in Macedonia. The selection of gender equality bodies rather than security or foreign policy institutions as hosts for coordination could indicate the prioritisation of women's perspective in the local interpretation of the Women, Peace and Security agenda. An alternative explanation Bcould be that a less contested area of governance has been selected to host the policy, as security policy is still 'high politics' in deeply divided societies. In Kosovo, political weight has been assigned to NAP 1325 implementation by putting the Gender Equality Office at the PM's office in charge of coordinating implementation.

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13   In contrast, Croatia's NAP is primarily is hosted and interpreted as part of foreign policy or alignment with EU and NATO strategies for multinational operations.
14   Elenevski, L, Redeva, B. and Levkovsa, L. (2012) *UN Security Council Resolution 1325 – Feasibility of the Goals and Macedonia, Balkans, UN and NATO dimensions*, available at: http://www.atamacedonia.org.mk/images/stories/dokumenti/UN%20Security%20Council%20Resolution%201325-EN.pdf

Table 4. Whole government NAP/AP institutional architecture

	Alb	BiH	Kos	Mac	Serb
Inter-agency coordination body		Coordination Body coordinated by Gender Equality Agency and with representation of ministries (Ministry of Human Rights and Refugees, both ministries of interior, Ministry of Defence, Foreign Affairs, Finance), Gender Centres (Federation and Republika Srpska), and several CSOs.	Gender Equality Agency/PM's Office	Ministry of Labour and Social Policy (MLSP) is responsible as coordination body for ensuring complementarity and avoiding overlap in implementation of NAP 1325 in regards to other strategic documents.	Multi-agency Coordination Body, i.e. the Multisectoral Coordinating Body consists of representatives of: MoD, MoI, MFA, the Ministry of Human and Minority Rights, the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy, MFin, the Ministry for Kosovo and Metohija, the Ministry of Education, MoI, the Ministry of Culture, the Security Information Agency, educational and academic institutions, mechanisms for implementation of gender equality at all levels.
Core Ministries / Agencies involved in implementation		Ministry of Security, MoD, MFA, Ministry of Finance and Treasury, Gender Centre of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Gender Centre of Republika Srpska, Federal Ministry of Internal Affairs, Federal Police, RS Ministry of Interior plus numerous civil society organisations and networks.		The inter-ministerial working group is comprised of representatives of the following ministries: MLSP, MFA, MoI, MoD and Crisis Management Center.	The Political Council consists of state secretaries from: MoD, MoI, MFA, MFin, MoJ, the Ministry of Human and Minority Rights,* the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy, the Ministry of Education, the Ministry for Kosovo and Metohija,* the Ministry of Culture, and the directors of: the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy's Gender Equality Directorate, the head of the organisational unit in charge of logistics at the Security Information Agency, the President of the National Assembly's Gender Equality Committee, the Chairman of the National Assembly's Defence and Security Committee, the President of the Government's Gender Equality Council, the Commissioner for the Protection of Equality, the Ombudsperson and the Commissioner for Information of Public Interest and the Protection of Personal Data.

* Following the elections in 2012 this ministry was reorganised as the Office for Human Rights and National Minorities.
** This ministry was reorganised as the Office for KiM following the elections in 2012.

Table 5. Institutional-level implementation mechanisms

	Alb	BiH	Kos	Mac	Serb
Institutional level permanent structures and specific NAP mechanisms	Committee on Gender Issues in the Albanian Armed Forces	Republika Srpska Police Network of Women Police Women Police and Federation Police Network of Women Police Women Police	Ministry for the Kosovo Security Force Office for Human Rights and Gender Equality	MoD Gender Perspective and Gender Equality Committee	Analytical Groups in MoD, MoI, MF (Customs), MoJ (Directorate for Criminal Sanctions), BIA
Staff in charge of gender equality issues					
Civil servants or political appointees who are also tasked with gender equality	Albanian Armed Forces Gender Advisor	BiH Armed Forces Gender Advisor			Gender Equality Advisors to the Minister of Defence, the Minister of Interior, the Director of the Customs Administration (MFin), the Director of the Administration for Enforcement of Criminal Sanctions (MoJ) and the Director of the Security Information Agency.
	The MoD has a gender focal point				"Persons of Trust / Trustworthy Persons" in the security sector, the Ministry of Defence, the Ministry of Interior, the Customs Administration (MFin), the Administration for Enforcement of Criminal Sanctions (MoJ) and the Security Information Agency,
Full time staff with job description focusing on gender equality issues	The MoI has a full-time diversity officer in the General Directorate of Police.				

When it comes to UNSCR 1325 **implementation architecture**, the countries analysed here have been establishing separate bodies for the coordination of implementation and for gender mainstreaming within security institutions.

Serbia is the only country in the region that, on the basis of its NAP, has established a complex set of mechanisms solely for implementation of UNSCR 1325. Besides an interagency body in charge of coordinating whole-government efforts to implement the NAP, a unique sub-institutional mechanism that has played a pivotal role in NAP implementation. These are Analytical Groups or cross-departmental research teams within individual institutions which are tasked with collecting and analysing information regarding the NAP and preparing periodic reports on certain ministries to the MSCB and PC. In reality, besides serving as individual institutional reporting mechanisms, Analytical Groups have carried out in-depth institutional baseline studies (MoI, MoD and BIA) and proposed solutions for closing gaps in internal policies (e.g. standardising the collection of sex-disaggregated statistics, ensuring that women can be selected as defence attaches etc.). They have also proved to be an effective mechanism for keeping the NAP on the institutional agenda even in times of lacking political leadership e.g. during campaigning for and following the elections of 2012.

How to ensure individual institutional accountability for NAP implementation?

While the influence of analytical groups should not be exaggerated or put ahead of the top political leadership, it is worthwhile considering replicating this in other countries as a good model for ensuring institutional accountability for implementation of NAPs. For Analytical Groups to be a success, it is also important to select individuals from diverse units relevant to NAP implementation (e.g human resources, main operational units, policy level etc.) who are motivated for this type of work and enjoy professional credibility within their institutions. The other factor in success is that analytical groups have been through a joint capacity development programme supported by UN Women, which they helped to design, thus ensuring their ownership of the process as well as peer learning.

An alternative solution for securing effective implementation of NAPs at the institutional level is to ensure that key agencies are required to adopt implementation plans for UNSCR 1325, as was the case with the U.S. and Australian NAPs (Global Review of UNSCR 1325, November 2013). Please note that these plans differ from the annual operational plans developed in each of the involved institutions, being institution-specific plans valid for the whole period of NAP implementation.

In addition to the model developed by the Serbian NAP, the ministries of **defence** in the other four case studies have established **committees dealing with gender equality or human rights**. The Albanian Armed Forces have a Committee for Women Issues, which in 2009 was renamed the Committee for Gender Issues in line with NATO guidance. The Macedonian MoD hosts a similar internal coordination body – the Gender Perspective and Gender Equality Committee, constituted in 2012 with the aim of undertaking comprehensive activities to include a gender perspec-

tive in defence policy.[15] Furthermore, the Ministry of the Kosovo Security Force and the KSF have established a permanent unit – the Office for Human Rights and Gender Equality, equipped with full time staff working on these issues alone.

Besides committees in charge of coordinating gender mainstreaming at the institutional level, posts with similar competencies are also in place. Albania's National Plan for Gender Equality envisages gender focal points or gender equality employees placed in relevant institutions to monitor the implementation of gender equality and to support gender mainstreaming in the policies and programs of the ministry in which they work. Only the Ministry of Defence and the Ministry of Health have full-time gender equality employees, while the Ministry of Interior has an individual who does this job on top of their regular work. In 2011, focal points for gender issues were also appointed at the BiH Ministry of Defence and Armed Forces (commands and units).[16] They are obliged to submit quarterly reports containing proposed measures for improving the situation in the field of gender equality.

Besides formal mechanisms, there are also informal professional networks which aim to assist in supporting women employees, facilitate exchange between them and give them a voice in corporate governance. Bosnia and Herzegovina and Kosovo have **women's professional networks**: Women Police Officers Networks have been established in the MoIs of both the Republika Srpska (WPON RS) and the Federation, while the BiH Association of Women Judges and the Kosovo Police Women's Association have also been established.

Allocation of resources for implementation of WPS agenda

None of the adopted NAPs include resources set aside for implementation. They usually contain a provision which claims that the envisaged activities have no additional financial implications. Resources for implementation are envisaged as being mainstreamed in the regular budgets of the implementing agencies, meaning that activities will be implemented within the available budgets of the institutions. This provision appears unrealistic as it lacks even a basic costing of the implementation envisaged. The majority of implementing institutions have failed to include the costs of NAP implementation in their institutional budgets. Another hurdle is that even the few budgetary resources that individual agencies allocate are taken away in extraordinary mid-year budget revisions.[17] For this reason, most activities in the early stages of NAP implementation have been funded by international organisations such as UN Women, the OSCE, NATO, the UNDP, DCAF etc. If governments do not include the goals and activities foreseen by NAPs in their regular mid-term and long-term plans and fail to allocate at least some resources for their realisation, the sustainability of the whole process could be seriously threatened in the near future.

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15   The Committee consists of 26 people, including employees of the Ministry of Defence and the Armed Forces of the Republic of Macedonia, as well as university professors with extensive knowledge in the field of gender equality.
16   This is also in line with the provisions of AP 1325.
17   This has happened twice at the Serbian MoD and it is also mentioned as a threat in the Macedonian case study.

FOOD FOR THOUGHT: SHARED FINANCIAL COMMITMENTS

Costing and burden sharing in Kosovo

Kosovo's draft NAP is the only case in which a budget is envisaged for implementation of an action plan. It foresees that the government should allocate 51% of the budget, with the rest (49%) coming from fundraising projects. While the Ministry of Finance has approved this provision, the plan is still awaiting adoption by the government. Bearing in mind the Kosovo Government's recent objection about the lack of resources for implementation of only one goal – provision of access to justice for women victims of sexual violence during conflict – it remains to be seen whether this original financing framework design will work in practice.

BiH's multi-stakeholder fund

The financial resources for implementation of the AP are taken partly from the budgets of the authorised institutions and partly from the funds of the **FIGAP** program. Implementation of the Bosnian NAP relied in large part on resources transferred to the state budget through the **multi-stakeholder fund in support of implementation of the Gender Equality Plan 2009-2014**. This was done through adoption of a law for Financing of the Implementation of the Gender Action Plan (FIGAP). 3.5 million Euros provided by the Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA), the Austrian Development Agency (ADA) and the Swiss Development Cooperation (SDC) were executed directly by the Agency for Gender Equality and supervised through a joint management body consisting of representatives of donors and BiH government institutions. The availability of these resources provided the impetus for initial NAP implementation, and they were used to fund NAP-related activities by government agencies through a negotiation procedure and also to support implementation of the NAP by civil society through two open competitive calls. The advantage of this type of basket fund* is that allocation of resources can be decided in line with changing priorities, as its distribution is not fixed in detail in advance. Accountability for spending was provided through regular audits by the State Audit Institution and an audit performed by an external commercial auditor. While this arrangement does not provide a sustainable solution, especially as the BiH government failed to provide matching funds, it is a good model for initial donor support for NAP implementation.

Next generation obligations

In the latest WPS resolution – UNSCR 2122,** the Security Council has called on member states to provide **financial support for capacity building of women's groups in fragile states**. This recognises the pivotal role that these groups have in participation and in providing a voice to women, and is a response to the fact that funding for these groups was even more scarce and irregular than that for any other actors involved in implementation of the Women, Peace and Security agenda. This obligation should be taken into account when revising NAPs and developing of 2nd generation NAPs in the region.

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* The advantages are based on the BiH case study in this publication and a presentation by Adnan Kadribašić from the BiH Agency for Gender Equality at the Global Technical Review of UNSCR 1325 organised by UN Women on 5-7th November 2013, Glen Cove, New York.
** http://unscr.com/en/resolutions/2122 and http://womenpeacesecurity.org/media/pdf-PressRelease_AdoptionNewResolution_SCR2122.pdf

WOMEN, PEACE AND SECURITY IN THE WESTERN BALKANS

Monitoring, reporting and evaluation mechanisms

One important precondition for ensuring successful NAP/AP implementation is the existence of an effective mechanism for regular **monitoring and evaluation** of implementation.

Monitoring is usually linked to reporting on progress and can be carried out continuously, periodically (at regular intervals) or sporadically (at intervals not known in advance). Monitoring involves collection of data in accordance with previously agreed standards in order to inform relevant decision-makers and stakeholders about the extent of progress, the achievement of objectives and the use of allocated resources.[18] **Evaluation** is objective assessment of an ongoing or completed initiative that aims to determine the relevance of objectives and measure their fulfillment as well as judging the efficiency of implementation, effectiveness, impact and sustainability.[19] It should allow the agencies involved to build on lessons learned when making decisions about future activities. Evaluation can be carried out internally by agencies involved in implementation, externally by organisations and individuals not involved in implementation or independently by persons free of control by those responsible for the design and implementation of the development intervention.

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18   Definition taken from OECD (2004) *Glossary of Key Terms in Evaluation and Results based Management* available at: http://www.oecd.org/dac/evaluation/glossaryofkeytermsinevaluationandresultsbasedmanagement.htm
19   OECD (Ibid.)

A checklist for an effective monitoring and evaluation framework

- Does the text clearly define lines of responsibility for NAP implementation and results among the various actors?

- Are precise and realistic timeframes and resources envisaged for NAP implementation?

- Does the NAP define accountability mechanisms? Who is in charge of collection and analysis of data? Who decides on changes to the NAP or to the approach to implementation, based on monitoring reports and periodic reviews?

- Does the NAP define the role of civil society and entry points for input and feedback in the government-led process of monitoring and evaluation?

- Are monitoring reports on NAP implementation publicly available, as well as other channels of access to the data necessary for independent monitoring of NAP implementation?

- Are key resources in place for collection of the data necessary for monitoring and evaluation? Are implementing agencies and key monitoring mechanisms able to use gender based analysis and collect sex disaggregated data to enable the success of implementation to be measured gaps and patterns to be identified?

- Does the NAP clearly specify various plan periods, indicating moments for review and assessment, thus encouraging accountability, evaluation and revision of plans?

- Are common reporting templates in place for all government agencies in charge of NAP implementation, meaning that their monitoring contributions can be presented in a comprehensive whole-government report?

- Are there well-defined indicators that reflect impact and not just activities and outputs?

Table 6. Overview of monitoring and evaluation (M&E) mechanisms*

Country	Number and type of indicators	Responsible reporting body	Reporting to executive	Reporting to parliament / other external oversight bodies	Involvement of civil society	Scheduled revision
Bosnia and Herzegovina	147 indicators • Related to activities listed under each objective • Linked to specific timeliness • Quantitative in nature.	BiH Gender Equality Agency on behalf of Coordination Body coordinated by Gender Equality Agency and with representation of ministries (Ministry of Human Rights and Refugees, two ministries of interior, Ministry of Defence, Foreign Affairs, Finance), Gender Centres (Federation and Republika Srpska), and several CSOs.	Annual report submitted each year in December or earlier at the request of the Council of Ministers of Bosnia and Herzegovina.	the BiH Council of Ministers should inform parliament although it is not clear how often this should take place.	CSOs should have a representative on the Coordination Body	Not scheduled during implementation
Kosovo		Secretariat for monitoring implementation of the overall principles and other strategies of UNSCR 1325 under the Prime Minister's Office.	Reports to the Prime Minister's Office every three months	Reports to parliament annually.	N/A	Not scheduled during implementation

* The table is adapted from the table from a draft Background Paper – National and Regional Implementation of UNSC Resolutions on Women, Peace and Security by Natalie Florea Hudson circulated for Global Technical Review Meeting of UNSCR 1325, 5-7 November 2013, Glen Cove, New York.

Macedonia	Three general indicators are identified for three strategic goals: • Content analysis of key political documents on representation, type and frequency of terms related to gender equality • Number of applications by and appointments of women for participation in international civil and peacekeeping missions to increase by 10% by 2015 • Strengthening of prevention of violence against women and girls, and improved mechanisms for gender-sensitive risk assessment of natural disasters	Inter-ministerial Working Group for Monitoring of Implementation of NAP for Resolution 1325 for WPS	The MLSP is to inform the Government	Gov. should inform Parliament, although it is not clear how frequently this will occur	Annual reports, manuals and other publications produced by IMWG should be made public without a specific timeframe	Not scheduled during implementation
Serbia		Analytical Groups submit six-monthly reports to the Multi-Sectoral Coordination Body for NAP Implementation (MSCB). Reports should include a review and analysis of realised goals, activities, timelines, implementing agencies, statistical indicators, and necessary material, human and financial resources.	The MSCB submits six-monthly reports to the Political Council. The PC submits reports to the government annually, as well as to the supervisory body established by parliament.	The PC submits annual reports to the Supervisory Body. The SB is composed of representatives of following committees of the National Parliament: the Gender Equality Committee; the Defence and Security Committee; the Foreign Affairs Committee; the Committee on Labour, Veterans and Social Affairs and the Justice and Administration Committee as well as the Commissioner for Protection of Equality.	Envisaged to take the role of independent monitoring without specification of details. Annual reports should be made public without specific timeframe.	Not scheduled during implementation

Gaps in monitoring frameworks

All the adopted NAPs contain provisions which regulate the body in charge of collecting data and compiling periodic reports and determine to whom it should be reporting. They define the frequency of reporting without specifying the precise date by which reports or mid-reviews should be completed, as do the Norwegian and Austrian NAPs for example. None of the analysed NAPs specify the manner or timing of CSOs' involvement in monitoring implementation. They also fail to define a common reporting and monitoring framework which defines benchmarks against which to measure progress.

In all cases, the **key reporting authority** is the interagency body in charge of coordinating implementation. Serbia is the only case in which sub-institutional analytical groups are tasked with monitoring and reporting at the level of individual institutions. As previously explained, this mechanism has proved to be an effective tool for carrying out in-depth studies of the institution-level situation. In Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia and Kosovo this is a lead agency which coordinates the work of the inter-agency body which submits reports to the top executive authority. Serbia's more complex NAP architecture envisages additional bodies monitoring NAP implementation at the level of the executive (the Political Council) and the parliament (the Supervisory Body). The Political Council has a double role: to provide political leadership for NAP implementation by setting priorities for the work of the Multi-Agency Coordination Body and to monitor its achievements and gaps every six months.

All the cases analysed here took quite a while to develop a **common reporting format**. They failed to develop a common monitoring framework based on a few common indicators for monitoring and reporting on NAP implementation. In a situation where common indicators are lacking, ministries and other government bodies monitor NAP implementation on the basis of their own criteria and in accordance with their own action plans. The weakness of this approach is that the reports submitted by the various implementing agencies differ in terms of their content and scope, meaning that it is difficult to compare achievements and judge the impact of activities on society.

The frequency of reporting to the executive varies from every three months in Kosovo to every six months in Serbia and annually in BiH and Macedonia. Informing decision-makers and the general public is crucial for establishing the foundations to support the process of implementation and evaluation. Macedonia's NAP alone explicitly tasks an Inter-ministerial Working Group for Monitoring of Implementation with publishing its reports and other relevant materials on UNSCR 1325 (such as manuals) in order to inform the public. While there is no formula for the best frequency of reporting, the assumption is that at the early stages of implementation more frequent reporting may assist the implementing agencies to get going, as well as providing them with feedback. After the first year or two of implementation, reporting can be organised on an annual basis. It is also very important to schedule moments for review and assessment to encourage accountability, evaluation and revision of plans. **None of the analysed NAPs define a time for mid-implementation review or the manner in which such a review should be carried out.**

All the NAPs studied envisage reporting to **parliaments**, but all except Serbia's lack precision on how often this should occur and which parliamentary committees or groups should be involved

in oversight of implementation. Serbia's NAP envisages a more complex model in which the Political Council reports annually to a Supervisory Body consisting of representatives of parliamentary committees and independent statutory oversight bodies. Regular substantial involvement by parliaments in monitoring and evaluation of NAP implementation has proved to be an effective tool for transparency and accountability in the NAP implementation process. It should also allow for focus on the impact of NAPs and not just on outputs and activities.

National reporting obligations in line with CEDAW General Recommendation No. 30 on women in conflict prevention, conflict and post-conflict situations*

States parties should report on the legal framework, policies and programmes that they have implemented to ensure the human rights of women in conflict prevention, conflict and post-conflict. States parties should collect, analyse and make available sex-disaggregated statistics, in addition to trends over time, concerning women, peace and security. States parties' reports should address actions inside and outside their territory in areas under their jurisdiction, in addition to their actions taken individually and as members of international organisations as they concern women and conflict prevention, conflict and post-conflict situations.

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*   http://www.ohchr.org/Documents/HRBodies/CEDAW/GComments/CEDAW.C.CG.30.pdf

What gets measured gets implemented

The key for successful monitoring and evaluation is the existence of well-defined indicators and benchmarks against which to monitor and evaluate success. Macedonia's and Serbia's NAPs contain only broadly defined areas of change at the level of the top objective. Bosnia's NAP has indicators developed at the level of activities. Kosovo's draft plan is the only NAP that has clearly defined indicators at the level of outcomes and activities, and has been developed using a logical framework approach which tries to hierarchically and horizontally link the desired changes at different levels. While it contains more precision than the NAPs that have been adopted in the region, it shares with them a weakness of **over-dependence on quantitative and output-oriented indicators without clear linkage to desired impact**.

For example, Serbia's NAP envisages 7 key areas of change covering 17 sub-goals and 108 activities that should be undertaken by 2015. However, at the level of general change, outcomes are defined only in relation to improving the representation of women in security institutions (access to jobs and career development). The key changes that the Serbian NAP aims to achieve are: 1) to increase the number of women in the security sector, particularly in decision-making and multi-national operations; 2) to review all regulations in the field of defence and security so that they comply with regulations on gender equality; 3) to reform planning, organisation and human resources management in the security sector in order to remove obstacles to the acceptance and advancement of women in the security sector and change the image of the role of women in the security sector. Macedonia's NAP also tries to define three general indicators for the three strategic goals (see the Table above) but it mixes indicators with sources of verification (e.g. content analysis of key political documents on representation, type and frequency of terms related to gender equality). It manages to define an increase

of 10% in applications and appointments for international civil and peacekeeping missions by 2015 as an overall quantitative benchmark, while seeking a more imprecise qualitative impact of 'strengthened prevention of violence against women and girls and improved mechanisms for gender-sensitive risk assessment of natural disasters'.

Recommendations

- In consultation with civil society and other relevant stakeholders, inter-agency bodies in charge of coordinating implementation and monitoring should design **a few simple indicators focussed on impact -** the desired change in society after completion of activities, rather than outputs. Such a results-oriented focus is 'not *not* on what is being done, but rather is on the quality of the actions and whether they are leading to the normative changes outlined in SCR 1325'.

- It is suggested that a limited number of indicators are adopted in order to make reporting on them useful and feasible. The participatory development of key indicators could assist bridge-building in the conceptual understanding of desired change among key stakeholders. By agreeing not only on the desired values to be achieved through NAP implementation, but also on how operationalisation into mechanisms for measurement (indicators) should take place, a consensus can be built over ownership of implementation of the WPS agenda.

- **Organise a mid-term review of NAP** so as to take stock of achievements and gaps in implementation, and also to draw on lessons learned and develop recommendations for re-alignment of goals and activities in the remaining period.

- **A good model for mid-term review is that implemented by Ireland**, which organised discussion of the way forward based on an independent review report commissioned from two external experts,[20] which was used as the basis for broad consultations and participatory review with CSOs.[21] Based on this evidence-based participatory review, the NAP's altered focus was presented for adoption to the parliamentary committee, highlighting measures for improvement of coordination between implementing agencies, collection of better baseline evidence that could be used for monitoring and a new focus on women from Northern Ireland and migrant women from conflict-affected areas.

Conclusion

This text has analysed good practice and gaps in the design of national policies for translation of the Women, Peace and Security agenda at the national level. The common conclusion is that the adopted NAPs have also proved to be useful for streamlining efforts at implementation of the WPS agenda in practice. The key challenges are: prioritisation of increased representation of women in security institutions over other USNCR 1325 objectives, lack of realistic planning and monitoring and evaluation frameworks.

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20 http://www.dfa.ie/uploads/documents/jdf26_irishaid_nap_web.pdf
21 http://www.dfa.ie/home/index.aspx?id=86905

II   COUNTRY CHAPTERS

ALBANIA

Dr. Elona Dhembo[22]

Introduction

Albania's efforts at achieving gender equality over recent decades have focused overwhelmingly on enriching and improving the legal framework. International conventions have been signed and ratified and laws on gender equality and non-discrimination have been drafted and adopted. However, implementation has not been able to keep up with this pace, something which is particularly evident when it comes to gender and security sector reform.

Civil society in Albania, and women's CSOs in particular, has been pushing for gender equality and gender mainstreaming in society with support from donors and international organisations and in a favourable environment resulting from the international legal obligations which Albanian governments are required to meet. Nonetheless, gender mainstreaming in security sector reform has entered the agenda of both state and civil society actors with some delay compared to other sectors and spheres such as decision-making, economic empowerment etc.

During post-communist transition Albania has undertaken a number of new security obligations, including adopting NATO standards and mainstreaming a gender perspective in its security sector policies and practices. Security sector reform has resulted in the establishment of new institutions, structures and chains of responsibility for the security sector. Albania has also made progress in meeting international gender equality standards and obligations.

The role of women in the security sector since the 1990s has been largely peripheral or non-existent. A milestone in this regard was the adoption more than a decade ago, in 2000, of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 on "Women, Peace and Security". Nonetheless, efforts at implementing and meeting the standards and requirements deriving from UNSCR 1325 have been sporadic. In fact, one of the main obligations is the requirement to draft and implement a NAP dedicated to UNSCR 1325. However, *Albania still lacks* a NAP on UNSCR 1325, and the country is yet to fulfil all of the obligations deriving from ratification of the resolution.

Reviewing the relevant literature and documents, analysing secondary data and consulting representatives of various stakeholders in the country's gender and security sectors through key-informants interviews and focus-group discussions this chapter attempts to:

- Briefly present the history of and trends in gender mainstreaming and security sector reform in post-communist Albania;
- Provide a holistic picture of the gender-equality legal framework in Albania and its relevance to security sector;

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- Map the current situation for women in the Albanian security sector, highlighting key achievements as well as gaps and challenges;
- Present the legal and institutional framework and any work in progress, as well as reasons for the failure to yet adopt a NAP for UNSCR 1325 and plans for the future.

Aware of the limitations of the initiative in terms of time and resources, the paper concludes by stressing the progress made so far and identifying gaps and challenges which must be addressed in meeting the obligations of UNSCR 1325, as identified in the literature and by key-informants.

I Gender mainstreaming and security sector reform in Albania

The progress of security sector reform (SSR)

In recent decades, Albania's involvement in EU and NATO accession processes has led to it taking on a number of new security obligations. Active participation in international peace support operations[23] and the adoption of NATO standards have both brought the country's security actors closer to international standards (UN Women, 2011). Progress in security sector reform (SSR) led to Albania gaining full NATO membership in 2009.

SSR has included the establishment of new institutions, structures and chains of responsibility in the security sector. The country has also institutionalised basic principles and structures for security sector oversight, empowered parliament to oversee and approve security sector budgets and made attempts to civilianise security sector bureaucracies (see for instance IDM, 2012; UN Women, 2011).

SSR in post-communist Albania can be divided into three main periods: 1) from the collapse of the communist regime in 1991 to the 1997 crisis; 2) from 1997 to 2000, the turning point when reforms were initiated and effective structures for democratic governance and oversight of the security sector were established; and 3) 2000 to 2009, a more beneficial and realistic period for the country in which security sector institutions and governance were consolidated and full membership of NATO was gained (IDM, 2011: 5-6).[24]

Civil society in Albania, and women's CSOs in particular, has been pushing for gender equality and gender mainstreaming in society with support from donors and international organisations. Nonetheless, little progress has been made in terms of gender mainstreaming in SSR. This could be evidence of the poor progress of gender mainstreaming in general, as well as of limited and often gender blind analysis of SSR in Albania. A UN Women assessment report (2011) claims the lack of structures for ensuring adequate representation of women in security institutions and

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23   Albania has contributed to international peace support operations in Afghanistan, Chad and Bosnia and Herzegovina.
24   "Context Analysis and chronology of security sector reform in Albania 1991-2009" IDM, 2011. http://idmalbania.org/sites/default/files/publications/materiali_anglisht_print_ok.pdf

their participation in peace and security initiatives at home and abroad has only recently begun to be discussed in Albania.

The role of women in the security sector since the 1990s has been largely peripheral or non-existent. This is significant as gender equality plays an essential role in the democratic functioning of the security sector. In this light, a key element of UNSCR 1325 implementation in Albania should be the provision of political space for reform and profesionalisation of the security sector. This entails the definition of missions, tasks and structures for security sector actors in line with the considerable contributions that women can make. This is an issue which may characterise the fourth and current period of SSR in Albania.

Legal framework for gender equality

In recent years, Albania has developed a comprehensive legal and institutional framework for the promotion of gender equality and the protection of women's rights. The country has signed and ratified a series of international instruments on the protection and observation of human and women's rights, including CEDAW. This has directly affected the provisions of domestic legislation, ensuring that minimum standards are at least *de jure* respected in regards to principles of gender equality and the elimination of gender discrimination.

The principle of parity between men and women has an important place in the Constitution of Albania and other domestic legislation. The constitution (Art. 18, point 2) frames the principle of non-discrimination such that, "No one can be discriminated against for reasons such as gender, race and religion". Though the constitution does not expressly define discrimination, it provides for international agreements to become part of domestic legislation and even to prevail over such legislation when contradictions are implied.

Albania's gender legislation and policy reflect the country's process of accession to and integration into the European Union. By signing the Stabilization and Association Agreement in 2006, Albania committed itself to adopting the *acquis communautaire*. Gender equality is one of the EU's guiding principles and is also an integral part of the EC Treaty and the EU Charter on Fundamental Rights. Albania's gender mainstreaming obligations also derive from the five priority areas foreseen in the EU strategy for equality between women and men 2010-2015 (UN Women, 2011:31).

In line with these obligations and developments, Albania has adopted new laws and made improvements to existing ones in accordance with CEDAW and other important international standards. The most important are summarized in a Table 3. The principle of gender equality in access to jobs, remuneration, working conditions and career advancement is also provided for in several laws and strategies adopted over the last seven years and is binding for all security sector institutions. Regarding access to jobs and career development opportunities for women, the most important legal achievements are: the *Law on Gender Equality in Society* (2008) which improved women's participation in decision making[25] and the *Anti-Discrimination Law* (2010) which introduced the Office of the Commissioner for Protection against Discrimination.

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25   For instance the representation of women in parliament increased from 7% in 2005 to 16.4% in 2009.

Table 7. Albanian Gender Equality Legal Framework

National strategies and laws	Importance/Content	Year of adoption
National Strategy for Gender Equality and Domestic Violence (NSGEDV)	National strategy and its accompanying Action Plan, 2007-2010 and the new/revised Strategy 2010-2015	Revised new strategy 2011-2015
Law "On Protection from Discrimination"	Reinforces the Law on Gender Equality. Includes the establishment of new independent mechanisms such as the newly established Office of the Commissioner for Protection against Discrimination, which was not envisaged under the Law on Gender Equality	No. 10221 date 4.2.2010
Law "On Health and Safety at Work"	Addresses issues such as the protection of pregnant and lactating women from hazardous substances and hard working conditions in line with CEDAW and EU standards	No.10237 date 18.2.2010
Law "On Gender Equality in Society"	Among other things, addresses labour and employment and decision making and introduces gender quotas for the first time	No.9970 date 24.07.2008
Law "On Measures Against Violence in Family Relations"	Addresses, among other issues, gender-based violence in family relations	No. 9669 date 23.12. 2006

International Acts	Year of adoption
Convention of the European Council "On Measures against Trafficking of Human Beings"	Ratified by Law No. 9642, dated 20.11.2006
Protocol No. 12 of the European Convention "On Protection of Fundamental Human Rights"	Ratified by Law No. 9264, dated 29.07.2004
European Convention "On Compensation of Victims of Violent Crimes"	Ratified by Law No. 9264, dated 29.07.2004
Optional Protocol of the Convention "Against Severe Inhuman or Degrading Torture and Treatment"	Ratified by Law No. 9094, dated 03.27.2003

Substantial progress has been made in Albania under a new hierarchy of strategies headed by the overarching National Strategy for Development and Integration (NSDI) 2007-2013, which was developed via a participatory country-wide multi-stakeholder process which included women. As a medium term cross-sectoral gender equality strategy, the National Strategy for Gender Equality and the Fight against Domestic Violence 2007-2010 and the revised Strategy for 2011-2015 (NSGE-DV) became part of the NSDI along with 15 other cross-sectoral strategies and 12 sectoral strategies covering various areas of the country's economic, social, political and cultural development as well as Albania's priorities for EU integration.

The National Strategy for Gender Equality and the Fight against Domestic Violence (NSGE-DV) guides national gender equality efforts. As the gender equality umbrella framework for Albania, it outlines institutional, legal and financial efforts at gender equality, including references to UN-SCR 1325. It also sets targets for the participation of women in decision-making processes in the

security sector, including within police structures and peace keeping missions. Unfortunately, only minor references are made to UNCSR 1325, and no reference is made to the national defence side of the security sector, nor to how women can contribute to peace and security through their role in the sector.

In its 12th October 2011 Progress Report for Albania, the European Commission acknowledged Albania's progress with regard to gender equality, and particularly the adoption of the new National Strategy on Gender Equality and the Fight against Domestic Violence and Discrimination 2011-2015.[26]

In Albania's security sector, the national strategic framework consists of the Security Strategy Document (2000 – revised in 2004), the Defence Policy Document (2000 – revised in 2007), the Military Strategy (2002 – revised in 2005), the Strategy of the Ministry of Defence (2007), the National Strategy for Integrated Border Management and the National Strategy for the Public Order Sector and the State Police. Although gender mainstreaming is absent from all of these strategies, some positive efforts are being made by the Ministry of Defence which are likely to be further developed in a policy document.[27]

Albanian gender equality legislation also stipulates a mandatory quota of 30% for women in political office, and ensures this representation through a body which monitors progress. The introduction of this quota has ensured an improved balance of participation in decision-making between men and women. However, the quota has yet to be achieved in practice (CEDAW Shadow report 2010). While major institutional and structural developments in Albania have served the advancement of women, further efforts are needed to effectively promote gender equality, particularly in SSR and in the development of an NAP for UNSCR 1325 which can serve as a means of achieving this goal.

Graph 1: Representation of women and men in the Albanian Parliament and Government (2012)

Men, deputy ministers, **28**
Women, deputy ministers, **7**

Men, ministers, **14**
Women, ministers, **1**

Men, MPs, **118**
Women, MPs, **22**

Sources: Albanian Parliament at www.parlament.al Albanian Government at www.km.gov.al

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26   See: http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/pdf/key_documents/2011/package/al_rapport_2011_en.pdf
27   Interview with MoD representative, January 2013.

However, adopting laws does not guarantee their adequate implementation, and this is often the case with Albania's gender equality legal framework. According to CEDAW's 2010 shadow report for Albania,[28] GEL in Albania has not been properly internalized and implemented for a number of reasons, including: the absence of appropriate structures; inadequacy or irrelevancy of existing structures; lack or insufficiency of budgetary resources allocated for implementation; human resources falling prey to intermittent political changes which affect institutional continuity and sustainability; discriminatory cultural stereotypes still holding strong; and low awareness of gender issues, sometimes even at senior levels.

Institutional framework

To ensure that laws are adequately implemented, institutional mechanisms with specific tasks and responsibilities have been developed in recent years. Bodies exist from the ministerial level (such as the Ministry of Labour, Social Affairs and Equal Opportunities - MoLSAEO) downwards, with gender focal points or gender equality employees placed in relevant institutions (see Graph 2: Gender equality mechanisms and bodies). The body providing overall supervision of reforms aimed at the empowerment of women, including SSR, is the *National Council on Gender Equality*, whose duty it is to propose gender equality policies and advise the government on setting the direction for state policies for gender equality. However, its capacity to promulgate new reforms needs to be strengthened (UN Women, 2011:13).

Governmental mechanisms for promoting gender equality are led by the MoLSAEO. The Ministry carries out this function with assistance from a specialized structure for gender equality, the Directorate for Equal Opportunities Policy and Families. At the parliamentary level is the Committee for Labour, Social Affairs and Health, among whose responsibilities are issues of women's equality and empowerment. In addition, the institution of the Commissioner is obliged to follow-up on implementation of the provisions of the *Law on Protection against Discrimination*.

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28   Accessible at: http://www2.ohchr.org/english/bodies/cedaw/docs/ngos/GADC_Albania_46.pdf

Graph 2: Gender equality mechanisms and bodies

Continuity according to the MOLSAEO Organigramme	MINISTER Ministry of Labor, Social Affairs and Equal Opportunities
GENERAL SECRETARY	NATIONAL COUNCIL ON GENDER EQUALITY
General Directory of Policies	
	Directory of Policies on Equal Opportunities (Director)
Gender Equality (3 specialists)	Sector on Measures toward Domestic Violence (2 specialists)
	Gender Equality Employees in all level
Gender Equality Employees at line ministries	Local Gender Equality Employees (municipalities/communes)

Source: MoLSAEO: http://www.mpcs.gov.al/dpshb/en/dpeo/structure

There is also a network of gender equality employees within line ministries and municipalities whose work it is to monitor the implementation of government commitments to gender equality and support gender mainstreaming in the policies and programs of the ministry in which they work. The activity of this network has increased but remains insufficient in terms of fulfilling its statutory role in line ministries (UN Women, 2011). Only two ministries have full-time gender equality employees – the Ministry of Defence and the Ministry of Health – due to financial and capacity constraints. With the assistance of DCAF and UN Women, the Ministry of Defence is currently undergoing a process of gender self-assessment which is expected to serve as the basis for the development of concrete gender strategies and action plans. The Ministry of Interior (MoI) also has a gender focal point and a full time diversity officer in the General Directorate of Police. With the support of UN Women, the MoI is currently in the process of drafting an internal policy document on sexual harassment and a safe working environment.

The following is an overview of the specific roles and responsibilities of the relevant governmental gender equality bodies:

Table 8. Overview of the roles and responsibilities of relevant government bodies

Title	Roles and responsibilities
Ministry of Labour, Social Affairs and Equal Opportunities (MoLSAEO)	Responsible for gender equality. As the 2004 GEL was not implemented, the new 2008 GEL and the NSGE-DV 2007-2010 gave the ministry exclusive responsibility for promoting gender equality. This led to the establishment of a specific ministerial department for gender equality issues (the Directorate for Equal Opportunities Policy and Families), in operation since 2006.
Directorate for Equal Opportunities Policy and Families	Promotes gender equality and broad participation by women in Albania's economic, political and cultural life and in the development of policies for the prevention and overall elimination of gender based violence and violence in family relations. The directorate is composed of two sectors: the Sector for Gender Equality and Measures against Violence and the Sector for the Rights and Protection of the Child.
National Council for Gender Equality	Works as an advisory body on gender policies and programs. Its main duty is to propose gender equality policies. It is headed by the MoLSAEO and is composed of nine deputy ministers from other ministries and three civil society representatives.
Gender Staff	The Gender Equality Law mandates the appointment of Gender Staff in every line ministry and at the municipal level. At the local level, only 17 of 65 municipalities have appointed full-time Gender Staff, the remainder being only part-time focal points for gender equality.
Parliamentary Committees for Labour, Social Affairs and Health and National Security	Responsible for women and security issues, these committees examine draft laws and undertake legal initiatives in the areas of their expertise, establishing cooperation with other ministries on issues of gender equality and security affairs. Legislative scrutiny and parliamentary oversight remain insufficiently exercised from a gender perspective.
Commissioner for Protection against Discrimination	Established in 2010, this body has the power to examine complaints of discrimination committed by individuals, groups of individuals or organisations. It can conduct investigations, monitor the implementation of the law, impose sanctions for violations of the law and organize awareness raising and educational activities to assist in the enforcement of the law.

Women in the Albanian security sector

The Albanian security sector comprises: the Armed Forces/Ministry of Defence; the Police/Ministry of Interior; the Border and Migration Police; and the State Intelligence Service. As summarised above, the principle of equality and non-discrimination on grounds of gender has been enshrined throughout Albania's legislation, and the legal framework generally conforms to international standards. However, in many sectors participation by women is poor and gender equality is lacking, and this is particularly true for the security sector. Data shows that some progress

has been made regarding the representation of women in the Police and Military even though they are primarily concentrated in administrative (non-uniform) positions (Dyrmishi *et al.* 2012). Mechanisms for monitoring, protecting and implementing the proper legislation are in place but current levels of participation and representation suggest that they are ineffective and that discriminatory practices still persist.

Equality before the law is generally perceived as the absence of formal discrimination against women in the Police and Armed Forces at the entry level. However, career advancement, especially in managerial positions, seems to be a problem. For example, women are offered fewer opportunities for advanced professional qualifications[29] (Dyrmishi *et al.*, 2012:145-7).

Police

With regard to the ***Police***, the 2007 Law on the State Police (art. 61 and 62) prohibits any form of discrimination based on gender, race, ethnicity, religion etc. Both women and men have the right to take up any position or choose any speciality and to receive the same pay for the same work. In principle, promotion, training and the payroll system are the same for both women and men. However, gender differences are not taken account of, and the system is primarily designed with the typical police officer – a man – in mind. The law makes no provision for affirmative action and sets no quotas for the participation of women in the Police.

Some of the remaining barriers impeding further mainstreaming of gender equality in police structures are gaps in awareness, a lack of incentives for empowering women and the failure to implement legislation intended to mainstream gender equality issues in police activities. Still, some progress has been made in addressing gaps with regard to mainstreaming gender, including the appointment of diversity and gender officers, the adoption of a declaration for diversity and gender equality and running recruitment campaigns targeting women. The Police have been intensively involved in awareness raising campaigns as well as running recruitment campaigns specifically targeting women. This has resulted in 50% of trainees currently attending Albania's school of policing being women.[30]

The Military

On the other hand, efforts at the **Ministry of Defence** ought to focus on encouraging the inclusion of women in the higher echelons of the military, in the ministry and in peacekeeping operations in which Albania participates. A step towards this is made in the new Strategy for Management of Human Resources (2011-2015)[31] and in the standard recruitment procedures of the Ministry of Defence, where a 15% quota has been instituted for recruitment of female personnel in each structure of the armed forces. The draft Defence Directive for 2012 also includes for the

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29 This statement was also confxcirmed in focus-group discussions with key-informants.
30   Albanian State Police at: http://www.asp.gov.al/index.php?option=com_content&view=frontpage&Itemid=33 3&lang=sq
31   Strategjia e Menaxhimit te Burimeve Njerezore (2011-2015) at: http://www.mod.gov.al/index. php?option=com_content&view=article&id=1579:strategji-te-mm&catid=322:strategji-te-mm&Itemid=670

first time the principles and concepts of gender equality and non-discrimination.[32] Overall, women make up 15.8% of the personnel of Albania's Ministry of Defence and Armed Forces – slightly above the target of 15% defined in the Albanian Armed Forces' Human Resources Strategy.[33] In 2012 women accounted for 2% of all peace missions.

Table 9. Representation of women in the Albanian Armed Forces

Personnel category	% of women
Officers	21%
Non-commissioned officers	17%
Professional soldiers	10%
Civilians	26%
Total % of women	**15.8%**

II Implementation of UNSCR 1325 in Albania

Since the adoption of UNSCR 1325 in 2000, representatives of the MoLSAEO have been participating in regional activities related to the resolution and the challenges of its implementation. The resolution has been translated into Albanian and sent to the relevant ministries such as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Interior and the Ministry of Defence for familiarisation and implementation.[34] Its text has also been made available online for consultation.[35] However, a National Action Plan for implementation, compulsory for all member countries, has not yet been adopted by Albania.

Even with the benefit of interviews with key-informants it is difficult to understand the rationale for choosing not to adopt an NAP for UNSCR 1325. Civil society actors have played in important role in advancing gender equality in Albania (see *Annex 1: Civil society initiatives on women, peace and security*) and from time to time have approached the responsible ministries to encourage and assist the government in drafting, adopting and implementing an NAP for UNSCR 1325 in Albania.[36] The process was begun by the MoLSAEO with the assistance of UN Women Albania. In 2011 a mapping assessment mission[37] was completed which identified entry points and recommended its report "as a fertile ground for relevant government bodies, civil society and

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32   Interview with MoD representative, January 2013.
33   Interview with MoLSAEO representative, December 2012.
34   Interview with MoLSAEO representative, December 2012.
35   Available at: http://www.mpcs.gov.al/dpshb/images/stories/files/instrumentat_e_okb/3.2.1.13.Rezoluta_1325_Gruaja_Paqja_dhe_Siguria.pdf
36   Concrete actions were taken by UN Women Albania, while and IDM Albania withdrew from its initiative in the belief that the process had already been started by UN Women.
37   Mapping Assessment on progress in implementation of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 in Albania and identification of entry points for the development of a National Action Plan on UNSCR 1325

other stakeholders towards the development and implementation of a 1325 NAP" (UN Women 2011:36).

Nonetheless, following an assessment which ran in tandem with the implementation of the new Gender Equality Strategy in Albania (2011-2015), the MoLSAEO decided that "an NAP for 1325 was not yet a necessity as many of the relevant obligations for Albania under UNSCR 1325 have been integrated into the action plan of the new Gender Equality strategy 2011-2015)"[38]

Obstacles to NAP 1325 development

UN Women's mission to assist the adoption and implementation of an NAP has taken the form of activities to support the building of the capacity of relevant bodies to best implement UNSCR 1325. As reported by UN Women, the MoLSAEO, the MoD and the Albanian State Police (ASP), the following initiatives are being implemented to this end:

1. Representatives of the MoD, the ASP and the MoLSAEO have been supported and given the opportunity to participate in regional expert meetings (in Macedonia and Georgia) in order to exchange experiences and establish cooperation;
2. Employees of the defence (particularly peacekeepers) and police sectors have been trained on gender equality and UNSCR 1325;
3. The ASP is drafting an internal policy document on sexual harassment and a safe working environment and will train ASP staff on its implementation;
4. A study has been conducted on the effects of the blood-feud phenomenon on women and girls in Albania;
5. Leadership training for women in the police and security forces has been organised;
6. Support and facilitation of institutional gender self-assessment was offered to the ASP and MoD.

These actions are being taken in order to address the capacity and human resource gaps in adopting and implementing an NAP for UNSCR 1325 identified by UN Women's assessment mission (2011). An NAP for UNSCR 1325 cannot be effective without the allocation of adequate human resource capacity. Some important barriers to furthering gender equality in Albania's security sector through development of the NAP for UNSCR 1325 include:

- Inadequate human resource capacity and financial constraints on the government institutions responsible for furthering gender equality and related security reforms on the national level;
- The need for improved horizontal/inter-agency coordination on gender equality, empowerment and integration in public institutions. While there are supposed to be dedicated focal points for gender equality at the ministerial level, in the security sector only the Ministry of Defence has a full time focal point. Overall, only two ministries in the Government of Albania have full-time Gender Staff, while others only have gender focal points. For these focal points,

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38   Interview with MoLSAEO representative, December 2012.

facilitating gender equality is only one of the tasks in their job descriptions, not their sole responsibility;

- The country lacks sufficient general expertise and experience in gender equality and empowerment, especially in regard to how gender relates to security issues. Important capacities concerning these issues need to be developed;

- Albania has competing political, security, economic, social and infrastructural needs. Central government ministries lack sufficient budgetary resources to meet these needs;

- There is a deficit in the funding needed to support gender equality and empowerment initiatives. Experience with other gender equality projects has proven of high interest to the authorities. However, sufficient resources have not been dedicated to these issues (UN Women 2011:19-20).

Preparing an NAP for UNSCR 1325 is considered beneficial in that it addresses some of the above mentioned barriers. But if the government had decided to proceed with development and implementation of an NAP for UNSCR 1325, other risks would have to have been taken into account. One relates to how to ensure that amid competing priorities the core management of the relevant line ministries devotes sufficient time and human resources to guiding the development and implementation of the NAP, not least to the implementation of the NSGE-DV (UN Women, 2011). Efforts should thus be made to empower policy makers and executive managers, which would represent an adequate response to growing demands for the institutionalisation of women, peace and security issues into Albania's security and defence establishment.

In addition, there is much to be done with regards to increasing the accountability and transparency of institutions through the externalisation of various internal mechanisms (i.e. opening them to the wider public), applying lessons learned, engaging in more effective forward planning and ensuring that ministerial partners are accountable to the wider public (Dyrmishi et. al. 2012; UN Women, 2011).

Finally, according to Ministry of Defence representatives, the Albanian MoD understands that an NAP for UNSCR 1325 is not only a requirement, but is also a necessity for mainstreaming gender in the security sector at large and in the military in particular. The Albanian MoD's medium-term plan includes the drafting of a policy document on gender equality in the military, based on the findings of the gender self-assessment process (expected to be completed by June 2013). It also intends that its action plan includes implementation of UNSCR 1325. This process started in January 2013.

Capacities of the security sector for gender mainstreaming

It can be concluded from previous assessments and developments reported by interviewees that there is considerable uncertainty as to the future of the defence sector's functions, particularly following NATO accession and the country's withdrawal from managing and controlling its own borders (Dyrmishi *et.al.* 2012; UN Women 2011). The status of the Police is also threatened following the privatization of some its functions with the emergence of private security companies. This sense of uncertainty contributes to the poorly consolidated security sector polity in Albania.

The security sector, as with other sectors in the country, may suffer from the fact that policy making institutions are highly politicised, which affects stability and follow-up at the policy level. This is due to tensions in national social and political life between two rival and polarised political parties. An intensified dialogue would help to promote better mutual understanding. In this context, an NAP for UNSCR 1325, developed with broad support from relevant stakeholders including civil society, could serve to stimulate the development of security policies with bipartisan support and provide long-term sustainability for implementation of the NAP for UNSCR 1325.

Albanian security institutions are established as respected actors in the political life of the country, which gives them credibility in undertaking activities in the field of women, peace and security. They have also established a reputation as a professional organisation which undertakes a broad range of activities, from maintaining peace and order in the country to contributing to peace initiatives abroad. Thus, many Albanians see security institutions as an example of how government policies and organizations can function effectively.

The Ministry of Labour has an established track record as an effective institution which addresses the requirements of its operational environment and meets the demands of its staff and stakeholders. In this respect, it has become an instrumental source of change. Conversations with relevant stakeholders also confirm the extent of the reach that the Ministry of Labour has established in its operational environment in a relatively short time. As a result, gender equality in Albania is today recognised as an important issue, including in the area of security and defence.

Continued efforts are still necessary in order to develop the relationship between the Ministry of Labour and other ministries, in particular with the Ministry of Interior and Ministry of Defence. As such, the Ministry of Labour would reap the benefits if it were to further strengthen its relationship with the Ministries of Interior and Defence and relevant policy making institutions, with the aim of introducing them to the benefits of UNSCR 1325 implementation and increasing their commitment to same through the development of an NAP for UNSCR 1325.

Conclusion

The story of Albanian security sector reform does not extend far into the past, and the role of women in it has been mainly peripheral or non-existent. Efforts at gender equality in Albania have concentrated on completing and improving the legal framework by signing and ratifying international conventions and drafting and passing laws on gender equality and non-discrimination. This has resulted in a strong overall legal and institutional gender framework in the country.

Nonetheless, gender equality has not materialised as foreseen and expected from the gender legal framework and country's obligations related to EU and NATO integration processes. The weak link between the legal framework and concrete results seems to be in the implementation stage, resulting from a combination of a lack of resources, capacity and will.

This is the scenario of Albania's adoption and implementation of UNSCR 1325. Ratified in 2000, it still lacks an accompanying national action plan, an obligation for Albania as it is for all member countries. Regardless of alternative measures taken sporadically by responsible institutions and

mechanisms, and the claim that such an action plan has been partly included in Albania's new Gender Equality Strategy 2011-15, it is obvious that an NAP for UNSCR 1325 remains a necessity.

The need for an NAP for UNSCR 1325 is constantly stressed by civil society actors, and is particularly felt by the Ministry of Defence, the authority responsible for reporting internationally on implementation. The Ministry of Defence must be urged to develop a specific policy document/ action plan on mainstreaming gender as soon as possible, although care must be taken to address the challenges of implementation such as human resources, allocation and coordination of roles and responsibilities amongst stakeholders, funding and continuity and stability. Civil society actors must be part of the process, not only because they deserve it for their continuous work in the area of gender equality in general and gender and security in particular, but also because of their expertise and potential as watchdogs which can make an important contribution to better implementation and results.

Civil society initiatives on women, peace and security in Albania

In Albania there are 614 registered CSOs (latest statistics available), of which 112 or 18.24% are headed by women, showing that women find greater space and freedom to engage in this sector.1 Interest groups and organizations working in the area of gender equality and the empowerment of women make up an important group in civil society. Women's associations, among others, have carried out and continue to implement a number of activities related to the rights of women, including peace and security aspects of women issues. Such initiatives have resulted in a positive approach towards improving the position of women in the wider socio-economic and political environment and have also stimulated wider thinking about the introduction of measures to enhance the role of women in maintaining peace and security. Below is a non-exhaustive list of such initiatives:

At the national level:

- The UN Joint Program for Gender Equality, one of the main contributors to gender mainstreaming at the local level http://www.un.org.al/subindex.php?faqe=details&id=72
- The IDM has a strong and long lasting commitment to security issues, and in the last three years has been intensively mainstreaming gender into this sector, particularly in the assessment and research components http://www.idmalbania.org/
- Several Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have run small grants projects promoting equal access to education for rural girls through a combined school and community response; an important initiative is Gender Agenda for Rural Development (GARD) http:// www.gardproject.org/
- The OSCE Mission to Albania has also supported gender and security issues, mainly focussing on the State Police – training/capacity building, research and awareness
- The Swedish Government has provided support to community policing and diversity projects through SIDA

At local level:

- A program in the Elbasan region of Albania to support the operation of the "Estia" shelter;
- The Centre for the Promotion of Women's Rights in Albania has run programs to promote civic engagement by women;
- The "Passi Leggeri" women's centre and the Women's Desk of the Municipality of Shkoder have run activities for the social and economic empowerment of women, favoring the formulation of gender sensitive local policies;
- The "Luna Nuova" women's centre has run activities to promote equal opportunities for women and the prevention of domestic violence in the region of Elbasan;
- Locally identified projects focusing on gender issues have been undertaken, including efforts to reintegrate victims of trafficking and establish home craft industries;
- The Women Counselling Centre in the Kukes region has provided services to abused women and supported initiatives to enhance access to justice for victims of domestic violence; (UN Women 2011:24).

BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

Memnuna Zvizdić and Aleksandra Stanić [39]

Introduction

The adoption of the Action Plan for the implementation of UNSCR 1325 in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 2010[40] was an important moment for the promotion of gender equality and security in Bosnia. The Action Plan (AP) refers to the period between July 2010 and July 2013. Implementation of the AP beyond this period will depend on the assessment of the Agency for Gender Equality of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Coordination Board. These two bodies will carry out an assessment in the second half of 2013, in line with the new Gender Action Plan for Bosnia and Herzegovina for the period 2012-2017.[41]

The AP defines a number of tasks, actors and activities as well as a large number of indicators for assessing financial resources and progress in achieving the eight goals.[42] Key areas of obligation for UNSCR 1325 in BiH are: including women in decision-making; gender equality in the security sector; women's human rights and the rights of girls; and gender equality in UN reports.

The redefined concept of security in which women take more active roles in the institutional and legal framework was not tied to the "official" security sector reform processes (police and armed forces) undertaken since 2003, but rather to the promotion and implementation of UNSCR 1325 in Bosnia and Herzegovina since 2004. The process of "gendering" the concept of security in Bosnia and Herzegovina has nevertheless started and will last a long time. Frequent changes to the composition of the governing coalition all levels make this process difficult. The priorities for decision-makers are "vital national interests" rather than equal opportunities in the overall development of the country.

Despite this, and primarily thanks to the efforts of CSOs, progress has been made in protecting women and girls from violence and discrimination. Social attention has increasingly focused on the social reaction to these problems, which does not mean that they have been resolved, have "disappeared" or do not exist.

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39   Directors of organisation Women to Women
40   The Action Plan for the Implementation of UNSCR 1325 in Bosnia and Herzegovina was adopted on 27 July 2010 by the Council of Ministers of Bosnia and Herzegovina. It is the first action plan for implementation of UNSCR 1325 in the Western Balkans and it has been used as an example for other countries in the region for development of National Action Plans for implementation of UNSCR 1325. A website dedicated to AP 1325 implementation and related activities can be accessed at: http://www.1325.arsbih.gov.ba/
41   The BiH Council of Ministers adopted the GAP structure proposal for BiH for 2012-2017 at their fifth session.
42   These goals are: 1) participation by women in decision-making; 2) women in the military and police; 3) women in peacekeeping; 4) fighting human trafficking; 5) demining; 6) women and girls as victims of war; 7) strengthening capacities; 8) cooperation with CSOs and international organizations.

The findings in this report are largely based on the results of earlier research and activities by Women to Women and its partners related to implementation of UNSCR 1325 and integration of gender and gender issues into the security sector,[43] as well as on consultations and interviews with representatives of state institutions and CSOs involved in AP 1325 implementation. Reports on implementation of the AP, which are submitted annually by the Agency for Gender Equality to the Council of Ministers, were also used as an important source of information for this report.[44]

I   Gender mainstreaming and security sector reform in Bosnia and Herzegovina

Security sector reform (SSR) in Bosnia and Herzegovina

Reform of the security sector started in 2003 with the aim of creating a unified defence system adequate for meeting security challenges and taking advantage of economic opportunities,[45] as well as strengthening stability and transitional justice. These processes were aimed at building an effective and sustainable security sector in Bosnia and Herzegovina, thus benefiting both the country and the wider region. However, a gender perspective and women were not taken into account.

SSR and institutional reforms were considered to be a necessary step in establishing the rule of law and fulfilling the key preconditions for Bosnia and Herzegovina to join the European Union and the Partnership for Peace program. A fragmented and dysfunctional police system, a lack of state-level command and control over the armed forces and low living standards for the professional police and army were just a few of the most important shortcomings and difficulties which the guidelines set for the reform process were aimed at solving. Gender and the integration of gender issues into the security sector were completely ignored.

SSR in BiH

The international community played a very important role in the SSR process. The drafters of the constitution chose to establish a very basic state structure which left most state competencies – including security – to the two entities, the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Republika Srpska. During the reform process, establishing national security agencies implied

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43   Report "Following the implementation of the UNSCR 1325 Resolution in BiH", Zene zenama and UNIFEM 2007, are available at: www.zenezenama.org
Report „Public participation in security - UNSCR 1325 in BiH", Zene zenama, EUFOR, EUPM, UNIFEM 2009, available at: www.zenezenama.org
Research on the integration of gender and gender issues in the security sector reform, DCAF, Atlantic Initiative and Zene zenama, 2011, available at: www.zenezenama.org;www.atlantskainicijativa.org and www.dcaf.ch
The Promotion of the Action Plan UNSCR 1325 in BiH, Zene zenama, The Agency for Gender Equality in BiH and UN-WOMEN, 2011, available at: www.zenezenama.org
44   Report of the Implementation of the Action Plan UNSCR 1325 in BiH for 2011, available at: www.1325arsbih.gov
Report of the Implementation of the Action Plan UN SCR 1325 in BiH for 20112?, available at: www.1325ars.bih.gov
45   The Defense System Reform - from individual to collective security (White Book of Defense BiH, Sarajevo, 2005)

the abolition of entity level institutions. The transfer of competencies from these entities to the national level has been completed successfully, with the exception of the police, which is still decentralised. This is also true of the judicial system (ibid). However, it soon became clear that the constitutional provisions for the security sector would need to be changed if the country wanted to integrate into Euro-Atlantic security structures. As a consequence, the security sector is now centralised and fully in the competence of the state level authorities, with the exception of the police. The Armed Forces of Bosnia and Herzegovina is a unified professional military under a single chain of command and subordinate to the civilian authorities, with the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina as its supreme commander (Law on Defence, Article 11). A similar transformation occurred with the intelligence sector, resulting in a unique intelligence security structure (ibid).

Text box 1. SSR in BiH

The international community played a very important role in the SSR process. The drafters of the constitution chose to establish a very basic state structure which left most state competencies – including security – to the two entities, the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Republika Srpska. During the reform process, establishing national security agencies implied the abolition of entity level institutions. The transfer of competencies from these entities to the national level has been completed successfully, with the exception of the police, which is still decentralised. This is also true of the judicial system (ibid). However, it soon became clear that the constitutional provisions for the security sector would need to be changed if the country wanted to integrate into Euro-Atlantic security structures. As a consequence, the security sector is now centralised and fully in the competence of the state level authorities, with the exception of the police. The Armed Forces of Bosnia and Herzegovina is a unified professional military under a single chain of command and subordinate to the civilian authorities, with the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina as its supreme commander (Law on Defence, Article 11). A similar transformation occurred with the intelligence sector, resulting in a unique intelligence security structure (ibid).

The transfer of competencies from entity to state-level was not a voluntary process, particularly in the case of the military. Significant pressure from the international community resulted in the adoption of the necessary legislation for defence reform, as well as the formation of a unified national military force. Except in the case of the police, the transfer of competences in matters of defence and security from the entities to the national government has continued. This has enabled more robust democratic control over the sector through the establishment of parliamentary committees for oversight of the security sector, as well as other forms of democratic control. Finally, during this period two new ministries were established within the Council of Ministers of Bosnia and Herzegovina: the Ministry of Defence and the Ministry of Security (ibid: 51).

The establishment of the Border Police of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 2001 (initially called the State Border Service) addressed the problem of protection and control of international borders, which was formerly dealt with at the entity level and by cantonal Ministries of Internal Affairs. After the establishment of the State Court and the Prosecutor's Office in 2001, the need to establish a national police agency became apparent. This led to the establishment of the State Investigation and Protection Agency (SIPA Bosnia and Herzegovina) in 2002.

Gender mainstreaming in the security sector

The process of gender mainstreaming in security sector reform in Bosnia and Herzegovina can be considered as having two developmental phases, the first lasting from 2000 to 2008 and the second since 2009.

Phase 1: 2000-2008

In this period the police and military were typically seen as not being women's business. Police reform was (and still is) a highly sensitive political topic and as such, discussions were largely confined to the political party leadership, where women have little power or influence. A major theme over recent years has been reform and realignment of the multitude of police bodies defined by the constitution, with the aim of developing a depoliticized, multiethnic state police force rather than the current system of 15 independent forces. The Police Restructuring Commission,[46] chaired by former Belgian Prime Minister Wilfred Martens, had no women members (Women to Women 2007:29-30), in spite of lobbying from women within the legislative and executive structures and as members of Gender Commissions.

Until 2008 most women in the police and military worked in administration. At the time, ministers and heads of the police services in both entities were men. At the Ministry of Defence there was one woman deputy minister – but she did not participate in the reform commission processes (Women to Women, 2007: 30-31). .

Gender centres were established in the entities in 2002, thanks to the efforts of CSOs to solve the practical problems of women, and also the willingness of the authorities to address the issues of formal relations between the sexes, and to institutionalize and finance them respectively.

In this period the basic national legal framework for achieving gender equality in BiH was created with the Gender Equality Law of Bosnia and Herzegovina (2003); the Criminal Code (2003) – containing a provision stipulating that discrimination based on gender and domestic violence are criminal acts; the Election Law (2001); the Family Law (2006); and the Law on Protection from Domestic Violence (2006);[47]

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46   The Commission was established in 2004 with the aim of elaborating proposals for a single police structure under the political oversight of a ministry or ministries in the Council of Ministers of BiH. http://peer.ccsd.cnrs.fr/docs/00/47/83/97/PDF/PEER_stage2_10.1007%252Fs10611-008-9157-x.pdf

47   In December 2012, the Parliament of the FBiH and the RS National Assembly adopted amendments to the Law on Protection from Domestic Violence, in line with the Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence against women in the family CM (2011) 49, the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe.

Phase 2: 2009 onwards

In this period the legal framework for gender equality was completed, with the adoption of the Gender Action Plan BiH 2007-2012[48] and the Law on Prohibition of Discrimination (2009). The most important progress can be observed in the laws which govern the work of the police, including a prominent law in Tuzla Canton.[49] Laws dealing with defence, military and judicial issues are still not rich in provisions aimed at integrating gender equality.

Two of the most active "gender mainstreaming" state actors at the state level in BiH are the Ministry of Defence and the Ministry of Security, which have managed to introduce gender-sensitive policies, especially in the field of recruitment of women. Progress is also visible in promoting principles of equality and training, so more has been done in this regard in the last two years than in the previous decade.

It is important to note that during 2011 focal points for gender issues have been appointed in the Ministry of Defence and Armed Forces of BiH (commands and units).[50] They are obliged to submit a quarterly report, with proposed measures for improve the situation in the field of gender equality.

Text box 2. Gender equality mechanisms in BiH

The Gender Equality Agency of BiH* and the Entity Gender Centers have developed a "gender mainstreaming" network within the executive government, consisting of persons responsible for gender equality issues, nominated by ministers and mayors. At the entity level, there are sixty such persons in the ministries of both entities. In the legislature government, there are Commissions dealing with gender equality and improving the status of women at the BiH House of Representatives, the FBiH House of Representatives and the RS National Assembly. The same Commission is a model for the entities that have been established in all Canton/ County Assemblies and Municipal Assemblies in FBiH, and in the assemblies of most municipalities in the Republika Srpska.

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* The Law on Gender Equality foresaw the establishment of the Agency for Gender Equality BiH within the Ministry of Human Rights BiH which started with its works in 2004.

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48   The Gender Action Plan of Bosnia and Herzegovina 2006-2011 (GAP) is a strategic policy document which defines gender mainstreaming at the state level to introduce the basics for action and gender equality and the implementation of legal obligations in all important areas of society. Annex: Bosnian Gender Action Plan and the National Plan of Action for the Advancement of Women in twelve areas.
The Agency for Gender Equality is preparing the Gender Action Plan (GAP) for 2012-2017.
49   It is necessary to highlight Tuzla Canton's Law on Internal Affairs as an example of good practice, as it is much more extensive when it comes to equal gender representation in the police force. This law defines the role of an independent commission, appointed by the Tuzla Canton Assembly, with equal representation for both sexes (Art. 24). The Commission also called Canton members to be equally represented by ethnic group and sex in cases of complaints against police officers (Article 56). The same is recommended for selection of new police officers (Article 66) – Tuzla Canton Law on Internal Affairs:
See: htpp://legislationline.org/documents/action/ popup/id/6281
50   This is also in line with the provisions of the AP 1325.

In general, although there has been some progress in security sector reform in terms of gender, there are few specific provisions or measures aimed at increasing and ensuring equal representation by men and women in the government or public service. All security sector institutions claim that they are working "*in strict accordance with the law*". However, this statement is too often used as an excuse to avoid adopting specific internal codes, standards or rules that would specify the practical interpretation of an often vague and generalized legal definition of gender equality. (Gender and Security Sector Reform in Bosnia and Herzegovina, 2011:67).

The majority of decision-making and command positions are held by men, with women generally confined to administrative/support roles. The perception of defence, the police and security as being "male" domains is widespread. Women generally fill administrative posts and are evident on decision-making boards only when the issues dealt with are considered "female." While there is a relatively equal balance between man and women amongst trainees at the Police Academy, women are thought to be less likely to make policing a career and it is not clear how many will stay to be promoted to senior decision-making positions within management and investigative bodies (Women to Women, 2007:29-31). Accusations are also leveled at the discriminatory and abusive treatment of women in the military. This raises the question of the suitability of BiH forces for future peacekeeping duties where their tasks are likely to involve the provision of protection and security and responding to the needs of women victims of war (ibid).

Representation of women in the military and police

The number of women in operational positions in the police and military is increasing. Women currently fill 5% of operational posts in the military, although the aim is to achieve 10% representation by 2015.[51] Women make up 46% of the Ministry of Security, the deputy minister is a woman and there are eight women Heads of Department. In the State Agency for Investigation and Protection, there are four women in managerial positions.[52]

At the Border Police, one woman has been promoted to head inspector, while another has been appointed as manager of the internal organizational unit. Also, the Director of the Police Academy has declared that women must represent 30% of cadets admitted. The number of women employed at the Interior Ministries is 8% in the Federation and 21% in the Republika Srpska.

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51   According to the five-year development plan for the BiH Armed Forces. http://www.1325.arsbih.gov.ba/?page_id=111
52   Statistics are based on the report of the Agency for Gender Equality of Bosnia and Herzegovina on the implementation of the Action Plan for UNSCR 1325 for 2011 and 2012.

II   Action Plan for UNSCR 1325 implementation in Bosnia and Herzegovina: development and implementation

Assessments of the impact the war and post-war reconstruction had on women, girls and boys have taken place in BiH since 1996. However, until 2004 there were no clear answers about the social and critical responsibilities for the implementation of equality and the inclusion of women in the security sector. Promotion of UNSCR 1325 core standards[53] in BiH can be seen as the beginning of the involvement of civil society, and particularly of women, in the overall concept of security based on social responsibility to address the above questions.

Efforts to assess the impact of war and post-war reconstruction on women and women's human rights in BiH are modest. Another major problem is the lack of formal standards for monitoring the implementation of laws and regulations relating to the protection of women and children in armed conflict and post-conflict reconstruction.

Important events for the development process of the UNSCR 1325 Action Plan

In 2004, the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) supported a group of women leaders from post-conflict countries in South East Europe to gather in order to review and discuss UNSCR 1325 and brainstorm opportunities for advocacy aimed at advancing its implementation. A regional working group was formed, composed of representatives from each of the Western Balkans countries.[54] This has led to the development of a monitoring initiative particularly focused on Bosnia and Herzegovina and Kosovo.

In December 2005, UNIFEM responded to a request from a group of women leaders from the region active in politics and civil society to convene an informal consultation on the theme, "Women's Security and Rights in a Changing Region". The meeting provided an opportunity for an informal exchange of views and ideas on current political developments generally, as well as more specifically on matters of gender equality and women's human rights. In parallel, UNIFEM supported a group of women leaders from the region in the development of the Regional Women's Lobby (RWL)[55].

The role of CSOs in promoting UNCSR 1325

In Bosnia and Herzegovina, similarly to other countries in the region, it was civil society which first started to talk about UNSCR 1325. *Women to Women* translated the text of the resolution into the local language and distributed it widely. They also organized a series of public debates,

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53   Inclusion of women in decision-making; a gender perspective in the security sector; human rights of girls and women; and a gender perspective in UN reports.
54   Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, FYR Macedonia, Serbia and Montenegro, Kosovo
55   RWL participates in global and regional activities aimed at raising awareness and protecting women against violations of human rights in economic, political and social life. It also supports the same activities at national and local levels. RWL website: http://www.rwlsee.org/

workshops and seminars on the topics of the resolution. During 2005 and 2006, along with other women's organizations in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Kosovo, the assessment process for implementation of the resolution from the local to the national level began. This resulted in the 2007 Report,[56] which served as the basis for promotional activities, training and research, not only for CSOs, but also for international organizations and missions, security institutions and institutional mechanisms. Eventually, all these efforts led to the adoption of the AP.

Civil society groups typically used innovative tactics to educate recalcitrant men, knocked repeatedly on the doors of government structures which failed to inform the population about the new laws, conducted needs assessments of women's economic problems, secured amendments to discriminatory labour laws and worked across ethnic lines to bring about reconciliation.

UNSCR1325 has been used as an argument for increasing the number of women in decision-making as a vital factor in determining how decisions are made with regard to war and peace. Without representation, women are silenced in such discussions. Women emphasized that it was crucial at that juncture in Bosnia's history for direct and indirect connections to be made to UNSCR1325 at all levels. It was absolutely necessary for the future, as Bosnia engaged in accession talks with the EU, for UNSCR1325 to be used as an advocacy tool. It was felt that in a very short time there would be new challenges facing Bosnia on this path, with renewed potential threats to multi-ethnic stability and security.

However, women in the civil society sector emphasized that the government and international organizations often did not engage in actively promoting and applying UNSCR 1325 standards to the daily life of women in BiH. They saw this problem as particularly acute because of the return, since the Dayton Agreement, of the 'patriarchal society' and an upsurge in 'radical nationalism,' which in BiH typically undermines the social position of women.[57] (Women to Women, 2007:23-24).

The 10th anniversary of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (in 2010) prompted a significant increase in gender and security activities by both governmental and non-governmental organizations. There were also some promising examples of cooperation between CSOs and security institutions. For instance, the Border Police systematically cooperated with CSOs in preventing and addressing human trafficking throughout the country, while CSOs provided good examples of local ownership in promoting inclusive consultation on local security issues.

Nowadays, several local and national level CSOs are proactive in supporting victims of domestic violence, providing crisis phone lines, legal counseling and safe houses for women and children who are victims of domestic violence and trafficking. Community service organizations are also developing multidisciplinary teams for the prevention of and protection against gender-based violence (GBV) in local communities, as well as several programmes of work with perpetrators of violence. (DCAF, Atlantic Initiative and Žene Ženama, 2011:15-16)

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56   This report was based on preliminary surveys carried out by *Women to Women* in 2005-2006 about implementation of UNSCR 1325 and on additional interviews and research carried out in 2007.
57   This phenomenon was also noted in the *2007 UNDP National Report: Social Inclusion in Bosnia-Herzegovina, 2007*; p.23.

There are also numerous examples of CSOs that are involved in monitoring and oversight of security sector institutions in BiH.[58] In addition, CSOs are involved in municipal security councils.

Text box 3. Involvement of CSOs in municipal security councils

The "Citizens' Security Forum" initiative in Zenica-Doboj Canton, involving representatives from CSOs, organises forums intended to help prevent and combat crime. Another security initiative for citizens is "Open Door Days" – consultative committees on municipal level councils which have initiated a community policing project, and which consider and suggest various security initiatives. Citizens can request that a security institution provides an explanation of its position on a particular issue and can suggest how specific security concerns should be addressed, thus contributing to an improvement in the security of their communities (DCAF, Atlantic Initiative and Žene Ženama, 2011:77-79).

The principal challenge in cooperating successfully with security institutions seems to be that once CSOs identify a specific security issue, it takes a long time for the issue to appear on the agenda of government institutions. Furthermore, a lack of funding and administrative obstacles to securing funds, as well as the institutional perception of CSOs as the opposition rather than potential partners, considerably hampers cooperation. This is especially evident in the administration of safe houses, which in spite of being a crucial service have not received adequate support from the authorities. While CSOs are active in providing security and justice services to the mostly female victims, their overall engagement in security policy making remains insufficient (*ibid:*16).

Gender perspective in the work of international organizations

Women's civil society organizations[59] have contributed to UNSCR 1325 implementation through a number of official and informal training courses, consultations and networking with governmental institutions, although much of this has not been fully acknowledged, especially by internationals. International representatives from the UN agencies and offices tend to see gender inequality as a less important issue in BiH than "bigger problems", or as an issue that could be solved by solving economic inequality, human security issues stemming from political instability, and reform of the police and judiciary. The Office of the High Representative (OHR) is the most

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58   The Centre for Civil Initiatives, for instance, monitors the work of the government of the FBiH and, occasionally, as part of this initiative, the Ministry of Interior of the FBiH is required to report on some of its actions and progress.
59   Civil society organizations involved in promotion, training and advocacy for UNSCR 1325 implementation and the implementation of Action Plan UNSCR 1325 in Bosnia from 2003 to the present:
Parliament of Citizens and Association of Women from Banja Luka, Center for Women Zar from Sarajevo, Zora from Milići, Amica from Srebrenica, Viktorija 99 from Jajce, Women from Una, from Bihać, Li-Women from Livno, Medica from Zenica, Bosnian Women's Initiative, Form F Mostar, Bosnia and Herzegovina Mostar Women, Women's Forum of Bratunac May Kravitz, Local Democracy Foundation, Sarajevo, Future Modriča Women Tuzla Vive, Viva Ustiprača, Bridge of Višegrad, Horizons Tuzla, Association of Tuzla, Mostar rosary, Orchid Chair, Oasis of Trebinje, Lara Bijeljina, Duvanjke Tomislavgrad, Legal Aid Centre for women Zenica, Zenica Infoteka, New Future of East Sarajevo, Aurora Sokolac, Center for Civic Cooperation Livno Goraždanke Goražde, the Helsinki Committee for Human Rights RS Bijeljina, Association of Srebrenica Women Network Policewomen FBiH and RS, BiH Association of Women Judges, Prosecutors Association Federation, the Association of Women Victims of War, Mothers of Srebrenica and Žepa et al.

glaring example of this lack of accountability and lacks a gender policy. In 2001 the gender policy advisor position was abolished and since then the OHR has only responded to gender issues on an *ad hoc* basis.

Nowadays the international community has become more institutionalised and interested in integrating gender issues into internal governance structures and decision-making processes. They also react more frequently to human rights violations and discrimination. This shift[60] from a perception that gender issues are "less important" to them being seen as "extremely important" when it comes to the activities of international organizations and missions has ensured that government institutions pay attention to UNSCR 1325. An example of good practice is the constant activity (promotional and educational applications of UNSCR 1325) taking place in NATO Headquarters commands and in BiH Armed Forces units, including non-governmental organizations awareness raising for gender equality and the integration of gender equality principles.

The relationship between the international community operating within BiH and civil society does not always assist implementation of UNSCR 1325. International funding is declining and this curtails some of the activities of the civil sector. This in turn pressures those women's organisations with long-term and ongoing commitments to their civil society roles in monitoring and advising the government. At the time, some international offices advising the government saw CSOs as donor driven, rather than as being actively involved in social processes and issues. In terms of UNSCR 1325 implementation this meant that the work of women's groups was not given the recognition it deserved, and thus CSOs were insufficiently recognised in terms of potential partnerships with government (Women to Women, 2007:24).

AP 1325 development and adoption

The starting point for drafting the AP was the Monitoring Report on Implementation of SCR 1325 in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Women to Women and UNIFEM, 2007). The AP drafting process was coordinated by the Gender Equality Agency, in collaboration with the Working Group for the Preparation of the AP for implementation of UNSCR 1325 in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The working group consisted of representatives of the following institutions: the Ministry of Security, the Ministry of Defence, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Finance and Treasury, the Gender Centre of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Gender Centre of Republika Srpska, the Federal Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Federal Police, the RS Ministry of Interior, the BiH Mine Action Centre and a representative of the CSO Women to Women.

The AP was adopted in July 2010 and represents a comprehensive strategy document for the integration of gender mainstreaming in the security sector. The document covers a three year period, from July 2010 to July 2013. In July 2013, implementation of the AP will be evaluated by the Agency for Gender Equality of BiH and the Coordinating Board, including an assessment of the defined objectives, activities, commitments, stakeholders and indicators of achievements/non-achievements. Following this, a new action plan will be developed.

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60 The result of the personal efforts of men and women who have held managerial duties in the offices and agencies of the UN, OSCE, NATO headquarters and the military and police mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The AP defines a number of tasks that need to be completed by July 2013. The national govern-ment and its agencies, institutional mechanisms, committees, CSOs and international organiza-tions are jointly responsible[61] for all activity stakeholders,[62] and a large number of indicators for assessment of progress, as well as the financial resources for achieving the eight (8) goals.[63] The financial resources for implementation of the AP are partly taken from the budget of the author-ized institutions, and partly from the funds of the FIGAP program.[64] So far, the BiH Gender Equal-ity Agency has submitted two reports to the Council of Ministers on the implementation of the AP, which were adopted by the House of Representatives of the BiH Parliamentary Assembly.

The basic mechanism for monitoring implementation of the AP is the Coordinating Board,[65] which is composed of personnel from the security sector and its member institutions and one member representing civil society. The Coordinating Board was appointed for the duration of the Action Plan. The proactive approach of the Coordination Board in monitoring AP implementation was recognized in both BiH and the region as an example of good practice.

Key achievements and challenges in AP 1325 implementation

Inclusion of women in decision-making

The legacy of the war and the economic crisis continues to undermine participation by women in public life. Gender inequality is apparent in all sectors of public life. Only an estimated 5-7% of executive positions are held by women at the local level, while no woman holds an executive

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61   The key areas of obligation for UNSCR 1325 in Bosnia and Herzegovina are: the involvement of women in de-cision-making; a gender perspective in the field of security; the human rights of women and girls; and a gender perspective in UN reports.
62   The Gender Equality Agency of BiH, Entity Gender Centers, international and non-governmental organizations involved in the implementation of UNSCR 1325 and the relevant ministries at the state, entity and cantonal level.
63   The Action Plan for Implementation of UNSCR 1325 in Bosnia and Herzegovina includes:
Increased participation of women in decision-making at all levels of government in Bosnia and Herzegovina
An increased number of women in the military and police forces and the promotion of women as holders of manage-rial positions within the military and police forces
Increased participation by women in peacekeeping missions, and the introduction of a gender perspective in the training of participants in peacekeeping missions.
The fight against human trafficking
Reduced risk of mined areas in Bosnia and Herzegovina
Improved network support and assistance to women and girls who were victims during the war
Increased knowledge and capacity of state services for implementation of UNSCR 1325
Improved cooperation with non-governmental and international organizations on implementation of UNSCR 1325 in Bosnia and Herzegovina
The primary goal is to improve the protection of the human rights of women and girls and ensure full participation by women in decision-making in the military and police forces and peacekeeping missions (AP 1325 B & H, 2010)..
64   The FIGAP program is a financial mechanism for implementation of the BiH Gender Action Plan up to 2014 (2009-2014). It is the result of cooperation between the Agency for Gender Equality BiH, The Ministry for Human Rights and Refugees BiH, the Gender Center of the Federation and the Gender Center of Republika Srpska. Its goal is to secure sustainable implementation of the Gender Action Plan of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The program is sup-ported by a group of international donors, including the governments of Sweden (through the SIDA development agency), Austria (through the ADA- development agency), the United Kingdom (through the DFID development agency) and the Switzerland Conference (through the SDC).
65   The Coordinating Board was established by the Council of Ministers of Bosnia and Herzegovina at the 154th ses-sion of the Council of Ministers of Bosnia and Herzegovina, held on 29 June 2011.

position at the national level. Although a quota system and gender mainstreaming mechanisms have increased participation by women in political life overall, the actual number of women leaders and decision-makers in executive areas at all levels of government has not increased. Only 14% of the deputies elected to the Parliament of BiH are women. There are no women on the ten-person Council of Ministers,[66] while six deputy ministers are women.

The weak nature of politics in BiH under international administration means that gender is a less important focus than solving issues such as ethnically-based nationalism, poverty and unemployment. Although the 2010 general election and the 2012 local elections appeared to have the highest number of women candidates ever, this did not result in a significant increase in the number of women in the legislature (19% of women in the House of Representatives of the Parliament of Bosnia and Herzegovina), while only 4% of those performing executive functions at the local level are women. International organizations in BiH, particularly the OSCE and the governments of the USA, Switzerland, Sweden and Norway[67] reinforce the empowerment of women in the political process through various support programs. The problem is that awareness raising programs about the importance of participation by women have not been implemented systematically or continuously, but rather represent *ad hoc* action taking place only two or three months before elections. Such an approach does not contribute to the understanding of gender perspectives in women's empowerment and civic participation.

Gender perspectives in the security sector

The gender training of police, judges, prosecutors, health-care officials and teachers is defined by the National Gender Action Plan, but delivery of programmes relies on close cooperation between governmental and civil society actors. The lack of reference to gender in police reform indicates the scant attention it receives in current police training, and the treatment of gender-specific concerns by local police and the treatment of women remain erratic and uneven. International defence forces operating in BiH are governed by the command of their state, and there is wide variation in the level of training on gender issues members of these forces have received. Most active in this area is the NATO headquarters in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Ministry of Defence (MoD) and the EUPM and institutional gender mechanisms.[68]

The NATO headquarters in Sarajevo and the MoD have conducted joint activities to promote and raise awareness of the importance of UNSCR 1325. Around 3000 MoD and BiH Armed Forces personnel took part in the training. The Gender Equality Agency, in cooperation with the entity gender centres, agencies for civil servants and the European Union Police Mission (EUPM), conducted training for civil servants employed in the Ministries of Interior, police officers in the Republika Srpska and the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (modules of the trainings are included in the curricula of police academies), 100 civil servants in the relevant institutions, teachers and in-

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66 http://www.vijeceministara.gov.ba/ministarstva/default.aspx?langTag=en-US
67 The OSCE Mission to Bosnia and Herzegovina in cooperation with other institutions is giving support to participation by women in decision-making.
68 Information taken from a report on the implementation of the Action Plan for implementation of UNSCR 1325 in Bosnia, the Agency for Gender Equality, 2011: p. 21 and 2012: p.31

structors at the Police Academies of the Federation of BiH and the RS, and agencies for education and training of personnel.

Human rights of women and girls

The frequent occurrence of domestic violence and human trafficking in the post-conflict environ-ment of BiH calls for constant attention to those issues. While CSOs report widely on incidences of violence against women, the Law on Protection from Domestic Violence is not thoroughly integrated with other criminal legislation and has not yet been comprehensively implemented. Trafficking of women and girls is another assault on women's human rights in BiH. The prevalence of discrimination against women, unemployment, poverty and the unresolved problem of the displacement of large numbers of people continue to exacerbate the likelihood of human traf-ficking. Both state and UN actions to combat trafficking in BiH have been inadequate (Women to Women, 2007:5).

Assessment of the impact of the Action Plan

Text box 4. Examples of good practice in AP implementation in BiH

The Agency for Gender Equality and the Entity Centers submitted proposals for amend-ments to state and entity laws on police officers in accordance with the Law on Gender Equal-ity in BiH, which is a prerequisite for increased participation by women in the police force and in decision-making.

The BiH Ministry of Security is implementing positive measures to encourage women to apply for and participate in peacekeeping missions. They have reduced the general criteria of work experience from 8 to 5 years for women, while the condition for men remains at 8 years of service, which will lead to an increase in the current percentage of 14.29% of women in peacekeeping missions

The Ministry for Human Rights and Refugees is leading the Strategy for developing the process for improving the rights of women victims of abuse in the war.*

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* There is no definite information on when it will be completed and accepted.

Despite some successful practice, there are still problems which are not identified in the AP.[69] Firstly, sexual harassment and gender-based discrimination in security institutions are "invisible" or "non-existent" events or experiences which are not spoken about publicly. Sexual harassment and gender-based discrimination is hardly ever reported, possibly due to a combination of sever-al factors, including sexual harassment not being recognized, victims of harassment being afraid to report it and the fact that only a few institutions have put in place institutional mechanisms and policies to enable reporting (DCAF, Atlantic Initiative and Women to Women, 2011:13).

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69   Information based on research undertaken by the Atlantic Initiative, Women to Women and DCAF in 2011.

Initiatives such as the **Women Police Officers Network** (**WPON**)[70] on the regional level, the Network of Women in the Ministry of Interior of the Republika Srpska (WPON RS), the Network of Police Women of the Federation of Bosnia and the Association of Women Judges of BiH may possibly initiate discussion of these issues and encourage speech rather than silence (*ibid*).

Text box 5. Associations of women police officers in BiH

Under the WPON framework, two associations of women police officers have been established: **the Network of Women Police Officers** in BiH and **the Association Network of Women in Republika Srpska Ministry of Interior - WPON RS (BiH).** The two associations work at the grass-roots level and aim to promote gender equality through a strategic approach to education, employment, training, and career development of women in the police, as well as by announcing results achieved by female personnel of the police services.

Most of the relevant institutions include activities and commitments in their plans for 2013 which fall under the Action Plan and are related to: **separating data by gender, reports and analyses** (administered by all organizational units of the MoD and Joint Staff of the BiH Armed Forces); **implementation of projects** which will contribute to the integration of gender in the internal structure of the police and Army – "Guide for Gender Equality in defence structures" and "Development and integration of sustainability mechanisms for gender mainstreaming in the security sector in Bosnia and Herzegovina". This will be financed from the funds of the FIGAP program; **cooperation with civil society and international organizations; training in institutions in evaluating the implementation of the UNSCR 1325 Action Plan in Bosnia and Herzegovina** for the period July 2010 to July 2013.

Important partners for the relevant institutions in implementing the Action Plan for implementation of UNSCR 1325 in Bosnia and Herzegovina (2010-2013) are international organizations active in this field, such as: UN Women, NATO Headquarters in BiH, UNDP and OSCE. UN Women will continue to support CSOs' projects in cooperation with institutional mechanisms and governmental institutions.

The Coordination Board's members have participated actively and contributed to the promotion and implementation of the AP, both within the institutions from which they come, as well as amongst the general public and on the international level. All processes in Bosnia and Herzegovina which concern UNSCR 1325 are part of regional cooperation at all levels and will continue to be so in the future.[71]

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70   The **Women Police Officers Network** (WPON) **in South East Europe** was developed with the support of SEESAC under the umbrella of the South East Europe Police Chiefs Association (SEPCA). High ranking women representatives of 9 police services in SEE were nominated to the network (Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina - Federation, Bosnia and Herzegovina - Republika Srpska, Bulgaria, Croatia, Moldova, Montenegro, Serbia and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia). Since it was established in 2010, WPON has grown into a unique regional advocacy platform for gender mainstreaming in policing. WPON has enabled networking, information exchange and has provided training for police officers on gender equality and gender based violence at the regional and national levels.
71   Information taken from a report on implementation of the Action Plan for Implementation of UNSCR 1325 in BiH Agency for Gender Equality, 2011: p.20 and 2012: p: 30

Conclusion

BiH has made significant progress in promoting participation by women in the security sector (the army and police), but this does not mean that there is greater representation of women in career advancement and in decision-making positions in the sector, just as the increase in women candidates in elections has failed to ensure an increase in the number of women in parliamentary, diplomatic, ministerial or managerial positions.

Political participation by women at all levels has been systemically declining since 1998, which is very worrying. Of course, this mostly affects the position of women in the security sector, as well as in other sectors. This is happening at a time when policy makers and government institutions are relatively open to systemic and sustainable integration of a gender perspective into all sectors of society.

There has also been progress in the protection of women and girls from violence and discrimination. Social attention has increasingly focused on the social reaction towards these problems, which does not mean that they are resolved, have "disappeared" or do not exist. Incoherent social responses to violence and discrimination is understood as "protection", including laws, policies and measures aimed at achieving "security", but failing to benefit the welfare and well-being of various groups of vulnerable people, especially women. Adopting this concept of "protection" is not sufficient for a complete social reaction and state intervention which could lead to a practical reaction to solve the problem of violence and discrimination, and to their termination.

It is evident that specific internal codes, standards and procedures are lacking which can help to integrate a more refined, precise and functional understanding of gender and gender issues into the reform process, but it appears that this approach will long remain in use. Specifically, the lack of a common strategy that can encompass the entire security sector (including the judiciary), or rather the lack of coherent and coordinated activities in the security sector (the police, military and judiciary), affects the positive impact achieved so far in terms of equal opportunities in policy and security and protection against violence and discrimination.

Reform or the renewal of the plan for the future is essential if the AP is to be a common framework for all actors (institutions, institutional mechanisms, international organizations and civil society) in which the priorities of "development" will be agreed upon, as well as realistic activities.

KOSOVO

Fjolla Raifi [72]

Introduction

The Kosovo government, as well as local and international organisations, have consistently worked towards the improvement and promotion of gender equality. The inclusion and representation of women in the public sector is properly regulated by the institutional legal framework. The existing legal framework defines a non-discriminatory environment for all underrepresented groups, embedded in two laws: the Anti-Discrimination Law (ADL) and the Law on Gender Equality (LGE).[73] Similarly, the strategic and policy framework of government institutions specifically highlights goals for increasing the level of the inclusion of women in all aspects of civil service management. As demonstrated throughout this paper, there is also a wide variety of initiatives by different organisations and women-focused Civil Society Organisations (CSO) which aim to increase the involvement and participation of women in the political process. Yet, in practice implementation and enforcement of the existing legal framework is limited. This is mainly due to a lack of political will, as well as the influence of political parties upon the selection of lobby groups, and a poor understanding of delegation with respect to the impact of women in peace dialogue.

Thus, the citizenship of women in Kosovo, in terms of their political participation and social capabilities, has been identified as different or inferior to that of men. The different roles played by men and women has led to an understanding that they occupy differing positions in society. Specifically, the lack of educational and employment opportunities for women has consistently made them dependent on the male members of their families. According to reports from government authorities, the overall number of registered unemployed persons has risen to 30-35%, with 48.6% of these being female (MLSW 2011:10). Consequently, the high level of poverty and the lack of job opportunities have historically had a negative influence on the economic status of women.

United Nations Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325 is considered to be one of the most comprehensive resolutions adopted in the field. It is a legal document adopted by the UN Security Council and it therefore has legal supremacy over the domestic legal framework. Its introduction in Kosovo seemed to be a step forward in overcoming the challenges that women face in the public sector. As Kosovo was under United Nations administration between 1999 and 2008,

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72   Fjolla works as Project Coordinator and Researcher at the Kosovar Centre for Security Studies (KCSS). Fjolla completed her Bachelor Studies at the American College of Thessaloniki, Greece as well as completing one semester at the University of Northern Iowa. Before joining KCSS, Fjolla enriched her academic and professional background by working for a number of international and local organisations.

73   Both laws are explicit about "the principle of fair representation of all persons and all members of communities to employment in the frame of public bodies of all levels" (ADL 2004:Art.2.a), as well as equal participation "…in the political, economic, social, and cultural, and other fields of social life" (LGE2004:Art.1.1)

women had high expectations for improved political and social status. However, the UN institutions not only omitted to include any female members within their delegation, they also failed to apply any of the policies stipulated by the Resolution in their operational strategies (Qosaj-Mustafa 2010:8). Therefore, **despite being a UN administered territory, Kosovo did not benefit from the adoption of UNSCR 1325 and related practices.**

The inclusion of women is particularly complex within security institutions, but a suitable non-discriminatory legal framework exists, as set out in this paper. Women's inclusion in the security sector has increased in parallel to the sector's consolidation. Kosovo's security sector was built from scratch under the constant support and supervision of the international community. In particular, the first stage of security sector development (1999-2005) and the second consolidation period (end of 2005-early 2008) reflect the exclusively internationally-driven character of the sector (KCSS 2011: 28). From its conception to now (early 2013), there has been considerable progress in consolidating security sector governance and oversight (Qehaja & Vrajolli 2012:106).

Currently, security institutions emphasise the importance of the representation of women, and have encouraged them to become involved in roles which were traditionally considered 'men's responsibility' (Vrajolli, 2011:59; Qosaj-Mustafa, 2012: 76). The existing legal framework, as well as strategic documents, have constantly promoted and thus created various incentives for the inclusion of women. According to data collected in March 2013, the level of representation of women in the Kosovo Police (KP) stands at 14.85%; while women comprise 33.22% of KP civilian staff (Shala, 2013). On the other hand, women represent only 8.18% of soldiers in the Kosovo Security Force (KSF), while 8.16% of women in the KSF work at the operational level, with 4.06% at the strategic level (Morina 2013). The absolute lack of representation of women in fire-fighter units is concerning (KCSS 2012: 76).

This paper addresses the implementation of the UNSCR Resolution 1325 in Kosovo's security sector, particularly in the Kosovo Police and the Kosovo Security Force. It outlines the scope of their responsibilities with regard to the UNSCR Resolution 1325, as well as providing statistical data relating to the inclusion of women in the relevant institutions. Due to various limitations and lack of information, this paper does not deal with the Kosovo Intelligence Agency (KIA). The paper's methodology relies partly on desk research, specifically on content and textual analysis. It covers the relevant legislation and academic publications, as well as various journals. It additionally relies on the expertise of the Kosovar Centre of Security Studies (KCSS) on the overall development of Kosovo's security sector. Quantitative data is mainly selected from KCSS's latest report, the 'Kosovo Security Barometer' (November 2012), which depicts women's perceptions of Kosovo's security institutions. Furthermore, the core research is based on face-to-face interviews with experts in the gender equality sector. Eight interviews took place in total, covering the institutional level, civil society and women activists in this field.

The first part of the chapter provides an analysis of gender mainstreaming in the security sector and highlights the key phases and turning points of gender mainstreaming in the context of security sector reform. It also refers to the development of numerous initiatives and strategies in relation to the National Action Plan (NAP) and emphasises the constant willingness of women-focused CSOs and other civil society representatives to contribute.

I   Gender Mainstreaming and Security Sector Reform in Kosovo

In contrast to most of the region's countries, Kosovo's security sector was developed from scratch, with substantial support from the international community. This development coincided with the process of integrating a satisfactory level of women into the sector, supported by international actors (KCSS 2012:72). Although the overall gender-related process was internationally-driven, the willingness and contribution of women's organisations has played a major role in the development and implementation of Resolution 1325. The efforts of these organisations were aimed at ensuring the satisfactory inclusion of women in the decision-making process and in the public sector in general.

Key phases in security sector development and gender mainstreaming processes

Development of Kosovo's security sector is generally considered to have commenced in 1999 with the construction of the first security institutions, the Kosovo Police (KP) and the Kosovo Protection Corps (KPC), under the auspices of the UN administration (KCSS 2009:1). The KP and KPC respectively introduced policies aimed at the inclusion of women, despite challenges to their responsibilities and mandate (KCSS 2012: 72). Following independence, the process of attaining a satisfactory level of female inclusion continued within a new security sector architecture which included additional security institutions such as the Kosovo Security Force (KSF), the Kosovo Security Council (KSC) and the Kosovo Intelligence Agency (KIA) (KCSS 2009:1).

Legal framework for gender equality

The current legislative framework provides a strong basis for the representation of women in the security sector. Since 1999 the principle of gender equality has been promoted throughout the legislative corpus, stipulating an equal and non-discriminatory environment for women in the public sector. The *Constitution* of the Republic of Kosovo respects and promotes the principle of gender equality in accordance with international conventions and laws.[74] Two more significant laws which promote the principle of anti-discrimination and regulate gender issues in all institutions are the *Anti-Discrimination Law (ADL)* and the *Law on Gender Equality (LGE)* which specifies the need for equality in job opportunities and career development.

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74 The Constitution of Republic of Kosovo explicitly states that 'gender equality is a fundamental value for the democratic development of society', and provides 'equal opportunities for the participation of women and men in political, economic, social, cultural and other fields of social life' (Constitution 2008: Art.7).

Text box 6. The Anti-Discrimination Law (ADL) and the Law on Gender Equality (LGE)in Kosovo

The *Anti-Discrimination Law* ensures that discrimination is prevented and combatted by promoting equal treatment and access to employment for all minority groups and women (ADL 2004: Art. 2). Similarly, the *Law on Gender Equality* calls for the establishment of equality "*in the political, economic, social, cultural, and other fields of social life*", as a fundamental component of a democratic society (LGE 2004: Art.1.1). It explicitly defines a set of legal measures aimed at achieving equal access for men and women to all parts of the public and private sectors. Furthermore, this law highlights the need for all central and municipal institutions to appoint a *coordinator of gender issues* (LGE 2004: Art.4.12).

The law on Gender Equality (LGE) also required that an *Office for Gender Equality* be established as a separate governmental institution. This office, which in 2005 became the *Agency for Gender Equality*, ensures the promotion and implementation of gender equality policies, international acts, agreements on gender equality and general gender regulations (LGE 2004: Art.5.2).

Furthermore, Kosovo's legal framework presents no discriminatory barriers which may hinder women accessing the employment process. The *Law on Labour* was adopted in 2010 as a basis for equality and combatting discrimination within the workforce. It explicitly prohibits any discrimination on the basis of gender (Art. 5) and calls for equal opportunities and criteria for both male and female applicants (LL 2010: Art. 5.4).[75]

Yet, despite the existence of the legal framework and other significant initiatives, inequality between men and women continues to influence their social, political and economic environment. Specifically, as stated in several reports and analyses, inequality between men and women in the labour market continues as a result of various social and political factors (ABG 2011:18). Additionally, the process of implementing these laws has been repeatedly criticised by civil society activists and other relevant actors. According to civil society organisations, the *Law on Gender Equality* and the *Anti-Discrimination Law* have shown extremely low applicability in practice (Mustafa 2013). Some of the key informants went further in stating that "*the majority of the principles of these laws have never been practiced or implemented*" (Rogova 2013). The Law on Gender Equality was drawn up and adopted in a short period of time and without reference to the social and political situation in Kosovo. Furthermore, the voice of civil society argues that some parts of the law have been structured on the basis of the situation in and experience of other neighbouring countries, and so are not necessarily appropriate for the situation in Kosovo (Rogova 2013). The challenges faced in implementing the law and the lack of social and political context have led a procedure for adopting a revised Law on Gender Equality being launched.

A variety of international actors present in Kosovo have made a significant contribution to increasing the attention paid to gender equality issues. The most notable, UN Women, has been present in Kosovo since 1999[76] as an important actor offering financial and technical assistance

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75   Furthermore, this law specifies the need for improved circumstances for pregnant women (LL 2010: Art. 17), with Article 49 entitling women employees to twelve months of maternity leave (LL 2010: Art.49.1).
76   At which time it was the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM).

on gender issues. Since then it has played a major role in developing a common approach to engaging women in peace-building processes for both traditional and non-traditional actors, establishing a good relationship between women's organisations and security institutions such as the Kosovo Police (Macula, 2013). As well as a number of awareness-raising campaigns and training courses, in 2007 UN Women in Kosovo established the *Security and Gender Coordination Group (SGCG)* in order to further enhance cooperation on gender issues between international and local actors as well as other civil society organisations (UNIFEM 2010). In addition to always lending a supportive hand to drafting various strategies and developments, UN Women is considered one of the major advocates of women's rights. Efforts made jointly with governmental bodies and local and international organisations to achieve gender balance within public institutions and other decision-making positions have resulted in the gradual creation of following bodies and mechanisms:[77]

Table 10. Gender equality bodies and mechanisms in Kosovo

EXECUTIVE LEVEL	*Agency for Gender Equality* – Office of the Prime Minister
	Advisory Office on Good Governance, Human Rights and Gender Equality – Office of the Prime Minister
	Ombudsperson Institution – *Gender Equality Unit*
	Officers for Gender Equality in each Ministry
	Council of Ministers for Gender Equality
LEGISLATIVE LEVEL	Non-formal *Women Deputies Group*, aiming to protect and promote gender equality and women's development.
MUNICIPAL LEVEL	*Municipal Offices for Gender Equality (MOGE)* in all municipalities
	Municipal Committees for Gender Equality

Furthermore, a number of significant initiatives have contributed to the increase in the participation of women in various institutions. Below are some of the recent and most influential initiatives adopted by the Government and Assembly of Kosovo.

The **National Action Plan for the Achievement of Gender Equality** was adopted by the Kosovo government in 2004 with strong support and assistance from UN Women. The plan is largely based on the Beijing Platform for Action and the CEDAW procedures, which aim to promote gender equality and participation by women in the social and political spheres (EPLO 2010: 39). Specifically, the action plan determines the structure of Kosovo's gender mechanisms.

The **Kosovo Programme for Gender Equality 2008-2013** is another initiative drafted by the Government of Kosovo as a provision under the Law on Gender Equality. Adopted in 2008 as a tool for integrating gender equality strategies and policies into all government programmes (SCGC 2010: 13), it resulted in joint inputs from institutions, international actors and civil society activists in Kosovo.

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77 Agency for Gender Equality, Office of the Prime Minister, Research Report 'Women in the workforce and the decision-making process in Kosovo' Prishtina, 2011.

The **Action Plan on Enforcement of the Anti-Discrimination Law** was adopted in October 2005 as a guideline for implementation of the Anti-Discrimination Law. It largely specifies the actions and procedures required for drafting the budget as well as anti-discrimination strategies (SCGC 2010: 13).

The **Kosovo Action Plan to Combat Trafficking in Human Beings** was adopted in 2005 as the main strategy for addressing and combating human trafficking. In 2008 the Government of Kosovo approved the **National Strategy and Action Plan for Combating Trafficking in Human Beings** for 2008-2011 (SCGC 2010: 13).

With regards to Law on Gender Equality and Anti-Discrimination Law, the Assembly of Kosovo has assessed and approved the Prishtina Principles[78] issued by the International Women Summit: "Partnership for Change: Empowering Women", held in October 2012. These principles have been adopted and translated into a resolution aimed at producing a satisfactory level of engagement by women in the public sector, as well as greater representation of women in the decision-making process (Resolution 2012: 2).

The Law on Protection against Domestic Violence aims to prevent domestic violence in all its forms, be that physical, psychological or verbal (LPDV 2010:Art. 1). It specifies the Kosovo Police as the only institution with responsibility for taking any reasonable measures necessary for protecting victims and the preventing such violence (LPDV 2010:Art. 24).

The Amendment for victims of sexual violence during the war in Kosovo was aimed at creating a special category for victims of sexual abuse within the *Law on the status and rights of martyrs, invalids, veterans, members of the Kosovo Liberation Army, persons raped during the war, and victims of war*. This amendment resulted from advocacy from a group of civil society activists in support of raped women and required approval from the Assembly of Kosovo during its scrutiny of the law. This requirement resulted in a number of debates and arguments within the Assembly and amongst representatives of civil society and the general public. After intense and controversial debates in the Assembly of Kosovo and in the media, the Assembly approved the amendment by a majority of only three votes, thus recognising the victims of rape during the 1998-1999 war.[79]

The principle of gender equality at the institutional level

Whilst women's organisations report consistent success in their cooperation and relationship with women representatives in Parliament, the low level of engagement by governmental and other institutional mechanisms has some responsibility for the current gender equality situation (Rogova, 2013). The parliamentary *Committee on Human Rights, Gender Equality, Missing Persons and Petitions* has a particularly important role in developing gender equality strategies and creating a non-discriminatory environment. This is in fact the only committee with a majority of

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78   The Prishtina Principles resulted from a gathering of participants of the Partnership of Change – Empowering Women, hosted by the President of the Republic of Kosovo from 4-6 October 2012 in Prishtina. The event was aimed at gathering various sectors, countries, cultures, ethnicities, ages and traditions in order to discuss strategies and best practices for advancing security and justice, economic empowerment and political participation for women. The discussions relied on various important resolutions, with specific reference to the principles of UNSCR 1325.
79 http://www.assembly-kosova.org/common/docs/proc/trans_s_2013_03_14_10_4805_al.pdf

women MPs – eight of its nine members are women (Assembly of Kosovo 2012). Furthermore, *the Women's Caucus of the Assembly of Kosovo* is making a remarkable contribution to participation by women in Kosovo. The Women's Caucus is a group of female MPs advocating for effective representation of women in Kosovo's democratic society.

Moreover, considerable progress in the inclusion of women in high level institutions has been demonstrated by the Office of the Prime Minister and the Government of Kosovo, which previously lacked any female representative within their structure. Four women have positions in the current government (in office since the beginning of 2011), two Deputy Prime Ministers and two other ministers (The Office of the Prime Minister 2012). However, neither of the security sector Ministries (Ministry of Internal Affairs and Ministry of KSF) are led by women, nor are any of the three Deputy Minister positions in any ministry assigned to women.

The major turning point in the representation of women in the decision-making process is considered to be the appointment of Atifete Jahjaga as the first woman President of Kosovo in 2011. Her appointment set an example for political participation by women in Kosovo and altered the ongoing challenges to gender mainstreaming.[80] However, it also triggered reactions from citizens and various political parties. As she was directly appointed through joint agreement between the two political leaders of the current coalition (2013) and the leader of the largest opposition party on ad hoc basis, opposition voices continue to call for her resignation.[81]

The table below shows the percentage of women involved in the decision-making processes in Kosovo during 2011 (also valid for the current legislature in 2013):[82]

Table 11. Women in Decision-making Positions in Kosovo 2011-2013

Position	Women	Men	% Women
President	1	0	100%
Prime Minister	0	1	0.0%
Deputy Prime Ministers (2011)	2	4	33%
Ministers (2011)	2	17	10.5%
Prime Minister's Office (2007)	46	102	31.1%
Deputy Ministers (2011)	0	33	0.0%
Foreign missions	13	59	18.1%
All institutions (2007)	6,013	10,711	36.5%

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80 An interesting fact is that the President of Kosovo was previously Deputy General Director of the Kosovo Police, being the first woman in the KP to hold such a senior position. Today, she has become a role model and reference point for regional and international actors as a woman leader of a country.
81 http://gazetajnk.com/?cid=1,3,3273
82 Kosovo Women's Network, 1325: Facts & Fables, Prishtina, 2011.

Representation of women in the security sector

Kosovo Police (KP)

The Kosovo Police (KP) is regarded as a 'champion' among Kosovo security institutions, having the highest level of representation of women in its structure with 14.85% (KCSS 2012:74). It was established immediately after the war, whilst other components of security institutions such as KSF were established only after the declaration of independence (2008). The *Law on Police* ensures and develops equality between male and female officers, demands fair and equal treatment for all persons and stipulates that advancement and career development of KP officers be based on the principle of meritocracy (LP 2008: Art.2). In addition to the Law on Police and the Anti-Discrimination Law, the KP also has internal procedures and principles, as well as administrative guidelines which regulate gender equality and prohibit any form of discrimination (Canolli 2013). Furthermore, within the structure of the KP, gender-equality is dealt with within three separate and important units: the Unit for Gender Equality, the Unit for Domestic Violence, and the Unit for Anti-Trafficking. The Office for Human Rights and Gender Equality and the Advisory Board for Gender Equality have reportedly contributed to the equal treatment of and participation by women within KP positions. The below table shows the representation of women within the KP structure as a percentage:[83]

Table 12. Representation of women as a percentage in the Kosovo Police

Total Representation of Women	14.85%
Representation of Women in Civilian Staff	33.22%
Representation of Minority Women in Civilian Staff	20.32%

According the OSCE's 2008 analysis, the 14% share of women in the Kosovo Police Service is relatively high in comparison to other European countries. Furthermore, according to DCAF's 2010 estimate, the KP's main recruitment target continued to be the inclusion of women and ethnic minorities, maintaining the 14.77% share within the KP's structure (DCAF 2011: 7). However, although the number of KP staff in general has continued to increase, the general picture is of a decrease in the representation of women, from 20.6% in 1999 to 14.85% in 2011 (1325 Facts and Fables 2011:71). Due to this decrease, the KP has continued to adopt rules and procedures which make working conditions much easier for pregnant women, as pregnancy is considered to be the most frequent cause of resignations (1325 Facts and Fables 2011: 72). According to KP representatives, women are transferred to easier duties during pregnancy in compliance with the KP's procedures and principles on the health and safety of its staff. Furthermore, women also have flexibility to choose their work location if they currently work far from home as well as being able to decide upon their working hours and request days off duty when needed (Shala 2013). Of course, the increase in the total number of KP employees throughout its existence has contributed to the decrease in the representation of women. According to the KP, its effectiveness in

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83 Hysni Shala, Head of Human Rights Office, Kosovo Police, Interview, 2012.

promoting gender equality has benefited from the deliberate recruitment of women in accordance with their physical capabilities (Canolli 2013). Besides introducing easier ways to integrate women in the workplace and various criteria for the inclusion of women in KP structures, distributing posters and brochures, promoting gender equality through the KP's official newspaper and organising information campaigns have all raised awareness and promoted of gender equality principles.

However, according to KP officials and women activists there has been a slight decrease in the representation of women over the last two years. As a result of this phenomenon, a group of KP women, with strong support and assistance from UN Women and the US Embassy, founded the *Women's Association in the Kosovo Police* (Canolli 2013). This association aims to develop strong connections and cooperation between women currently employed at the KP and those planning to join, as well as fostering the exchange of ideas and experience. This initiative is aimed at using joint voluntary action to overcome any obstacles or barriers towards the career development of women (Canolli 2013). A KP representative claims that in this manner, women's voices and their potential concerns would have more opportunity to be considered. Indeed, if women's perceptions and satisfaction were included in international and local institutions, UNSCR 1325 and other gender strategies would be effectively implemented.

Kosovo Security Force (KSF)

Following the same principles, although lacking a set quota for the inclusion of women within its structure, the Kosovo Security Force (KSF) has shown gradual progression in terms of the representation of women. According to data provided in February 2013, there are 184 women employed (in service) in the institution, amounting to 8.18% of all KSF personnel. At the operational level, women make up approximately 8.16% of staff, whilst at the strategic level they provide a meagre 4.06% (Morina 2013). Moreover, the highest rank occupied by a woman in the KSF structure is colonel, and no woman has yet been appointed to the position of general.

The *Law on Service in the Kosovo Security Force* stipulates fair and equal treatment for all KSF personnel regardless of their ethnicity or gender as well as equal opportunities for career development (Law on Service on KSF 2008: Art.3). In addition to this law, the *Regulation on Recruitment Policy, Filtration and Selection* is secondary legislation which enables equal opportunities for all citizens of the Republic of Kosovo and provides equal treatment regardless of gender, religion, ethnicity, political, national, social or marital status, sexual orientation and other relevant personal circumstances (Morina 2013). Furthermore, a contribution to the increase in the representation of women within the institution has been made by information campaigns and meetings with citizens in all municipalities, as well as TV shows which attempt to encourage citizens, women in particular, to apply (Morina 2013). However, the *Strategy of the Kosovo Security Force* does not explicitly refer to the inclusion of women within the structure of the KSF (SKSF 2011), although the Directive Commander of the KSF 2013 has expressed the intention to continue adequate representation of women and communities within the structures of the KSF, ensuring that all members of the MKSF and KSF reflect the values of human rights and gender equality in their attitudes and actions.

The Ministry for the Kosovo Security Force (MKSF) is responsible for overseeing and inspecting overall performance and monitoring the implementation and integration of specific laws and principles, including the gender perspective, into the KSF's governing mechanism (SCGC 2010: 33). Currently, women represent 33.06% of the MKSF's civil servant component (Morina 2013). Besides the departments with responsibility for gender issues, the *Office for Human Rights and Gender Equality* and the *Office for Minorities*, there are two more significant departments within the MKSF which are led by women, the *Department of Finance* and the *Legal Department*. The MSFK has also shown considerable progress in the implementation of policies on minority issues in accordance with national and international human rights standards. As of February 2013, female minorities comprise 5.11% of MKSF personnel, out of 7.71% representation of minorities in MKSF structures. (Morina 2013)

The introduction of quotas in security institutions

Another significant mechanism for enforcing gender equality in public institutions is the introduction of quotas. Article 2.12 of the *Law on Gender Equality* specifies a quota of 40% participation by one gender in a particular social sector as a prerequisite for achieving gender equality. However, all security institutions lack a set quota for the inclusion and representation of women within their structures and decision-making processes. According to the Head of the Human Rights and Gender Equality Office at the Kosovo Police, the KP has always focussed on the proper application of the LGE to achieve the quota of 40% participation by women (Shala 2013). Yet there is still no specific indicator or initiative which leads to the conclusion that this assumption is valid. On the other hand, the quota strategy has been criticised for increasing the number of female employees without ensuring the maintenance of the desired standards. According to many women activists and institutional representatives, if it were not for the introduction of quotas, the level of representation by women in the public sector would be ridiculously low (Rogova 2013).

Text box 7. Women in the Kosovo Assembly

The Kosovo Assembly has also introduced an explicit minimum quota of 30% representation of women in its legal framework. Currently, 30% of Kosovo Assembly members are women (Assembly of Kosovo 2012). Women are poorly represented in the two parliamentary committees with responsibility for security – the *Committee on Internal Affairs and Security and the Kosovo Security Force* (CIASKSF) and the *Oversight Committee of the Kosovo Intelligence Agency* (OCKIA). Two of the nine members of the CIASKSF are women, whilst only one of the nine members of the OCKIA is a woman (Assembly of Kosovo 2012). This illustrates the dominance of the traditional mentality that discussion of security issues is the domain of men. It also reflects the lack of interest by political parties in appointing women to committees with responsibility for security (Qehaja 2012:12). According to one female MP, the low level of representation of women on these committees has prompted an initiative from a group of parliamentary women to appoint a female deputy chairperson to each parliamentary committee (Musliu 2013). In this manner, women representatives would have more responsibility and increased involvement in oversight of the executive.

The role of women's organisations in security sector reform and gender mainstreaming

The development of gender mainstreaming in Kosovo largely stems from the extensive engagement of civil society, especially from women-focused CSOs. These organisations are considered the most active promoters and the major advocates of women's rights and responsibilities in regard to implementation of UNSCR 1235. Numerous women's rights activists and women's CSOs have contributed to drafting and implementing almost all strategies and documents aimed at achieving gender equality and a non-discriminatory environment, especially for women. UN Women, the Kosovo Women's Network (KWN)[84] and the Kosovar Gender Studies Centre (KGSC)[85] have been the most active advocates of Resolution 1325 among local and international organisations. Their initiatives are in accordance with those of other women-focused CSOs from the region in aiming to establish peace and security for women in a broader sense. A strong cooperative relationship with the Regional Women's Lobby, the Coalition of Women for Peace and Serbia's Women in Black has had success in overcoming many obstacles and barriers for women throughout the region (Rogova 2013). Furthermore, besides commitment from women's CSOs, other organisations have made a variety of contributions in advocating measurable strategies for UNSCR 1325. In particular, the Kosovar Centre for Security Studies (KCSS) was part of the European Peace-building Liaison Office (EPLO) working group which drafted the statement on 'Maximizing EU support to the Women Peace and Security Agenda'.[86]

Another important mechanism relies on individual women lobbying for women's rights and opportunities through international or local organisations. Over the past two years, negotiations have continued on transferring responsibility for human trafficking issues from international stakeholders to the Ministry of Internal Affairs, which has established a special unit for combating trafficking (Bala 2013). The unit has a triangular structure in which central institutions, civil society and international actors act jointly to combat trafficking (Bala 2013). Yet the lack of a national database of all human trafficking and domestic violence cases continues to cause problems for prevention.

II   Development of the NAP for implementation of UNSCR 1325 in Kosovo

The major turning point in the promotion of gender equality in Kosovo was the recent process of drafting the National Action Plan (NAP) for the implementation of UNSCR 1325. The process was initiated by the joint efforts of the Agency for Gender Equality, UN Women and other relevant stakeholders under Government supervision.

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84   For more information see: http://www.womensnetwork.org/
85   For more information see http://kgscenter.net/index.php?lang=en
86   This document is aimed at providing an overview of the challenges and barriers faced by EU states in implementing UNSCR 1325 (EPLO 2012: 1). It also includes recommendations for EU strategies to bridge the gap between policy and practice. This partnership thus strengthens international cooperation as well as encouraging Kosovo's institutions towards rapid and concrete implementation of UNSCR 1325. The KCSS is the only Kosovar organisation which is a member of the EPLO.

The NAP aims to set specific objectives and goals for the implementation of UNSCR 1325 in accordance with the current situation in Kosovo for the upcoming three-year period (2013-2016). The working group in charge of drafting this plan consists of 30 gender experts, including representatives from relevant institutions, civil society, international stakeholders and individual experts in the field, with the aim of producing a comprehensive and applicable report (Hajrullahu 2013). A number of workshops have taken place in which the various phases of implementation of UNSCR 1325 in accordance with the current political and economic situation in Kosovo have been discussed. The NAP is now in the hands of the Ministry of Finance awaiting approval of the budget.

Main areas and structure of NAP

The specific aim of the NAP is to strengthen three main areas of representation of women by: 1) increasing the participation of women in decision-making & peace building processes; 2) introducing gender mainstreaming into the security sector; and 3) providing access to justice for victims of sexual violence during the conflict period (Hajrullahu 2013). As the first two areas have already been discussed and elaborated upon by various stakeholders, the NAP aims to resolve the issue of violence against women during the war. Consequently, the set objectives will embrace a large number of different activities, including public campaigns, round tables and workshops on the implementation of UNSCR 1325, as well as other significant women's issues. According to officials, it will also impose a fixed quota for the representation of women in the decision-making process (Hajrullahu 2013).

A unique and significant factor in the overall structure and development of Kosovo's NAP is the manner in which its budgetary principles are drafted. The NAP includes **costings** for each activity as well as identifying **who** will implement each activity. Furthermore, as with all countries in the region, the budget for implementing the NAP relies heavily on donors. The NAP will be split into two parts: 51% will be covered by the government and 49% will be provided by donors.

Moreover, the NAP stipulates that a Secretariat for monitoring the implementation of its overall principles and other strategies from UNSCR 1325 will be established under the Prime Minister's Office. Its specific duties include reporting to the Prime Minister's Office every three months on the progress of implementation and reporting annually to the Kosovo Assembly.

National capacities and challenges for NAP implementation

Nevertheless, the process of drafting the NAP has encountered criticism and disapproval from civil society; women-focused CSOs in particular. The representatives of the Kosovo Women's Network (KWN), one of the most active promoters of women's issues, initially contributed amongst experts within the working group. However, they have since stopped attending the group meetings as they believe some stakeholders' proposals and strategies presented during the workshops were not taken into account (Rogova 2013).

In particular, as the agenda is largely focused on ratification of the amendment for women raped during the war, its ratification initially encountered some disagreement and various demands.

The voice of civil society has consistently opposed the adoption of a separate law for victims of sexual violence during the war, as the raped women themselves were reluctant to accept special status (Rogova 2013). Women's organisations have insisted that the status of victims of sexual violence should be regulated under the existing Law 04/L-054 on the status and rights of martyrs, the disabled, veterans and members of the Kosovo Liberation Army, civilian casualties of war and their families. In fact, women's organisations have encountered strong support and constant co-operation from women MPs in this regard. This form of cooperation has been another important mechanism for promoting gender equality in cases where there is a need for public awareness and discussion.

The national institutions, civil society organisations and international stakeholders which administer Kosovo today have the capacity to successfully implement and promote gender equality principles. The existence of a central Agency for Gender Equality and offices for gender matters in each municipality and ministry, as well as constant activity by women-focused CSOs, has offered support to efforts to gradually increase the involvement of women in the public sector. Yet insufficient political will and the lack of the courage needed to challenge the existing mentality and promote gender equality principles has hindered the development of this sector (Bala 2013). Additionally, a lack of financial capacity has been a constant and major factor in preventing various gender-related activities. In many cases, women's rights groups in Parliament have been obliged to seek funds outside Kosovo as the Kosovo Assembly was overwhelmed by other issues (Qosaj-Mustafa 2013).

Moreover, in addition to economic and social problems, the fact that women lack the authority to raise their voices within their own political parties has had some troubling consequences. There have been a number of cases in which female Members of Parliament have been vocal in support of certain points during meetings with political representatives, but have later stopped attending discussions when their own party has adopted a contrary position (Qosaj-Mustafa 2013). Whether this withdrawal is a personal decision or a matter of party discipline, women's inability to assert their own opinion is a matter of concern.

The Kosovo Police and implementation of UNSCR 1325

The KP has been active in incorporating the objectives of UNSCR 1325 within its structure since 2004. The KP was among the first institutions to translate the principles of UNSCR 1325 and harmonise them with its current legislation and strategies (Shala 2013). The same year, the Kosovo Police established three units to regulate gender issues and focus on women's security: *The Human Rights and Gender Equality Unit* within the Office of the General Director, the *Domestic Violence Unit*, and the *Trafficking in Human Beings Unit (THB)* (SGCG 2010:37). Furthermore, the KP established the *Human Rights and Gender Equality Advisory Board*, covering all units and divisions dealing with gender equality and human rights violations within the KP. Additionally, each police station in the region has a Primary Investigator for Domestic Violence and Gender Equality (Shala 2013).

A number of seminars and training courses have been organised through these units aimed at raising awareness both within the structure of the KP and among public opinion about women's issues, in particular women's representation in public institutions. Under KP and UN Women su-

pervision, the Gender Unit has organised activities for internal training programmes, with 'training of trainers (ToT)' courses enabling trainers to promote gender equality training to KP staff and improve gender awareness (UN Women 2011: 39). General training was divided into two gender equality modules: basic and advanced, with extensive focus on women's rights and women's security (Shala 2013). These modules are already part of the training curriculum at the Kosovo Centre for Public Security, Education and Development and are required training for all KP staff. Furthermore, the importance of introducing the UNSCR 1325 at the community level resulted in roundtables being organised in various municipalities. These meetings and discussions were aimed at identifying the challenges faced by women and their concerns over safety and security, as well as highlighting the need for more female police officers (UN Women 2011: 39).

The Kosovo Security Force and implementation of UNSCR 1325

The Ministry of Kosovo Security Force has adopted a *Policy on Human Rights and Gender Equality* with significant focus on the relationship between gender and security (MKSF 2011:2). The overall structure of the policy follows UNSCR 1325 in explicitly highlighting the importance of gender equality and keeps to the implementation phases set out in UNSCR 1325. Some of its main objectives include improving the gender balance, strengthening the role of women, creating an institutional mechanism for gender equality and increasing educational capacity building for women in the security sector.

Furthermore, other significant mechanisms within the MKSF and the KSF such as the Human Rights Unit, the Office for Minority Issues Unit and the Officer for Human Rights and Gender Equality at the Land Force Command have contributed to the misperception of women and security. Specifically, the Head of the Gender and Equality Office is part of the working group for drafting the National Action Plan for implementation of UNSCR 1325. Through these offices and their own persistence, implementation of UNSCR 1325 in accordance with MKSF principles has been included within the overall objectives of the Ministry and other specific strategies (Morina 2013).

Conclusion

In general, Kosovo's legal framework presents a non-discriminatory environment for all under-represented groups in society, particularly women. Yet the adoption of these laws and their selective application in practice has proven to provide an inadequate mechanism for implementation of UNSCR 1325. The constant challenges faced during the process, such as lack of political will, limited financial resources, political parties' neglect of women's opinion and the lack of protection against domestic violence, have prolonged the implementation process. In addition, civil society, particularly women's rights organisations, have introduced countless initiatives aimed at gender equality and the inclusion of women in the public sector. Women activists, together with the UN Women, have been the strongest advocates for the inclusion of women in the public sector. The creation of the Agency for Gender Equality within the Government Office as well as the inclusion of females in the negotiation team for the talks on Kosovo's political status have also been significant factors. And, despite its very limited activity, the presence of the international mission in Kosovo has on occasion had a positive impact on the implementation process. In par-

ticular, Kosovo citizens' hopes for the EU integration help to make coordination and collaboration with international actors and implementation of UNSCR 1325 easier than might be expected (Qosaj-Mustafa 2013).

Above all, a change of mentality and a new understanding of the concepts of 'gender' and 'security' are considered to be the most important prerequisites for implementation of UNSCR 1325. Although women constitute half of the population, they continue to be an under-represented group in Kosovo. Equal job opportunities, fair treatment and equal access to employment should be the main principles of Kosovo's society.

MACEDONIA

Elena Anchevska[87]

Introduction

As the cases of Macedonia and the other countries in the region demonstrate, a crucial step for establishing and maintaining peace following armed conflict is the transformation of the institutions, policies and people responsible for providing security to citizens. An integral component of SSR is the need to make reform activities gender sensitive through gender-sensitive training, recruitment of women and establishing facilities for dealing with gender-related violence. However, until recently gender has been relatively marginal in SSR in Macedonia. Certain steps have been taken, such as including women, peace and security as a strategic goal in the NAP for Gender Equality (2007-2012) and most notably the adoption of NAP 1325 in January 2013.

The main focus of this report is to track the development process of Macedonia's NAP 1325. Although implementation as envisioned in the NAP is analysed here, given the recent date of adoption it is too early to give a meaningful evaluation of implementation. This report also presents an overview of how security and gender equality actors have promoted gender mainstreaming in security institutions through initiatives related to NAP development and other relevant initiatives. Finally, it identifies the main achievements and weaknesses in the development process of NAP 1325 in Macedonia.

The research was carried out using primary and secondary sources, largely a desk review of the documentation available and face-to-face interviews with relevant stakeholders who took part in the working group for drafting NAP 1325, including representatives of state institutions, CSOs and academic institutions.

The key challenges to NAP 1325 implementation are related to budgetary concerns and the weaknesses of the monitoring and reporting mechanisms established by NAP 1325 in terms of who is responsible for doing what, when and with what means. These challenges can be overcome by the use of annual operational plans, however accountability procedures have not been set up, nor has responsibility for implementing annual operational plans been assigned. The challenges on the structural level are related to the relatively limited capacity of state institutions to implement NAP 1325 in regards to gender sensitivity, knowledge and resources. Furthermore, the lack of disaggregated data and gender-based analysis poses an additional challenge for evaluation and monitoring.

On the other hand the development process is characterised by transparency and inclusiveness and the participation of relevant stakeholders from state institutions, CSOs and academic institutions. Representatives of the civil society sector and academic institutions played a significant

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role in NAP development and were directly involved in consultations in which they offered their perspectives and expertise.

Finally, it is worth noting that the development and enactment of Macedonia's NAP 1325 is not an end in itself, but rather marks the beginning of a process aimed at effecting real and meaningful change. It stands as an entry point for enhanced respect for women's rights and empowerment and for acknowledging the country's commitment to women, peace and security related issues.

I   Gender mainstreaming and security sector reform in Macedonia

Overview of Security Sector Reform (SSR) in Macedonia

Macedonia declared its independence in 1991, following the dissolution of Yugoslavia. The first decade of independence (1991-2001) saw the establishment of basic state institutions and democratic practices. The Army of the Republic of Macedonia, one of the essential pillars of the security sector, was formed during this period. Preliminary steps were taken to reform the other security sector institutions and turn them into democratic security actors, although overall the transformation remained limited in scope. This period also witnessed the deterioration of inter-ethnic relations, leading to an armed conflict[88] in 2001 which, although it was brief, revealed the deficiencies of Macedonia's security sector. The Ohrid Framework Agreement (OFA)[89] ended the armed conflict and provided for substantial reforms to the political system, the public sector and the security sector. In essence, the OFA stipulates adequate and proportional representation of Macedonia's various ethnic communities. The direct result of the OFA for the police was the establishment of multi-ethnic patrols in ethnically-mixed areas. In terms of gender mainstreaming, the Electoral Law was amended in 2002 in order to comply with the OFA. Women's lobby groups in both formal and informal sectors used this momentum to press for changes, resulting in the adoption of electoral quotas requiring at least 30 percent representation for each gender in electoral lists (Law on Election of Members of Parliament, 2002).

The years which followed the signing of the OFA (2001-2008) have been characterised as a post-conflict and integrationist period. Efforts were made to effect recovery from the conflict and return to peace-time politics, while simultaneously measures were taken which aimed to integrate Macedonia into international organisations such as the EU and NATO. This combination of actions resulted in increased reform activity in both public and security sectors. With the support and as-

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88 The definition of armed conflict used in this study is that provided by Uppsala University's Department of Peace and Conflict Research: "An armed conflict is a contested incompatibility which concerns government and/or territory where the use of armed force between two parties, of which at least one is the government of a state, results in at least 25 battle-related deaths."
See: http://www.pcr.uu.se/research/ucdp/definitions/definition_of_armed_ conflict/?languageId=1
89 On 13 August, the Ohrid Framework agreement was signed by the leaders of the four biggest political parties, the President of the country and representatives of the EU and the US, ending the armed conflict between the National Liberation Army and Macedonian security forces.

sistance of NATO and the EU, further reforms to the army and the police were implemented, and initial steps were taken to regulate the work of private security companies.

The period from 2008 onwards witnessed a reduction in the pace of security sector reform and an increase in nationalist discourse as a result of the name dispute with Greece. This was reflected in the veto against NATO membership and the opening of the EU accession negotiations.[90] However, this period also saw an intensification of activities aimed at integrating a gender perspective into the security sector. Before addressing current SSR gender mainstreaming activities, it is appropriate to provide a contextual framing of the overall gender mainstreaming process in Macedonia.

Setting the gender equality legal and institutional framework

The principle of gender equality has been enshrined in the Constitution of the Republic of Macedonia since its adoption in 1991 (Articles 9, 54, and 110). The gender dimension was incorporated into Macedonia's strategic documents following the adoption of CEDAW (which entered into force in 1991) and the Optional Protocol (which entered into force in 2003). Stemming from the Beijing Conference and the adoption of the Platform for Action in 1995, the commitment to gender equality was materialised with the establishment of the Unit for the Promotion of Gender Equality within the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy and the enactment of the first National Plan for Gender Equality in 1999.

In light of its efforts aimed at EU accession, Macedonia's adoption of a gender mainstreaming strategy represented an important element of the EU's policy of conditionality. The first Law on Equal Opportunities for Women and Men (2006) provided the general legal framework for gender equality, and to a certain extent also for gender mainstreaming. In March 2007, the Department for Equal Opportunities was established within the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy (MLSP) (in a restructuring of the Unit formed in 1997), and it is a crucial actor in implementation of the Law. In January 2012, the second Law on Equal Opportunities for Women and Men was passed by Parliament. It differs from the first Law in its more precise stipulations in terms of the bodies responsible for implementation and its expanded definition of discrimination in accordance with EU criteria and standards.

90 For a more detailed contextual analysis see: http://www.analyticamk.org/~analytic/images/stories/files/cassrm_mk.pdf

Text box 8. Committees and Coordinators for Gender Equality in Macedonia

According to the *Law on Equal Opportunities for Women and Men* (2006), each ministry is obliged to appoint a Coordinator for Equal Opportunities (by 2011 all ministries and 10 state agencies had appointed a total of 24 coordinators and their deputies).* Furthermore, the Law stipulates the establishment of Committees for Equal Opportunities as permanent bodies in local self-government units, and the appointment of local Coordinators tasked with proposing measures and activities for implementation of the Law. By 2012, a total of 81 of 84 committees and coordinators had been put in place in municipalities.** Moreover, *The Committee for Equal Opportunities for Women and Men*, formed in 2006 in the Assembly of the Republic of Macedonia, reviews the inclusion of the gender concept within draft laws and other regulations.

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* Combined fourth and fifth periodic reports to the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women.
See: http://daccess-dds ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/G11/458/20/PDF/G1145820.pdf?OpenElement
** Ibid.

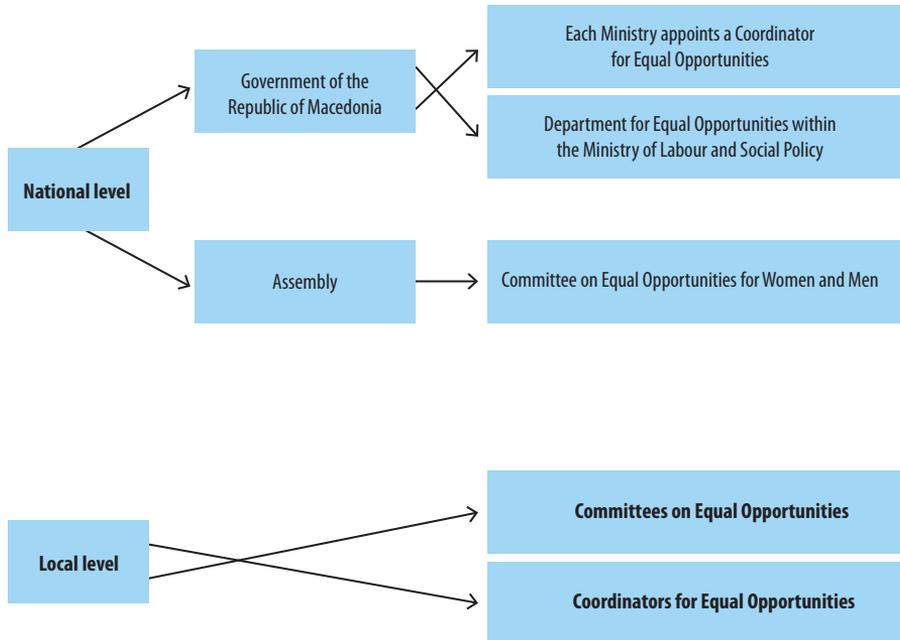**Illustration 1: Institutional mechanisms for the advancement of gender equality in Macedonia**

Table 13. Legal framework for gender equality in Macedonia

Title of the law/ strategy	Importance/Content	Year of adoption
Law on Equal Opportunities for Women and Men	• Provides the general legal framework for gender equality, and to a certain extent for gender mainstreaming. • Obliges ministries to appoint a Coordinator for Equal Opportunities • Provides for the establishment of Committees for Equal Opportunities in local self-government units	2006
Second Law on Equal Opportunities for Women and Men	Provides more precise stipulations in terms of the bodies responsible for implementation and provides an expanded definition of discrimination in accordance with the EU criteria and standards.	2012
National Action Plan for Gender Equality 2007-2012	Represents a national response to the international obligations of Macedonia whose basic aim is to improve the status of women and to provide continuous development in the realisation of gender equality, as well as advancing transformation processes and mainstreaming a gender perspective in all policies and programmes. Consists of ten strategic and priority areas of action.	2007
Strategy for Gender Responsive Budgeting	Aims to contribute to the advancement of gender equality, identifying and reflecting the interventions needed to address gender gaps in the sector and in local government policies, plans and budgets. It takes into account the gender-differentiated impact of revenue-raising policies and the allocation of domestic resources.	2012

The **NAP for Gender Equality** – NAPGE (2007–2012) – prepared by the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy, is the first document to specifically include a gender perspective in Macedonia's peace and security policy, containing a strategic goal which partly covers implementation of UNSCR 1325. The NAPGE acknowledges the pivotal role of women and women's groups in Macedonia during the conflict and in the post-conflict setting, through their participation in a strong anti-war movement and their contribution to relieving the consequences of war for civilians, with an emphasis on refugees and internally displaced persons, a majority of whom were women and children. Yet, it does not fail to highlight the marginalisation of women in conflict resolution, their minor participation in peacekeeping projects, analyses and strategies for building peace, as well as their lack of significant representation in the services and in managerial positions in the MoD, the MoI and peacekeeping missions.

The NAPGE's strategic goal regarding women in peacekeeping activities encompasses five main areas: 1) organising campaigns and educational activities for public promotion of UNSCR 1325; 2) producing educational programs to promote a culture of peace, non-violence and multi-ethnic dialogue; 3) forming training teams for promotion of UNSCR 1325, gender perspectives, women's rights and nonviolent communication; 4) designing training programs on gender equality and women's rights for security officers and representatives of peace missions; and 5) analysing the need to adjust relevant domestic legal regulations in accordance with UNSCR 1325.[91]

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91 The NAPGE is available at: http://undp.gordsys.net/index.php/al/lajme/21-national-actin-plan-

WOMEN, PEACE AND SECURITY IN THE WESTERN BALKANS

Ministry of Defence

Equality between women and men is guaranteed by the Defence Law (2001), the Law on Army Service (2002), the Law on Internal Affairs (2009) and by-laws regulating the employment and career development of women and men. In 2009, in accordance with the NAPGE, the Ministry of Defence (MoD) adopted the *Programme for Equal Opportunities for Women and Men in the MOD and ARM*, aimed at promoting equal opportunities for recruitment and professional development for women and men in all segments of the MoD and army. The measures and activities proposed in the programme are directed towards preventing all forms of direct and indirect discrimination, as defined in the Law on Equal Opportunities for Women and Men. Additionally, women's right to promotion in the Armed Forces is guaranteed by the 2010 Defence Strategy.[92] As stated in the Programme for Equal Opportunities for Women and Men in the MOD and ARM (2009), 36.9% of employees in the MOD are female, while in the ARM they account for 50.3% of civilian posts and 5.5% of operational jobs. In November 2012, the MoD produced a *Gender Perspective and Gender Equality Committee*[93] with the aim of undertaking comprehensive activities to include a gender perspective in defence policy.

Ministry of Interior

In line with the Law on Police (2006), the MoI recruits on the basis of gender equality as stipulated by law, meaning that specific quotas are not set in advance. The absence of quotas is justified by the large number of applications received, which renders quotas obsolete (South East Europe Police Chiefs Association, 2010). Women represent 14.83% of all MoI employees, with 6.12% in uniform and 47.08% commissioned (SEPCA, 2010). Since independence, two female ministers[94] have been appointed as head of the MoI. Macedonia is currently the only country in the region with a female Interior Minister.

The role of CSOs in gender mainstreaming in SSR

This chapter now turns to the involvement of non-state actors in processes of gender mainstreaming in security sector reform. Although the number of CSOs focusing on gender issues and the impact of conflict on women is relatively limited, these organisations were actively involved in the anti-war movement and had a substantial input in peace building, reconciliation and improving inter-ethnic relations in Macedonia and the region both during and following the conflict period. They helped to alleviate the effect of the war on civilians, focussing on refugees and internally displaced persons, the majority of whom were women and children.

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92   The overall percentage of women at the Military Academy is 25%. 25% of cadets at the Pilot Training Centre are female. 4.06% of applicants for voluntary military service are women, while the 5.30% of recruits are women. Macedonia contributes 240 staff to peacekeeping missions in Afghanistan, BiH and Iraq, which amounts to 3.5% of the country's military forces. For more information see:
.http://www.morm.gov.mk/content/?587B5F0849BA88F24DEB22C612718B08BB9A456C
93   The Committee consists of 26 people, including employees of the Ministry of Defence and the Armed Forces of the Republic of Macedonia, as well as university professors with extensive knowledge in the field of gender equality.
94   Dosta Dimovska (1999-2001); Gordana Jankuloska (2006-ongoing).

CSOs working in the field of women, peace and security manifested increased activity in the period following the 2001 conflict. One of the first steps taken by CSOs in promoting UNSCR 1325 was Women's Civic Initiative Antico's contribution to the project "Peace with Yourself, Peace with Everybody" (2004-2005). Antico engaged in a parallel process of awareness raising on the national level, through activities focused on the civil society sector and relevant state institutions, and on the international level, through participation in the Global Network for Peace and Women's Security.[95]

In 2007, Women's Civic Initiative Antico initiated the inclusion of UNSCR 1325 within the strategic goal for women and peace activities as part of the revision process for the first NAP on Gender Equality and the drafting of the current NAPGE (2007-2012). Antico prepared the draft strategic goals and submitted them to the MLSP, and they were later incorporated in the NAPGE (2007-2012). Subsequent activities on behalf of the civil sector and relevant state institutions derived directly from the strategic goal for women and peace activities in the NAPGE (2007-2012) for which Antico had advocated.

In 2009, the National Council of Women of the Republic of Macedonia (NCWM–UWOM) initiated a project entitled "There are 1325 Reasons for Implementation of Resolution 1325". As part of its Program on Peace and Conflict Resolution, NCWM–UWOM has worked on promoting SCR 1325, has lobbied for development of NAP 1325 and has promoted a culture of dialogue and tolerance.

Text box 9. Activities by CSOs to promote UNSCR 1325 in Macedonia

In 2009 Antico organised an international conference entitled "Peace and Security – Gender Alternatives". In 2012, with the support of UN Women, the Organisation of Women Sveti Nikole and the Youth Centre for Equal Opportunities in Skopje undertook activities related to UNSCR 1325. The Organisation of Women Sveti Nikole conducted research about the level of awareness and knowledge about UNSCR 1325 possessed by central and local governmental representatives, non-governmental organisations and the general population.* Also working to promote UNSCR 1325 is the Euro-Atlantic Council of Macedonia which held a regional conference in February 2012 entitled: "UNSCR 1325 Goals – Degree of Feasibility".

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* For results of the research see: http://womsvetinikole.org.mk/analiza%20od%20istrazuvanjeto-Rezolucija%20 1325.pdf

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Activities undertaken by CSOs were crucial in setting the stage for the development of NAP 1325. More precisely, these organisations have made considerable efforts to create a solid foundation for developing NAP 1325 by undertaking awareness raising campaigns, workshops and training to educate relevant institutions and the general public about the importance of SCR 1325. Yet it was only in February 2012 that the first concrete steps were taken to develop NAP 1325 by the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy, when the working group responsible for draft-

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95 Antico has worked to strengthen the capacities of CSOs with the content, meaning and significance of UNSCR 1325, lobbying for its incorporation in governmental strategies and policies, advocating the monitoring of UNSCR 1325 implementation on both national and international levels.

ing an action plan was established. The following section discusses in detail the process of NAP development.

II Development of the NAP for implementation of UNSCR 1325 in Macedonia

NAP 1325 development process

The process of NAP 1325 development was initiated by the Department for Equal Opportunities within the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy (MLSP) with the support of UN Women.[96] The process of NAP development itself lasted one year, and was administratively coordinated by the Department for Equal Opportunities, which took the lead along with the MoD. NAP 1325 was adopted by the Government of the Republic of Macedonia on 9 January 2013.

One of the initial points for development of NAP 1325 is the *Baseline/mapping study for implementation of UNSCR 1325 and entry points for developing a NAP on UNSCR 1325*, which presented an overview of the state of affairs regarding implementation of UNSCR 1325 in Macedonia and suggested possible entry points and recommendations for implementation. In February 2012, a working group for preparation of NAP 1325 was established by representatives of state institutions (the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Ministry of Defence and the Crisis Management Centre), three women's CSOs (Antico, NCWM–UWOM and Macedonian Women's Lobby) and representatives from UN Women and academic institutions.

The three women's organisations were selected by the MLSP in cooperation with UN Women on the basis of their previous engagement with and activities related to issues concerning women, peace and security (as elaborated in the previous section). Given that the three CSOs participating in the NAP 1325 development process constitute a multiethnic network of women's organisations in which national minorities are included, it may be argued that these CSOs not only represent the interests of women but also particularly the interests of women belonging to national minorities. However, representatives of these women's organisations interviewed for the purposes of this report do not claim to have explicitly represented the interests of national minorities in the working group.

The NAP 1325 development process is characterised by transparency and inclusiveness in the consultation process and engagement with relevant stakeholders. The working group held five meetings to define the basic directions and goals for development of the NAP. Working group members prepared suggestions for activities for engaging the relevant ministries in the NAP. The final suggestions formed an integral part of the draft NAP which served as the basis for eight local workshops run from April to July 2012. The aim of the local workshops was to gather input on the local level which was considered later at the sixth session of the working group during the process of defining the NAP. In September 2012, the Parliament of Macedonia's Committee for

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96 NAP 1325 development was supported as part of the regional project "Advancing the Implementation of UNSCR 1325 on Women, Peace and Security in Western Balkans (2011- 2013)".

Equal Opportunities for Women and Men held a public debate on Draft NAP 1325. The MLSP published a draft version of NAP 1325 on its website, thus making the document publicly available. The draft was then circulated to all relevant institutions for additional adjustments, comments and approval. Those who took part in this research, including representatives of state institutions and CSOs as well as university professors, unanimously described the process of drafting NAP 1325 as transparent and participative, taking into consideration contributions from all relevant actors and providing an opportunity to submit comments, suggestions and objections. This participatory consultation process, which took into consideration the diverse perspectives, needs and interests of the various stakeholders, enabled various standpoints to be acknowledged and created alliances between various stakeholders. It also increased ownership and responsibility by increasing the level of support for the pending implementation of the NAP.

The approach to NAP 1325

According to interviews with relevant stakeholders, during the process of drafting NAP 1325 considerable attention was accorded to all 18 provisions which derive from UNSCR 1325. These provisions are divided into three separate categories: 1) representation: increased representation and participation of women at decision making levels in national, regional and international institutions, conflict management, prevention, resolution and peace building; 2) gender perspective: a gender perspective should be adopted in planning and implementation of peace operations and negotiations; 3) protection: increased attention to the protection of and respect for women's rights (including protection against gender based violence). Nevertheless, interviewees revealed that special emphasis has been placed on prevention of conflict and all forms of violence against women and girls. This decision was made in an attempt to adopt a realistic approach and set attainable goals which fit the specificities of the Macedonian context, and appropriate to the country's needs and priorities. Even though Macedonia experienced conflict and violence on a smaller scale than other countries in the region, the role of women in conflict prevention was particularly important, given the activities undertaken by women's organisations in the anti-war movement. Furthermore, a gender-based risk assessment for natural disasters was identified as a priority, given the lack of data about and analysis of how natural and humanitarian crises and catastrophes affect women and girls, keeping in mind that rural women in particular constitute one of the most vulnerable groups in Macedonia in this regard. Moreover, the issue of protection against violence in times of peace and conflict was highlighted. While the issue of sexual violence was discussed during the working group's meetings, because of the sensitivity of the problem and the current lack of information and in-depth analysis regarding this concern, it was decided to leave this issue for future plans and strategies.

Table 14. Overview of NAP 1325 in Macedonia

Ministries involved:	Civil Society Consultations:	Indicators, Monitoring, Evaluation	Specific focus areas/contents
Inter-ministerial group: • Ministry of Labor and Social Policy • Ministry of Defence, • Ministry of Interior • Ministry of Foreign Affairs • Crisis Management Centre	Consultations with represent-atives of CSOs (3 networks of women's organisation + UN Women) and academic institutions Transparent and inclu-sive drafting process	For each of the three strategic goals, three general indicators were identified: 1. Content analysis of key political documents on representation, type and frequency of terms related to gender quality 2. Number of applications by and appointments of women for participation in international civil and peace-keeping missions to increase by 10% by 2015 3. Strengthening of prevention of violence against women and girls, and improved mechanisms for gender-sensitive risk assessment of natural disasters Annual operational plans prepared by the MLSP No financial implications: activities will be mainstreamed into existing institutions, activi-ties and budgets	1. Strengthening the gender perspective in the country's peace, security and defence policies with emphasis on conflict prevention, early warning systems, risk reduc-tion, disaster management and policy development 2. Increasing participation by and strengthening the role of women in peacekeeping (civilian and military) 3. Preventing violence against women in pre and post-conflict settings, as well as during humanitarian crises caused by natural disasters

In line with the above-mentioned priorities established by the working group, NAP 1325 defines policies, strategies, principles, activities, responsible bodies, indicators, monitoring and evaluation for the NAP, as well as its financial implications. It focuses on the following three goals: 1) strengthening the gender perspective in the country's peace, security and defence policies, with emphasis on conflict prevention, early warning systems, risk reduction, disaster management and policy development; 2) increasing participation by and strengthening the role of women in peacekeeping (civilian and military); and 3) preventing violence against women in pre- and post-conflict settings, as well as during humanitarian crises caused by natural disasters.

NAP 1325 is in compliance with other strategic documents in the field of gender equality: first and foremost the NAP for Gender Equality (2007–2012) and the Strategy for Gender-Responsive Budgeting (2012-2017). The commitments arising from UNSCR 1325 have already been tackled in part, with the adoption of measures stipulated by existing gender policies and strategies. The issues addressed by these documents include various forms of discrimination, human trafficking, sexual abuse and exploitation, domestic and other forms of gender-based violence. Neverthe-less, commitments which specifically address participation by women in peace and security and

their role in this field remain underdeveloped in the existing strategic documents. As a coordination body, the MLSP is responsible for ensuring complementarity and avoiding any incompatibility with other strategic documents in NAP 1325 implementation.

Three general indicators have been identified for each of the three strategic goals: 1) content analysis of key political documents on representation, type and frequency of terms related to gender quality; 2) number of applications and appointments of women for participation in international civil and peacekeeping missions increased by 10% by 2015; 3) strengthening of prevention of violence against women and girls, and improved mechanisms for gender-sensitive risk assessment of natural disasters.

In September 2012, the working group was given training on UN indicators. Conclusions from this training were taken into consideration during the working group's seventh session, during which drafting of NAP 1325 was finalised. The process of defining and developing a set of indicators presented one of the most difficult tasks in drafting NAP 1325, as reported by participants in the working group. Although both the EU and the UN indicators derive from the same resolution, their approaches are divergent in terms of how indicators are defined and which are prioritised. Differing methodology and terminology for the same issues and concepts created confusion in the process of developing indicators. Nevertheless, according to interviews with relevant stakeholders, the working group made an effort to develop a realistic set of measurable indicators which correspond to Macedonia's needs, priorities, available capacities and resources, keeping in mind the country's EU aspirations.

Capacities for NAP 1325 implementation

The NAP will be realised in the period 2013-2015. Annual operational plans will be prepared by the MLSP as the central coordinating body for efficient implementation, monitoring and evaluation. NAP implementation is primarily the responsibility of the Government of the Republic of Macedonia and all other institutions defined by the Law on Equal Opportunities for Women and Men (2012). The Ministry of Labour and Social Policy, as well as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Ministry of Defence and the Crisis Management Centre are the key institutions responsible for implementation of the NAP. Moreover, experts in the field and representatives of civil society will be included in implementation, as explicitly stipulated in the NAP. Implementation of the NAP will be coordinated by an inter-ministerial working group comprised of representatives of the relevant ministries in cooperation with the MLSP. The MLSP will inform the government of activities carried out via ad hoc reports on specific issues, while the government will inform parliament and its committees about progress in NAP implementation.

While the NAP identifies the Inter-ministerial Working Group for Monitoring of Implementation as the main coordinating and oversight body, it does not include specific information on how and how often participants will communicate with each other. On the other hand, the NAP indicates that the Inter-ministerial Working Group for Monitoring of Implementation will suggest materials which can be used to inform the public, such as guides and other texts, thus aiding realisation of the NAP. Informing decision-makers and the general public is crucial for establishing the foundations which will support the process of implementation and evaluation.

The activities planned in the NAP have no financial implications, and will be mainstreamed into existing institutions, activities and budgets, as defined by the Law on Equal Opportunities for Women and Men (2012).

Even though all ministries have appointed Coordinators for Equal Opportunities, state institutions possess relatively limited capacities for implementation of NAP 1325 in terms of knowledge, people and resources, as well as lacking an adequate understanding of the concept of gender in general and gender mainstreaming in the security sector in particular. However, interviewees from state institutions note that a positive climate has developed in all relevant ministries. As reported by stakeholders from the relevant state institutions, there is willingness and enthusiasm, particularly among young administrative staff, which has fostered eagerness to learn and engage in further activities aimed at successful implementation of NAP 1325 and improving gender mainstreaming in the security sector. Moreover, the first strategic goal of NAP 1325 itself foresees training for NAP implementation strategies, as well as training in gender issues and UNSCR 1325 for medium- and top-level management at the relevant institutions. In this regard, the involvement of CSOs in capacity-building and strengthening existing capacities will be crucial given their expertise and long-term engagement in issues concerning UNSCR 1325. Representatives of CSOs interviewed for this research and who participated in the working group expressed their willingness and desire to be meaningful partners for state institutions, especially in sharing their experience and knowledge and providing assistance in training and research.

According to stakeholders who were interviewed, the following **challenges for implementation** have been identified:

- Financial concerns over budgeting have been singled out as the greatest challenge to implementation.
- Successful implementation depends on the political will and overall gender sensitivity of institutions.
- Even though there are no legal or formal constraints or limitations on employment of women in security sector institutions, historical prejudices and stereotypes which view women as "unsuitable" for tough security jobs due to biological differences still present a major obstacle which must be overcome if NAP 1325 is to be implemented successfully.
- A deeper understanding of UNSCR 1325 and its provisions is essential and its potential to bring about more profound systematic changes must be acknowledged, thus ensuring that it is not regarded as being only a "women's issue".
- The lack of gender-based analysis and sex disaggregated data presents another challenge for implementation. The lack of a systematised methodology for data collection and the limited access to information has been identified as an additional obstacle to assessing activities undertaken and results achieved (monitoring and evaluation).

Potential for regional exchange

In terms of regional cooperation, the development of Macedonia's NAP 1325 has been characterised as a learning process in which the experiences of the region's countries have been taken into consideration in order to both avoid making the same mistakes and learn from their successes.

Furthermore, all of the stakeholders interviewed are familiar with the existing regional initiatives and view regional cooperation as highly beneficial and necessary, while also welcoming further regional initiatives on issues concerning women, peace and security. Depending on the specific topic, and keeping in mind the differing contexts found among the region's countries, both multilateral and bilateral cooperation is regarded as valuable. Bosnia and Herzegovina has been identified as an important regional partner for issues related to women, peace and security based on previous cooperation and joint activities.

Conclusion

While women, peace and security constitutes a strategic goal in the existing National Plan for Action on Gender Equality (2007-2012), NAP development signifies the country's efforts and commitment to enhancing gender mainstreaming in the security sector and addressing issues concerning women, peace and security.

The findings show that efforts have been made to develop a realistic action plan in line with the country's contextual specificities, needs, priorities, aspirations and capacities. Furthermore, emphasis has been placed on setting realistic objectives in terms of feasibility and bearing in mind the scarcity of funding.

One of the main achievements identified in terms of good practice is the transparent and inclusive nature of the NAP 1325 development process. Representatives of state institutions and CSOs and university professors who participated in this research unanimously described the NAP 1325 drafting process as transparent and participative, taking into consideration the contribution of all relevant actors and the opportunity which was provided for the submission of comments, suggestions and objections through the circulation of drafts to relevant stakeholders.

Furthermore, CSOs provided impetus and acted as key partners in NAP 1325 development. Women's organisations in particular provided a foundation for support through advocacy and awareness-raising, as well as through their activities promoting peace, tolerance and reconciliation which were essential for NAP development and its pending (successful) implementation. CSOs were actively engaged in the participatory drafting process in the working group thorough submission of suggestions, recommendations and comments on drafts, with their voices being heard and acknowledged. This particular characteristic of the NAP 1325 development process marks it out as distinctive.

Although the development of indicators proved a challenging task, a set of indicators has been defined which corresponds to the strategic goals. Identifying specific outcomes enables the success of the plan to be measured and performance to be assessed, and will also provide the framework for identifying gaps and opportunities for modification of the plan.

The key challenges for implementation are related to budgeting and weak monitoring mechanisms, keeping in mind that the NAP has no financial implications and activities will be mainstreamed within the existing activities and budgets of the relevant institutions. Besides the Inter-Ministerial Working Group for Monitoring Implementation, NAP 1325 does not specify a clear

reporting mechanism which will require accountability and responsibility from stakeholders. The existing reporting mechanism foresees that the MLSP will inform the government about activities carried out via ad hoc reports on specific issues, while the government will inform parliament and its committees about the progress of NAP implementation.

From a conceptual point of view, NAP 1325 manifests a lack of an intersectional approach in terms of how gender intersects with other categories of identity such as class, ethnicity, religion, age and sexual orientation. The focus of NAP 1325 is on gender as a categorical identity, with one facet of identity being prioritised to the exclusion of others. Thus, Macedonia's NAP, as well as UNSCR 1325 itself, fails to address the heterogeneity and multiplicity of women's experiences. Women are treated as a homogenous group without considering that the intersection of different categories of identity causes women to experience insecurity, conflict and peace building in a various ways. This focus on gender is also reflected in the composition of the working group responsible for drafting the NAP. National minorities are included within the umbrella of women's organisations which constitute multinational networks of organisations. Despite their diverse membership, members of women's organisations do not consider themselves as representatives of women belonging to national minorities. Furthermore, in terms of age sensitivity, the main body of the NAP does not explicitly mention women and girls of different ages, it uses the overarching term "women", which might in turn result in the exclusion of girls from efforts at implementation. However, the section of the NAP which elaborates on indicators uses both terms "women" and "girls".

There is a need for gender mainstreaming in the security sector to go beyond representation by engendering policy and legislation, and to expand the focus on the representation of women in the security sector to a broader gender mainstreaming concept which addresses the differential, gendered needs and aspirations of women and men in terms of conflict prevention, resolution, management and peace-building. Increased numerical representation does not ensure improved access to decision-making positions. A case in point is the MoD, with 36.9% of women of whom very few occupy decision-making positions. On the other hand, while the MoI has a female minister as its head, it is also the ministry with the fewest women among its workforce, and it has been labelled the "most masculine" ministry.

Members of the working group interviewed for this report have demonstrated considerable knowledge of and dedication to issues concerning women, peace and security. However, the overall impression is that the concept of gender in general, and gender mainstreaming in the security sector through initiatives related to UNSCR 1325 in particular, has not been fully internalised among the staff of state institutions. In the next year, the NAP will be moved to the operational level through yearly operational plans, which in turn will result in the recognition of NAP 1325 as not only "words on paper" which concern solely women, but as a tool for providing better security for all.

Much needs to be accomplished for the gap between policy and practice to be reduced. In order for the SSR to be effective, just and democratic, it is essential that a gender perspective is mainstreamed in all SSR initiatives. Failure to integrate gender issues into the security sector will lead to further neglect of the security needs of women and girls, as well as marginalised men and boys. SSR is crucial for the promotion of development, good governance and peace, and the process itself opens a "window of opportunity" for implementing gendered initiatives at the struc-

tural, policy and personnel levels in order to enhance local ownership, effective service delivery and oversight and accountability of the security sector. Whether Macedonia's NAP 1325 will meet the challenge of turning policy into practice, and whether the commitments made on a national level will have a positive impact on everyday reality for women, remains to be seen.

SERBIA

Gorana Odanović and Maja Bjeloš[97]

Introduction

The security sector reform process in Serbia has lasted for thirteen years so far, since the fall of the Milošević regime in 2000. Reforms were initially aimed at depoliticizing and professionalizing security institutions, and placing them under democratic civilian control. However, it was only in 2009 that the first serious steps were taken towards including gender mainstreaming in the security sector, when the basic legal framework for security sector governance and gender equality was completed. This process was mainly driven by the haste to fulfill the EU's conditions for allowing visa-free travel to Schengen countries for Serbian citizens.

The adoption of NAP 1325 in 2010 was proclaimed an important reform move that would propel Serbia to the status of a leader for the Western Balkans in this field.[98] However, the initial enthusiasm about the importance of implementing NAP 1325 in Serbia soon waned. In fact, the bodies tasked with implementation were not set up until ten months after the adoption of the NAP, which significantly delayed the implementation process and the achievement of the goals set out in the document. Furthermore, the institutions still have little or no funding available for implementing NAP activities. All of this indicates that the introduction of a gender equality policy in security sector management is still not recognized as a priority which could greatly improve the operational efficiency of security sector institutions, enhance Serbia's international reputation and above all increase the security of all citizens.

Civil society organizations (CSOs) have been important drivers for security sector reforms (SSR), and particularly for the introduction of gender equality policies in Serbia. Ever since 2000, CSOs have been some of the main drivers of reforms in many spheres of society. However, the views of the full spectrum of women's organizations on women's safety issues, gender based violence and women's needs were not taken into account during NAP 1325 development. In fact the document focuses primarily on improving the position of women who work in security institutions, while the problems of women (IDPs, refugees) in post-conflict environments like Serbia are rather neglected.

NAP 1325 implementation is now in its third year, but overall results are limited. Issues such as discrimination against women employed in security sector institutions, career development and retention policies have still been not tackled, thus limiting the actual impact of the NAP on changing the organizational culture of these institutions. So far, the main activities have been aimed at establishing institutional bodies in charge of NAP implementation and strengthening their capacities. Measuring the success of the NAP 1325 implementation at the governmental

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97   Both are researchers at the Belgrade Centre for Security Policy.
98   Minister of Defence Dragan Šutanovac: http://www.mod.gov.rs/novi_lat.php?action=fullnews&id=4276

level is a challenge in itself. At this point there is no common set of indicators for monitoring and reporting on NAP 1325 implementation.

This study is based on desk research and the results of BCSP's monitoring of NAP 1325 implementation in Serbia since 2011. The original findings have been verified through consultations and interviews with representatives of security institutions in January and February 2013.

I   Gender mainstreaming and security sector reform in Serbia

The democratic reforms begun in Serbia at the end of 2000 did not affect all areas of society and government equally (Hadžic et al., 2012: 7). While economic reforms were to some extent successful, security sector reform was a major stumbling block on Serbia's path to democratic consolidation.

At the time the security sector was highly politicized, repressive, militarized and criminal in nature (Stojanović and Quesada, 2010: 26). However, the first post-Milošević government's strong commitment to reintegrating Serbia into the international community and developing cooperation with international organizations like the EU, NATO's Partnership for Peace and the OSCE ensured that SSR was high on the government's agenda (ibid).

Nevertheless, the assassination of prime-minister Djindjić in March 2003, carried out and supported by parts of the security sector,[99] showed that real reform was lacking, and that significant parts of the security sector were unreformed and out of reach of democratic and civilian control (Popović et al., 2011: 39). Soon after the election in March 2004 of a new government composed of nationalist parties, Milošević regime figures began to return to government institutions. Hence, political control of the police, military, security services and judiciary continued. The government's top priority became the issue of Kosovo's status, while the reformist and pro-European policy orientation of the government began to noticeably decline (ibid: 30). Another obstacle for effective SSR was the loose federal structure of Serbia and Montenegro,[100] which ended in May 2006 when Montenegro declared independence. Prior to this date, the military was under the control of the federal authorities, causing the pace of military reform to be slow. Finally, the weakness of state institutions, incapable of carrying out democratization and broad reform of society (ibid: 33), resulted in a protracted transition of Serbia from a post-authoritarian society to democracy.

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99   The group which carried out the assassination included members of the Special Operations Unit (JSO), employees of the Security Intelligence Agency (BIA) and members of the 'Zemun Clan' organized crime group.
100   The Federal Republic Yugoslavia became the State Union of Serbia and Montenegro (SCG) in 2003.

The first generation of SSR and gender mainstreaming

The initial results of SSR were changes in the organisational structure of the police,[101] enabling it to be depoliticised and professionalised, and allowing democratic civilian control of the armed forces to be implemented.[102] However, it was not until 2009 that the process of designing the basic legal framework – the constitutional norms, basic laws and institutions for placing the security sector under democratic civilian control – was finally completed, thus marking the end of the first generation of SSR[103] in Serbia.

The legal framework for gender equality in Serbia was completed the same year (2009), when several overarching documents were adopted: the *National Strategy on the Improvement of the Position of Women and the Promotion of Gender Equality (2009-2014)*,[104] the *Gender Equality Law* and the *Law on Prohibition of Discrimination*. This process was mainly driven by the haste to fulfill the EU's conditions for allowing visa-free travel to Schengen countries for Serbian citizens (Stojanović and Quesada, 2010: 13). The adoption of legislation related to gender issues was also made possible by women's organizations' determined efforts at advocacy. For example, it was thanks to vigorous campaigning by women's organizations that domestic violence was recognized as a criminal act in 2002. Implementation of these documents is still incomplete, resulting in women being the largest social group in Serbia exposed to multiple discrimination.

Text box 10. Flaws in the Serbian Gender Equality Law*

The first draft of the Gender Equality Law was produced in 2005. However, over time the concepts and provisions in the draft were reduced and it was withdrawn from parliament several times. The law was finally adopted 4 years later, but several 'flaws' hinder its implementation. The need to achieve a political compromise had a significant impact on the quality of the law and on what is achieved when it is applied in practice. Essentially the law does not provide an adequate legal framework for effectively changing prejudiced behaviour, stereotypes and social roles. The law provides partial solutions, often without adequate legal guarantees that they will be implemented in practice.

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* According to: Djordjević, Ljubica (2010): AnalizaZakona o ravnopravnostipolova

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The adoption of legislation relevant to gender issues also enabled various national, provincial and local gender equality mechanisms to be established (see *Annex 1. Gender and security institutions in Serbia)*. However, cooperation between these is limited, as is cooperation with security

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101   This was made possible in 2005 with the adoption of the Police Law.
102   This was done in 2003, when the General Staff and military intelligence services were subordinated to the Ministry of Defence (Djurdjević-Lukić, 2007:179).
103   The first generation of SSR is concerned with establishing new institutions, structures and chains of responsibility for the security sector. The second generation involves the consolidation of previous reforms and effective and efficient operation of institutions and procedures at sustainable cost for the state and society (Edmunds, 2004:50).
104   This strategy provides a framework for gender mainstreaming in all areas, including the security sector.

sector institutions.[105] Little has been done to promote participation by women in security policy as *actors* rather than *victims*, or to establish effective cooperation between local gender equality mechanisms (GEMs) and security institutions. The police and other state institutions in charge of providing security at the national and local levels lack knowledge about gender sensitive provision of security and rarely take the different security needs of women, men, girls and boys, or the consequently different sources of threats to their safety, into consideration (Odanović and Bjelos, 2012: 10).

Gender mainstreaming was not part of the SSR agenda in this period. Nevertheless, the first positive steps in this regard were made in 2002, when the first women **police** officers began patrolling the streets. This was possible due to strong support from international organizations (primarily the OSCE Mission to Serbia) and the government's view that having women in the police would signal to citizens that the police were no longer oppressive or a threat to their safety (Stojanović and Quesada, 2010: 26). But this was done hastily, and in the opinion of both women and men police officers, this first generation of women police officers was poorly selected – 'more attention was given to quantity than quality' – while the training they received was inadequate (Bjelos et al., 2012: 28). Training courses for women lasted 4 months (compared to 6 months for men), except for the border police where courses were the same length for both women and men (ibid: 63). This practice was abolished in 2004, since which date training courses have been the same length for both women and men. In 2007, in line with the Strategy for Reform and Development of Police Training and Education, the Basic Police Training Centre was established. Currently, training for police officers (women and men) lasts 18 months. For the first two generations of women (2007-2008) there was a maximum quota of 25%, but this was later abolished. In average, women make up 14-28% of all trainees (Bjelos et al, 2012: 22).

Soon after women started enrolling in police training in greater numbers, police higher education institutions, including the Police Academy, also opened their doors to women. There was a maximum quota of 25% of women at the Academy (studying through scholarships), while there were no quotas for women studying at the Academy without scholarships. In 2012 the maximum quota for scholarships for women was raised to 30% of all students. In total, women make up around 21% of all staff at the Ministry of Interior, of which around 21.5% are in operational posts (Odanović and Bjelos, 2012: 20).

The **Military** only opened its doors to women in 2007, when the first female cadets were enrolled at the Military Academy. In 2009, women were also allowed to train as professional soldiers. Women now make up around 2.9% of professional soldiers, 0.1% of non-commissioned officers and 0.2% of officers (Bjelos et al., 2012: 39). The upper limit for admission of girls to education at the Military Academy was set at 20%. Representatives of security sector institutions justify the existence of maximum quotas with the "needs of the system", i.e. an assessment of the needs for filling vacancies (Bjeloš, 2012: 6). In 2013, this quota was lowered to 15%, thus decreasing the number of women officers in the long run.

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105   Exceptions to this are some municipalities in Serbia and AP Vojvodina, where there is well developed cooperation between local (and provincial) gender equality mechanisms and other local and security actors in fighting domestic violence.

The second generation of SSR and gender mainstreaming

With the adoption of gender equality legislation and a relevant legal framework for placing the security sector under democratic and civilian control, the 'easier' tasks have been completed. The real challenges Serbia now faces in relation to gender mainstreaming in the security sector are: 1) how to ensure laws are actually implemented; 2) how to make the newly established mechanisms[106] work and 3) how to ensure coordination and cooperation between the various security sector and gender equality institutions, in particular between the relevant central state authorities and local institutions. In this phase it is vital that new values of democratic governance and gender equality are anchored in the internal organisational culture of key security sector institutions. Although initial steps in this regard have been taken, primarily due to implementation of NAP 1325, security institutions still need to develop new policies and internal standards so as to ensure that they are gender-sensitive towards both women employed in this sector and women beneficiaries of their services (Stojanović and Quesada, 2010: 28). This could be supported primarily by reform of human resources management, capacity development and the establishment of effective partnerships within different levels of governance and with civil society (ibid).

Civil society organizations – the main drivers and neglected actors in SSR and gender mainstreaming

Civil society organizations (CSOs) have been important actors in SSR, and particularly in introducing gender equality policies in Serbia. Throughout this whole period civil society has been one of the main drivers of reform in many spheres of society. The first CSOs in Serbia were established during the 1990s, in opposition to the Milošević regime. Some of the most active organizations in this period were women's CSOs, strongly opposed to the war, violence and militarization of society (Stojanović and Quesada, 2010: 53). The regime, on the other hand denounced them as 'traitors', 'enemies' and 'foreign hirelings', in an attempt to diminish their legitimacy and influence. Unfortunately, this rhetoric is still present in part amongst the Serbian public, so CSOs (particularly women's and human rights organizations) are still labelled as traitors,[107] while their cooperation with state institutions is limited. Despite the fact that in the last few years[108] cooperation between the state and civil society in general has improved, security institutions still lack trust in CSOs and are reluctant to cooperate with women's and human rights (watchdog) organizations, who are often very critical of their work.

Mechanisms for cooperation between security sector institutions and CSOs and gender equality bodies are insufficiently developed and are rarely formalized. Protocols for combating domestic violence which envisage the participation of CSOs in providing services to victims of GBV are not legally binding, thus it is left to the discretion of security sector institutions and actors to decide

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106   Gender equality mechanisms at the local level, mechanisms for gender equality in the security sector envisaged by NAP 1325, etc.
107   The latest such example is from November 2012, when the extreme rightwing group "Naši" published a list of CSOs which they consider to be traitors who are financed by foreign security services, calling upon state institutions to forbid their work. Of 18 CSOs on the list, 3 are women's groups and 2 are LGBT groups. http://www.vestinet.rs/info/snp-nasi-objavio-spisak-nvo-koje-finansiraju-strane-sluzbe [Accessed on 16.2.2013]
108   The Law on CSOs was adopted in 2009 and the Government Office for Cooperation with Civil Society was established in 2010.

whether or not to collaborate with them. The most common forms of cooperation are educational activities (seminars, training, conferences) conducted by CSOs for members of the police and judiciary. However, proposals by CSOs to improve existing security sector policies on responding to cases of GBV are rarely accepted by the security sector (Stojanović and Quesada, 2010: 55).

Cooperation between the security sector and civil society in Serbia takes place without any clearly established rules or criteria with respect to providing information, consulting and holding dialogues with CSOs. No sustainable mechanisms for more significant inclusion of CSOs in security policy have been created so far, whether centrally or locally. In only a few cases has cooperation been formalized through the signing of a memorandum of understanding and other formal documents (Odanović and Bjelos, 2012: 46). Security institutions form a closed system dominated by a masculine culture which promotes the reproduction of numerous stereotypes about the roles of men and women and their competences and virtues. For the foregoing reasons, attempts on the part of CSOs to integrate a gender perspective into the creation and implementation of practical policies in the field of security are often doomed to failure. This partly explains why autonomous women's groups were not included in development of the NAP.

II   Development of the NAP for implementation of UNSCR 1325 in Serbia

The main drivers for NAP 1325 adoption in Serbia were civil society organizations. UNSCR 1325 became known in Serbia thanks to the efforts of the women's organization 'Women in Black',[109] which was first to start advocating implementation of the resolution in 2002. Since then, they have launched numerous campaigns related to UNSCR 1325, delivering the draft resolution 'Women, Peace and Security' to parliament in 2005. However, it was only at the end of 2010 that the NAP for implementation of the resolution was developed.

In 2009 the 'Belgrade Fund for Political Excellence'[110] gave new impetus to UNSCR 1325 in Serbia engaging in development of the NAP. This CSO succeeded in gathering a large group of gender and security state institutions,[111] and to a lesser extent CSOs,[112] who spent several months (May-December 2009) working on the development of *Guidelines for Development of NAP 1325*.[113] This document later served as a starting point for drafting NAP 1325.

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109 http://www.zeneucrnom.org/index.php?option=com_frontpage&Itemid=1
110 http://www.bfpe.org/
111   There were 41 representatives of the security institutions, Parliament, academia and CSOs.
112   Eventually, only 3 CSOs participated in this process – BCSP (at the time Centre for Civil-Military Relations), European Movement in Serbia and Atlantic Initiative.
113   Available at: http://www.bfpe.org/BFPE_OLD/www.bfpe.org/files/BFPE-brosura.pdf

NAP 1325 adoption

The process of creating a final draft of the document started in June 2010, when the government working group was created.[114] The final draft of the document was put to public discussion in October 2010, when it was posted on the MoD's website, allowing all interested stakeholders to submit their comments. At the end of this process, a public hearing was held in parliament. However, CSOs and others who had submitted comments on the document were not later informed about the extent to which their input had been taken into consideration. Finally, at the end of December 2010, NAP 1325 for 2010-2015 was adopted.

The process of NAP development was heavily criticized by women's organizations, led by 'Women in Black'. Their main argument was that NAP 1325 was adopted for pragmatic and formal reasons – to fulfil international obligations rather than to ensure gender equality in matters of peace and security (Ranković and Subotić, 2012: 8). Another argument is that the process was insufficiently transparent and included only a few 'selected' CSOs, while the perspective of the whole spectrum of women's groups was neglected. Finally, the fact that the MoD (rather than the Ministry of Foreign Affairs as in many other countries) was leading the process is a signal that security is still perceived in a traditional, militaristic way in Serbia, without taking into account the concept of human security or women's perspectives on matters of peace and security.

About NAP 1325

The NAP focuses less on human security and the problems faced by women in post-conflict societies such as Serbia (the impunity of those who committed crimes during conflicts, human trafficking, protection of women IDPs and refugees, poverty, gender based violence) and more on increasing participation by women in the security sector (and improving their position) as a way of demonstrating that Serbia is successfully undergoing democratic transition (McLeod, 2012: 40). Feminists are very critical of this approach to the NAP, claiming that for Serbia it is less essential to mainstream gender (e.g. peacekeeping missions) than to provide adequate protection to women IDPs and refugees and protect them from poverty and violence etc. (Dulić, 2012: 28).

The Structure of NAP 1325

The document has 7 overarching pillars, covering various issues: 1) creation of institutional mechanisms; 2) increasing participation by women in the security sector; 3) strengthening the role of women and increasing their participation in decision-making in defence and security; 4) participation by women in conflict resolution, post-conflict situations and peacekeeping missions; 5) instruments of legal protection for women; 6) education and training of security sector personnel and 7) media support for NAP implementation.

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114   Members of the group were representatives of security sector institutions (MoD, MoI, Security-Intelligence Agency, Customs Administrations, Ministry of Justice, MFA), Ministry of Labour, Ministry of Education, Ministry for Human Rights, etc.

The key changes which the NAP aims to achieve are: 1) to increase the number of women in the security sector, particularly in decision-making and multi-national operations; 2) to review all regulations in the field of defence and security in order that they comply with regulations on gender equality; 3) to reform planning, organization, and human resource management in the security sector in order to remove obstacles to the acceptance and advancement of women in the security sector, and change the image of the role of women in the security sector.

One of the mechanisms for achieving this goal is the quota system – 30% of those enrolled each year at the police and military academies should be women in order to increase the number of women working in operational posts. The same quota is envisaged for women participating in peace negotiation teams and multinational operations. How far this goal is from reality is evident in the fact that only three women participated in all the rounds of negotiations between Belgrade and Priština over Kosovo's status from 2006 onwards.[115] Participation by women in peace-keeping missions is also very limited – women make up around 13% of all mission staff, almost all of which are in medical teams.[116]

NAP 1325 implementation in the period 2010-2013

The Republic of Serbia entered the third year of implementation of the NAP 1325. During this period the implementation was hampered because of the late formation of the key bodies in the charge of implementation of NAP 1325 (see illustration 2). Therefore, a significant number of activities planned to be carried out in 2011 were postponed for 2012. In addition, the dynamics of the implementation of the NAP was influenced by parliamentary elections held in May 2012. This was reflected through the fact that the implementation of the activities envisaged in the NAP had to be postponed until after the formation of the new government. This was reflected as well on the other processes within the government bodies and not only on the gender related policies. Due to the post-election results and resignation of ministries and state secretaries, Political Council ceased to function in 2012. The new government only became functional in September 2012, four months after the elections, and constitution of the Council, as well as Supervisory body was again postponed for 2013. For a moment it seemed that the whole process could be questioned because of the political circumstances, but in the end continuity in providing support for decision makers to the objectives and activities of the NAP had been achieved.

The new government's top priorities were corruption, European integration and dialogue between Belgrade and Pristina. Although it is not regarded as the top priority, gender equality in the security sector has not been neglected and it has been given an important place in the agenda of the new government. For example, the MoD announced that it will take significant steps to increase the number of women in the military and that the Serbian Armed Forces will maybe get next year the first woman general. Important for the political context in which NAP is implemented is the establishment of the Council for Gender Equality and Women's Parliamentary Network in 2013.

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115   http://www.bezbednost.org/upload/document/rod_i_bezbednost_11.pdf
116   A positive example is the participation of a woman police commander in Serbia's police mission to Haiti in 2010, where she was the leader of Serbia's contingent.

One of the main accomplishments was the formation of all institutional bodies and gender equality mechanisms for monitoring and implementation of the NAP. For state bodies in the security sector the biggest success is the fact, that they improved intergovernmental cooperation and communication.

In the past three years security sector institutions did not significantly increase representation of women in the security sector, especially at the decision-making posts. However, some positive results were achieved in all institutions. The most obvious one is the increase in women professional soldiers and officers. Despite the positive developments, the MoD and Police Academy continue to exercise policies that limit the number of female candidates for admission to the studies at the Military Academy and Police Academy. Compared to the previous period, when the quota for admission of women to the MA was approximately 20%, in 2013 up to 15 % of women were allowed to enter this institution.

Positive steps have been made in the educating and raising awareness of the security sector personnel on the importance of gender equality. What is lacking in this period is the training of managerial staff. The exception is MoI, which is so far the only institution that started implementing this type of training.

A significant step has been made in establishing a dialogue between civil society and government bodies. Nevertheless, this dialogue is still not sustainable.

Key weaknesses were revealed in the process of measuring the progress and reporting on the implementation of the NAP. There are still no common indicators for monitoring and reporting on the implementation of the NAP. In a situation of lack of common indicators, ministries and other government bodies monitor the implementation of the NAP on the basis of their own criteria and in accordance with their own action plans. The weakness of this monitoring and reporting approach lies in the fact that the reports submitted by the institutions MSCB differs in terms of content and scope and therefore the achievements are hardly comparable. In addition, reporting is more activity based and the actual impact of the implementation of the NAP is missing. Besides official monitoring, there is an independent monitoring by civil society organizations. A feature of independent monitoring is that two organisations that actively monitor the implementation of NAP, Women in Black and BCSP, produce annually two different shadow report. Aggravating factor in exercising effective independent oversight of implementation of NAP is the lack of transparency of the implementation of the NAP and the availability of data.

Lastly, NAP is still not mainstreamed in security sector institutions, because this process is not yet aligned with all other internal processes and most state authorities have not allocated funds for the implementation of the NAP.

The institutional setup for NAP implementation is very complex. It consists of several institutional bodies and gender equality mechanisms. Firstly, the *Multi-Sectoral Coordinating Body* (MSCB), an inter-ministerial governmental body composed of representatives from the ministries and institutions involved in NAP implementation, is an operational body which takes care of implementation and coordination of all activities and tasks envisaged by the NAP. The *Political Council* is a political body composed of high political officials – state secretaries in ministries, chairmen of parliamentary committees and leaders of gender equality mechanisms. It provides guidance and

recommendations for NAP implementation based on the MSCB's six-monthly reports. This body is still not functioning, nor is the Supervisory Body, consisting of representatives from competent parliamentary committees and national gender equality mechanisms. *Gender Equality Advisors* to Ministers/Directors are tasked with advising management on the process of shaping and implementing practical policies for achieving equal rights for men and women, both security sector employees and users of the security sector's institutional services. A Gender Advisor will be also appointed in Serbian contingents in multinational operations. So far, advisors have been appointed in all institutions except the Administration for the Execution of Criminal Sanctions. *Analytical Groups (Research Teams)* are tasked with implementation, planning, statistical monitoring and drafting of biannual reports on NAP implementation to be submitted by institutions to the MSCB, and have been established in all institutions. *Persons of Trust* should mediate, advise and take measures to address specific issues in the area of gender equality and discrimination. This mechanism has so far been set up only in the Security Intelligence Agency.

Illustration 2: Institutional gender equality bodies and mechanisms envisaged by the NAP
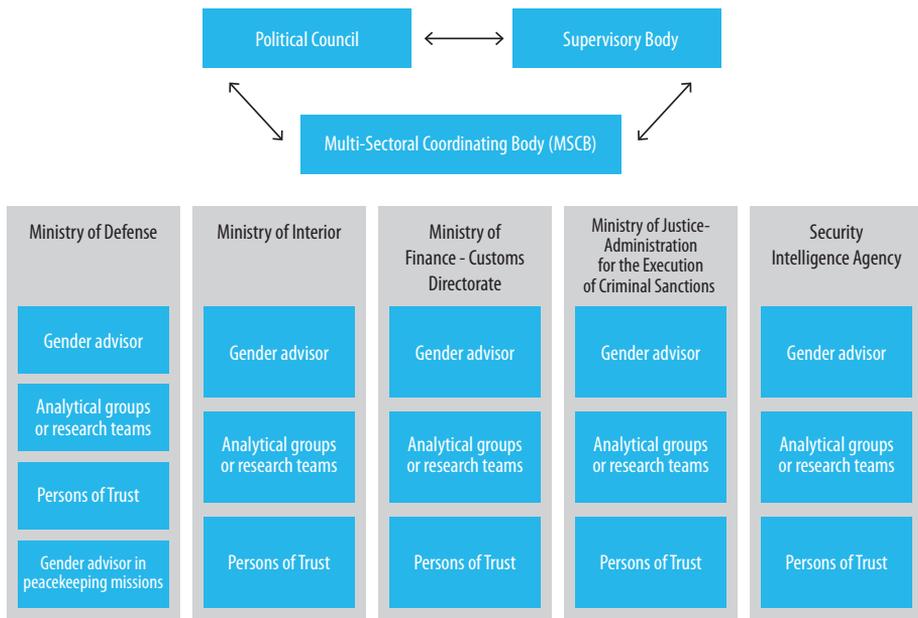
Challenges to NAP 1325 implementation

Implementation of NAP 1325 has been slow and partial. Difficulties in implementation arise from lack of political will, lack of transparency of the whole process and scarce human and financial resources and professional capacities. The slow pace of security sector reform overall, compounded by the economic crisis and traditional conservative gender-related stereotypes, has additionally hampered the pace of implementation of NAP 1325 so far.

The NAP also envisages a large number of goals (17) and activities (108) that should be realized by 2015. However, since it took almost one year (10 months) for the first institutional mechanisms to become operational, it is questionable to what extent these goals and activities will be fulfilled.

The first challenge is lacking or insufficient financial resources for implementation of NAP 1325 goals and activities. So far, substantial financial support for implementation has largely been provided by international organisations such as UN Women, the OSCE Mission to Serbia, UNDP and DCAF. Although government officials and other representatives show increasing awareness of the importance of gender mainstreaming in the security sector, none are able to secure sufficient financial resources for NAP 1325 implementation. Moreover, due to the limitations of ministries' budgets, there is a negative trend in support for gender equality activities. For example, the Ministry of Defence lacks the financial resources to support this year's promotional campaign for enrolling women at the Military Academy.

Second, in almost all security sector institutions the process of NAP 1325 implementation runs parallel with implementation of other gender and security laws, strategies, plans and policies. The challenge is to synchronize all these processes at the level of one ministry/agency, and more importantly to integrate the goals and activities envisaged by NAP 1325 in ministries' medium-term plans, i.e. to include them in their regular activities. This has been partially achieved in the field of education of security sector employees with the incorporation of thematic lectures on UNSCR Resolution 1325, including the fundamentals of gender equality, into the compulsory curriculum for police and military training.

All changes introduced so far have been at the level of activity rather than that of policy, in that institutions have focused on the establishment of institutional mechanisms (e.g. Political Council, MCB, analytical groups, etc.) and the realization of certain activities (seminars, conferences, etc.) as opposed to policy change. It is also concerning that the majority of institutions currently still focus on establishing institutional gender mechanisms, such as peer support and gender advisors, rather than on changing policies to promote gender equality in the security sector. Therefore, the challenge is to take concrete steps aimed at changing security policies in order to meet the objectives of NAP 1325 and other gender documents.

Measuring the success of NAP 1325 implementation at the government level is another of the series of challenges. At this point there is no common set of indicators for monitoring and reporting on NAP 1325 implementation. Civil society representatives and MCB are currently working to develop a common set of indicators that can be used for monitoring and reporting on NAP implementation.

NAP 1325 implementation is often seen as a matter of individuals' effort and dedication rather than the responsibility of governmental entities. A possible consequence of this could be that the entire process of NAP 1325 implementation could be slowed down or even stopped if the individuals responsible are absent, as in the case of the Customs Administration when that body's gender advisor took sick leave. In consequence of this, the challenge is to transfer ownership from the individual to the institutional level.

Another challenge is to establish sustainable dialogue and a channel of communication between civil society and the government body responsible for implementation of the plan, the Multisectoral Coordination Body. An initiative for establishing such a dialogue was launched in 2012 by civil society organizations (led by the BCSP) and in the future the MCB should have a proactive role in maintaining and nurturing dialogue between the newly nascent gender community and the security community. One of the main barriers preventing the more active inclusion of CSOs (particularly women's organizations) in the NAP implementation process, as well as in conducting independent monitoring of implementation, is the lack of transparency in these institutions' work. Information on NAP implementation activities by the institutions is not publicly available (with the exception of the Ministry of Defence). There is an initiative to launch a special web page about NAP 1325 activities on the Serbian Government's website, but at the time of writing (March 2013) this had not yet happened.

Conclusion

Implementation of NAP 1325 in Serbia in the forthcoming period will depend in large part on the extent to which decision-makers in security institutions understand why gender mainstreaming is important and how it benefits the work of their institution. Dependent on this, financial resources will be allocated for NAP activities such as education, research, etc. A case which illustrates the scarcity (or even non-existence) of resources for NAP 1325 implementation is that of the MoD, which in 2013 will not pay for promotional videos on enrolling women at the Military Academy to be broadcast, as it has done for the past few years. How successful NAP 1325 will be in solving certain human resources management problems in security institutions (employment, retention and career development) is also questionable. This has been a problem for years and is the cause of many other problems in the work of these institutions, such as discrimination, corruption, violations of citizens' human rights etc.

Simply increasing the number of women working in the security sector is not a goal *per se*, nor is it enough. In order to truly reform the security sector, and include the provision of human security and respect for human rights (of both citizens and employees) in its core mission, greater changes to the organizational culture (of exclusive masculinity) are needed. This is still a long way from being achieved, since it requires protective anti-discriminatory measures and instruments, and first of all it needs the institutions themselves to be willing change from within. In this respect, adoption of NAP 1325 is a positive step which contributes to this process, although in large part it fails to tackle issues, which threaten the safety of women in a post-conflict society.

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Maja BJELOŠ graduated in International Studies from the Faculty of Political Sciences, University in Belgrade, where she also completed a Master's programme in International Security. Since 2009 she has worked as a researcher at the BCSP. She specialises in gender and security sector reform in Serbia, but she has also researched and published largely on security issues, such as Republic of Serbia security policy, European security and security sector reform in Serbia. She co-edits the Gender and Security Newsletter.

Dr. Elona DHEMBO is a fellow at the Department of Social Work and Social Policy, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Tirana, a post she has held since 2005. She graduated as a social worker from the same department in 2002. In 2005 she received a Master of Science in Comparative Social Policy from the University of Oxford. She defended her doctorate degree in 2012, having researched the same subject she studied for her Master's degree – work-family reconciliation policies. Currently Dr. Dhembo heads the Research and Innovation unit at the Institute for Democracy and Mediation. Her main areas of interest and expertise include research in the social sciences, social policy and social services and gender and development issues. Her working experiences in these areas includes teaching on Bachelor and Master's level courses and academic research focused especially on issues related to gender equality, women, children, family-work reconciliation policies etc. She also has rich experience in offering consultancy to national and international institutions and organizations on conducting research, preparing training manuals and materials, conducting training, monitoring and evaluating etc. She is author or co-author of several articles and books pub-lished in Albania and abroad.

Gorana ODANOVIĆ graduated in International Studies from the Faculty of Political Sciences in Belgrade, where she is currently completing a Master's degree in International Security. Since 2009 she has worked as a researcher at the BSCP where she is also Networking Coordinator. She previously worked as the BCSP's Office Coordinator from 2007-2009. She is coordinating implementation of two regional projects, in which seven organizations from the Western Balkans are collaborating. She is author of several articles in the field of security sector reform and gender and security. Gorana's areas of interest include: gender and security, parliamentary control and oversight of the security sector, participation of CSOs in the security policy and weak states.

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Aleksandra STANIĆ completed her undergraduate studies at the University of Windsor, Canada with a B.A. honours degree in Psychology and a minor in Modern Languages (Spanish). Her experience has been primarily with non-governmental/international organizations related to human rights, internal displacement and return, and crisis prevention and recovery. She is currently employed at NATO Headquarters in Sarajevo, working for the Politico-Military Advisory Section, which has supported defence reform by providing politico-military, legal, financial and economic advice. After having the opportunity to work for various NGOs and inter-governmental/ international organizations, she has expressed an increased interest in furthering her education and pursuing a Master's degree in the near future.

Sonja STOJANOVIĆ GAJIĆ is director of the Belgrade Centre for Security Policy, an independent security think tank ranked among the top 20 think tanks in Central and Eastern Europe and among the top 70 Security and International Affairs think tanks. She is author of a methodology for measuring security sector reform (SSR) in transitional societies from a civil society perspective which has been tested in Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Kosovo, Macedonia, Montenegro and Serbia. In the period of 2006-2011, Ms Stojanović Gajić worked part-time as a teaching assistant for security studies at the Faculty of Political Sciences at the University of Belgrade. Prior to taking up her current appointment, she worked with the OSCE Mission to Serbia and Montenegro in the strategic management program for the Serbian and Montenegrin police services. Her recent publications include: Police Reform in Montenegro 2006-2011 (with Novak Gajić), Gender and SSR in Serbia (with Kathrin Quesada) and Policing in Serbia: Negotiating the Transition between Rhetoric and Reform (with Mark Downes), which appeared in Policing Developing Democracies (Routledge 2008). She has extensive experience of working as a consultant and trainer for civil society organizations and political groups in the Western Balkans, as well as for various international organizations (UNDP, OSCE, DCAF) on security sector reform, civic participation, gender mainstreaming and think-tank management. She holds an MA in Politics, Security and Integration with distinction from the School of Slavonic and Eastern European Studies, University College London. She is a member of the Gender Equality Council of the Ombudsperson of Serbia, Women in International Security (WIIS), the Steering Board of the OSCE Network of Think Tanks and the Forum for International Relations and she is an alumna of Chevening, the US State Department's National Security Institute and the Belgrade Open School.

Nuna ZVIZDIĆ is a co-founder and director of Žene ženama, a Bosnian women's centre for human rights, peace and security. She holds a degree in economics from the Sarajevo University for Economics and received her Master's degree from the Faculty of Political Sciences at Sarajevo University. She has worked for organizations and societies related to human rights, peace activism and peaceful conflict resolution. She is currently a board member of the Regional Women's Lobby group. She is also a facilitator of non-violent communication and peaceful conflict resolution. She has written several articles on the topic of local peace building from the perspective of women, gender and national identity. She is chief editor of the manual: Women and Women's Activism in Bosnia and Herzegovina, To Be Peace – the local concept for peace building, and co-editor of the manual Fasilitacija (Fasilitation).

Annexes

ANNEX 1. *Overview of regional initiatives and events on gender and security in the Western Balkans*

Regional events 2008-2013

1.	Regional conference: Ohrid Initiative - Strengthening the "1325 Community" in the Region		
	Ohrid, Macedonia, May 2013	Belgrade Fund for Political Excellence.	State agencies and government bodies and CSOs.
2.	Regional conference: THE REGIONAL DIALOGUE ON GENDER AND SECURITY: Uniting Government's and CSOs Efforts in Implementation of the UNSCR 1325 Agenda		
	Ohrid, Macedonia, April 2013	Centre for Research and Policy Making, Belgrade Centre for Security Policy, Institute for Democracy and Mediation, Kosovar Centre for Security Studies and Women to Women.	State agencies and government bodies, CSOs, academia and international organizations.
3.	Regional conference: What is the gender of security? UN Resolution 1325 Women, Peace, Security, global- regional- local		
	Banja Luka, Bosnia and Herzegovina, February 2013	The Gender Equality Agency of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Ministry for human rights and refugees of Bosnia and Herzegovina.	State agencies and government bodies, regional CSOs
4.	Regional conference: UNSCR 1325 Goals- Degree of Feasibility		
	Skopje, Macedonia, 2012	Euro – Atlantic Council of Macedonia	State agencies and government bodies, regional CSOs
5.	Roundtable: Strengthening partnerships with institutions for security in the region and exchange experiences on developing a National Action Plan for implementation of the UNSCR 1325		
	Skopje, Macedonia, 2012	Ministry of Labour and Social policy – Sector for Equal Opportunities, in cooperation with UN Women office in Skopje	
6.	Conference: Gender Issues in the Security Sector		
	Skopje, Macedonia, 2012	George C. Marshall Centre for Security Studies	Representatives from the Alumni associations of the George C. Marshall Center, academia, and civil society
7.	Conference: Partnership for change, empowering women		
	Prishtina, Kosovo, 2012	OSCE	Local and international organizations, government bodies, state agencies

8.	**Belgrade Security Forum** **Coping with the crisis: challenges to democracy and security**		
	Belgrade, Serbia, 2012	The Belgrade Fund for Political Excellence, Belgrade Centre for Security Policy and European Movement in Serbia, in partnership with the UN Women, UNDP SEEAC, Balkan Trust for Democracy and Slovak Atlantic Commission	International and local experts, scholars, students, government bodies, state agencies, international organizations, CSOs
9.	**Cetinje parliamentary forum: Women, peace security-two years later**		
	Cetinje, Montenegro, 2012	Gender equality committee of the parliament of Montenegro	Members of parliament committee for gender equality of Kosovo, Serbia, Montenegro, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Slovenia, Albania
10.	**Belgrade security forum** **The Balkans and global security: What do we have in common and what sets us apart?**		
	Belgrade, Serbia, 2011	The Belgrade Fund for Political Excellence, Belgrade Centre for Security Policy and European Movement in Serbia, in partnership with the UN Women, UNDP SEEAC, Balkan Trust for Democracy and Slovak Atlantic Commission	International and local experts, scholars, students, government bodies, state agencies, international organizations, CSOs
11.	**Conference: UNSCR 1325: Moving beyond Theory to Maximize Security in the OSCE in Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina**		
	Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, 2011	OSCE	International organizations, local and international experts, local CSOs
12.	**Forum: Gender Mainstreaming in state institutions and ESDP missions-equal opportunity for gender equality**		
	Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, 2009	Women to Women, B&H Partners: Helsinki Citizens Assembly, Horizons, Future, Women of B& H	Local CSOs, State agencies and government bodies
13.	**International conference: Peace and Security- Gender Alternatives**		
	Skopje, Macedonia, 2009	CSO Antico	Over 100 women from CSOs from 43 countries in the Euro-Mediterranean region
14.	**International conference: Women in the security sector - Resolution 1325 SBUN**		
	Podgorica, Montenegro, 2008	Ministry of ForeignAffairs, Ministryof Defence, Ministryof InternalAffairsand Public Administration, and the Office forGender Equality Governmentof Montenegro	Local CSOs, State agencies and government bodies

Regional initiatives

	Initiators	Type	Year of establishment	Members	Purpose	Activities
1.	SEESAC Initiatives*					
	The Southeast Europe Women Police Officers Network (WPON) http://www.seesac.org/project.php?l1=135&l2=139					
	The South East Europe Police Chiefs Association (SEPCA) and SEESAC under the mandate given to it by the UNDP and RCC	Cross ministerial	Established on the first regional expert meeting on 26th March 2009 in Belgrade	Representatives of 9 police services in SEE: Albania, B&H-Federation, B&H-RepublikaSrpska, Bulgaria, Croatia, Moldova, Montenegro, Serbia, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia	1. Providing a platform for the exchange of experience across police services in the region of SEE 2. Facilitating the advancement of the position of women in police services and gender sensitive policing practices in SEPCA police services 3. Advocating for the implementation of gender equality and democratic principles in policing	1. Organizing conferences (networking and exchange of information) 2. Assist women police officers through running different kinds of workshops 3. Designing manuals to police managers at all levels
	Gender Equality in the Military http://www.seesac.org/project.php?l1=135&l2=150					
	SEESAC under the mandate given to it by the UNDP and RCC.	Cross ministerial	Launched on 22 March, 2012.	Ministries of Defence in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Montenegro and Serbia	Support ministries of defence in BiH, Macedonia, Montenegro and Serbia to integrate gender equality into their institution and implement UNCR 1325.	1. Establishing and strengthening Gender Focal Points 2. Improving recruitment and retention of women personnel 3. Changing the institutional culture

* The South Eastern and Eastern Europe Clearinghouse for the Control of Small Arms and Light Weapons (SEESAC) is established under the mandate given to it by the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) and the Regional Cooperation Council (RCC).

	Initiators	Type	Year of establishment	Members	Purpose	Activities
2.	**Regional Women's Lobby (RWL)** www.rwlsee.orga					
	UNIFEM	Civil society organi-zations	Founded in 2006 in Zagreb	27 members from the 7 different countries of Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Kosovo, Macedonia, Montenegro and Serbia.	The goal of RWL is to strengthen the position of women in democratization and the post-conflict recovery process by advancing justice and reconciliation.	Istanbul meeting in December 2012 Zagreb meeting in October 2012 Roundtable report "Strategic meeting of the steering committee of the RWL in Istanbul - Turkey - December 9-10, 2011 Budva Meeting - "Dialogue between women Members of Parliament (MPs) from Kosovo and Serbia- Budva, Montenegro - June 30, 2011 Skopje Conference "Women and Peacebuilding", Skopje, Macedonia - June 25, 2010
3.	**The Women's Peace Coalition** http://www.womensnetwork.org					
	Women in Black Network Serbia and Kosovo's Women Network	Civil society organi-zations	May 2006.	The coalition is comprised of activists from Kosovo and Serbia.	1. Works for the inclusion of women in peace-building processes as equal partners, stressing the fact that women are not only victims of war, but dynamic actors in peace movements. 2. Advocates for the implementation of the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325	Three day conference on "Women, Peace and Security" in Struga, Macedonia to bring visibility to the work of women peace activists in creating stable and just peace in the region.