

Women in  
Negotiations

# REPORT

## WOMEN AT THE NEGOTIATING TABLE IN KOSOVO



An EUSR-funded  
project



NEW SOCIAL  
INITIATIVE

Implemented by  
New Social Initiative - NSI





**Report:**

## **Women at negotiating table in Kosovo**

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# Report Content

Foreword .....	6
Women, Peace and Security Agenda UNSCR 1325 .....	10
EU Action Plan on Women, Peace, and Security (WPS) 2019-2024 .....	11
Women in negotiation processes .....	12
Kosovo legal framework on inclusion of women in decision making and negotiations .....	14
Kosovo National Action Plan (NAP) for the implementation of UNSCR 1325 and Kosovo Program for Gender Equality 2020-2024 .....	15
Increasing equal participation and representation in the decision-making process in line with the requirements of Law on Gender Equality .....	16
Increasing women's participation in the negotiation, peace, and reconciliation processes .....	16
Women in decision making positions in Kosovo .....	18
Women at the negotiating table in Kosovo .....	20
The Rambouillet Conference on Kosovo .....	21
Vienna negotiations on the final status of Kosovo .....	22
Brussels negotiations .....	24
About the project Inclusion of women at the negotiating table in Kosovo .....	29
ACTIVITY No.1 Launching by Ambassador SZUNYOG, EUSR in Kosovo and Kick-off of the project .....	30
ACTIVITY No.2 Training session on the EU Agenda for Gender Equality .....	31
ACTIVITY No.3 Discussion session on the role of women in international negotiations in Kosovo .....	32
ACTIVITY No.4 Six Roundtables in six Kosovo regions with the theme "Women and Leadership municipal level" .....	34
Survey and round tables findings .....	35
Recommendations .....	43

# Foreword

**Tomáš Szunyog, Ambassador  
EUSR/Head of the EU Office in Kosovo**



Dear Readers,

It has been a year in September since I assumed the double-hatted position of the European Union Special Representative and Head of the European Union Office in Kosovo. It has been a challenging, yet enriching year. The thing that stroke me the most was the impressive energy of Kosovo people and their entrepreneurial spirit noticeable everywhere, despite Covid-19 challenges. I had a chance and pleasure to meet and talk to many skilled, professional, knowledgeable women around Kosovo. Their hard work, passion for what they do, and courage are to be noticed and highly evaluated. They are the engine for good change, be it in their families, local communities, or in the whole society. They are the wind of a change for the better for Kosovo, the Western Balkans, Europe, and the whole world. We need more women leaders. We have to get out of the limiting box of gender-based stereotypes and give a voice and a choice to girls and women at every stage of their lives.

Gender equality and human rights are at the core of European values. The aim of the Gender Action Plan III for the years 2019–2024, is to contribute to empowering women, girls, and young people. They should fully use their rights and increase their participation in political, economic, social, and cultural life. Exactly this idea stood behind the implementation of the EUSR project “Inclusion of Women at the Negotiating Table”. Throughout August, women from different backgrounds, communities and geographic regions gathered in Prizren, Ferizaj/Uroševac, Gjilan/Gnjilane, Gračanica/Gračanicë, Mitrovica North, and Prishtinë/Priština to discuss the role of women in leadership, with a focus on their role in peacebuilding and negotiations.

Josep Borrell, High Representative of the EU for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy said: “Ensuring the same rights to all empowers our societies. It makes them richer and more secure. It is a fact that goes beyond principles or moral duties. The participation and leadership of women and girls are essential for democracy, justice, peace, security, prosperity and a greener planet”. The same message resounded at the conference in Pristina, organized by the EUSR together in cooperation with New Social Initiative and United Women's Association. Mrs. Karin Hernmarck Ahlmy, Ambassador of Sweden to Kosovo, and Mrs. Barrie Lynne Freeman, Deputy Special Representative of the Secretary-General of the United Nations in Kosovo, shared their experiences working in diplomacy and high ranked positions. Moreover, what is a better way of learning than from the first hand? No less interesting were the testimonies of women in academia, presented by Linda Gusia, Head of the Department of Sociology at the University of Pristina, Nita Luci, Professor at the University of Pristina, and Jehona Lushaku Sadriu, Professor at the University of Pristina. It was good to hear that women will support each other and go hand in hand to achieve their ultimate objective: a better world to live in.

I am convinced that Kosovo women hold great potential. A lot has already been done though the legislation is still being improved. Yet, there also needs to be a proper implementation of the law and firm execution. There must be social consent and a deep understanding that women can deliver. Gender equality is crucial in addressing global challenges and achieving goals like peace, security, democracy. Yet, we must bear in mind that women's rights are under great pressure around the world. The pandemic has shown it painfully clear.

At the end of my introduction, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to everyone participating and contributing to the EUSR project "Inclusion of Women at the Negotiating Table" and for producing this short read. I truly hope that this brochure, whoever will hold it in their hands and read it – will contribute to a better understanding of the rightful place of women in the local community and the world.

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**Karin Harnmack, Ambassador of Sweden to Kosovo  
(Conference Women at negotiating table, Pristina)**

In times of crisis, women's rights and rights of vulnerable groups are the first ones to be attacked.

In stressful situations, the rights women have today will need to be defended.

As if we all were mama bears protecting our cubs because there will be forces that would want to take them away from us.

We need to understand that these gains that we have made are not automatic, and they did not come naturally. They're not just given to us. It's a result of hard work and a lot of confluence of the events that led to it.

The number of seats at the negotiating and decision-making tables is limited. You can expand them but only so much. At the end of the day, there will be a limited number of decision-makers who will hold the fate of the majority in their hands. Women stepping in requires someone else to step aside. The various crowned princes and aspirants who have geared their careers to get into those top positions are suddenly more or less asked to step aside.

Why would they let you sit at the table and have a say on how to solve something unless it costs them more to keep you out. You need to show them that you have a stake and that it is important to be there to get the best possible outcome.

To be included, there must be a high enough cost of exclusion – it has to cost them more not to let you in than to keep you out.

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**Barrie Lynne Freeman,  
Deputy Special Representative of the Secretary-General (DSRSG)  
United Nations Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK)**

Women's gains are not safe anywhere, but there have been tremendous gains over the years, and if you look at them over the past, we have now so many more educated women in the world, so many more women in government and business.

In societies where women don't have rights or don't have the opportunity to exercise their rights, even if they have rights on paper, we need to band together and find the common purpose.



We all see the march of the return of more authoritarian styles of government around the world, ultimately limiting types of government where not everybody's voice is heard. Recent developments in the world show how fragile gains for women are in many places, particularly in conflict and post-conflict societies.

We all have a stake in building a better future with responsive governments that prioritize human rights, inclusion, and the peaceful resolution of conflicts, and then down to the brass tacks of making sure everyone has access to school and that people have access to good healthcare.

I believe there has been a backlash in the world, and now we see it starkly and in Afghanistan, but it's not a reason to lose hope or stop and say, "I'm going to give up" – don't give up.

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**Reyes Charle Cuellar, EUSR Gender Advisor**

Meaningful inclusion of women in peace negotiations has the potential to enhance the efficiency and the sustainability of the processes and assist reconciliation.

Women in Kosovo have demonstrated they are ready to contribute, and Kosovo should not lose the opportunity to include them.




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**Vlora Hoti, Executive Director  
United Women's Assotiation  
Key expert – Women at the negotiation table in Kosovo**

Women's participation in the negotiation table is crucial to the peacebuilding process and the sustainable implementation of possible agreements.

Kosovo has a great capacity, women that are capable, influential, and competent leaders, which would be an enormous contribution to the peacebuilding in the dialogue as well as in the final agreement.

More women in decision-making positions have proven to have a more significant impact in all processes in the progress of Kosovo and other countries that serve as an example.

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**Jovana Radosavljević, Executive Director**

**New Social Initiative**

**Key expert - Women at the negotiation table in Kosovo**

The inclusion of women in the negotiations is not an added value to the dialogue but a necessary condition if we want the interests and problems of all citizens to be addressed in the process.

We have seen how previous negotiating processes were conducted and how they ended. All of them had one thing in common - women were underrepresented at the negotiating table.

The growing dissatisfaction among the citizens of Kosovo regarding the Brussels dialogue shows that changes are needed. Not only in the way it's led but also in the way we are talking about it. More women at the table could be one of the solutions.



# Women, Peace and Security

## Agenda UNSCR 1325

United Nations Security Council unanimously adopted resolution 1325 on women, peace, and security on October 31, 2000<sup>1</sup>, an essential milestone for including women in peace processes worldwide. This was the first time the Security Council addressed the disproportionate and unique impact of armed conflict on women and recognized the under-valued and under-utilized contributions women make to conflict prevention, peacekeeping, conflict resolution, and peacebuilding. It also stressed the importance of women's equal and full participation as active agents in peace and security.<sup>2</sup>

Resolution 1325 urges the Member States to ensure increased representation of women at all decision-making levels in national, regional, and international institutions and mechanisms for preventing, managing, and resolving conflict. With this provision, the Security Council placed pressure on Governments to increase the number of women involved in decision-making at all levels on conflict prevention, management, and resolution.

Having previously noted the need for greater involvement of women (i.e., gender balance) in peace and security decision-making, the Security Council emphasizes the need to involve local women and value indigenous processes. Importantly, this paragraph suggests that the content of agreements needs to reflect gender issues, regardless of who is negotiating or implementing.<sup>3</sup>

In the following years, the UN Security Council has adopted numerous resolutions on Women, Peace, and Security (WPS): 1820 (2008), 1888 (2008), 1889 (2009), 1960 (2010), 2106 (2013), 2122 (2013), 2242 (2015), 2467 (2019), and 2493 (2019). Together with UN SCR 1325, they form the international policy framework on Women, peace, and security agenda.

All of them were adopted in response to persistent advocacy from civil society. As binding Security Council resolutions, they should be implemented by all Member States and relevant actors, including UN system entities and parties to the conflict.

<sup>1</sup> Resolution 1325 (2000): <https://www.un.org/womenwatch/osagi/wps/>

<sup>2</sup> Women's International League for Peace and Freedom: <https://www.peacewomen.org/security-council/WPS-in-SC-Council>

<sup>3</sup> United Nations Development Fund for Women, UNIFEM, Security Council Resolution 1325, Annotated and Explained, [http://www.peacewomen.org/assets/file/BasicWPSDocs/annotated\\_1325.pdf](http://www.peacewomen.org/assets/file/BasicWPSDocs/annotated_1325.pdf)

# EU Action Plan on Women, Peace, and Security (WPS) 2019-2024

The EU has reinforced its commitment to promote gender equality, announcing that it has the ambition to play a 'leading role as a gender equality and catalyst' and to 'lead by example' in the global promotion of WPS goals in the years to come.<sup>4</sup>

This ambition is expressed in the recent EU Action Plan on Women, Peace, and Security (WPS) (2019-24) and the EU Gender Action Plan (GAP) III.<sup>5</sup>

Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security lays out a set of indicators, e.g., for the EU's support for women's leadership and participation worldwide or for the EU's success in promoting "the protection and safeguarding of women's and girls' rights" internationally.

The Strategic Approach aims to reaffirm the holistic implementation of the WPS agenda and recognizes gender equality and women's empowerment as a prerequisite for dealing with the prevention, management, and resolution of conflict.

EU Action Plan on WPS recalls the commitments of the European Union and its Member States to the full implementation of the WPS agenda (UNSCR 1325 and its follow-up resolutions). It strives to ensure that it is fully integrated into all EU efforts supporting sustainable peace, security, human rights, justice, and development in EU cooperation with other regional and international organizations as envisaged by the EU Global Strategy.

This shall be done by integrating gender perspectives into all EU policies, including security, conflict prevention, resolution, and long-term peacebuilding. In this respect, the EU and its Member States support the implementation of the WPS agenda in the UN.

The Action Plan identifies objectives as already defined in UNSCR 1325, under the key priority areas of prevention, protection, relief, and recovery, and the three overarching and cross-cutting principles of participation, gender mainstreaming and leading by example.

<sup>4</sup> <https://data.consilium.europa.eu/doc/document/ST-11031-2019-INIT/en/pdf>

<sup>5</sup> [http://www.realinstitutoelcano.org/wps/portal/rielcano\\_en/contenido?WCM\\_GLOBAL\\_CONTEXT=/elcano/elcano\\_in/zonas\\_in/ari36-2021-almqvist-rekindling-the-agenda-on-women-peace-and-security-can-the-eu-lead-by-example](http://www.realinstitutoelcano.org/wps/portal/rielcano_en/contenido?WCM_GLOBAL_CONTEXT=/elcano/elcano_in/zonas_in/ari36-2021-almqvist-rekindling-the-agenda-on-women-peace-and-security-can-the-eu-lead-by-example)



# Women in negotiation processes

Between 1992 and 2019, women constituted, on average, 13 percent of negotiators, 6 percent of mediators, and 6 percent of signatories in major peace processes around the world. Between 2015 and 2019, 14 percent of negotiators, 11 percent of mediators, and 7 percent of signatories in major peace processes were women. Although there has been some progress in women's participation, about seven out of every ten peace processes still did not include women mediators or women signatories—indicating that few women participated in leadership roles as negotiators, guarantors, or witnesses.<sup>6</sup>

Analysis of 1,860 peace agreements in 1990–2019 finds that only 20% of them contained references to women, girls, and gender, while only 6 percent had at least one provision explicitly addressing violence against women.<sup>7</sup>



In 2020, 6 out of 21 peace agreements contained references to women, girls, and gender (29 percent of global peace agreements).<sup>8</sup> Five out of the six peace agreements with gender provisions in 2020 were substantive agreements. They partially or comprehensively address issues core to resolving the conflict and are more likely to contain references to women than agreements such as ceasefires.<sup>9</sup>

One study analyzed 130 peace agreements signed since 1990 and found a statistically significant relationship between peace agreements signed by women and the durability of peace. The study also found that linkages between women signatories and women-led civil society groups led to more provisions in final agreements focused on political reform and higher implementation rates, which increased the likelihood of durable peace.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Council on foreign affairs, Women participation in peace processes, <https://www.cfr.org/womens-participation-in-peace-processes/>

<sup>7</sup> Source: PA-X Gender Peace Agreements Database: <https://www.cfr.org/womens-participation-in-peace-processes/>

<sup>8</sup> Wise, L. (2021, Jun 18). Peace agreements with a gender perspective are still an exception, not the rule. LSE Women, Peace, and Security. <https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/wps/2021/06/18/peace-agreements-with-a-gender-perspective-are-still-an-exception-not-the-rule/>

<sup>9</sup> Wise, L. (2021, Jun 18). Peace agreements with a gender perspective are still an exception, not the rule. LSE Women, Peace, and Security. <https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/wps/2021/06/18/peace-agreements-with-a-gender-perspective-are-still-an-exception-not-the-rule/>

<sup>10</sup> Source: Krause, Krause, and Branfors, <https://www.cfr.org/womens-participation-in-peace-processes/why-it-matters>



Research examining all peace agreements in the post–Cold War period found the participation of civil society groups, including women’s organizations, made a peace agreement 64 percent less likely to fail.<sup>11</sup>

According to the Global study on UNSC Resolution 1325, women’s participation increases the probability of a peace agreement lasting at least two years by 20 percent and by 35 percent, the likelihood of a peace agreement lasting 15 years.<sup>12</sup>

A qualitative review of forty peace and constitution-drafting negotiations since 1990 found that parties were significantly more likely to agree to talks and subsequently reach an agreement when women’s groups exercised a strong influence on the negotiation process than when they had little or no influence.<sup>13</sup> Examination of the case studies revealed that a strong presence of women, even directly at the negotiation table, does not automatically translate into their ability to assert a strong influence.

The level of power that women can assert in the process makes a difference, not only their presence by numbers.<sup>14</sup>

Concerning women’s direct representation at the negotiation table, women-only delegations had a more significant overall influence on the process than individual women within other official negotiation delegations—even when they constituted a considerable part of that delegation. In many cases where women were represented in high numbers across negotiation delegations, they could only make effective use of their relatively high presence by transcending the lines of their respective delegations and forming coalitions for the attainment of common interests. This mostly occurred when women were jointly pressured inside and/or outside of the negotiations to sign an agreement.<sup>15</sup>

When women had observer status, they only had an influence when they were closely connected to the conflict parties. At the same time, such close affiliation often challenged their legitimacy.<sup>16</sup>

Women have different social roles and responsibilities to men, so they have access to additional information and community networks. They are more likely to raise priorities like political and legal reform, economic recovery, transitional justice – issues that make agreements more durable. These are often left aside when women aren’t included, resulting in a deal focusing entirely on military action, territorial gains, and power-sharing arrangements, which don’t help communities recover and build local support for the peace process.<sup>17</sup>

“Broadening Participation in Political Negotiations and Implementation” research project found no occasions where women’s groups organized mass action against a peace agreement. On the contrary, women have contained and performed mass action campaigns in favor of peace deals more than any other group. Women have often pressured conflict parties to start negotiations and sign peace deals.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>11</sup> <https://www.cfr.org/womens-participation-in-peace-processes/why-it-matters>

<sup>12</sup> The Global Study on UNSC Resolution 1325, <https://wps.unwomen.org/participation/>

<sup>13</sup> <https://www.cfr.org/womens-participation-in-peace-processes/why-it-matters>

<sup>14</sup> Making Women Count – Not Just Counting Women: Assessing Women’s Inclusion and Influence on Peace Negotiations, Inclusive Peace & Transition Initiative, page 55 [https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/IPTI-UN-Women-Report-Making-Women-Count-60-Pages\\_0.pdf](https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/IPTI-UN-Women-Report-Making-Women-Count-60-Pages_0.pdf)

<sup>15</sup> Ibid

<sup>16</sup> Ibid

<sup>17</sup> Women’s Participation in Peace Processes, Council on Foreign Relations, <https://www.cfr.org/womens-participation-in-peace-processes/why-it-matters>

<sup>18</sup> Making Women Count – Not Just Counting Women: Assessing Women’s Inclusion and Influence on Peace Negotiations, Inclusive Peace & Transition Initiative, page 35, [https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/IPTI-UN-Women-Report-Making-Women-Count-60-Pages\\_0.pdf](https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/IPTI-UN-Women-Report-Making-Women-Count-60-Pages_0.pdf)

# Kosovo legal framework on inclusion of women in decision making and negotiations

**The Constitution of Kosovo** recognizes gender equality as a fundamental value for the democratic development of society, providing equal opportunities for both female and male participation in the political, economic, social, cultural, and other areas of societal life.<sup>19</sup>

Kosovo is not a signatory of major international agreements on human rights. Nevertheless, Constitution defines international human rights conventions such as the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women as being directly applicable in the domestic legislation.<sup>20</sup>

Constitution also asserts that the composition of the Assembly of Kosovo shall respect internationally recognized principles of gender equality.<sup>21</sup>

**Law No. 05/L-020 on Gender Equality**<sup>22</sup> determines the general and specific measures to ensure and protect the equal rights of men and women and defines the responsible institutions and their competencies.

Legislative, executive, judicial bodies at all levels and other public institutions shall be obliged to adopt and implement special measures to increase the representation of underrepresented gender until the equal representation of women and men according to this Law is achieved.

Special measures could include:

- quotas to achieve equal representation of women and men;
- support programs to increase participation of less represented sex in decision making and public life;
- economic empowerment and steps to improve the position of women or men in the field of labor, improvement of equality in education, health, culture, and allocation and/or reallocation of resources;
- preferential treatment, recruitment, hiring and promotion, and other measures in each area where inequalities exist.

As prescribed by this Law, equal gender representation in all legislative, executive, and judiciary bodies and other public institutions is achieved when a minimum representation of fifty percent (50%) for each gender is ensured, including their governing and decision-making bodies.

**Law 03/L-073 on General Elections in 2008**<sup>23</sup> introduced gender quota requirements in the process of elections. All political entities and elections bodies are obliged to respect the gender quota requirements set forth by this Law. In each political entity's candidate list, at least thirty (30%) percent shall be male, and at least thirty (30%) percent shall be female, with one candidate from each gender included at least once in each group of three candidates, counting from the first candidate in the list.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Constitution of Kosovo, [Article 7](https://gzk.rks-gov.net/ActDetail.aspx?ActID=3702), <https://gzk.rks-gov.net/ActDetail.aspx?ActID=3702>

<sup>20</sup> Constitution of Kosovo, [Article 22](https://gzk.rks-gov.net/ActDetail.aspx?ActID=3702), <https://gzk.rks-gov.net/ActDetail.aspx?ActID=3702>

<sup>21</sup> Constitution of Kosovo, [Article 71.2](https://gzk.rks-gov.net/ActDetail.aspx?ActID=3702), <https://gzk.rks-gov.net/ActDetail.aspx?ActID=3702>

<sup>22</sup> Law No. 05/L-020 on Gender Equality, Articles 1,2,5,6 <https://gzk.rks-gov.net/ActDetail.aspx?ActID=10923>

<sup>23</sup> Law No. 03/L-073 on General Elections, <https://gzk.rks-gov.net/ActDetail.aspx?ActID=2544>

<sup>24</sup> Law No. 03/L-073 on General Elections, [Article 27.1](https://gzk.rks-gov.net/ActDetail.aspx?ActID=2544) <https://gzk.rks-gov.net/ActDetail.aspx?ActID=2544>

According to the Law on General Elections, political entities must ensure the gender quota is applied on their party list; on the contrary, the Central Election Commission (CEC) will not certificate their list, thus preventing them from participating in elections.

Applying the gender quota is also obligatory for CEC when distributing seats in the Assembly among political parties. If, after the allocation of seats, the candidates of the minority gender within a political entity have not been allocated at least 30% of the total seats for that political entity, the last elected candidate of the majority gender will be replaced by the next candidate of the opposite gender until the total number of seats allocated to the minority gender is at least 30%.

There is a legal discrepancy between Law on gender equality and Law on the general elections regarding gender quotas. Even though the Law on Gender Equality requires 50 percent representation of women generally, the Law on General Elections only requires 30 percent of all candidates to be from the less represented gender. While the first Law sets gender quota as something that should be strived towards, the second makes gender quota obligatory, which is the main reason it is respected.

## **Kosovo National Action Plan (NAP) for the implementation of UNSCR 1325 and Kosovo Program for Gender Equality 2020-2024**

The first Kosovo National Action Plan (NAP) for the implementation of UNSCR 1325 was adopted in January 2014. Taking a human rights approach, the document was developed by central institutions alongside members of civil society and supported by the UN.

It aimed to strengthen the three main areas on Women, Peace, and Security: increase and assuring the participation of women in decision-making and peacebuilding processes; introduce gender mainstreaming in the security sector; and, provide access to justice for victims of sexual violence during the War. Only the last one is being implemented with the set up of the Commission for the Verification of the status of Survivors of Sexual Violence during the war in 2018.

The Security and Gender Group (SGG) has worked since 2007. Chaired by UN Women, the multi-stakeholder forum aims to enhance cooperation on gender issues among international and national actors, both from public institutions and civil society. Through the years, the SGG has made several public statements calling for the inclusion of women in international negotiations, including the Dialogue.

In May 2020, GoK approved the Kosovo Program for Gender Equality 2020-2024<sup>25</sup> and its Action Plan 2020-2022, thus obliging institutions to implement it according to the activities set in the Action Plan. Agency for Gender Equality within the Office of the Prime Minister is responsible for monitoring the implementation and annually reporting on it.

As stated in the Program, the overall strategic objective is to “ensure that gender equality is placed at the center of the transformation processes in Kosovo, within all structures, institutions, policies, procedures, practices, and programs of the government, agencies, civil society, the private sector, and the donors’ community.”<sup>26</sup>

Increasing equal participation and representation in the decision-making process and increasing women’s participation in the negotiation is also set by this Program as one of the goals.

<sup>25</sup> Government of Kosovo: <https://kryeministri.rks-gov.net/en/the-government-approves-kosovo-program-for-gender-equality-and-the-decision-to-initiate-procedures-for-declaring-the-former-prison-in-prishtina-a-museum/>

<sup>26</sup> Kosovo Program for Gender Equality 2020-2024, page 10 <https://abgj.rks-gov.net/assets/cms/uploads/files/AGE%20Kosovo%20Program%20for%20Gender%20Equality%202020-2024.pdf>

## **Increasing equal participation and representation in the decision-making process in line with the requirements of Law on Gender Equality<sup>27</sup>**

To guarantee equal gender participation in decision-making processes, the Program stresses the need to harmonize and supplement laws (in particular, Law on Elections, Law on Financing Political Parties, and Rules of Procedure of the Assembly of Kosovo) to comply with the Law on Gender Equality.

Political Parties, and Rules of Procedure of the Assembly of Kosovo) to comply with the Law on Gender Equality.

Public institutions need to implement affirmative measures to meet the gender quota set by the Law on Gender Equality for women to represent 50% of employees at all levels.

To promote women who are already part of public institutions on decision-making positions at both local and central levels, institutions should support their professional advancement by offering scholarships and training sessions necessary for leadership positions.

There is also a need for organizing awareness campaigns on transparency and equal fund allocation for women and men in political parties.

## **Increasing women's participation in the negotiation, peace, and reconciliation processes<sup>28</sup>**

This objective aims to advocate for women's inclusion in peace, negotiation, and reconciliation processes, including government mechanisms or commissions dealing with the past, including the participation of women from different ethnicities.

The Program sets the need to address reparation for survivors of sexual violence, war crimes, and sexual violence against women in 1998-1999 to be included in the currently active Dialogue between Kosovo and Serbia. Activities that will lead to fulfilling this objective are lobbying and advocating women's inclusion in negotiation, peace, and reconciliation processes and organizing public debates on women's representation in negotiation, peace, and reconciliation.

The action plan on Gender Equality has no data from previous years on the participation and representation of women in public institutions. Still, it sets the target of 30% in 2021-2022 and 40% in 2024. In 2017/2018, women held 27% of management and senior management positions in ministries and executive agencies at the central level. The goal to achieve in 2021/2022 is 28% and 30% in 2024.<sup>29</sup>

At the same positions on a municipal level, in 2017/2018, there were 20% of women. By 2021/2022, there should be 25% of women and 30% in 2024. By 2024 there should also be 50% of women in Kosovo Assembly and Municipal Assemblies.

Regarding the level of women's representation in negotiation, peace, and reconciliation processes, the Action plan stresses that in 2018 they were not represented at all. The goal for 2021/2022 is 20%, and by 2024, 30% of women should be in these processes.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>27</sup> Ibid, page 65

<sup>28</sup> Ibid, page 66

<sup>29</sup> Ibid page 66

<sup>30</sup> Ibid, page 132

The Action Plan, 2020-2022 of the Kosovo Program for Gender Equality 2020-2024, has a budget cost of 13,726,638 euros. The budgetary cost of 2,596,350 Euros will be funded by the Kosovo budget, whereas the amount of 11,140,288 euros will be covered by donors. The main donors expected to support KPGE's Action Plan for 2020-2022 are European Commission, SIDA, UN Agencies in Kosovo, and other international partners.<sup>31</sup>



(Photo Illustration: AFP – Women in Kosovo)

<sup>31</sup> Ibid, page 72



# Women in decision making positions in Kosovo

In 2021 Kosovo elected the second woman president, Vjosa Osmani. 44 MPs in the Kosovo Assembly (out of 120) and five ministers in the Kosovo Government (out of 15) are women, more than any previous governing and legislative bodies.

Kosovo Assembly has 14 parliamentary committees. Women chair eight of them.<sup>32</sup>

Committee on Human Rights, Gender Equality, Victims of Sexual Violence During the War, Missing Persons and Petitions<sup>33</sup> is the only committee with women as the vast majority members (9 out of 11), and a chairperson is a woman. The Oversight Committee for Kosovo Intelligence Agency and Committee on Security and Defense Affairs are the only two committees with one woman (1 out of 11 members). Nevertheless, the chairperson of the Oversight Committee for the Kosovo Intelligence Agency is a woman.

Kosovo Agency of Statistics is annually<sup>34</sup> publishing gender statistics in the "Women and Men in Kosovo" publication. However, the latest available statistics are from 2018/2019.<sup>35</sup>

In 2018, 10 women and 75 men were in senior management level positions, while 390 women and 1023 men were in leading level positions in Kosovo Government ministries.<sup>36</sup>

**Table 2. Employees in decision-making positions by the Ministry, 2018**

Ministries	Senior management level				Leading level			
	Gender		Gender distribution		Gender		Gender distribution	
	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men
Office of the Prime Minister	1	8	11	89	39	85	31	69
of the Security Forces		1	0	100	9	27	25	75
of Trade & Industry	2	7	22	78	13	33	28	72
of Health	1	3	25	75	10	13	43	57
of Culture, Youth, Sports & Resident Affairs		2	0	100	21	40	34	66
of Infrastructure		1	0	100	5	32	14	86
of Labor & Social Welfare		4	0	100	19	64	23	77
of Public Administration	1	2	33	67	14	25	36	64
of Education, Science & Technology	3	12	20	80	22	57	28	72
of Economics & Finance		4	0	100	53	175	23	77
of Agriculture, Forestry & Rural Development		4	0	100	19	48	28	72
of Economic Development		2	0	100	8	25	24	76
of Local Government Administration	1		100	0	12	11	52	48
of Environment & Spatial Planning		3	0	100	11	34	24	76
of Justice		8	0	100	31	81	28	72
of Internal Affairs		6	0	100	63	200	24	76
of Foreign Affairs		3	0	100	4	16	20	80
for Communities & Returns		1	0	100	4	11	27	73
for European Integration		1	0	100	8	15	35	65
for Diaspora	1		100	0	4	14	22	78
The Assembly of Kosovo								
Presidency		1	0	100	17	14	55	45
Regional MZH		1	0	100	3	3	50	50
Innovation & Entrepreneurship		1	0	100	1		100	0

Data source: MPA, November 2020

<sup>32</sup> Kosovo Assembly website, <https://www.kuvendikosoves.org/eng/comittees/>

<sup>33</sup> Committee on Human Rights, Gender Equality, Victims of Sexual Violence During the War, Missing Persons and Petitions, Kosovo Assembly website, <https://www.kuvendikosoves.org/eng/comittees/committee/?committee=56>

<sup>34</sup> Women and Men in Kosovo, 2014–2015, [https://abgj.rks-gov.net/assets/cms/uploads/files/Publikimet%20ABGJ/ASK%20Women%20and%20Man%202014%202015\(1\).pdf](https://abgj.rks-gov.net/assets/cms/uploads/files/Publikimet%20ABGJ/ASK%20Women%20and%20Man%202014%202015(1).pdf)

Women and Men in Kosovo, 2016–2017, <https://ask.rks-gov.net/en/kosovo-agency-of-statistics/add-news/women-and-men-in-koso-vo-2016-2017>

<sup>35</sup> Women and Men in Kosovo, 2018–2019, <https://ask.rks-gov.net/media/6118/women-and-man-2018-2019.pdf>

<sup>36</sup> Women and Men in Kosovo, 2018–2019, page 62, <https://ask.rks-gov.net/media/6118/women-and-man-2018-2019.pdf>

In 2018 in Kosovo diplomatic missions, 46 (29%) of the staff members were women (112 employees were men – 71%). In 2019 women's representation in diplomatic missions slightly dropped; 50 employees were women (27.8%), while 130 (72.2%) were men.<sup>37</sup>

In 38 Kosovo municipalities, all mayors are men. Kosovo only once had a woman mayor – Mimoza Kusari Lila, who held this position in Gjakova from 2014–2017. However, this situation may likely change as the upcoming municipal elections will have 13 women, mayoral candidates.<sup>38</sup>

Men outnumber women in all municipal institutions. Most of the deputies in local assemblies are also men (347–women, 637 – men). Four thousand five hundred seven men (4507) hold administrative positions compared to 1871 women, while 303 men and 101 women are in decision-making positions in local municipal structures. In Dragas, Mamusa, and Strpce, no woman holds leading positions. Out of 38 Municipal Assembly chairpersons, only 6 of them are women.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>37</sup> Ibid, page 64

<sup>38</sup> Central Election Commission, list of certified mayoral candidates for the upcoming 2021 local elections: [https://www.kqz-ks.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/09/2021-09-09-Lista-Totale-Kryetar-Komune-Tetor-2021\\_final\\_7.pdf](https://www.kqz-ks.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/09/2021-09-09-Lista-Totale-Kryetar-Komune-Tetor-2021_final_7.pdf)

<sup>39</sup> Women in Politics III, Gender Representation at Local Level, Balkans Policy Research Group, March 2021, <https://balkansgroup.org/en/women-in-politics-iii-gender-representation-at-local-level/>

## Women at the negotiating table in Kosovo

In the last two decades, Kosovo has been three times at the negotiating table with Serbia - in Rambouillet in 1999, then in Vienna in 2006-2007, and since 2011 in Brussels. The first two negotiating processes were not successful- peace agreements were not reached, while public expectations of the EU-led Brussels dialogue are declining as the years pass by.

Kosovar Center for Security Studies public survey suggests that citizens of Kosovo and Serbia largely share their negative perceptions of the Brussels dialogue process. They believe the dialogue lacked transparency and did not change anything or that they had no personal benefits from the process.<sup>40</sup>

All these negotiation processes have in common that women were not significantly represented at the table. At the Rambouillet peace conference, Kosovo Albanians were represented by 16 men and one woman. During the Vienna talks, the all-men "Unity team" was negotiating in the name of men and women in Kosovo. One woman was the head of the Kosovo delegation in Brussels negotiations from 2011 until 2017. Since then, only one more woman was officially a part of the Kosovo delegation in technical dialog in the first half of 2018.

During this time, in Kosovo, there have been local initiatives that aimed to address the role of women in peace and security. In a mapping exercise done by UN Women, UNDP, and the EU, 88 of such initiatives from 1999-2012 were identified. Most of them have been funded by international organizations, which have supported local institutions to address gender inequality and the lack of participation of women in politics, security, and economic policies.<sup>41</sup>

Out of 88 initiatives from 1999 until 2012, only three were focused on women at the negotiating table: **Advocacy Training and Resource Centre (ATRC)** organized a public discussion on the issue of women's participation in Kosovo's final status negotiation Organized public discussions with Kosovo Women's Lobby to advocate the inclusion of women in peace negotiations in 2006.

**Also, in 2006, Kosova Women's Network (KWN)** organized a protest to include women in the negotiation team, basing it on the calls of the UNSCR 1325 in 2006; - In 2007, the KWN signed a memorandum which marked a beginning of jointly monitoring the negotiations between Kosovo-Serbia to ensure that women voices were taken into account (funded by UNWomen).

In 2012, there was also an initiative by the **Regional Women's Lobby for Peace, Security, and Justice (RWL)**, which organized the dialogue between women MPs from Serbia and Kosovo (funded by the Embassy of Finland). Since then, the RWL has continued working and meeting regularly and raising awareness over the need to include women from both Kosovo and Serbia in the dialogue.

<sup>40</sup> Perception on Kosovo - Serbia Dialogue and Identity Issues, Kosovo and Serbia Citizens' Perspective, Kosovar Centre for Security Studies and Belgrade Centre for Security Policy, January 2021, page 5, [http://www.qkss.org/repository/docs/Dialogue\\_ENG\\_\(1\)\\_704168.pdf](http://www.qkss.org/repository/docs/Dialogue_ENG_(1)_704168.pdf)

<sup>41</sup> Mapping of Local Initiatives on Women, Peace and Security in Kosovo 1999-2012, UNDP, [https://www.ks.undp.org/content/kosovo/en/home/library/womens\\_empowerment/mapping-of-local-initiatives-on-women--peace-and-security-in-kos.html](https://www.ks.undp.org/content/kosovo/en/home/library/womens_empowerment/mapping-of-local-initiatives-on-women--peace-and-security-in-kos.html)



## The Rambouillet Conference on Kosovo

The Rambouillet Conference on Kosovo<sup>42</sup> marked the end of efforts to resolve the Kosovo crisis peacefully. Peace talks began on February 6, 1999, in the French castle of Rambouillet near Paris.



(Photo Illustration: REUTERS)

The conference was attended by representatives of the authorities in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Kosovo Albanians, with the mediation of the envoys of the USA, Russia, and the EU. After 17 days of negotiations, talks were terminated without results on February 23, 1999.

Kosovo Albanian delegation consisted of 17 members – Azem Syla, Bajram Kosumi, Blerim Shala, Bujar Bukoshi, Fehmi Agani, Hashim Thaçi, Hydajet Hyseni, Ibrahim Rugova, Idriz Ajeti, Jakup Krasniqi, Mark Krasniqi, Mehmet Hajrizi, Rame Buja, Rexhep Qosja, Veton Surroi, Xhavit Haliti, and only one woman Edita Tahiri.<sup>43</sup>

In her testimony for the Kosovo oral history project, Tahiri explained how the Kosovo delegation assembled. “The Rambouillet Agreement where we participated, I was the only woman in the delegation of the Republic of Kosovo, but the proposal to be there did not come from within because we never had any proposals. The names for attending the Rambouillet Conference came from the United States. So the actors of the peace movement and the armed movement were chosen.

<sup>42</sup> More on Rambouillet conference on Kosovo, read: <https://library.fes.de/libalt/journals/swetsfulltext/5385086.pdf>

<sup>43</sup> Who are the members of delegations, weekly Vreme, no. 434, 13th of February 1999 [https://www.vreme.com/arhiva\\_html/434/3.html](https://www.vreme.com/arhiva_html/434/3.html)

But the fact was that I was the only female plus I was the Foreign Minister with ten years experience in international relations", explained Tahiri.<sup>44</sup>

On March 24, NATO began bombing the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, which after 78 days resulted in the withdrawal of Serbian forces from Kosovo. The military-technical agreement between the International Security Force (KFOR) and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Republic of Serbia was signed on June 9, 1999, at the military airport near Kumanovo.

The agreement stopped NATO airstrikes on the FRY, and a day later, Resolution 1244 was adopted in the Security Council.<sup>45</sup>

This resolution provides a framework for resolving the conflict in Kosovo by authorizing the deployment of an international civilian and military presence that would give an international transitional administration and security presence that would oversee the return of refugees and the withdrawal of military forces from Kosovo. The resolution also states that the international civilian presence will facilitate a political process to determine the future status of Kosovo.<sup>46</sup>

A total of 13,548 persons were killed or disappeared during the armed conflict in Kosovo. Murders, deaths associated with the War, or disappearances have been documented in the Kosovo Memory Book – of which 10,333 were civilians (1.1.1998–31.12.2000). Among these civilian casualties, 8,692 were Albanians, 1,196 were Serbs, 151 were Roma, 86 were Bosniaks, 77 were Ashkalis, 55 were Montenegrin, 37 were Egyptians, and 11 were Gorani, 9 were Turks and 19 members of other ethnic groups. The majority of civilians and fighters were killed or disappeared in 1999 (11,225 people). Among those killed at any time between 1999 and 2000, there were 10,182 men, 1,579 women. The numbers do not include the number of people who went missing in the same period, among whom there are additional 1,432 men, 264 women. Additional 2,152 people were murdered, went missing, or died due to the War in 1998.<sup>47</sup>

## Vienna negotiations on the final status of Kosovo

In the years following the adoption of UN SCR 1244 international community was trying to find a solution to Kosovo's 'final status.' There has been no debate about it until 2003 when the first direct talks between Serbian and Kosovo Albanian leaders started. In December 2003, the UN set out the conditions for final status negotiations to take place in 2005. On October 24, 2005, the UN Security Council (UNSC) gave the green light for talks. In November 2005, the UN Secretary-General appointed former Finnish president Martti Ahtisaari as 'Special Envoy for the future status process for Kosovo.' Ahtisaari's mission was to facilitate a political settlement that would determine the future status of Kosovo. He and his team held exhaustive negotiations with the leadership of Serbia and Kosovo. The first "final status" talks were held in Vienna in February 2006.<sup>48</sup>

In February 2007, Martti Ahtisaari presented an outline of the proposal for Kosovo's status to Belgrade and Pristina. By the end of the month, the final round of talks between the two sides commenced in Vienna. The Kosovo Albanian side accepted the proposal without significant changes, while the Serbian side opposed most of the plan, believing it violated the territorial integrity of Serbia. On March 10, 2007.

<sup>44</sup> Oral History Kosovo, Edita Tahiri, <https://oralhistorykosovo.org/edita-tahiri/>

<sup>45</sup> Military Technical Agreement between the International Security Force (KFOR) and the Governments of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Republic of Serbia, <https://peacemaker.un.org/kosovoserbia-militarytechnicalagreement99>

<sup>46</sup> Security Council Resolution 1244 (1999) on the situation relating Kosovo, <https://peacemaker.un.org/kosovo-resolution1244>

<sup>47</sup> You can download the database compiled by the Humanitarian Law Centre in English on the following link: [http://www.kosovskaknjiga-pamcenja.org/?page\\_id=48&lang=de](http://www.kosovskaknjiga-pamcenja.org/?page_id=48&lang=de)

<sup>48</sup> Final Status Negotiations on Kosovo within the UN Security Council: [https://www.vvn.be/wp-content/uploads/2011/04/CASUS\\_KOSO-VO\\_2007\\_DEFINITIEF.pdf](https://www.vvn.be/wp-content/uploads/2011/04/CASUS_KOSO-VO_2007_DEFINITIEF.pdf)

Ahtisaari held his final meeting on the future status process for Kosovo with representatives from Belgrade and Pristina.<sup>49</sup> Despite a lengthy negotiation process (15 rounds of direct talks of negotiating teams during 2006<sup>50</sup>), parties did not reach an agreement.

During the Vienna talks, the Kosovo side in negotiations was represented by the Kosovo Team of Unity,<sup>51</sup> all men negotiating team led by President Fatmir Sejdiu, Prime Minister Agim Çeku, President of the Assembly Kolë Berisha, Hashim Thaçi, and Veton Surroi.

Edita Tahiri, the negotiating team member during the Rambouillet peace conference, stated women in Kosovo “wanted to have women at the negotiating table” and that they even “organized coordination between women leaders in politics and civil society; to lobby for having women in Vienna talks.”<sup>52</sup>

A prominent Kosovo human rights activist, Igballe Rogova, Executive Director of Kosovo Women’s Network, recalled that reasoning for not having women in the Unity team was that none got the seats in parliament.<sup>53</sup>

Nevertheless, women in Kosovo tried to find another way to get at the negotiating table. Together with the NGO Women in black from Belgrade, they formed a peace coalition advocating for women’s inclusion in Vienna talks.

In 2006 they founded the Regional Women’s Lobby for Peace, Security, and Justice in Southeast Europe (RWL) which brought together prominent women from civil society and politics throughout the former Yugoslavia to advocate on issues of common concern.

“We also used [RWL] to lobby for having women in the Vienna negotiations. We lobbied with political parties here, the institutions of the Kosovo government, the Parliament, and the President.

We also lobbied with UNMIK officials. We even lobbied directly with Ahtisaari, by meeting him, by sending different letters... we lobbied the Security Council”, Edita Tahiri recalled.<sup>54</sup> Their efforts were fruitless. The Vienna talks ended up without any woman representative in Kosovo negotiating team at the table.

“The Vienna talks were held without women at the table, and I consider it a failure, but not of us as women, because we were proactive. We consider it men’s failure. I don’t like to be against men. I think that a partnership between the genders can help women, but this was a case where a masculine mentality dominated and left women out of the process. This did not come only from Kosovar men, but also from internationals.” – Igballe Rogova<sup>55</sup>

On February 17, 2008, Kosovo declared independence in full accordance with the recommendations of UN Special Envoy Martti Ahtisaari and his Comprehensive Proposal for the Kosovo Status Settlement.

<sup>49</sup> Chronology of Events, Kosovo: <https://www.securitycouncilreport.org/chronology/kosovo.php>

<sup>50</sup> Negotiations process and Kosovo status proposal: <https://www.osce.org/files/f/documents/e/1/24787.pdf>

<sup>51</sup> The Unity Team comprises the president, the president of the assembly, the prime minister of Kosovo, and the leaders of the two main governing and two main opposition parties. It was created after several failed attempts to serve as a bridge between the narrow coalition government (LDK and AAK), and the two main Kosovo Albanian opposition parties (PDK and ORA).

<sup>52</sup> A collection of stories about the implementation of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace, and Security in Kosovo, page 41: [20130120165559661.pdf \(womensnetwork.org\)](https://www.womensnetwork.org/20130120165559661.pdf)

<sup>53</sup> Ibid, page 42

<sup>54</sup> Ibid, page 43

<sup>55</sup> Ibid, page 44



## Brussels negotiations

Despite Kosovo declaring independence, Serbia continues to view Kosovo as part of its territory. The USA recognized Kosovo's independence, including 23 EU Member States, but full recognition and membership of most international organizations are still a long way off.

In October 2008, The UN General Assembly voted for a resolution requesting the International Court of Justice for an advisory opinion on whether the unilateral declaration of independence of Kosovo was in accordance with international law.<sup>56</sup>

In 2010 the International Court of Justice ruled that Kosovo's declaration of independence is not in conflict with International Law or Resolution 1244. Among other things, the Court found that the declaration of independence did not emanate from the Provisional Institutions of Self-Government of Kosovo, bound by Resolution 1244.<sup>57</sup>

With the new resolution in September 2010,<sup>58</sup> UN General Assembly acknowledged the content of the advisory opinion and welcomed the role of the European Union in the facilitation of dialogue between the parties, which was the foundation of the still ongoing negotiating process popularly known as the Brussels dialogue.



(Photo Illustration: EUROPEAN UNION 2011)

<sup>56</sup> Resolution adopted by the UN General Assembly A/RES/63/3: <https://www.securitycouncilreport.org/atf/cf/%7B65BFCF9B-6D27-4E9C-8CD3-CF6E4FF96FF9%7D/Kos%20A%20RES63%203.pdf>

<sup>57</sup> ICJ, Accordance with international law of the unilateral declaration of independence in respect of Kosovo, <https://www.icj-cij.org/en/case/141>

<sup>58</sup> Resolution adopted by the UN General Assembly A/RES/64/298: <https://www.securitycouncilreport.org/atf/cf/%7B65BFCF9B-6D27-4E9C-8CD3-CF6E4FF96FF9%7D/ROL%20A%20RES64%20298.pdf>

The Brussels dialogue started in 2011. The first phase of the negotiations, known as “technical dialogue,” lasted from March 2011 until February 2012. This time, the Kosovo delegation was led by a woman.

The Head of the Negotiating Team of Pristina was Edita Tahiri, Deputy Prime Minister of Kosovo. She was negotiating with Borislav Stefanovic, Political Director at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Serbia, with the mediation of the EU facilitator for the Dialogue, Robert Cooper.

There were nine rounds in this phase of the dialogue during which agreements on freedom of movement, civil registry, custom stamps, cadaster, recognition of university diplomas, integrated border management, regional representation, and cooperation were reached.<sup>59</sup>

Since 2012, the dialogue was elevated on the level of political dialogue, with two Prime Ministers being principal negotiators. In the second phase, the negotiations between the Prime Ministers Ivica Dačić and Hashim Thaçi were mediated by Catherine Ashton (October 2012 – March 2014).

In the third phase (2015), Prime Ministers Aleksandar Vučić and Isa Mustafa negotiated with Federica Mogherini as the EU facilitator in the dialogue.<sup>60</sup> During this time, numerous discussions, both in Brussels and in various other cities, have been held on a technical level (Heads of the Negotiating Teams of Kosovo and Serbia) to specify deals arranged on a higher level.

Edita Tahiri was head of the delegation of Kosovo from 2011-2017. From 2014 until 2017, she was also Minister for Dialogue. “I must say that today, in this time, women have made a lot of progress not only in Kosovo but also worldwide,” Edita Tahiri reflected in 2011: “I think that this is a victory for all our work, to prove to the society that the women of Kosovo can lead in a similar manner as men. There should not be gender discrimination [in the state’s] leading structures.

This is that victory. We worked hard for Vienna. We got the Brussels Dialogue.”<sup>61</sup>

Others agreed at that time:

“If you look today at Edita, we did so much work around her. During the negotiations [in 2006], we went on the street and shouted, ‘We have Edita! Why don’t you take her?’” said Igballe Rogova, Executive Director of Kosovo Women’s Network in 2011.<sup>62</sup> However, in 2011 Tahiri was asked, “to what extent has she been able to raise issues specifically impacting women and girls within the negotiations?”

“Well, this has not been a topic, but I am sure that in the time when the topic of war damage will come up, we will initiate this discussion. [...] My focus is dialogue, interests, issues, but sometimes I may not visualize what women’s interests are. [...] I think that I am only thinking about the topic of missing persons and war damages; then we have to work on the issue of women.”<sup>63</sup>

The presence of a woman in the team did not seem enough for the women’s organizations. In December 2013, Women’s rights organizations from Kosovo, Serbia, and Sweden, sent a letter to the High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, Catherine Ashton.

The letter said that United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security had not been implemented during the Dialogue between Kosovo and Serbia.

Ashton responded in January 2014, thanking the activists for their interest in the process of normalizing

<sup>59</sup> Overview of the EU facilitated dialogue between Belgrade and Pristina, Nikola Burazer, Centar savremene politike, Belgrade, October 2015, page 5

<sup>60</sup> Ibid, page 4

<sup>61</sup> A collection of stories about the implementation of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace, and Security in Kosovo, page 53: [20130120165559661.pdf \(womensnetwork.org\)](https://www.womensnetwork.org/20130120165559661.pdf)

<sup>62</sup> Ibid, page 52

<sup>63</sup> Ibid, page 53

relations between Belgrade and Pristina.<sup>64</sup>

In another interview, Tahiri admitted to some of the concerns about the lack of women in the negotiating team and said that if there were more women in higher positions in Government, she would have recommended them for being part of the negotiating team:

"The groups [negotiation teams] are formed based on competency and professionalism, and I do not refer to gender balance when creating my team but competency because it is impossible to interfere in the process by asking for a specific gender to be recommended.

More chances for women to be recommended so to be part of the delegation would be if there were more women in decision-making, in the public administration and higher positions in the Government." (Edita Tahiri, Minister of Dialogue for Kosovo).<sup>65</sup>

The mandate of Edita Tahiri as the head of the Kosovo delegation and Minister for the Dialogue came to an end in 2017, when a no-confidence motion was passed against the Government.<sup>66</sup> This led to snap parliamentary elections in Kosovo.

The new Government was formed in September 2017. On a high political level of dialogue, Kosovo was represented by Hashim Thaci (elected in 2016). Still, the head of the Kosovo delegation on a technical level, previously held by Edita Tahiri, remained vacant.

In January 2018, after the EU requested the Kosovo Government to appoint a head of the Kosovo delegation, prime minister Ramush Haradinaj set Avni Arifi as Tahiri's successor.<sup>67</sup>

Kosovo's new negotiating team had six members – head of the delegation Avni Arifi, Alban Dermaku, Ardian Arifaj, Blerand Stavileci, Bernard Nikaj, and one woman – Meliza Haradinaj Stublla.<sup>68</sup>



(Photo Illustration: TWITTER @MelizaHaradinaj)

Meliza Haradinaj Stublla served as an advisor to prime minister Ramush Haradinaj between 2017 and

<sup>64</sup> <https://womensnetwork.org/baroness-catherine-ashton-replies-to-activists/>

<sup>65</sup> Where are the Women? Hindering Factors to Women's Participation in Eu facilitated Dialogue: Kosovo – Serbia Dialogue as a Case Study, University of Gothenburg, page 23, <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/79175435.pdf>

<sup>66</sup> <https://balkaninsight.com/2017/05/10/third-kosovo-government-premature-collapse-05-10-2017-1/>

<sup>67</sup> <https://prishtinainsight.com/avni-arifi-replace-edita-tahiri-kosovo-serbia-dialogue/>

<sup>68</sup> <https://kryeministri.rks-gov.net/en/kosovos-negotiating-team-for-dialogue-with-serbia-starts-the-series-of-meetings-in-brussels/>

2019. On June 3, 2020, she was appointed foreign minister in Government, led by Avdullah Hoti, becoming the first woman to hold the position in Kosovo. Haradinaj Stublla stepped down as foreign minister and left the Alliance for the Future of Kosovo in March 2021 after the media published allegations that her husband bribed election officials to help her win a parliamentary seat.<sup>69</sup>

Negotiating team of Kosovo with Meliza Haradinaj Stublla as a member did not get much public attention. In 2018, high-level negotiations between two presidents, Thaci and Vucic, supposedly led to the idea of “land swap/territorial exchange” being offered as a solution at the table.<sup>70</sup>

It backlashed in Kosovo and resulted in the Government forming a new negotiating team in September 2018<sup>71</sup> that was supposed to represent Kosovo in high-level negotiations, thus preventing the president from reaching the alleged agreement, widely seen as harmful for Kosovo. Members of the new negotiating team were all men.

In November 2018, Kosovo Prime Minister Ramush Haradinaj imposed a 100 percent tariff on Serbian imports, which led to the suspension of the dialogue (for the next 20 months) because Serbia refused to participate until the taxes were abolished.<sup>72</sup>

Although there was no dialogue, the Kosovo Government pursued the idea of legally defining the role of the new negotiating team and constraining the part of the Kosovo president in negotiations.

In December 2018 Kosovo assembly adopted a resolution on dialogue and negotiating team representing Kosovo. This resolution, among other things, foresaw drafting a Law on Dialogue.<sup>73</sup>

In March 2019 Assembly of Kosovo adopted **Law No. 06/L-145 on the Duties, Responsibilities, and Competences of the State Delegation of the Republic of Kosovo in the Dialogue Process with Serbia**. According to this Law, the Kosovo delegation in Dialogue with Serbia shall consist of eleven members, representatives of the government coalition and the opposition, in a close proportional representation number. Provisions of this Law do not have any gender provisions, enabling women inclusion at the negotiating table.<sup>74</sup>

The new Kosovo negotiating team did not last long. In June 2019, the Constitutional Court ruled its mandate and competencies were unconstitutional.<sup>75</sup> The court decision also ruled that it is in the Government's competency to suggest and lead the internal and external policy of the country. At the same time, the president may be consulted on the issues related to foreign policy.

Kosovo faced another snap parliamentary election in October 2019, following the resignation of Kosovo PM Ramush Haradinaj after his summons for questioning by the Specialist Prosecutor's Office in The Hague, which is probing wartime and post-war crimes in Kosovo. New Government was formed in February 2020, but it lasted only 50 days. At the end of March 2020, MPs in Kosovo overthrew the Government in a no-confidence motion.<sup>76</sup>

During this time, Kosovo did not abolish tariffs on Serbian goods, which meant no dialogue.

<sup>69</sup> <https://balkaninsight.com/2021/03/09/kosovo-foreign-minister-resigns-amid-vote-rigging-allegations/>

<sup>70</sup> <https://balkaninsight.com/2020/06/16/land-swap-idea-resurfaces-to-haunt-serbia-kosovo-talks/>

<sup>71</sup> <https://www.slobodnaevropa.org/a/29468863.html>

<sup>72</sup> <https://kossev.info/brisel-ski-dijalog-u-2019-godina-u-kojoj-dijalog-nije-postojao/>

<sup>73</sup> Resolution on the dialogue process for the normalization of relations between Kosovo and Serbia:

[http://old.kuvendikosoves.org/common/docs/2018\\_12\\_18\\_Resolution%2006-R-015.pdf](http://old.kuvendikosoves.org/common/docs/2018_12_18_Resolution%2006-R-015.pdf)

<sup>74</sup> Draft Law on the Duties, Responsibilities and Competencies of the State Delegation of the Republic of Kosovo in the Dialogue Process with the Republic of Serbia, [https://www.koha.net/uploads/files/2018/December/24/1\\_Projektligji\\_per\\_Bisedime1545669620.pdf](https://www.koha.net/uploads/files/2018/December/24/1_Projektligji_per_Bisedime1545669620.pdf)

<sup>75</sup> Constitutional review of Law No. 06/L-145 on the Duties, Responsibilities and Competencies of the State Delegation of the Republic of Kosovo in the Dialogue Process with Serbia, <https://gjk-ks.org/en/decision/vleresim-i-kushtetutshmerise-se-ligjit-nr-06-l-145-per-detyrat-pergjegjesite-dhe-kompetencat-e-delegacionit-shteteror-te-republikes-se-kosoves-ne-procesin-e-dialogut-me-serbine/>

<sup>76</sup> No-Confidence Vote Topples Kurti Govt in Kosovo, Balkan Insight,

<https://balkaninsight.com/2020/03/25/no-confidence-vote-topples-kurti-govt-in-kosovo/>



The next Government formed in June 2020<sup>77</sup> removed all tariffs for goods produced in Serbia, which was the main obstacle for a resumption of talks with Belgrade.<sup>78</sup>

Leaders of Kosovo and Serbia, Avdullah Hoti and Aleksandar Vucic, after 20 months of break, continued talks in Brussels mediated by the latest facilitator /EU special envoy, Slovak diplomat Miroslav Lajcak appointed in March 2020.<sup>79</sup>

After resuming the talks, the place of state coordinator for the dialogue was once again vacant. By the end of July 2020, Kosovo prime minister appointed another man in this position, Skender Hyseni.<sup>80</sup>

Snap elections were triggered once again in Kosovo. The Constitutional Court ruled in December 2020 that the coalition government led by Avdullah Hoti was illegitimate because it had been voted in with the help of an invalid vote cast by an MP with a criminal conviction in the last three years.

The latest Government was formed in March 2021.<sup>81</sup> The first meeting between the new PM, Albin Kurti, and the president of Serbia, Aleksandar Vucic, was held in June in Brussels.<sup>82</sup>

Once again, the new prime minister had to name the chief negotiator on the technical level of the dialogue. Again, a man was appointed- Besnik Bislimi, the First Deputy Prime Minister of Kosovo.

In 2020 Kosovo Women's Network (KWN) sent an open letter to the then Government of Kosovo and the European Union Special Envoy for the Kosovo-Serbia Dialogue, Miroslav Lajcak. KWN has complained about women's non-inclusion in negotiating teams and the willingness to cooperate with the Government of Kosovo to propose the names of women with experience in this field. In April 2021, KWN had once again to express concern. Kosovo negotiating team got reinforcement – the team of experts for the dialogue. The only problem was this team comprises men only.<sup>83</sup>

Brussels dialogue between Kosovo and Serbia so far has been facilitated by EU representatives. Four of them have changed since 2011, two men and two women.

In the first phase of the negotiations from March 2011 until February 2012, the EU facilitator was Sir Robert Cooper, the counselor at EEAS. During the second phase of the dialogue, from October 2012 until March 2014, the High Representative of the EU for Foreign Affairs and Security policy, Lady Catherine Ashton, was appointed as an EU mediator. In the next phase of the dialogue, from March 2015, Federica Mogherini, the new High Representative of the European Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, replaced Catherine Ashton as the EU mediator in the dialogue.

As of March 2020, EU special envoy Slovak diplomat Miroslav Lajcak is facilitating negotiating process between Pristina and Belgrade. As of March 2020, EU special envoy Slovak diplomat Miroslav Lajcak is facilitating negotiating process between Pristina and Belgrade.

<sup>77</sup> Kosovo Parliament Confirms New Govt Under Hoti, <https://balkaninsight.com/2020/06/03/kosovo-parliament-confirms-new-govt-under-hoti/>

<sup>78</sup> Kosovo removes trade barriers on Serbia to allow talks, <https://www.euractiv.com/section/enlargement/news/kosovo-removes-trade-barriers-on-serbia-to-allow-talks/>

<sup>79</sup> Leaders Of Kosovo and Serbia Agree To Continue Talks After First In-Person Meeting in 20 months <https://www.rferl.org/a/kosovo-serbia-eu-talks-hoti-vucic/30732146.html>

<sup>80</sup> GoK website, <https://kryeministri.rks-gov.net/en/skender-hyseni-appointed-state-coordinator-for-dialogue/>

<sup>81</sup> Kosovo Parliament Elects Albin Kurti as Prime Minister, Balkan Insight, <https://balkaninsight.com/2021/03/22/kosovo-parliament-elects-albin-kurti-as-prime-minister/>

<sup>82</sup> <https://europeanwesternbalkans.com/2021/06/15/the-meeting-between-kurti-and-vucic-concluded-the-next-round-of-dialogue-is-in-july/>

<sup>83</sup> KWN Demands for Including Women and their Needs in Dialogue with Serbia, <https://womensnetwork.org/kwn-demands-for-including-women-and-their-needs-in-dialogue-with-serbia/>



## About the Project Inclusion of women at the negotiating table in Kosovo

EUSR Project "Inclusion of Women at the Negotiating Table in Kosovo", is a continuation of the EUSR project (2019–2020) "Women in Politics. Confidence, Influence and Effective Leadership. Ensuring Gender-responsive and Inclusive Political Dialogue Processes."

The project activities were designed to look closely at UNSC Resolution 1325 implementation in Kosovo, especially the pillar focused on the participation of women in peacebuilding initiatives and negotiations.

The overall objective of the project was to improve the ability of the target group of women to access positions of responsibility in negotiations as well as to engage in and advocate for the inclusion of women in high-level negotiations and political dialogues, as well as enable the EUSR to keep the dialogue on gender equality and women empowerment with relevant partners from local civil society, professional associations, Kosovo institutions and international community presence in Kosovo.



(Photo Illustration: New Social Initiative)



## ACTIVITY 1. Launching by Ambassador SZUNYOG, EUSR in Kosovo and Kick-off of the project

The one-day kick off session was held on July 21st at the Restaurant Collection in Pristina. The project was launched by the EU Ambassador, Tomáš Szunyog, who stressed that positive progress in terms of gender equality is not a result of natural progression, but efforts of many and called for these efforts to be extended.



(Photo Illustration: New Social Initiative)



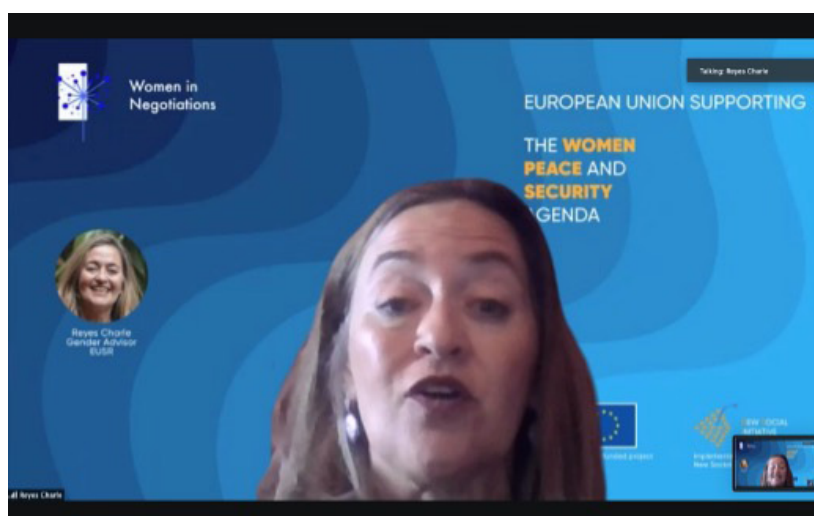
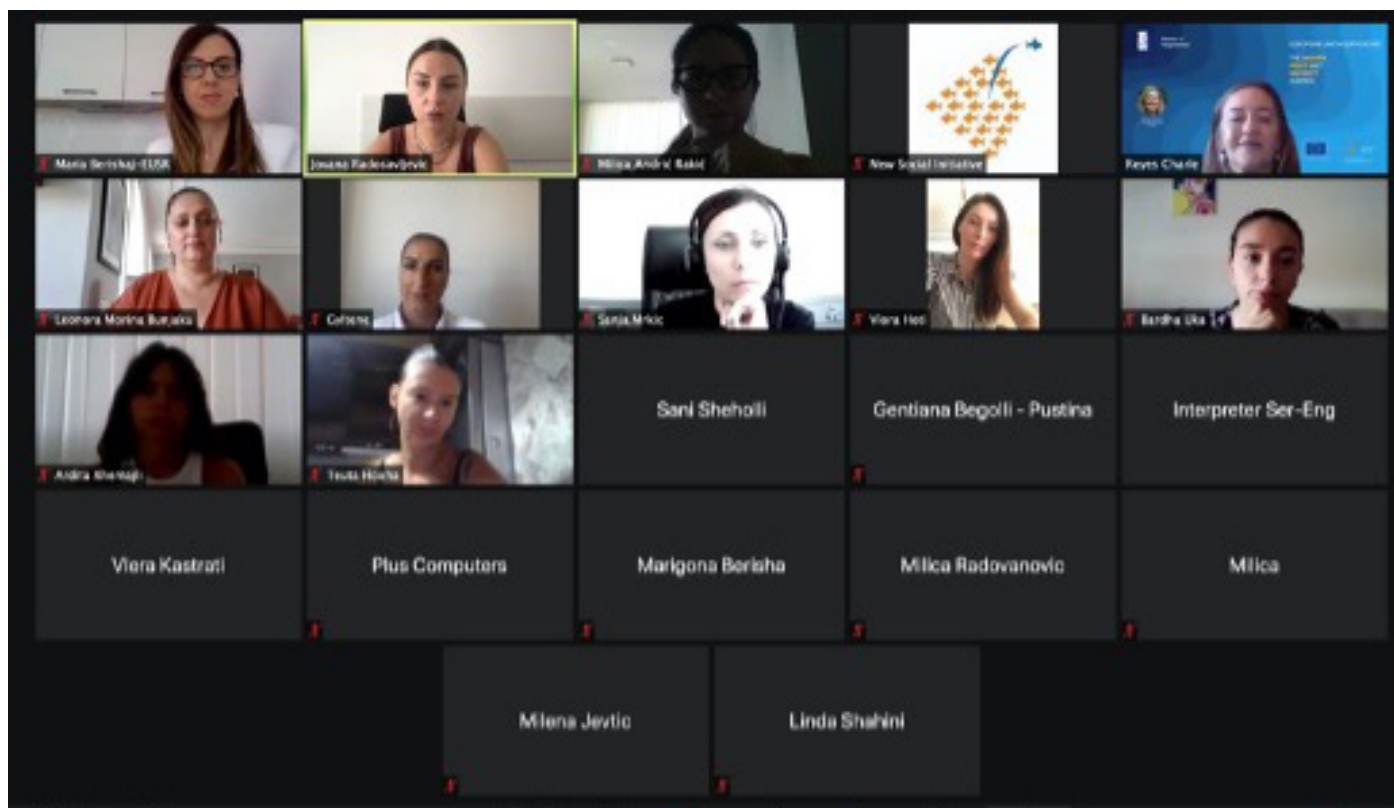
(Photo Illustration: New Social Initiative)

The all-day event also included a panel discussion with Besa Ismaili, Professor of English and Gender Studies, Raba Gjoshi, Researcher on Human Rights and Transitional Justice, and NSI Project Manager, Milica Andrić Rakić moderated by journalist Gentiana Begolli.

The panelist discussed the Women in Peace and Security Agenda in Kosovo and the implementation of Resolution 1325 on women, peace, and security.

## ACTIVITY 2. Training session on the EU Agenda for Gender Equality

The two-hour session aimed at making the participants get acquainted with the EU values, strategies, and policies on gender equality. Around 30 participants had the opportunity to see the official presentation about the EU Gender Action Plan and hear about the steps EU is taking to advance gender issues, delivered by the Gender Advisor in the Office of the European Union in Kosovo, Reyes Charle.



(Zoom screen shots: New Social Initiative)



## ACTIVITY 3. Discussion session on the role of women in international negotiations in Kosovo

This activity was a two-panel conference “Inclusion of Women at the negotiating table in Kosovo” in Pristina with five women, professionals and democracy and human rights fighters.



(Photo Illustration: New Social Initiative)

Karin Hernmarck Ahliny, Ambassador of Sweden to Kosovo and Barrie Lynne Freeman, Deputy Special Representative of the Secretary-General (DSRSG), United Nations Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) discussed their experiences as women in diplomacy in the first panel of the day.



(Photo Illustration: New Social Initiative)



The second panel was more local, bringing testimonies of women in academia by Linda Gusia, Head of the Department of Sociology at the University of Pristina, Nita Luci, Professor at the University of Pristina, and Jehona Lushaku Sadriu, Professor at the University of Pristina.



(Photo Illustration: New Social Initiative)

The welcoming remarks were delivered by Reyes Charle Cuellar, Gender Advisor to the European Union Special Representative in Kosovo (EUSR), and the Project Manager of this project, and Jarmo Helppikangas, Head of the Legal, Rule of Law and Human Rights Section in the EUSR.



(Photo Illustration: New Social Initiative)



The conference took place on August 31, 2021, in Swiss Diamond Hotel in Pristina (room Artana). This was a hybrid event, that hosted 30+ women participants in person, and 15+ persons via zoom.



(Photo Illustration: New Social Initiative)

## ACTIVITY 4. Six Roundtables in six Kosovo regions with the theme “Women and Leadership municipal level”

How to include more women at the negotiating table? Who could these women be? How many have there been so far and what has been their contribution? These are some of the questions we have asked roundtable participants to over 120 women and men from Severna Mitrovica/Mitrovica Veriore, Gračanica/Gračanicë, Prishtinë/Priština, Prizren, Uroševac/Ferizaj, and Gjiilan/Gnjilane.



(Photo Illustration: New Social Initiative)

Recommendations made during the roundtable discussions and other activities related to this project are summarized in this report.

## Survey and round table findings

Total number of respondents:

211 (Albanians 121, Serbs 71, Gorani 2, Turks 2, Bosniaks 11, RAE 3, N/A – 1)

Serbian language respondents: 85 (74.1% female, 25.9% male)

Albanian language respondents: 126 (72.2% female, 27% male, 0.8% do not want to declare)

Since declaring independence in 2008, Kosovo had five elected presidents:

Fatmir Sejdi 2006–2010,  
Behgjet Pacolli February 22, 2011 – March 2011,  
Atifete Jahjaga 2011–2016, Hashim Thaci 2016 – November 2020, and  
Vjosa Osmani April 2021 –

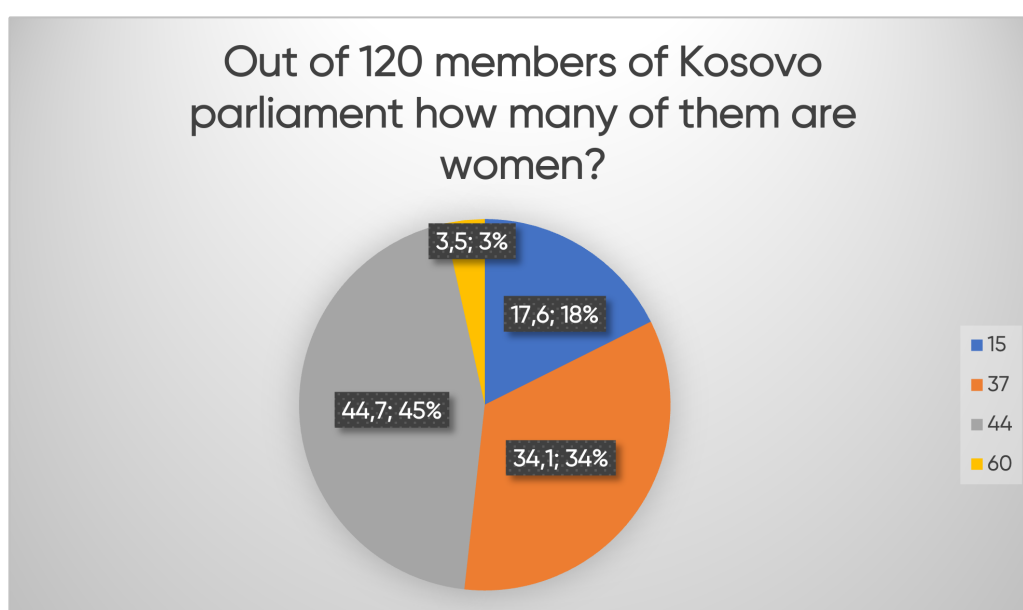
Only one of them so far completed full term – Atifete Jahajaga.

When asked how many women so far have been elected presidents of Kosovo, 82.94% of respondents stated two (69.41% of Serb respondents, 92.06% Albanian respondents)

When asked to write their names, most respondents reported Atifete Jahjaga and Vjosa Osmani in Serbian and Albanian language questionnaires.

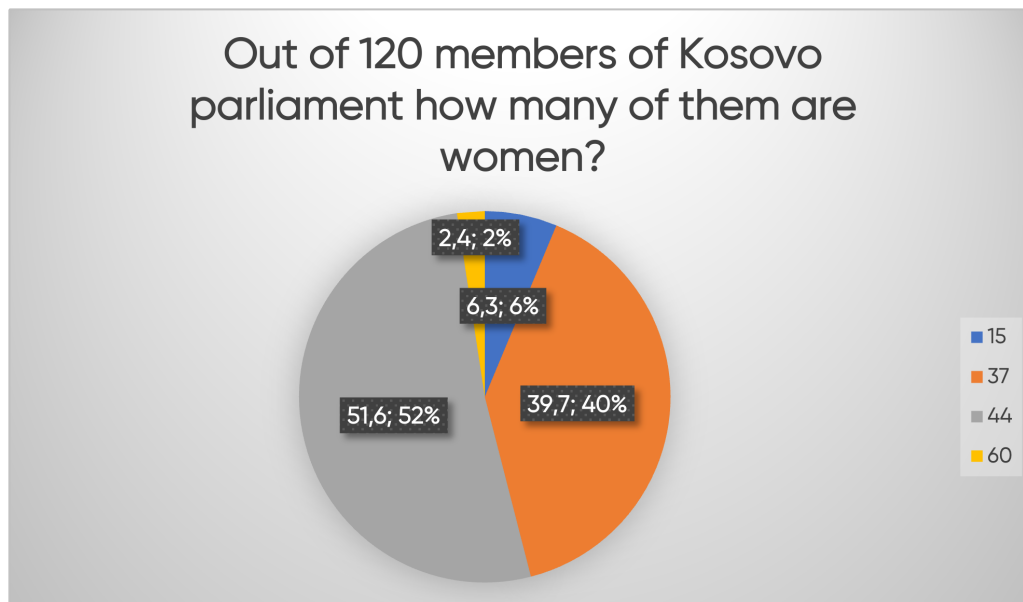
After the 2021 parliamentary elections, 44 women entered the Kosovo Assembly, more than any previous legislature.

48.81% of respondents correctly stated there are 44 female MPs in Kosovo Assembly (44.7% Serbian language questionnaire, 51.6% Albanian language questionnaire)



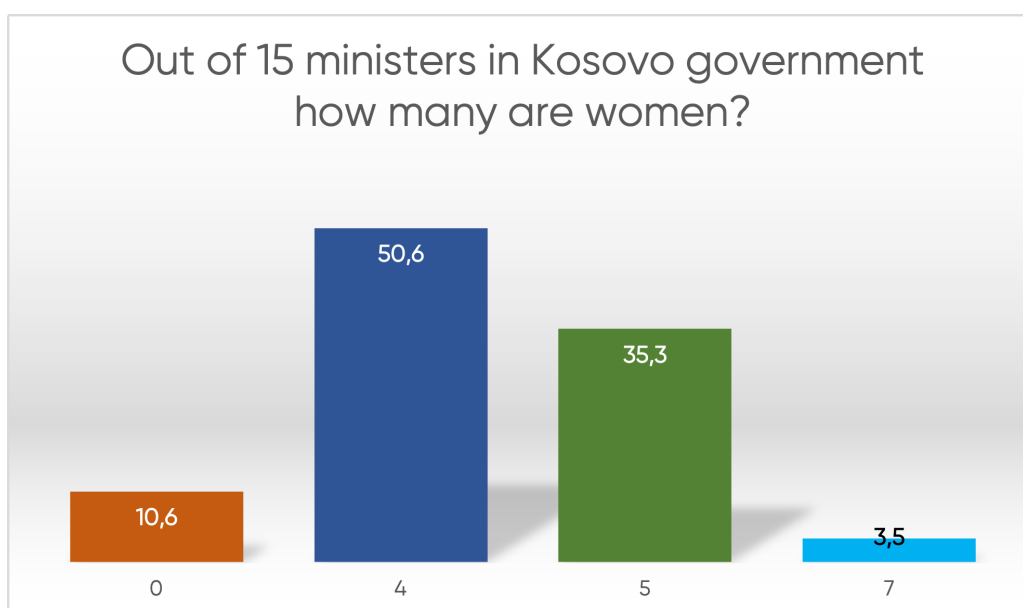
\*Serbian language respondents

37.44% of respondents wrongly assumed said there are 37 female MPs (34.1% Serb language, 39.7% Albanian language, 10.9% - 15 (17.6% Serb language, 6.3% Albanian language), 60 - 2.84% (2.4% Albanian language 3.5% Serbian language).



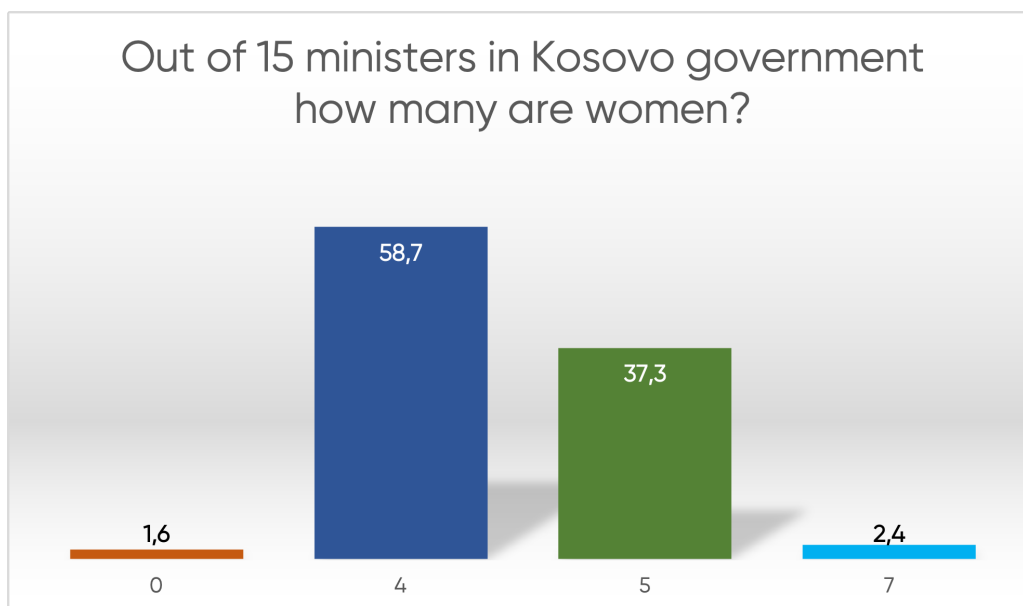
\*Albanian language respondents

The newest Kosovo government in 2021 set a new record when it comes to gender representation so far. Women head 5 out of 15 ministries. 37.3% of Albanian language questionnaires correctly answered that there are five female ministers in the Kosovo Government, while 35% of Serbian language questionnaires stated the same. 58% of Albanian language and 50% of Serbian language respondents wrongly believe there are 4 of them. 2.4% Albanians and 3.5% Serbs believe there are seven women ministers. 10% of Serbian language and 1.6% of Albanian language respondents stated zero women ministers in the Kosovo government.



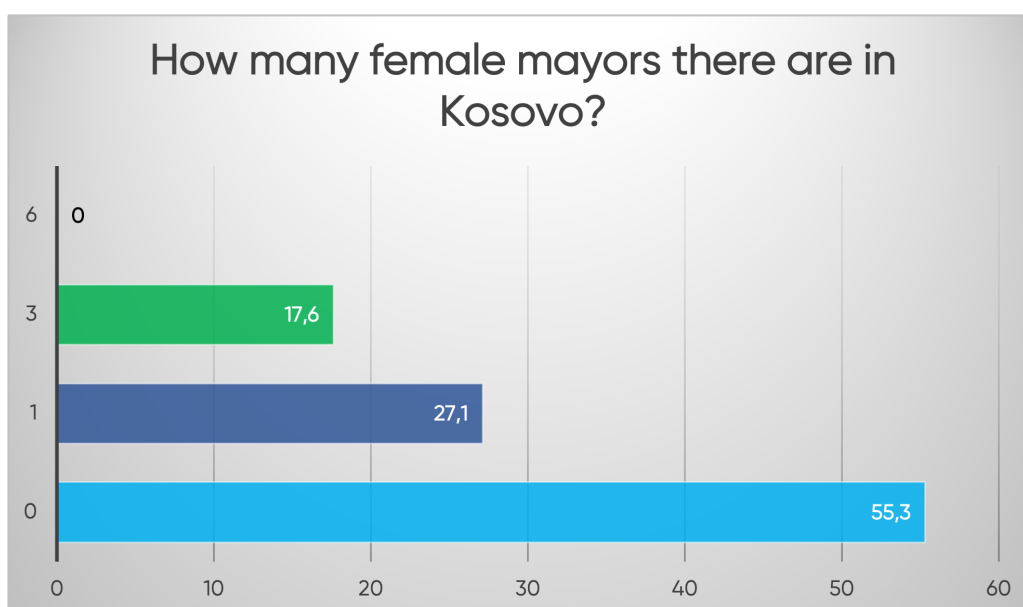
\*Serbian language respondents



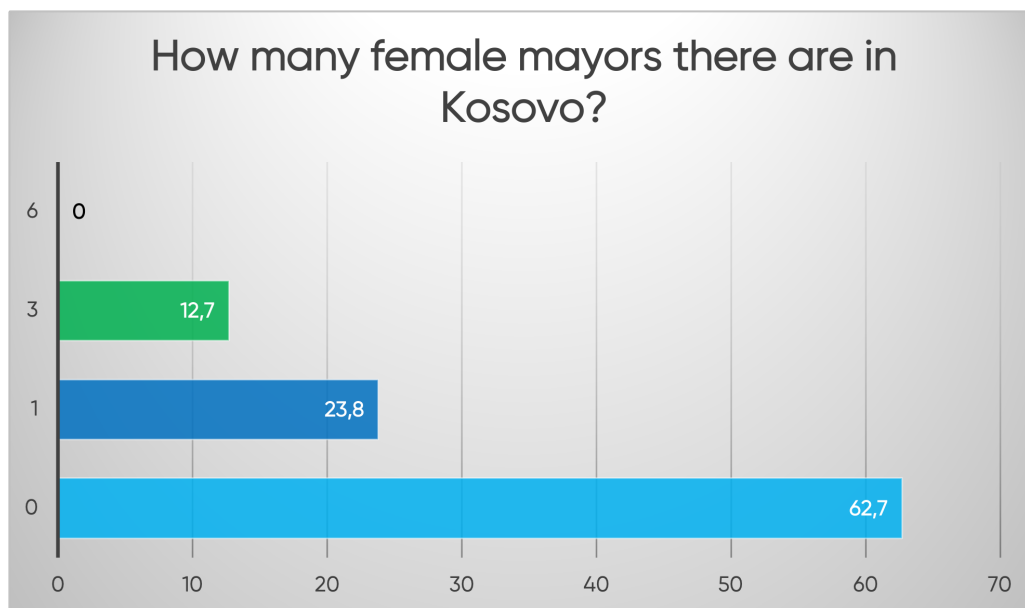


\*Albanian language respondents

Currently, there is no woman mayor in any of the 38 Kosovo municipalities. 55.3% Serbian and 62.7% Albanian language respondents knew there is no woman mayor in Kosovo. 23.8% Albanian and 27.1% Serbian language respondents believed there is one woman mayor. 17,6% Serbian language and 12.7% Albanian language respondents believed there are 3 of them. Only one respondent stated there are six women mayors in Kosovo.



\* Serbian language respondents



\*Albanian language respondents

54.8% Albanian and 52.9% Serbian language respondents believe there will be no final agreement between Kosovo and Serbia within Brussels dialogue in the next five years, while 30.6% of Serbian and 29.4% of Albanian language respondents believe the agreement will not be reached at all. Only 15.9% Albanian and 16.5% Serbian language respondents believe two sides will eventually reach a final agreement within the Brussels dialogue.

Participants at the roundtable in Prizren unanimously stated they have as much knowledge about Kosovo-Serbia dialogue as media outlets report about it. Participants at the roundtable in North Mitrovica stated the same, adding that media from Belgrade and Pristina are reporting differently on the same matters. When asked how they see this process, they answered, "not transparent at all and unclear."

Around 70% of Albanian language and 50% of Serbian language respondents stated they do not know who the Kosovo negotiating team members are in the Brussels dialogue.

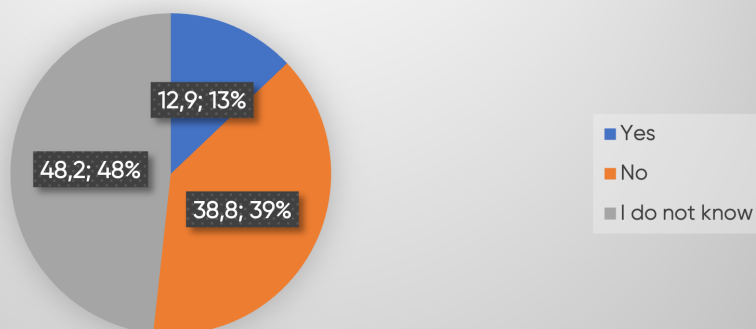
52.4% Albanian and 48.2% Serbian language respondents do not know if there are women in Kosovo negotiating team. 38.8% of Serbian language respondents said there are no women in the Kosovo negotiating team, while 36.5% of Albanian language respondents stated the same. 11.1% Albanian language and 12.9% Serbian language respondents stated there are women in Kosovo negotiating team.

Most round table participants in Gjilan agreed that once involved in politics, the chances of involving women in decision-making and thus in dialogue would increase significantly.

When asked to name the women who are members of the Kosovo negotiating team, only a few online survey respondents wrote down Donika Gërvalla, Edita Tahiri, and Vashje Krasniqi. The same applied to Serbian language respondents; a few of them mentioned Donika Gërvalla, Vjosa Osmani, Edita Tahiri, and Emilija Rexhepi.

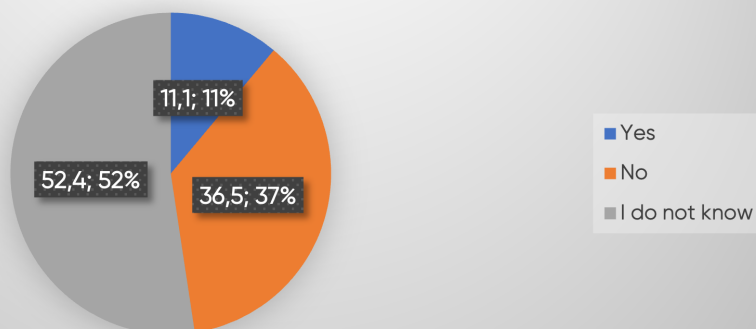
Nevertheless, 84.7% Serbian language and 96% Albanian language respondents believe women should be included as part of the Kosovo delegation at the Brussels negotiating table.

Do you know whether there are women among the members of the Kosovo negotiating team in the dialogue with Serbia?



\*Serbian language respondents

Do you know whether there are women among the members of the Kosovo negotiating team in the dialogue with Serbia?



\*Albanian language respondents

When asked why they think women should be included at the negotiating table, Albanian language respondents stated:

"They have courage, determination, they are not easily deceived and are not corrupt. Women are visionaries, more sensitive, and think about everyone";

"Because they think clearly."

"Because it is women who have had the most bitter experiences during the war, so they must be represented in the most dignified way."

"The issues of the victims of the war in Kosovo would probably be negotiated."

"Because they are half the population."

"Women have more creative ideas. Women are bold, fair, and demanding. They would represent the interests of the state in a more dignified manner. They are better managers and more organized; They can provide other perspectives that men do not include. Women are more detailed, argumentative, and more responsible. They have better managerial skills than men."

"It would look better in public. The interests of all members of society must be taken into account. Women are not corrupt. Women also have good negotiation skills, and they can better represent their interests."

"Given that women were 61% of the voters in this election, it is more than fair to be involved in decision-making."

Serbian language respondents answers:

"Because they might have a more constructive approach; Women are more successful in resolving conflicts. Experience at the global level shows that men are more prone to conflict resolution through violence, while women are more adept at constructive conflict resolution. Women are more responsible and persistent and more serious in negotiations."

"Because they are more objective than men."

"I find that women are more capable than most men."

"To ensure that each agreement takes into account the needs of all parts of society."

"Because perceptions and possible solutions do not necessarily come from a patriarchal-oriented opinion that has not proved productive."

"Because the outcome of the dialogue should have the same effect on both men and women, and the participation of women in the procedure would give a different perspective on the needs of women concerning the potential solution."

"Expected higher sensitivity to minority issues."

"The reason why women should be included in the dialogue is that so far, the dialogue has not had a topic on the issue of missing persons, nor on victims of sexual violence. Through dialogue, women will determine what was missing in previous years. Their interests will be represented. Also, with the involvement of women, the dialogue will take on a calmer, more constructive spirit, and there will be another perspective for solving the problem."

"The negative consequences of the Brussels agreements are most felt by women (especially women from the Serb community)."

"Because they make up more than 50% of the population, and if they are excluded, the question arises as to whether political negotiations are the exclusive right of men and a field for unhindered discrimination based on sex".

The names most frequently stated when asked who should be the women in Kosovo negotiating team both in questionnaire and in roundtables were: Vlora Citaku, Vjosa Osmani, Edita Tahiri, Mimoza Kusari Lila, Saranda Bogujevci, and Vasfije Krasniqi.

Impression from the roundtables organized in Gjilan, Ferizaj, Pristina, and Prizren is there is a lack of legislative knowledge of the powers of the Kosovo President when referring to the request of the participants for Vjosa Osmani to be in charge of the dialogue.

When asked why most of the respondents stated these women are experienced in the political sphere, have proper education, have already demonstrated they are capable, and have lived through the war.

"There is no strong woman in Kosovo or Serbia who could influence her male counterparts," participant of a roundtable in Gracanica.

Round table participant from North Mitrovica believes that if women got a seat at the negotiating table, they would be a part of the team, with already agreed political agenda and positions.

"Women can give some perspectives, which men cannot see, and vice versa, but participation alone will not change anything significantly. They cannot dictate topics, but they can contribute to some of their observations within the certain issues"



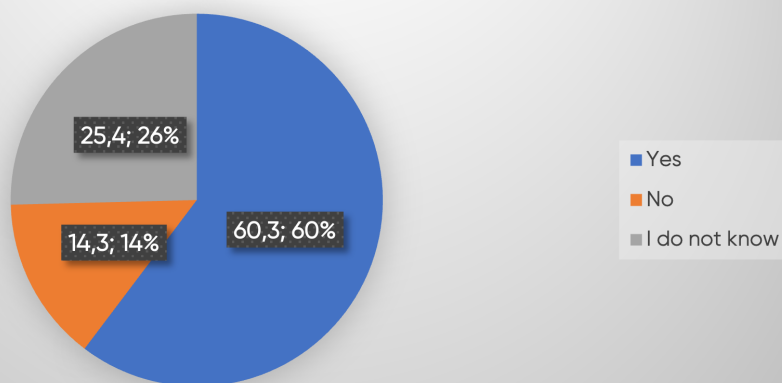
\* Serbian language respondents

60.3% of Albanian language respondents stated women had been part of the Kosovo negotiating team at Brussels, while 52.9% of Serbian language respondents said the same.

Most of the respondents named Edita Tahri as the woman who was part of negotiating team of Kosovo in Brussels. In a roundtable organized in Pristina vast majority of participants answered the same. Their opinion was her contribution to the dialogue has been sufficient but too early after the war to reach a stable or final agreement.

A roundtable participant in North Mitrovica stressed that Edita Tahiri's involvement in the dialogue did not result in the inclusion of any gender-sensitive perspective at negotiations. On the other hand, a participant at the roundtable in Gracanica remembers Tahiri as an "extremely aggressive woman." The rest of the participants shared this view, adding Vjosa Osmani and Vlora Citaku to the list of women who give out the same impression.

In the past, were women in Kosovo part of or led the Kosovo negotiating team in the dialogue with Serbia?



\* Albanian language respondents

Participants of a round table in Pristina agreed that there should be institutional and public pressure to have more women in the dialogue, whether from the Kosovo president Vjosa Osmani, the group of women MPs, media, or civil society. Participants of a roundtable organized in Ferizaj believe that women are not represented in a dialogue "because women's movements and organizations have not established mechanisms to monitor and evaluate the implementation of the gender agenda in post-conflict settings. Civil society has not put peacebuilding as a priority nor has the general population".

"A lack of resources such as a lack of access to employment opportunities and productive assets such as land, capital, health services, training, and education is the main reason that women are not in the decision-making processes or at least are unaware of the importance of inclusion in the dialog."



## Recommendations

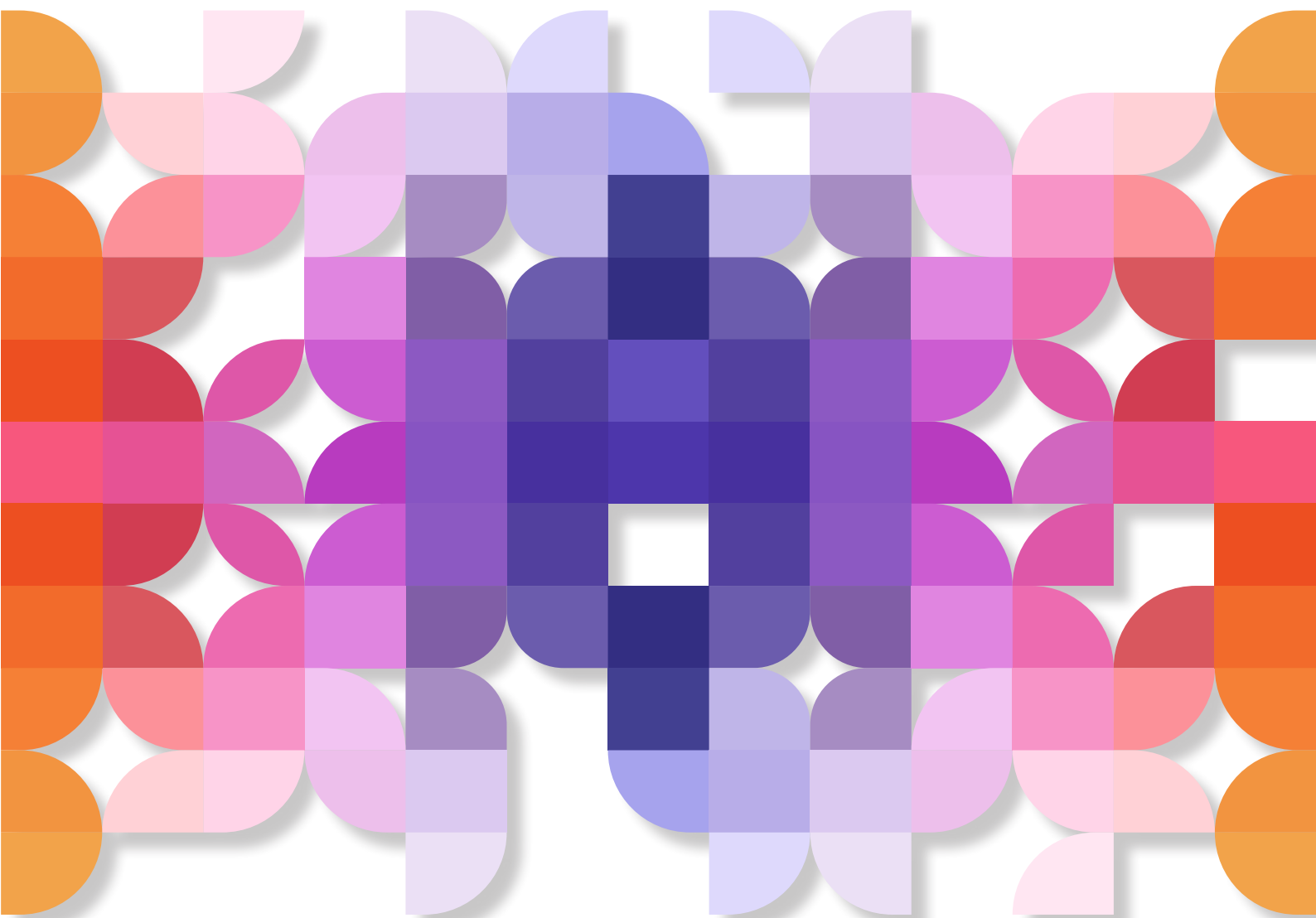
In the course of the discussions, training sessions and roundtables, speakers and participants suggested a number of proposals and ideas in order to increase the meaningful representations of women at the negotiating in table in Kosovo in the near future. The following not exhaustive list include some of them:

1. Kosovo government should have a strategy aiming at achieving an inclusive leadership at international negotiating processes important for Kosovo, including the dialogue;
2. Kosovo should have a carrier diplomatic service formed by merit-based selected men and women trained on the importance of gender equality at all levels;
3. Women leaders holding high public positions in Kosovo, including the President, ministries and Member of the Parliament should use their influence to advocate for the inclusion of women at negotiations;
4. Women MPs in Kosovo Assembly should overcome their political differences and unite over the idea of increasing women's representations at negotiations;
5. The specific commitments that the UNSC Resolution 1325 entails should be the matter of briefing to all public officials, women and men;
6. Civil Society Organisations should advocate unanimously for the inclusion of women in leadership positions and not leave it only for organisations dealing with women's rights;
7. Training on gender equality and inclusive leadership should be imparted to men and women within the youth branches of the political parties in Kosovo;
8. Women and men within political parties should be trained in the principles contained in the Women Peace and security agenda;
9. The Kosovo Law on Gender Equality in relation to women representation should apply to all levels of Administration, Academia and other public spaces, including at the highest negotiations;
10. The media should report and expose the level of representation of women in negotiations as well as give more coverage to women already in decision-making positions;
11. The international community present in Kosovo should continue with their support to Kosovo on implementing UNSCR 1325;
12. The EU should strengthen its commitments in implementing the EU agenda on Women Peace and Security and use its influence to support and demand the inclusion of women in peace processes, including the Dialogue





# Women in Negotiations



An EUSR-funded  
project



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