



ASSESSMENT

USAID/Kosovo Gender and Power Dynamics Assessment

[October 2016]

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USAID/KOSOVO Gender and Power Dynamics Assessment

FINAL REPORT

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ACRONYMS

AAK	Alliance for the Future of Kosovo
AGE	Agency for Gender Equality
AT	Assessment Team
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women
CSO	Civil Society Organization
EU	European Union
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
GBV	Gender-Based Violence
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GPD	Gender and Power Dynamics
GoK	Government of Kosovo
KCSS	Kosovar Center for Security Studies
KI	Key Informant
KII	Key Informant Interview
KVN	Kosova Women's Network
LDK	Democratic League of Kosovo
LGBTI	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender and Intersex
ME&A	Mendez England & Associates
MICS	Multiple Indicators Cluster Survey
NAP	National Action Plan
NGO	Non Governmental Organization
PDK	Democratic Party of Kosovo
SOGI	Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity
SOW	Statement of Work
SRGBV	School-related Gender-Based Violence
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
UNICEF	United Nations Child Fund
UNSCR 1325	UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace, and Security
USAID	United States Agency for International Development

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The Assessment Team would like to extend special gratitude to all individual men and women, key informants, and experts in Kosovo who were interviewed for the purpose of this assessment.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

ASSESSMENT PURPOSE AND QUESTIONS

The Gender and Power Dynamics (GPD) assessment, funded by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) Mission in Kosovo, aimed to examine power relations between men and women with the purpose of identifying challenges, constraints, and bottlenecks in regard to gender equality. GPD assessment objectives were:

- Provide an overview of male "roles and responsibilities" across different religions and ethnicities as well as a cross-section of urban versus rural
- Determine the intersectionality of masculinity, ethnicity, and nationality and their ramifications on propensity towards radicalization
- Identify gendered constructions of identity of collective and individual identities in the local context (geographical/municipal)
- Identify if there is a dominant, overarching cultural understanding of what a "real man" should be. Determine if these definitions differ between ethnic groups in different geographical areas (e.g. North versus South)
- Determine if there are differences in power and influence between men (based on wealth, religion, job, political position, etc.), and how they affect perceptions of masculinity
- Analyze if the 1999 conflict has affected the radicalization of men or women

The GDP assessment was implemented by an Assessment Team (AT) assembled by Mendez England and Associates (ME&A), a U.S.-based development organization. The AT was comprised of: Dr. Peter Pawlak (Team Leader); Dr. Vjollca Krasniqi (Gender Expert); and Mr. Gezim Selaci (Gender Expert). Ms. Eriola Kasemi served as Project Coordinator. Fieldwork, data collection and analysis were conducted in Prishtina/Pristina and eight additional municipalities in Kosovo during the period August – September 2016. The outcomes of the assessment may be used by USAID to inform future programming in the area of Countering Violent Extremism.

ASSESSMENT METHODS AND LIMITATIONS

The GPD assessment drew on original data collection and analysis, as well as a review of existing literature and secondary data sources. Four specific research components were part of the assessment, including: 1) rapid needs assessment; 2) situational analysis; 3) field-based research; and 4) printed and online media tracking.

Interviews and the field-based research took place in nine geographical locations in Kosovo, including Prishtina/Pristina, Prizreni/Prizren, Mitrovicë/Mitrovica, Gjakova/Djakovica, Deçan/Deçani, Kaçanik/Kaçanik, Hani i Elezit/Elez Han, Fushë-Kosova/Kosovo Polje, and Vushtrri/Vučitrn. These areas were selected strategically to represent: a) hot-spots of radicalization as well as association with drivers of radicalization and rise of conservative ideologies; b) urban and rural populations, which include socio-economically disadvantaged communities; and c) ethnically and religiously diverse

communities, including cross-border municipalities. This approach was crucial to capture the diversity of gender and power dynamics.

A total of 126 individuals were interviewed during the assessment. The AT held 54 meetings with individuals and experts from government, multilateral organizations, and international/local non-governmental organizations (NGOs). Religious, community and political leaders, academics and journalists as well as individual community members, men and women, were also interviewed for the purpose of the research. In addition, the AT also held 9 focus group discussions (FGDs) with a total of 66 individuals (28 women and 38 men) ages 18 to 78. All interviews were conducted in English and Albanian.

LIMITATIONS

Although the aim of the assessment was to uncover as much information as possible, limited research time in Kosovo allowed focus only on selected themes and subjects. While the research was intended to be a country-wide assessment, due to limited time allocated for data collection, the AT covered only nine geographical locations. Further, the AT encountered limited contact with certain ethnic populations living in Kosovo, for instance: Turkish, Roma, Ashkali, and Egyptian or religious minorities, including Muslim imams. As such, the presented conclusions may not be fully representative of the entire population of Kosovo. For these and other reasons, it is possible that the assessment may not give a fully comprehensive picture of the on-the-ground reality, yet findings arguably have some generalizability. Therefore, regardless of its limitations, the assessment is an important step in understanding gender and power dynamics in Kosovo.

FINDINGS

The AT found that the major factors contributing to unequitable gender and power relations are structural and cultural. Across the urban and rural settings and among all ethnic and religious groups in Kosovo, against the backdrop of socio-economic advancements for women and girls in country, women disproportionately carry burden of unpaid work at home and care for children. They continue to face unequal access to resources and participate unequally in decision-making in the family, in the community, and in the society at large. The AT found that the younger generation of men and women in cities (including Prishtina/Pristina, Prizreni/Prizren, Mitrovicë/Mitrovica, Gjakova/Djakovica and Kaçanik/Kaçanik) has developed attitudes that are more supportive of gender equality than those of their parents and older generations. Yet, harmful patriarchal norms and traditional ideals of family formation, intimate partner relationships, and male and female role and responsibilities persist and thrive in Kosovo. The AT found that the unequal gender and power dynamics are sustained and nourished through various socio-cultural and structural factors, including stereotypical and discriminatory representations of women and girls - and often men and boys - in media, school curriculums, printed and online texts and images.

The assessment highlights the notion of 'a real Kosovar man', similarly defined across all ethnic communities in Kosovo, ascribing specific roles to men related to the public domain, economic activity, and decision-making in community and politics. While 'a real Kosovar woman' is a guardian of the family life and the one who carries the burden of unpaid care work.

In an attempt to understand the impact of the 1998-1999 war in relation to construction of male and female identities in Kosovo, the assessment found that while this conflict may have reinforced rigid

'heroic masculinity', it has not directly entered the life of young people. In fact, it is the post-war socio-economic reality that is contributing to the transformation of male and female identities. Yet, particular elements of male and female gender constructs play a role in the vulnerability of men and women to radicalization or violent extremism. Economic hardship, which is at the bottom of men's inability to attain the socially expected status of family provider, may be an exacerbating factor in some men embracing radical ideologies and joining armed conflicts outside Kosovo.

I.0 ASSESSMENT PURPOSE AND QUESTIONS

I.1 ASSESSMENT PURPOSE

The main purpose of the Gender and Power Dynamics (GPD) assessment was to examine the key challenges, constraints, and bottlenecks in regard to the gender and power relations between men and women in Kosovo, and how these promote gender stereotypes and discrimination. Additionally, the purpose was to explore: 1) the constrictions of male and female identities across different ethnic and religious groups, and across different geographical areas of Kosovo; and 2) how gender constructs contribute to religious or national radicalization, and to this extent, how the intersectionality of ethnicity/nationality/gender leads to radicalization. The outcomes of the assessment can help inform USAID/Kosovo's programming, as well as potentially shape future investments in the area of Countering Violent Extremism.

The GPD assessment was implemented by an Assessment Team (AT) assembled by Mendez England & Associates (ME&A), a U.S.-based development organization. The AT consisted of three experts: Dr. Piotr Pawlak (Team Leader); and local experts Dr. Vjollca Krasniqi and Gezim Selaci. Ms. Eriola Kasemi served as Project Coordinator providing logistics and translation expertise.

Fieldwork, data collection and analysis were conducted in Prishtina/Pristina and eight additional municipalities in Kosovo during the period August - September 2016.

I.2 ASSESSMENT BACKGROUND

In February 2008, Kosovo declared independence which, as of March 2016, is recognized by 109 (out of 193) United Nations (UN) member states and 23 European Union (EU) member states. Since the declaration of independence significant progress has taken place in the country related to gender equality, legal and policy developments. A set of state mechanisms has been created to promote implementation and monitoring of the gender equality laws. In addition, several national strategies aiming to actively promote gender equality and advocating for an increase of state resources to address and prevent gender discrimination have also been developed. Despite of this progress, Kosovo still shares many of the global challenges to attaining gender equality.

National, cultural, ethnic, and religious characteristics play a central role in the construction of gender concepts, identities, and dynamics in Kosovo. Constructions of gender and power dynamics are based on traditionally established, sustained, and reinforced patriarchal norms. Patriarchal norms shape individual, family, community, and the society-level practices. By invoking localized tradition and pride, Kosovar nationalism creates and sustains specific, and often inequitable, gender concepts and gender dynamics. Further, religion, which maintains patriarchal conventions and traditional gender roles of women and men, is a powerful marker of gender concepts, identities, and gender dynamics in Kosovo. In addition, tradition and culture shape gender concepts in Kosovo.

Kosovar men and women, boys and girls, also face a range of types of violence because of their gender and gender expression/identity. Domestic violence and sexual harassment are among the

most widespread forms of gender based violence (GBV) in Kosovo. Psychological violence against men and women, and discrimination against minority women, especially Roma, continues.¹ Abuse of children, especially girls, remains a problem, and children experience and witness school-related gender-based violence (SRGBV). Lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and intersex (LGBTI) individuals experience violence, and discrimination because of their sexual orientation and gender identity. Trafficking of persons remains a challenge, and the ongoing concern of gender-biased sex-selection is likely to continue. Numerous research studies, reports, and publications, however, provide insight into the scale and nature of GBV in Kosovo. While women and girls in Kosovo are far more likely to suffer various forms of violence than men,² men and boys also experience and witness GBV. In addition, the conflicts that erupted during the 1990s in the countries of the former Yugoslavia have created many lasting issues in the country. The effects are very much present, including shifts in perceptions of masculinity and femininity, men and women's social and gender roles and responsibilities, gender and power dynamics, and even ideological or religious radicalization and violent extremism.

Given the above, the GPD assessment was funded by USAID/Kosovo to determine the nature of masculinity in Kosovo and how it affects the development of gender roles, responsibilities, and norms.

I.3 ASSESSMENT AREAS OF ANALYSIS

The Statement of Work (SOW) specifies six areas of analysis - corresponding to the purpose and objectives of the assessment - which have guided the AT's work-plan, research design, data collection approach, and reporting format. These areas are:

- Analyze current policies, programs, and strategies related to gender equality and the challenges presented while implementing specific policies – interferences that have basis on social constructions and men and masculinity ideologies.
- Analyze how gender constructs could contribute to religious or national radicalization.
- Identify key challenges, constraints, and bottlenecks in regard to the power relations faced by both genders and how these promote gender stereotypes and discrimination.
- Analyze issues such as GBV and how it could be an outcome of the conflict and an assertion of male dominance
- Review how the intersectionality of ethnicity/nationality/gender can lead to radicalization.
- Identify and prioritize specific recommendations/interventions that will help dissipate static gender roles, and incorporate men and women as equal partners across all USAID activities.

¹ U.S. Department of State. 2015. Kosovo Country Report on Human Rights Practices for 2015. U.S. Department of State. Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor.

² Farnsworth, Nicole et. al. 2015. No More Excuses, An Analysis of Attitudes, Incidence, and Institutional Responses to Domestic Violence in Kosovo. Prishtina: Kosovo Women's Network, 2015. Available at: <http://www.womensnetwork.org/documents/20151124105025622.pdf>

2.0 ASSESSMENT METHODOLOGY

2.1 METHODOLOGY

The GPD assessment drew on original data collection and analysis as well as a review of existing literature and secondary data sources. Four specific research components were part of the assessment:

2.1.1 The Rapid Needs Assessment

The Rapid Needs Assessment included email exchanges and phone/Skype conversation with staff of USAID/Kosovo Mission to accurately identify the needs and priorities of USAID/Kosovo related to the assessment.

2.1.2 Situational Analysis

The purpose of the Situational Analysis was to demonstrate the current situation in Kosovo related to gender and power dynamics. To do so, five chapters were developed, which focused on the research areas highlighted in the SOW for this assessment. These included: 1) Gender in Policy; 2) Gender, Power Dynamics, and Tradition, Culture, Ethnicity, Nationality and Religion; 3) Gender, Power Dynamics, and Violence in Kosovo; 4) Gender, Power Dynamics in the Post-Conflict Reality of Kosovo; and 5) Gender, Power Dynamics, and Global Forces. Annex 2 of this assessment presents findings from the Situation Analysis.

2.1.3 Field-Based Research

The field-based research started with qualitative data collection that took place on three levels of the Kosovar society: individual, community, and institutional. Data collection method included semi-structured, open-ended key informant interviews (KIIs), and focus group discussions (FGDs) with a range of individuals from diverse religious, ethnic, socio-economic or cultural, institutional or political backgrounds.

Six sets of semi-structured interview questions were developed for the purpose of the qualitative data collection: two questionnaires for individual interviews (one for female and one for male respondents), two questionnaires for community-level interviews, and one questionnaire for interviews with key stakeholders in Kosovo. In addition, the AT developed one FGD guide. To ensure that there was overall consistency across participants and locations, these questionnaires were based on the same set of topics; however, the subset of the questions varied depending on the group interviewed (e.g. individual experiences and behaviors versus community perceptions; or men's understanding of their gender roles versus women's expectations of men).

The field-based research took place in nine geographical locations in Kosovo, including Prishtina/Pristina, Prizreni/Prizren, Mitrovicë/Mitrovica, Gjakova/Djakovica, Deçan/Deçani, Kaçanik/Kaçanik, Hani i Elezit/Elez Han, Fushë-Kosova/Kosovo Polje, and Vushtrri/Vučitrn. These areas were selected strategically to represent: a) hot-spots of radicalization, and association with drivers of radicalization and rise of conservative ideologies; b) urban and rural populations, which include socio-economically disadvantaged communities; and c) ethnically and religiously diverse

communities including cross-border municipalities. This approach was crucial to capture the diversity of gender and power dynamics.

A total of 126 individuals were interviewed as part of the research. In total, the AT held 54 meetings with individuals and experts from government, multilateral organizations, and international/local NGOs. Religious, community, and political leaders, academics and journalists, as well as individual community members were interviewed for the purpose of the research. The AT also held nine FGDs with a total of 28 women and 38 men ages 18 to 78. All interviews were conducted in English and Albanian.

2.1.4 Printed and Online Media Tracking

In order to identify and review the most current articles, op-eds, reports, and statements, which may shed additional light on the issues of (i) concepts of masculinities, ethnicity and nationality in Kosovo and radicalization of individuals, (ii) issues of gender and power, and (iii) conflict and radicalization, the AT tracked and reviewed printed and online media. The printed and online media tracking process took place between August and September 2016 and included no information from before January 2016. The following local online and printed media and news sources were frequented: Bota Sot (www.botasot.info) (online version of a daily printed KS newspaper); Telegrafi - Lajmet e fundit (www.telegrafi.com); and BIRN - Balkan Investigative Reporting Network. In addition, the AT consulted international news sources, including France 24 (www.france24.com), The New York Times (www.nytimes.com), and SeeNews: Business Intelligence for Southeast Europe (www.seenews.com).

2.2 LIMITATIONS

Although the aim of the assessment was to uncover as much information as possible, limited research time in Kosovo allowed for focusing only on selected themes and subjects. While the research was intended to be a country-wide assessment, due to limited time allocated for data collection, the AT covered only nine geographical locations (Prishtina/Pristina, Prizreni/Prizren, Mitrovicë/Mitrovica, Gjakova/Djakovica, Deçan/Dečani, Kaçanik/Kaçanik, Hani i Elezit/Elez Han, Fushë-Kosova/Kosovo Polje, and Vushtrri/Vučitrn). Further, the AT encountered limited contact with certain ethnic populations living in Kosovo, including Turkish, Roma, Ashkali, and Egyptian, and representatives of religious minorities, including Catholic and Orthodox priests, Muslim imams or Sufi preachers. As such, the presented conclusions may not be fully representative of the entire population of Kosovo. For these and other reasons, it is possible that the assessment may not give a fully comprehensive picture of the on-the-ground reality, yet findings arguably have some generalizability. Despite of its limitations, the assessment is an important step in understanding gender and power dynamics in Kosovo.

3.0 FINDINGS

For the purpose of this assessment, data collection results from the field-based research in Kosovo are divided into two groups of findings. The first group presents overall key challenges, constraints, and bottlenecks in regard to the gender equality and equitable gender relations between men and women. The second group presents findings related to the assessment of gender and power dynamics in Kosovo.

3.1 KEY CHALLENGES TO GENDER EQUALITY

Finding #1: Gender inequalities affect all ethnic and religious minorities but some experience it differently than others

The AT found that - within the scope of the research, which focused on access to education, employment, patterns of decision-making, individual self-determination, and family formation and relationships – barriers and constraints to gender equality do not drastically differ among ethnic groups. In addition, our research revealed a difference in how some communities in Kosovo experience gender inequalities.

- **The key challenges and constraints to gender equality do not significantly differ between the major ethnic or religious groups**

In general, our research found that men and women, as well as boys and girls of all ethnic backgrounds or religious affiliations, have similar experiences with gender inequality, GBV, and gender stereotyping and discrimination. As noted by a female participant in a FGD in Mitrovicë/Mitrovica, *“the Balkan mentality is the same.”* The stakeholder interviews revealed that the same root-causes and similar risk factors for gender inequalities, gender stereotyping, and discrimination apply to women of all ethnic and religious backgrounds in Kosovo. According to a Serbian Orthodox priest, *“Kosovo is a macho society, and not only Kosovo, but also Montenegro and Serbia.”* Field-based conversations confirmed, for instance, that women in Kosovo, despite their ethnic background or religious affiliation, experience domestic violence or sexual harassment. The same patriarchal norms persistent in Kosovo give power and privileges to men and boys while subordinating women and girls. Interviews with Kosova Women’s Network and UN Women Kosovo confirmed that whether Albanian, Serb, Bosniak, Gorani, Turk, Roma, Ashkali, or Egyptian, all women in Kosovo continue to carry a disproportionate burden of unpaid work and care for children related to their social role as the respected mother and nurturer of the family. However, several conversations at the community level in Prishtina/Pristina and Prizreni/Prizren pointed out that some women might in fact face increased discrimination or exclusion simply because of their religious beliefs or traditions. Furthermore, they suggested that women who identify with and practice Islam are stigmatized and ostracized in public spaces, simply because of wearing hijab. This is, in part, spurred by the fact that Kosovo is not a strictly religious nation. According to an expert from the Islamic Studies Department at the University of Prishtina/Pristina, *“here people are Muslims but think like Europeans.”* A male participant in the FGD in Mitrovicë/Mitrovica noted that *“there are usually no (major) differences between religious communities; however, it depends on the level of religiosity.”* Nevertheless, our research did not find any significant differences between the major ethnic or religious groups in terms of challenges or constraints to gender equality.

- **Socio-economic circumstances determine how ethnic groups experience gender inequality**

Specific risk factors such as poverty, economic hardship, social exclusion, and discrimination exacerbate constraints in regard to gender equality among some ethnic groups. This is true especially for the Roma, Ashkali, and Egyptian women. Interviews with leadership and programmatic staff of World Vision Kosovo, an organization with multiple projects addressing ethnic integration in Kosovo, as well as experts from the Kosovo’s *Consultative Council for Communities*, revealed that there is a

dramatic difference between the situation of Roma, Ashkali, and Egyptian women and all other women in Kosovo. The Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian women lack not only voice and decision-making within their own households but are also at the very bottom of socio-economic development. They live in extreme poverty, and are excluded and discriminated on the basis of not only gender but also their ethnicity. Further, according to the Network of Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian Women, men and women of these ethnic groups experience increased employment-based discrimination as they are not offered the same job opportunities like other men and women in Kosovo. As suggested by the network leader, when applying for a job they frequently hear: “*sorry but there are no quotas for communities.*” This, as suggested in the KI interview, implies that “*(Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian men and women) are not seen as equal citizens.*” In terms of Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian men, our research data allows for speculation that the economic hardship and social exclusion and discrimination they experience themselves, may be associated with their likelihood of inequitable attitudes and behaviors towards women, children, and other men. This, however, needs further research.

- **Challenges and barriers to gender equality are pronounced in rural areas**

“Differences are more between rural and urban areas, and not between towns” - female respondent, Mitrovicë/Mitrovica.

Our research found that while some gender norms and practices may have shifted in urban settings of Prishtina/Pristina, the same cannot be said for the rural areas.

The challenge of the rural-urban division was emphasized in the interviews in Prishtina/Pristina, Fushë-Kosova/Kosovo Polje, Vushtrri/ Vuçitër, Mitrovicë/Mitrovica and Gjakova/Djakovica. According to an activist from the Peer Educators Network in Prishtina/Pristina “*patriarchy is the mentality. It is the unwritten social system [in Kosovo] that defines social rules and power, particularly in villages.*” KI with Kosovo Rehabilitation Center for Victims of Torture revealed that while some positive change is visible in rural areas in terms of how, when, and to what extent women seek services and community-based support including medical, psych-social or post-war rehabilitation services, they still lack voice and agency. Similarly, conversation with Medica Kosova in Gjakova/Djakovica organization that offers interdisciplinary psychosocial, medical and legal services to war-traumatized women and girls, revealed that nowadays, some men are less controlling, some less strict, and some not there at all, and so some women are able to travel alone (without assistance of their in-laws) to obtain services, “*something that wasn't the case just a few years ago.*” However, as stated by a leader of the organization, while some practices may have shifted, majority of gender constrains in rural areas still remain intact. Interviews with a Gender Equality Officer in Prizreni/Prizren revealed that in the Bosniak community in Zhupa region when a young 16 year old girl drops out from school, her only option is to get married; and if she is not in school and not married at the same time, she is considered ‘old’ and ‘not valued.’ Our research data suggest that, while women in rural areas continue to face challenges to gender equality and some barriers to equality are more pronounced in villages than in cities, men in both rural and urban areas continue enjoying their male privileges and entitlements.

- **Financial dependency of women in rural areas sustains unequal gender and power relations**

“Progress has taken place but not on all parts of the society”- NGO leader, Mitrovicë/Mitrovica.

The AT found that many women, especially rural, remain financially dependent on their male partners or members of the in-law family. In the interview with Medica Kosova, it was noted that many rural women, especially war widows or single and elderly women, heavily depend on the remittances from their families in urban areas or abroad. Afraid to challenge the existing status quo, they become subordinate to maintain the living. As noted in the interview with the Kosovo Gender Study Center, *“the one who has the money makes the decisions.”* Similarly, an interview with an expert from Kosovo’s Consultative Council for Communities revealed that in the recent years, among the Gorani community in Kosovo, there has been some change related to strict social norms. According to the expert, however, this is not related to a progress on equality between men and women but rather to the Gorani diaspora that frequently visit their families in Kosovo, bringing new ideas, norms, and practices.

Finding #2: Women continue to carry a disproportionate burden of unpaid work at home and care for children and others in need of care

“Progress has happened but changes are not substantial” - expert, Austrian Development Agency, Prishtina/Pristina.

Progress has taken place in Kosovo related to women’s participation in earning income outside the home both in the formal and informal sectors, their participation in higher education, and their visibility in social and political life. However, our research found that despite the socio-economic advancements of women’s lives in Kosovo, they continue to carry a disproportionate burden of unpaid household work and care for children and others in need of care. Research data indicates that much of the lingering inequality in the care burden is driven by the fact that men in Kosovo are overwhelmingly expected to be breadwinners and providers, while women and girls are generally expected to provide care or to be primarily responsible for social reproduction of family life. Further, as highlighted in several KIIs in Prishtina/Pristina and Mitrovicë/Mitrovica, the unequal work-life division is associated with the determination of who, under traditional norms, is most apt to care for children. As one of the participants of the FGD in Mitrovicë/Mitrovica put it, *“they (women) do things around the house better than men. I want my wife to be herself, but I also believe that taking care of house and children is in women’s nature.”*

- **Existence of infrastructure-based constrains to gender equality**

Our research found that in addition to social and cultural barriers, infrastructure based constraints such as a lack of state-funded childcare centers and kindergartens adds to women’s disproportionate burden of unpaid work at home and care for children. An interview with the Gender Equality Officer in Prizreni/Prizren revealed that the lack of childcare centers and kindergartens in the municipality is a huge problem affecting women’s work-life balance. And while there are a number of private day-care institutions for children, these are expensive and their quality is questionable. This, according to the staff person, is also a Kosovo-wide problem. Interviews with Medica Kosova in Gjakova/Djakovica confirmed the findings and added that in rural areas, in addition to access and resources, the situation is exacerbated by social norms dictating that mothers stay home. Similar conclusions were also drawn in an interview with a male NGO leader in Prizreni/Prizren, who when asked what happens when there is a working couple but no day care or kindergarten around stated, *“if the state doesn't support women, they have to do it.”* As such, as concluded by the NGO leader, in Prizreni/Prizren municipality and other regions where there is already a high level of socio-economic challenges, access to

childcare, kindergarten or other care services greatly impacts a woman's ability to generate income or participate in local decision-making and development processes.

- **Men are not fully engaged in gender equality**

“The economic failure of Kosovo obliged men to allow women to work” - male NGO leader, Prizreni/Prizren.

Our research revealed that men's participation in unpaid work and care at home has not kept pace with women's increased contribution to household income and their work outside the home. As pointed out by several informants, men as fathers and caregivers are becoming more visible, albeit in much higher numbers in urban Prishtina/Pristina than in other parts of Kosovo. However, according to several KIIs, this shift is only motivated by men's own economic inactivity rather than by their commitment to or recognition for equality at the household, community, and society level. As a female participant of the FGD suggested, *“the mentality [in Mitrovicë/Mitrovica] has changed. It is not like before. Today, the main issue is the family's financial well-being, which is otherwise difficult to secure. These circumstances push the couple to make arrangements, and when one of them (the husband) is unemployed, he stays home.”* When asked about why only some men participate in work at home, including care for children, several experts representing international agencies suggested (i) lack of specific developments on the policy-level recognizing and promoting men's roles as fathers and caregivers, (ii) the society-wide belief that unpaid care work is not an economic activity, and (iii) lack of encouragement for men's greater participation in unpaid care work on the family-level, as the slowing factors for positive shift in gender and power dynamics in Kosovo. As one of interviewees in the research stated, *“we [Kosovo society] value the role of fathers only as breadwinners.”* Finally, as suggested by an expert from the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA), *“the gender norms in Kosovo are so stiff that they even constrain men who are willing to share the burden of housework and childcare.”* Citing a female beneficiary, *“we used to live abroad in Europe. Now we are in Kosovo. My husband was helping a lot in housekeeping and cooking when we lived abroad, but not while here in Kosovo!”*

Finding #3: Kosovo men are facing a crisis of masculinity

Our research found that the 'Kosovar masculinity' is in a state of crisis, and that the lack of new alternatives for men reinforces outdated notions of masculinity posing a significant challenge to fostering gender equality in the country. According to staff from the Centre for Equality and Liberty, *“patriarchy in Kosovo is in the stage of confusion.”* Many men, including the young ones, are confronted with the advancements of women's positions in the family, community, and the society at large. And while *“women are moving forward in comparison to the previous generations,”* these men are *“stuck in-between,”* with no foundation to develop alternatives to outdated notions of masculinity. As such, as suggested by the Center, many men and boys revert back to familiar patriarchal traditions and practices and thus reinforce inequitable norms and harmful gender relations and power dynamics. Further, as suggested by Kosova Women's Network, changes in the labor market, which created employment opportunities for women in Kosovo, drive some men to feel threatened by women who enter the labor force. This frustration, as explained in the interview, *“manifests itself in violent behavior towards women in the family.”* According to activists from CARE International Kosovo, unable to find jobs, finish schools, form families, these men become *“angry”* and resort to violence as a mean to re-establish their status and reaffirm their power over women. This finding was supported in several interviews with KIIs in Prishtina/Pristina, Prizreni/Prizren, and Mitrovicë/Mitrovica, which revealed that the notion of 'Kosovar man' is closely linked with being tough, dominant and in charge.

Box: Lack of role models for young Kosovars and crisis of masculinity

A general finding from all interviews and discussions conducted for the purpose of this research is that young men and women in Kosovo lack positive role models in their lives. And while at the family-level, mothers and fathers are usually indicated as ‘inspirational’ and ‘motivational’ personalities for young people, overall, they lack alternatives in their communities and the society at large. Our data indicates that, especially for younger men, this is an important factor in *‘the crisis of their male identity’*. According to a gender expert from the Government of Kosovo (GoK), there are no positive role models for young men and women. For older generation, *“it was always the father; the men, the leader of the family,”* but today *“young people struggle to find new alternative role models.”* A similar finding was observed across all FGDs conducted as part of this research, in which male and female respondents found it difficult to point out inspirational individuals in their communities or in the society at large.

Across all levels of KIs respondents agreed that role models promoted in the media are *‘not always good for young people’*. As suggested by a young NGO leader in Prizreni/Prizren, *“it is hard to avoid being influenced by them and idolize them.”* A young female activist in Prishtina/Pristina suggested, *“media functions are based on the capitalist logic that seek to maximize their profit before being interested to promote positive models.”* Further, as young men in Prishtina/Pristina suggested, *“although school system has changed in the past years, school curricula does not offer more positive role models, such as hard-working intellectuals for instance. Instead, it is warriors from the earlier and recent past that are promoted as heroes much more than academics and writers.”* In addition, a conversation with Centre for Equality and Liberty that works to empower LGBTI individuals in Kosovo, revealed the lack of strong LGBTI role models who are openly out. This, as suggested by the Center, keeps many gay men, lesbian women and transgender individuals trapped in *“the model of unhealthy hetero-normativity.”* According to an activist from the Center, this also reinforces gendered stereotypes including that of the ‘real Kosovo man’ as heterosexual, married and with children. Finally, findings from interviews with young men (and women) in the research suggest that while some ‘inspirational’ personalities exist, not all of them are formed on the premise of gender equality. They, as suggested by a young male in a group discussion in Mitrovicë/Mitrovica, *“have been about power, corruptive practices, and cultures of impunity”* or as indicated by another male respondent in Prizreni/Prizren, *“[today] a powerful man is only one who is connected, rich, and displays his power through lavish lifestyle and possessions,”* and as stated by a female political leader in Prishtina/Pristina, *“nowadays, a successful person is a wrong role model. Corrupted politicians are undesirable models for young people. Rich politicians are millionaires, but they are morally corrupted. They underwent a transformation of their image, as they can afford to wear expensive clothes, but their mentality is not transformed.”* Our research found that the effect of these ‘models’ or lack of alternative positive models has a tremendous impact on gender and power dynamics in Kosovo, especially on how young men form their views on gender and relationships.

- **Socio-economic circumstances affect how men in Kosovo are ‘acting up’**

“No one can think beyond the economic level” – male NGO leader, Prizreni/Prizren.

Our findings confirmed that men in Kosovo face multiple structural challenges such as high rates of unemployment, lack of alternatives and opportunities for income generation and, among others, constraints in social mobility, which impact their attitudes and behaviors. For instance, discussions

with several youth-focused NGOs, including Youth Initiative for Human Rights in Prishtina/Pristina and NGO Youth Passion in Vushtrri/Vučitrn, suggest that today men in Kosovo are facing a “*crisis of male identity*.” According to many KIs in the research, this crisis is amplified by the personal struggle to bridge the traditional concepts of masculinity and build on the premise of men as protector, breadwinner and provider, and the ‘new’ Kosovo reality.

According to an expert from the Austrian Development Agency, Kosovo continues to be a country in transition with a weak economy, political instability, poor overall quality of life, and limited opportunities for young men. This creates a milieu in which men find themselves frustrated, disillusioned, and lost. Interviews with the NGO Youth Passion in Vushtrri/Vučitrn added additional perspective to this finding, indicating that young men in Kosovo today are desperate for jobs and opportunities and, unable to find them, they become disillusioned. To that extent, according to activists from CARE International Kosovo, there is a large group of young men in Kosovo who feel left out, isolated, and without a future. This feeds into the concept of negative and toxic hyper-masculinity.

- **No alternatives for young men may further foster a culture of inequality**

“Men want to go abroad – here you are being constantly judged, so you want to leave for financial and for social reasons” –male NGO leader, Prizreni/Prizren.

“I want to leave to be free elsewhere” - male respondent, LGBTI organization, Prizreni/Prizren.

Overall, young men in the FGDs expressed their frustration with not being provided with alternative male identities aside from those of a breadwinner and provider, protector of a family, and/or sole decision-maker. These expectations, according to some men, *“are not our reality anymore.”* Yet, as suggested in a KI with a community leader in Mitrovicë/Mitrovica, there are still significant pressures on young men to firmly adhere to traditional norms of patriarchy, which are not fully aligned with how they want to live today. According to a male respondent at the Centre for Social Group development, *“having no alternatives affects what you choose, what you do and how you do it.”* And while this may not necessarily have negative outcomes, *“[in Kosovo] having no alternatives means going back to patriarchal values,”* as suggested by a journalist from the *Zëri* daily newspaper. Related observations were recorded in an interview with community members in Vushtrri/Vučitrn, in which respondents suggested that young men in Kosovo today, in addition to exaggerating stereotypical male behavior - emphasis on physical strength, exercising dominance in group, signifying sexuality - *“lack ideas for the future, and see nothing beyond their nose.”* According to the same respondent, they are only pre-occupied with *“where to go for coffee, how and what was said on Facebook, and where to go for a party”* and are in fact *“the lost generation of the future.”*

Finding #4: Not all aspects of traditional family structure in Kosovo may be conducive to gender equality

“I am gay and I am out. This is very brave in Kosovo. I would not be able to do that if I wouldn't have my family behind” - male individual, LGBTI organization, Prishtina/Pristina.

Our research found that the traditional concept of family continues to have a positive impact in relation to gender equality. Moreover, it remains of the utmost importance to men and women in

Kosovo. Yet, as revealed by the research, some elements of relationships within the family might not be conducive to the overall equitable gender and power dynamics in Kosovo.

Across all levels of the interview process, it was agreed that today, especially in urban Prishtina/Pristina, the family structure has changed, resulting in families that are generally smaller in size. Simultaneously, however, the interviews revealed that the family remains a symbol of gendered relations of power. Indeed, male identity continues to be defined through his role as breadwinner and provider for the family, while women, although partially broken away from traditional gendered restrictions, continue to disproportionately carry the burden of unpaid work at home. To that extent, Platforma Civikos, a network of 180 civil society organizations (CSOs) committed to the development of cooperation between civil society and public authorities, suggested that the prevailing mentality in Kosovo is *“one must do anything not to disturb that construct.”* Yet, conversation with World Vision Kosovo shed some additional light on the subject. Due to economic hardship, and in the case of the younger generations, financial dependency on older family members, parents and children continue to live together. Often because it is the father that is employed, patriarchal values become the dominant ones.

Conclusions from interviews with several LGBTI organizations revealed also that the state has not embraced any other forms of family structure other than ‘heterosexual’ or ‘married’. As such, single mothers, single fathers, unmarried parents or individuals in same-sex relationships are outside of social protections, and are often devalued as members of Kosovo society.

“It is still the family which becomes a barrier or promoter of the gender equity. A lot depends on the family” - leader from the Network of Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian Women, Prishtina/Pristina.

Finding #5: Kosovo youth live more gender-equitable lives, but not all youth equally

“Younger generations are more supportive of gender equality” - male representative, Kosovo Democratic Institute.

Our research found that, overall, the younger generation of men and women in Kosovo may have developed attitudes that are more supportive of gender equality than those of their parents and older generations. In the FGD in Mitrovicë/Mitrovica, young men and women jointly expressed their opposition and disapproval for gender discrimination. As one of the participating young men said, *“enough is enough.”* Similar statements were made in the FGD with young and adult men and women in Prishtina/Pristina and Prizreni/Prizren. In addition, similar observations were made in the interviews with the Center for Equality and Liberty and Center for Group Development, in which participants suggested that today, many young men and women in Kosovo do not feel comfortable in the narrowly defined male and female gender roles and responsibilities in the country. According to a young male respondent from the Center for Social Emancipation, access to internet and social media, increased educational and employment opportunities, especially for women, have enabled us *“to think differently.”* Respondents from other interviews expressed similar views. The overall opinion is that today in Kosovo gender identities are transcending the traditional confines of traditional men and women’s roles and responsibilities.

A large majority of KIs and participants of FGDs in Prishtina/Pristina and Mitrovicë/Mitrovica suggested that there is a noticeable rise of self-determination among young men and women in Kosovo, especially in the capital city Prishtina/Pristina. As suggested by an expert from the Center for

Social Group Development, *“in Prishtina/Pristina, you are able to do what you want. You don't have to conform to traditional Kosova values.”* When probed about the meaning of ‘traditional Kosova values’, the expert suggested *“that men should have the power; do certain types of jobs like manager or director, a leader.”* Further, young men and women in a FGD in Mitrovicë/Mitrovica suggested that, today in Kosovo, more young people are waiting until they are older to get married, they have more say in regards to whom they marry or with whom they live married or unmarried, or how they raise, if any, children; *“I don't have to have kids if I don't want to.”* A Serbian Orthodox priest in Dečani Monastery suggested that positive changes in terms of gender relations are seen among younger generations. When probed further and asked what has changed in relation to gender and power dynamics, the priest suggested that *“Albanian families are now more modern, independent.”* Finally, a Gorani expert from the Kosovo’s Consultative Council for Communities suggested that in his community, *“while my mother was unemployed and only my father worked, today, I work and my wife does as well.”*

At the same time, however, a large majority of interviewed experts and KIs from international and local NGOs referred to specific socio-economic and cultural challenges, which dramatically affect how some gender and power dynamics are being reinforced. For instance, experts from CARE International, Kosova Women’s Network, and Community Building Mitrovicë/Mitrovica, among others, suggested that economic instability, high rates of youth unemployment, and increasing consumerism, materialism and egoism among the younger generation, combined with urbanization, migration and shifts in religious sentiments, push many young men (and women) to embrace patriarchal attitudes and behaviors. This, as suggested by a journalist from Zëri daily newspaper, *“shifts the discourse surrounding gender and equality between men and women including the young ones.”*

However, according to the Kosovo Center for Gender Studies, the positive shifts in gender and power dynamics, especially among the younger population, *“are not necessarily generational but rather geographical.”* This reflects another finding of this research, which revealed the urban life in Kosovo rather than rural, is more conducive for breaking some of the unfavorable and negative gender and power dynamics and inequitable gender and societal norms and practices. As suggested by experts from UN Women Kosovo, and Center for Social Emancipation, *“the life style in Pristina is more favorable to breaking away from traditional gender norms,”* and concluded by an expert from the Center for Social Group Development, *“this is attributed to the fact that in Pristina women tend to be more educated and employed.”*

Box 2: Media and Gender Equality

Our research found a growing concern around the role of media in reinforcing patriarchal norms, perceptions, and behaviors. We found that despite several ongoing efforts, including popular talk shows like Jeta në Kosovë (Life in Kosovo), Kosovo 2.0, Balkan Investigative Reporting Network, and Sbunker, which host debates, publish articles, and organize events on issues related to gender equality including LGBTI rights, media do not pro-actively promote gender equality. As suggested by the Center for Equality and Liberty, current media shows and programming contribute to disparity between men and women, including GBV, homophobia, and transphobia. Further, as suggested by a gender expert at the GoK, media in Kosovo *“reaffirms traditional gender stereotypes of masculinity and femininity”* by presenting women either as models or objects of sexual attraction concerned with beauty, shopping, and husband-hunting, or as housewives responsible solely for the family well-being and raising children. This concern was also voiced in the interview with the Agency on Gender Equality, which suggested that various media channels in Kosovo, through their programming, actively glorify and promote image of young girls, *“being famous for doing nothing”* and thus reinforce gender

stereotypes. A representative from one of the political parties suggested that media promotes conservative values through popular TV shows, soap operas and the like: “*media is offering us shows that don’t promote modern values, such as the soap operas about an Ottoman Sultan and the like, which in a way promotes ‘authoritarianism,’ male hegemony, and dominance over women.*” According to young men and women in a FGD in Pristina, media plays a significant and not always positive role in the lives of many men and women. As noted in the FGD in Mitrovicë/Mitrovica, “*unfortunately, media offers role models that don’t deserve to be consider as role models.*” This, as suggested in interviews with World Vision Kosovo, has devastating consequences for many young men and women in Kosovo who, deprived of positive role models, “*fall into the trap of egoism, consumerism, and materialism that drive gender inequality.*”

Finding #6: Gender inequality linked with men and women’s vulnerability to ideological and religious radicalization

Our research found that the particular elements of male and female gender constructs play a role in men and women’s vulnerability to radicalization or violent extremism. We found that socio-economic circumstances, which drive men’s inability to attain the status of the provider for the family, may be an exacerbating factor in some men embracing radical ideologies and joining armed conflict outside Kosovo. Further, the research found that religious radicalization is one of the vehicles for patriarchy in the society.

- **Conceptions of ‘breadwinning’ masculinity and ‘obedient’ femininity linked with radicalization and violent extremism**

“*Men are victims of the norms*” - male NGO leader, Prizreni/Prizren.

The research data indicate that certain elements of the prevalent conceptions of ‘breadwinning’ masculinity and ‘obedient’ femininity in Kosovo may drive men and women towards ideological or religious radicalization or violent extremism. For example, as suggested by experts from the Kosovo Center in Security Studies, men’s obstructed ability to secure financial well-being of family is linked with religious or national radicalization. Further, as stated by a Serbian Orthodox priest in Dečani, “*religious and national extremism derives from narratives about threat and security. Men live with a feeling of being under threat, and that is what mobilizes them.*” Moreover, “*frustration and disappointment are the danger [for men] to turn to the Middle East, extremism and radicalization.*” As suggested by Kosovo Gender Study Center, “*radicalization is men’s reaction to inability to fulfill their role as breadwinners and providers.*” Interviews with KIs and experts from CARE International Kosovo in Prishtina/Pristina concluded that because of the break-up of traditional patriarchy, in which the male is the only breadwinner, many men and women turn into radicalization as a way to find comfort and re-establish the very specific patriarchal gender and power dynamics.

- **Inequitable gender socialization as a risk factor for radicalization**

The AT found that the ways boys and girls in Kosovo are socialized put them at risk of radicalization. Further, as suggested by an investigative journalist from *Zëri* daily newspaper, the society, like many others, gives men burden; when they are boys they are told to measure their success by how well they do in school; later, whether they have a job “*they grow up with this burden.*” For many young men

in Kosovo today, as suggested by the journalist, this is a trap of expectations: *“unable to find a job and secure their role as providers, men turn to other sources for income, including radical groups.”*

Some interviews have shed additional light on the mechanics of recruitment and revealed the following five narratives:

- According to the Kosovo Security Center in Prishtina/Pristina, a local youth NGO in Fushë-Kosova/Kosovo Polje and Medica Kosova in Gjakova/Djakovica, radical religious organizations use the discourse of ‘real Kosovar man’ as the breadwinner and provider to actively recruit men into their structures and, while doing so, provide some financial compensation. This was also confirmed in a FGD organized in Prishtina/Pristina with a diverse group of men and women.
 - In the FGD with community members in Kaçanik/Kaçanik it was suggested that *“in the beginning, when the conflict started in Syria they sometimes spoke of the importance of ‘helping Muslims in Syria’ and the like.”*
 - According to a Bektashi religious leader in Gjakova/Djakovica, while some men receive financial compensation, it is often the local ‘doctrinizer’ and not the individual men (and women) who get paid. Often, as suggested by the leader, there are activities in ‘unofficial mosques’, in which self-proclaimed imams, who are not officially recognized by the Islamic community in Kosovo, entice men and women with financial offers in exchange for their service.
 - In the interview with an Islamic scholar at the Faculty at Islamic Studies, it was suggested that some men may perceive their role as creator of *“blissful life,”* in which a family lives in harmony, well-being and prosperity. Confronted with bitter socio-economic reality of Kosovo, unable to reach that, they may see their participation in violent extremism and radical movements as a way of securing such condition in the after life.
 - Another expert in Islamic studies suggested that *“radicalization is driven by the media and globalization, the role of social media that spreads news from the Middle East and the news that are translated into local languages and are given a religious character/explanation, which motivates some young persons to join the conflict in the Middle East. Usually, it is young people without knowledge and education that fall prey to this kind of propaganda.”*
- **Religious radicalization sustains patriarchy and reinforces gender inequality**

Our research found also that some traditional patriarchal gender and power dynamics are being reinforced by the emergence of new radical ideologies. For example, interviews with experts from the Kosovo Center for Security Studies and Faculty at Islamic Studies revealed that the concept of the socially desired *“stable family,”* may result in some men, who are married with children and who join radical groups or travel to take part in armed conflicts outside Kosovo, taking their families with them. The socially normalized notion of women’s subordinate position in the family, as suggested in the interviews, justifies them *“taking their women and children along.”* According to the Kosovo Center for Security Studies, this in fact is a regional phenomenon in which *“women embrace radical ideologies through their husbands.”* Further, as suggested in several interviews with research institutions, an oppressive gender regime that subordinates women to male dominance is also reinforced by the re-emergence of conservative religious narratives in Kosovo. As such, some women are told to embrace obedience towards their male partners to *“secure their place in heaven.”*

Box 3: Factors that influence men and women’s vulnerability to radicalization and violent extremism

Our research found that socio-economic circumstances and feelings of isolation may increase men and women’s vulnerability and risk of religious or national radicalization and, in some cases, violent extremism. And while our research could not determine the extent of such impact, as a female member of a Bektashi religious community put it: *“radical Islam finds breeding ground in impoverished and uneducated society.”* According to the Serbian Orthodox priest interviewed in Dečan, *“they are targeting younger, poor, rural population. You can see in Prizreni/Prizren.”* Experts from CARE International Kosovo indicated that the lack of opportunities, lack of *“something to hold on to,”* high levels of corruption, unemployment, and even *“a desperation among young men to leave [Kosovo] as they don’t think and believe in the future here [in Kosovo]”* influence their choice to join radical groups or travel to take part in armed conflicts outside Kosovo. What is particular about the situation in Kosovo, as suggested by several experts and KIs, is that men’s need to be recognized as breadwinners, providers for the family, and often as protectors of the national Albanian values and identity at large, is a *“magnifying factor”* in their vulnerability and risk for religious or national radicalization. Interviews with KIs in Pristina suggested that men (and women) especially from Mitrovicë/Mitrovica, Kaçanik/Kaçanik, or Gjilan/Gnjilane municipalities that are characterized by a very high level of unemployment, limited opportunities and feelings of cultural and social isolation, may be more vulnerable to such enticements and, as a result, join radical and violent groups. In addition, experts from World Vision Kosovo suggested that Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian women are vulnerable to religiously-driven ideological manipulation. This is due to the extreme poverty, their restricted or limited economic activity, lack of education, their social isolation within the society at large, and their restriction of mobility, and more importantly, low levels of emancipation and empowerment at the family, household, community, and society levels. As suggested in the interview, *“many Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian women (and men) become easy target for religious radicalization.”*

Finding #7: The progress on gender equality is driven by the civil society rather than the state

“The political developments are there but are not implemented. Civil society is pushing the agenda” – expert, Austrian Development Agency, Prishtina/Pristina.

Our research found that the actual efforts to address rigid and detrimental gender and power dynamics in Kosovo and to promote gender equality are driven by the civil society rather than the state itself. Conversations with multilateral and international agencies, and international and local NGOs operating in Kosovo, pointed out several driving factors for the situation. These included severe budget limitations, lack of political will and, among others, weak government leadership in putting gender equality on the political agenda in earnest. For instance, while the Ministry of Interior has adapted a strategy on de-radicalization, the strategy is gender blind and has no budget attached for the implementation. Further, as suggested by the Kosovo Rehabilitation Center for Victims of Torture, *“the Kosovo government, despite international legal commitments to women’s human rights, does not provide any financial support to local organizations to promote these rights.”* As such, CSOs and networks take a leading and pro-active role in gender activism and mainstreaming of gender equality. According to a gender expert from the GoK, *“there are very strong networks of women in Kosovo, who pressure the government and development partners to do more about gender inequalities and gender disparities, and to provide trainings or workshops.”*

“The state’s failure to act on its commitments to gender equality “further promotes and reinforces male authority over women” - media journalist, Zëri daily newspaper.

The consequences of the government’s limited leadership and inaction have devastating impact. Discussions with NGOs, including Kosova Women’s Network, revealed, for example, that the state policies related to gender equality have not entered the family space. Despite the passing of the 2010 Law on Protection Against Domestic Violence, intimate partner violence at home remains a reality of too many women in Kosovo. Further, interviews with KIs revealed that the state’s failure to lead the progress on gender equality creates a favorable environment for religious groups to seize the opportunity to promote ideas that are not always based on equality. According to the Kosova Center for Security Study, many individual men and women in Kosovo turn to religious or community leaders for advice and guidance when facing relational or familial difficulties. And while the practice has been part of the local tradition and an important element of community support - especially, in light of absence of similar government-led initiatives - it is unclear to what extent they promote gender equality. This, combined with the fact that many religious institutions in Kosovo are formed on patriarchal values, creates and sustains an environment that is favorable to inequitable gender relations and power dynamics.

- **No gender mainstreaming and lack of gender sensitive budgeting**

“The state has not taken an active role in promotion of gender equality” - Kosovo Gender Study Center.

Our research found that the state gender equality mechanisms whose mandate is the promotion of gender equality at the ministerial and municipal levels have not been successful in gender mainstreaming. Not that they failed in gender mainstreaming, but according to the Kosovo Gender Studies Center, *“gender equality mechanisms are marginal at the government and municipal level administration.”* Moreover, as suggested by Kosovo Rehabilitation Center for Victims of Torture, gender equality is not considered a cross-cutting issue but rather is treated as a *‘flavor of the day.’* According to Center for Liberty and Equality *“there is a fake progress....[]... we have laws but nothing is really implemented or understood. We have patriarchal men in the government who are not committed [to gender equality] and do it [gender mainstreaming] on paper only.”* As emphasized by several organizations, including World Vision Kosovo, Agency for Gender Equality, and Austrian Development Agency, there is substantial lack of gender mainstreaming among certain groups in Kosovo, including LGBTI community, people with disability, the poor and ethnic minorities, especially Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian.

Our research found that the lack of gender budgeting is one of the major challenges to how gender equality translates into action. Stakeholders pointed out that there is a lack of gender budgeting and gender audits of public expenditures. Such a lack of gender policy tools leaves unaddressed the question of how current budgets of public institutions, programs, and activities impact equality between women and men in Kosovo. An interview with the Gender Equality Officer in Prizreni/Prizren revealed that the 2015-2017 Gender Equality Plan for the Prizreni/Prizren municipality has no budget attached whatsoever. The lack of financial resources behind the plan limits any possibilities to hire additional human resources focused specifically on the promotion of gender equality.

- **Weak implementation of laws**

We are a new administration; although we have progressive laws and well developed legal frameworks, when it comes to implementation, we are learning as we go” – Acting Head of the Agency for Gender Equality, Office of the Prime Minister, Prishtina/Prishtina.

The AT found that while, legally, equality between men and women is guaranteed by the comprehensive legal framework in Kosovo, the implementation that follows leaves much to be desired. Interviews revealed that the laws related to gender equality and equal opportunities of men and women are adequate. However, they lack in implementation, so women are not treated equally to men and are not given equal opportunities to participate and be equally represented in public and private institutions. As a consequence, women are not given equal opportunities to participate and be equally represented in public and private institutions. According to activists from the Peer Educators Network *“laws are good on paper but there are lots of shortcomings in implementing them. That is why donors should continue to support NGOs.”* Or, as stated by the Kosova Rehabilitation Center for Tortured Victims in relation to the law on the Status and the Rights of the Martyrs, Invalids, Veterans, Members of Kosova Liberation Army, Civilian Victims of War and their Families *“while the above-mentioned law has contributed to encouraging victims to seek benefits guaranteed by the law, oftentimes, victims of wartime sexual violence feel that it is not worth, as the stigma is bigger than the law.”* Further, as suggested by the Kosova Women’s Network and Medica Kosova, Kosovo has legal frameworks, systems and mechanisms that enable reporting of domestic violence, yet when a woman calls police to report an incident, she is often advised to *“go back and save the family.”* According to an LGBTI activist in Prizreni/Prizreni, the situation is even worse when reporting incidents of violence or discrimination based on sexual orientation or gender identity. As stated by the activist, *“police takes report, laughs and does nothing.”*

- **The state and political parties pay lip-service to gender equality**

“Organizations are run by men; institutions are run by men. Women are not visible in politics. You bring women in only because of the quota. You bring women but you hash them. Their contribution is unclear, and most probably not significant” - male NGO leader, Prizreni/Prizren.

Our research found that despite the mandatory quota system on women’s political participation in decision-making on national and municipal level, women continue to lack voice, and their agency in socio-political life is down played. This is, in large part, due to the patriarchal relations of power and traditional gender roles, which lay at the foundation of social and political institutions in Kosovo and, as concluded from a KII in Prishtina, constitute *“a lip-service to gender equality in politics”* in Kosovo. As suggested in the interview with the Agency for Gender Equality, the challenge for the implementation of legal developments related to gender equality in politics is the existing patriarchal structure of many institutions and systems, which prevents translation from ‘what is on paper’ into a practical action on the ground.

A large number of KIs interviewed for the purpose of this research pointed out the continuum of lip-service to gender equality especially in regard to women’s active participation in political life. Interviews with the Community Building Mitrovicë/Mitrovica suggested that while a greater number of women now, in comparison to previous generations, participate in the socio-economic and political developments in Kosovo, they are visible and considered only on the level of CSOs and not on the institutional level. Similar observations were made during the interviews with international and local NGOs in Prishtina/Prishtina, Mitrovicë/Mitrovica, and Prizreni/Prizren. These interviews also

indicated that despite the mandatory quota system, there is no actual commitment and incentive in the major political parties to give ‘room to women.’ As such, as indicated by a male participant of a FGD at EC Ma Ndryshe in Prizreni/Prizren, this results in the political isolation of women, which sustains detrimental gender and power dynamics in Kosovo. According to a reporter from *Zëri* daily newspaper, “we have quota, but still the main institutions and positions are run and occupied by men. The head of the Kosovo Police is a man, chief of Prosecution is a man, and Kosovo Intelligence Agency is run by men. All mayors are men and there is only one female - the Mayor of Gjakova/Djakovica.” The reporter suggested that the core of these institutions is based on patriarchy and not equality. According to an expert from the Kosova Democratic Institute “there is gender discrimination,” as assembly committees in local and municipality-level government are dominated by men and, “unless these are committees of lesser importance, women representation might be higher.” Interview with a representative from a major political party in Kosovo revealed that “there is some degree of success in these efforts, as women are more represented in Village Councils, but not all women are treated the same.” As suggested by a party leader “political parties are more interested to work with women who are well-off and stand in better position economically and have influence in their communities as they bring votes to parties and are able to mobilize their communities.”

- **Gaps between ‘de jure’ and ‘de facto’ of gender equality**

The research data indicate a gap between ‘de jure’ and ‘de facto’ of gender equality. According to Kosova Women’s Network, the prevalence of sexual harassment is an example of a gap between laws and practice. For instance, while sexual violence is legally recognized as crime in the Kosovo Criminal Code, in practice, incidents are frequent at all level of the society and often times tolerated. For instance, according to the Kosovo Gender Studies Center and female participants in the FGD in Prishtina/Pristina, “sexual harassment is prevalent in the university, too.” Female students who have experienced sexual harassment remain silent due to stigma and shame. In addition, as suggested by the Center, they fear retaliation from the professors who use their authority to fail them in the exams. Moreover, findings stemming from the literature review, FGDs in Prishtina/Pristina, Mitrovicë/Mitrovica, Prizreni/Prizren, and community discussions in Vushtrri/Vučitrn revealed that a culture of blaming the victim of sexual harassment is widespread. Activists from CARE International Kosovo made similar observations and suggested that women in Kosovo are often blamed for violence, especially domestic violence. According to Medica Kosova, sexual harassment is an expression of power granting men’s sexual entitlement over women and, as stated by a female respondent from Peer Educators Network, harassment in public spaces and public transportation continue to affect many women in Kosovo.

3.2 ASSESSMENT OF GENDER AND POWER DYNAMICS

Finding #1: Across ethnic communities, conceptions of Kosovar masculine and feminine identities are premised on a well-defined patriarchal hierarchy

The AT found that across ethnic communities both male and female identities are constructed on well-defined roles and responsibilities, and are maintained through a well-defined hierarchy between men and women.

- **‘Complementarity’ of male and female identities**

Our research data indicates that male and female identities are constructed through a notion of ‘complementarity’ between men and women. For instance, interviews with community members in Prishtina/Pristina, Prizreni/Prizren, Mitrovicë/Mitrovica, and Kaçanik/Kaçanik indicated that while the main male responsibility is to work and provide for his family, the role of a woman is to assist and support her husband in fulfilling these roles, which includes work at home and care for children. These differences in male and female identities are often perceived as the ‘natural order of things’. Interviews with community members in Prishtina/Pristina and Mitrovicë/Mitrovica as well as with some individual men and women from not-urban settings revealed that very often these ‘complementarity’ is not perceived as unequal, inequitable or harmful but rather is seen as traditional way of ‘doing things’.

- **Male identity shaped by employment**

Our research found that across ethnic communities having an employment or a certain type of employment shapes male and female identities in Kosovo. Overall, the notion of ‘breadwinning masculinity’ defines men’s and women’s relationships. According to the Center for Social Emancipation “*whether straight or gay, male identity in Kosovo is defined by having a job.*” And as a young man in Prishtina stated, “*if you don’t have a job, you lose self-confidence, you become insecure, and you withdraw yourself.*” Therefore, to be unemployed not only alters the meaning of masculinity but it also affects young men in their identity transitioning from adolescence to adulthood. To be jobless is not only to be less of a man, but as a male respondent in Mitrovicë/Mitrovica expressed “*I am not a man anymore, because I don’t have a job.*”

- **Male and female identities understood only through the prism of hetero-normativity**

Our research found that gender and power dynamics rely upon hetero-normative understandings of feminine and masculine identities. According to interviews with international organizations, several local experts, and LGBTI groups in Kosovo, many men and women who identify themselves as gay, lesbian, bisexual, or transgender experience social pressures to conform to the hetero-normativity. For young gay men, for instance, it is the pressure to achieve the ‘Kosovo masculinity’ defined by physical strength, macho-attitude, and having a wife and a child. According to the Center for Social Group Development and Center for Social Emancipation those men are often forced to live a double-life: hiding their sexual orientation or identity, and conforming to heterosexual values of family formation and heterosexual marriage. Further, as highlighted in the interview with the Center for Social Emancipation as well as in the FGD with youth in Mitrovicë/Mitrovica, for many young gay men this means also a repression of self-expression and internalized homophobia stemming from the need to achieve the socially idealized version of ‘Kosovo male identity.’ The social pressure to comply with traditional hetero-normativity is tremendous, and any deviations are “punished” in the community by ostracizing those who do not conform, as stated by a male LGBTI activist in Prishtina/Pristina. According to a female respondent – a mother of two and a journalist in the local news agency – many gay men hide their sexuality by adopting certain lifestyles in order to appear as conforming to the heterosexual norm; and some may even choose religious life to conceal their sexual identity.

“I know some men who in order to hide their sexuality have turned into religion; especially men who are married and have sex with other men” - male LGBTI respondent, Prizreni/Prizren.

According to an expert focusing on issues of sexual orientation and gender identity, having sex and a large number of sexual partners are at the bottom of the construction of male identity in Kosovo (whereas for women, even speaking openly about having sex is a disgrace as their female identity must be driven by ‘feminine purity’ and sexual abstinence). As a female activist from the Center for Equality and Liberty put it, *“when a typical Kosovo man does all that, he is instantly awarded and glorified by his male friends.”* Our research revealed that for men, any diversion from the prevalent hetero-normative formula of male identity means being instantly labelled as ‘gay’.

- **Male and female identities heavily influenced by rigid gender expectations**

The AT found that, across ethnic communities, certain gender expectations influence how male or female identities are constructed. Interviews and group discussions with young men and women in Prishtina/Pristina, Mitrovicë/Mitrovica, and Prizreni/Prizren suggest that the ‘typical’ male identity is shaped by cultural demands and expectations for men. As one male respondent in Mitrovicë/Mitrovica suggested, *“men have it more difficult to step outside the traditional box of masculine identity.”* Our research data revealed that what defines male identity in Kosovo is the expectation for men and boys to ‘make and bring money home’, ‘form a family’, ‘have children and live happily after’. When probed further and asked whether a man can stay home and take care of children while his female partner works, the majority of informants stated that it is a general understanding in the community that men are identified (and recognized) by having a job and bringing money and not by staying home.

“An ideal woman for each man and for the society is a woman who is strong, has children, is employed, brings home an income, and who after work gets home, cooks, and cleans” – female community member, Prishtina/Pristina.

For women and girls, their identity is shaped by the expectation to receive ‘good education,’³ find a husband, and create a ‘good home’. Interestingly, although it is important for forming female identity that she has employment, it is equally important that her job does not interfere with work at home and care for children. As indicated by an expert from Medica Kosova, *“women are not expected to challenge the existing gender norms and constructs.”* According to an interview with a gender expert, *“a woman can do anything as long as she keeps the family together.”* Similar observation was made by a Gorani expert from the Kosovo’s Consultative Council for Communities, according to whom female identity is defined by ‘motherhood’ and while having a child is the utmost important step for a woman in transition from adolescent to adulthood, having a boy child is a *“success.”* *It is important however to highlight that when a baby-boy is born it is the man that takes all the glory, and when a newborn child is a girl, it is the woman that is blamed, as suggested by several experts interviewed.*

- **Male ‘heroic identity’ has not directly entered the life of young people**

“No more heroes: The past is in the past” - male community member, Vushtrri/ Vuçitrn.

Our research revealed that while the 1998 -1999 conflict has reinforced rigid ‘heroic masculinity,’ it has not directly entered the life of young people. The research data indicates that the 1998 -1999 conflict has affected male and female identities in Kosovo. And while our research has not explored

³ Interviews suggested that ‘good education’ means both formal education such as high-school degree or, in some cases, especially in urban settings, a University degree, as well as informal education such as good upbringing.

the extent of how war has shaped male and female identity, we found that the harsh post-war socio-economic reality is contributing to male and female identities' transformation. For example, some men (and women) suppress the recent past of war in search of new modes of "heroic identity" to fight financial scarcity. Many young men have chosen escapism in social media and video games as a venue to forge their "masculine identity of a hero and fighter" in a virtual war. According to CARE International expert, video games for many young men and boys are a site of assertion of their new "heroic masculinity."

On the society level, male identity is often perceived as that of 'soldiers', 'defenders of the national pride', and 'patriots'. Our research found that while the recent past of the 1998 -1999 conflict may be residing in the collective memory in Kosovo, such an identity is past. For instance, a male respondent in Vushtrri suggested that *"I was called the golden generation. I was a fighter. I fought for freedom. When I returned from the war there was euphoria. But today the past is in the past."*

- **'Wounded male identity': a result of the 1998 -1999 Kosovo conflict**

Our research also revealed the trope of 'wounded male identity' related to the 1998 -1999 Kosovo conflict. Many female participants, in particular from the middle age cohort, in FGDs in Prishtina/Pristina and Vushtrri/Vučitrn referred to the impact of war in constructions of masculine identity. They expressed concerns about the feelings many men have about their "role as protector of women," which is at the foundation of male identity in Kosovo. As suggested by an expert from the Humanitarian Law Center in Pristina, *"during the war many men could not attain this role. Men had to hide in the forest because they were targeted more than women. Women stayed home to look after children, livestock, and elderly."* As pointed out by a counselor from Kosovo Rehabilitation Center for Torture Victims, men's "inability to enact their manhood concomitant social expectations for protection of women and children" may have influenced not only their identities but also that of women. According to the leader of Platforma Civkos *"women have transcended boundaries of traditional gender roles. Women think, we have made it in the war, why can't we make it now in the peacetime."*

Finding #2: Men and women's role and responsibilities shaped by the patriarchal model of family

The AT found that the patriarchal model of family heavily determines the roles and responsibilities of men and women in Kosovo. Such a model is based on the premise in which man holds primary power and predominance in income generation and socio-political leadership, has special social privileges, controls property and inheritance, and has authority over the women and children and related decisions including over family formation and sexual and reproductive choices. The patriarchal model of the Kosovo family is defined by the "rule by the father." As suggested by a Serbian Orthodox priest in the Decani Monastery, *"men expect from women to be dedicated, but men themselves live a different life. They're freer to go outside, and maybe have other women on the side, which is not allowed for women as they will be stigmatized."* Moreover, as expressed by a lecturer from the Faculty of Islamic Studies, *"women have restricted freedom of movement outside the home compared to men."* As such, the unequal gender and power dynamics shape the patterns of gendered roles and responsibilities for men and women at home, outside the home, in the community, and the society at large.

"Men are suitable for everything; they can do anything. But women have to be careful as there is no river that can wash away their sins" - aspiring actress, Vushtrri/Vučitrn.

- **Male and female roles and responsibilities do not significantly differ between the major ethnic or religious groups, but vary across rural or urban settings**

The AT found no significant differences between the major ethnic groups in Kosovo as they relate to male or female roles and responsibilities at the community, or family level. Results from interviews and FGDs with Albanian, Ashkali, Bosniak, Egyptian, Gorani, Roma, and Serbian men and women across all research sites covered, including Prishtina/Pristina, Prizreni/Prizren, Mitrovicë/Mitrovica, Kaçanik/Kaçanik, Gjakova/Djakovica, Fushë Kosova/Kosovo Polje, Vushtrri/ Vuçitrn, and Decan confirmed these findings. Further, we found no significant difference between religious groups related to social and gender roles and responsibilities. Among Muslim, Orthodox or Catholic men and women, the same social norms determine gender roles and responsibilities at the family, community, or society levels. In other words, Albanian Muslim women are expected to work and generate income and at the same time care for children and their families as much as Serbian Orthodox or Albanian Christian women. Similarly, men across all ethnic and religious communities in Kosovo are equally expected to be breadwinners, providers, and family protectors. These patterns vary, however, across rural-urban settings, with the rural being less flexible and more true to rigid to gender binary. However, more research is needed to determine how, in what particular areas of life, and to what extent they actually do differ.

Jointly, the research data from interviews with stakeholders, including government and political party officials, discussions with multilaterals, international, and local NGOs, community leaders, academics and experts, as well as group conversations with individual men and women from all religious and ethnic minorities met in all regions visited by the AT revealed that in Kosovo:

- **At the family level**, overall, a man (husband) is expected to play the role of a breadwinner, provider and a protector of the family. His responsibility is to be a good, responsible father and husband, who completes many home repairs, and certain heavy outdoor tasks. For men, according to a leader from the Network of Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian Women, *“they are to give the last decision because it is for them ‘to decide’. They are to get employed, to bring money at home. When they do some housework it is because they want to do ‘a favor’ to the women in the family.”* A woman (the wife) is often a full-time homemaker, particularly when there were children living in the family, and the husband is the breadwinner. She does all of the housework and most of the childcare, except for some recreational activities, and continues to do so even when working outside the home. She is a good mother that raises the children and does it well. For example, according to a Gorani expert from the Kosovo’s Consultative Council for Communities in Pristina and a Gorani NGO leader in Prizreni/Prizren, the role of a Gorani woman is to *“to be a good mother that educates her children, raises children according to Gorani tradition,”* and to *“prepare daughters to be good wives.”* Interviews with a leader from the Network of Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian Women revealed that women are *“to take care of everybody, including parents-in-law, husband, children, husband’s children, if any, and other in-laws when there is a large family.”*
- **At the community-level**, overall, man’s primary role is that of *“decision-maker”* and a leader in the political, socio-economic, and cultural every-day life of a given community. His role is to actively participate in the community affairs from infrastructural to decision-making processes. Generally, a woman is not expected to play any significant roles at the community level, except, in some cases, to provide care to others in need in the community. *“Outside family, men are more free to go out and socialize; women are limited in those choices.”*

- **At the society-level**, overall, a man's role is to be a 'guard of the national pride,' "*defender of freedom, honor, homeland and of their women.*" In addition, a man is responsible for the protection of society's well-being in a role of a 'wise statesman,' while women's role at the society-level is shaped by the nationalistic nostalgia of "*idealized nurture of family and the nation as an extension of it.*"

Box 4: 'Real Kosovo Man'

A 'real man' is perhaps universally defined across all ethnic communities in Kosovo. In a conversation with community members in Vushtrri/ Vučitrn, a male respondent suggested that a real man is "*the one that doesn't expect anything from others but expects a lot from himself. He works hard.*" Similarly, interviews with Orthodox and Catholic priests revealed that while a 'real man' in Kosovo is "*a strong man, responsible father, provider for family*" he is also "*independent, a person who can make decisions on his own,*" without relying on others. Interviews with an expert at the Kosovo's Consultative Council for Communities and the head of a Gorani NGO, revealed that to be a 'good' Gorani man means to be financially and emotionally responsible for the family, be in charge, and similarly to others in the research, "*make responsible decisions including about household and family-related expenses.*" Young men in the FGD in Mitrovicë/Mitrovica suggested that to be a 'real man' "*you have to think objectively, be smart and responsible, always make good decisions that benefit you and your family.*" According to KIs, Gorani man must also "*have the final word*" in the family. At the same time, what makes him different from other ethnic communities "*is the ability of communicating and negotiating with others, and respect for the rule the law; this is what Gorani man does.*" A large majority of informants suggested 'a real man' represses his emotions. As indicated by a gender expert, this reflects the concept of 'cultural politics', in which emotions are seen as primary private and not as socially constructed. On the other hand, young men and women in the research suggested that in the recent years, the pressure for men to hide emotions has eased somewhat. They echoed that nowadays "*it is OK for a man to cry.*" The field research revealed that having power and privileges are the dominant characteristics of a 'real men.' He is a leader in the public arena, who embodies the responsibility of the political and public affairs – he is a 'true' political decision-maker.

While our research has focused on a dominant cultural understanding of a 'real man,' the research gathered also information about a 'real woman.' According to respondents, a 'real woman' is the one that 'marries and has a boy-child'; is a good mother and nurturer of the family; she is a 'loving, caring, and gentle person showing compassion for children, husband, and the family; and is 'unconditionally faithful to her husband.'

- **While the traditional division of work has shifted, the labor dynamics are not driven by the equality between men and women, and vary between urban and rural Kosovo**

While the traditional division of work may have shifted in some areas and on some levels, the labor dynamics continue to be driven by the inequitable gender and power dynamics between men and women. For instance, on the society and on the family-level, women continue to carry the disproportionate burden of unpaid household work and care for children and others in need of care. However, the research data indicates that the shift, at least at the family-level, which has taken place in urban settings is not equivalent to that in rural Kosovo. In rural areas it is usually men who are responsible for providing finances and are expected to work; women can work but only after "*the*"

children care, cooking and cleaning” is done. Yet, while the shifts in the traditional division of work continue to undergo, albeit slow, changes - at least in urban settings – the AT met and heard of many rural women who are positive examples of change in less developed, underserved, and socio-economically challenged areas of Kosovo. As a male leader from Community Building Mitrovicë /Mitrovica suggested, *“these working women provide a positive model and inspire other women to do the same.”*

“Men prefer women who work, as she brings incomes to home” - male respondent, FGD Mitrovicë /Mitrovica.

Our research found that the changes to the traditional division of work may not be always driven by the rise in equality between men and women. Our data indicate that the tendency to include women in the workforce may be driven by pragmatic considerations, as households benefit from working women’s incomes. Interviews with several multilateral organizations, including the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development as well as other KIs, revealed that *“women’s increasing participation in paid work is more driven by men’s reduced earning power in the current economic transition.”*

- **Gender matters in who performs what job**

The research data revealed the persistence of the problem of occupational segregation and, more specifically, the social pressure for women and men to take certain types of jobs.

Community-based conversations and KIs in Prishtina/Pristina, Prizreni/Prizren, and Mitrovicë/Mitrovica, revealed that there are some professions and positions that are seen more ‘manly’, and some that are considered ‘more for women.’ This view was expressed also by male and female participants of FGDs in Prishtina/Pristina, Prizreni/Prizren, Mitrovicë/Mitrovica, and Kaçanik/Kaçanik who suggested that, *“there are some professions which are not perceived as suitable for women.”* For instance, while a male can be a fashion designer, it is rare to see a female car driver; while both genders can freely work in restaurants or bars, there is rather a strong prejudice and social stigma around young women working in such profession.

The research found that there is social pressure for women and men to take certain types of jobs. For instance, for men to work in a business-oriented field or be a lawyer, and for women to take on jobs in teaching or nursing. The society at large holds the opinion that *“women are less capable to lead a company as compared to men”*, as suggested by several interviews with community members. Similarly, a young female participant of a FGD in Mitrovicë/Mitrovica stated, *“my husband and myself work and we have sent our kids to kindergarten since they were 5 months old. Our family members were worried and some of them told me: why didn’t you choose to work as a teacher? You would have had more time for your children!”*

Box 5: Socialization of boys and girls and its impact on labor market dynamics

Results from FGDs carried out in Prishtina/Pristina, Prizreni/Prizren, Mitrovicë/Mitrovica, and Kaçanik/Kaçanik suggest that the origin of the gendered division of labor between men and women is found in the early socialization of boys and girls starting in the family, and then is carried in the society. At the same time, gender norms and roles are being formed at a young age through various socialization processes in schools. As suggested by an investigative journalist in Prishtina/Pristina, *“boys are heavily socialized in the norms, morals and values of rigid masculinity.”* A respondent in a group

discussion in Prishtina/Pristina observed: “A man is the head of the family, and then this patriarchal type of organization is carried outside in the public institutions. Men are socialized to be more ambitious than women and expect more from themselves, their lives and from others in family and in wider society. This is seen as ‘natural’ and people begin to speak of ‘woman’s nature’ and ‘man’s nature.’”

- **Access to opportunities and control over various resources between men and women is not always equal**

“Men have more rights and opportunities when it comes to property inheritance. The family’s inheritance goes automatically to men. A woman has almost no right to claim any parts of the property – ‘she is almost insane’ if she says anything about it”- a leader of the Network of Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian Women in Prishtina/Pristina.

Our research data indicates that men and women do not always have equal access to the same opportunities, and do not equally control resources. On the family, community, and society-levels, men continue to have a greater access to resources and, on the family-level specifically, continue, to a greater extent, to control decisions over these resources. Interviews with several stakeholders indicated that among the Kosovo Albanians, the customary law - the *Kanun of Lekë Dukagjini* - even though no longer widely observed, continues to give the authority to men over women in all matters of the family and public life. And while, legally, both women and men are equally entitled to land and property inheritance, it is the male family member who inherits family property. An interview with an expert from Kosovo’s Consultative Council for Communities in Prishtina/Pristina and a leader of a Gorani NGO in Prizreni/Prizren shed additional perspective on the subject. Because of the family relations and dynamics that create and reinforce hierarchy between men and women at the household level, some women may feel guilty when exercising their property rights. They believe, as suggested by the expert that “it is not good to take away from the brothers.” The results are devastating. As stated by several gender experts interviewed for the purpose of this research, prevalent rigid gender norms discourage women from claiming rights, including property rights, and consequently prevent them from securing and advancing their lives. Female heirs are often excluded in the inheritance process, experiencing coerced renunciation of rights. According to an expert from the Kosovo Property Program, “inequality in ownership and inheritance increases insecurity of women and limits their autonomy.”

Education remains an asset for women, yet as suggested by the Kosovo Gender Studies Center, the school curriculums “reinforce traditional gender roles and do not challenge gender inequality” and, as such, they “do not adequately generate critical thinking for gender equality” in Kosovo. When probed about the (in)equality between men and women in Kosovo in access to and control over resources, a female political party representative concluded: “Women are not given deserved value; they are discriminated from the very beginning of the work application process.”

4.0 CONCLUSIONS

Today the Kosovo youth may live more gender-equitable lives than previous generations. Yet, unequal gender and power dynamics in Kosovo shape the patterns of gendered roles and responsibilities for men and women at home, in the community, and the society at large.

Women and men do not enjoy equal access to the same opportunities and do not equally use or control resources. They participate unequally in decision-making in the family, in the community, and in the society. The household and the labor market are sites of unequal gender and power relations. Women continue to carry a disproportionate burden of unpaid work at home and care for children and others in need of care. Men do not fully engage in household work due to socio-cultural constraints. Lack of childcare centers and kindergartens prevents many young mothers from developing their skills, engaging in income generation in formal or informal markets, and obstructs their participation in socio-political decision-making. The labor dynamics continue to be driven by the inequitable gender and power dynamics between men and women. While certain types of jobs are not more restricted to men or women only, the problem of occupational segregation and the social pressure for women and men to take certain types of jobs persists. Despite adequate legislative developments, women's political participation on the national and municipal level remains marginal and invisible.

While the comprehensive legal framework in Kosovo guarantees equality between men and women, the implementation that follows has left much to be desired. Gaps between 'de jure' and 'de facto' of gender equality limit positive change in gender and power relations.

The progress on gender equality is driven by the civil society rather than the state. The state gender equality mechanisms have not been successful in gender mainstreaming. Failure of the government's prioritization of gender mainstreaming includes a lack of gender sensitive budgeting, which deepens inequality between men and women.

While education remains an asset in advancing women's life and their position in the family, community, and society at large, the school curriculum has not been able to generate critical thinking for gender equality and promote healthy, non-violent, non-discriminatory, and non-patriarchal versions of male identity. Moreover, the media does not actively participate in counteracting patriarchal norms in Kosovo, and continues to perpetrate and reinforce rigid gender and power dynamics.

Multiple structural and socio-economic challenges such as high rates of unemployment, the lack of options and opportunities for income generation, and constraints in social mobility, impact on the attitudes and behaviour of many men in Kosovo. These challenges affect how men are 'acting up' on gender and power dynamics and contribute to 'crises of the Kosovar masculinity.' Moreover, the lack of new socio-economic alternatives for men reinforces outdated notions of masculinity, posing significant challenge to fostering gender equality in the country. Young men are not being provided with role models or alternative male identities to those of a breadwinner and provider, protector of the family, and a decision-maker. Particular elements of gender constructs and structural constraints increase men and women's vulnerability to ideological and religious radicalization. Certain elements of the prevalent conceptions of 'breadwinning' masculinity and 'obedient' femininity as well as socio-economic circumstance and feelings of isolation may increase men and women's vulnerability and risk to religious or national radicalization, and in some cases, violent extremism.

Gender inequity is more pronounced in rural areas of Kosovo where the financial dependency of women is higher. Overall, challenges and constraints to gender equality in regards to access to education, employment, decision-making, individual self-determination, marriage and family formation, do not differ drastically across communities. Specific risk factors such as poverty, religious or ethnic

background, sexual orientation, and gender identity are basis for exclusion and discrimination among some groups in Kosovo.

Female and male identities are constructed through a notion of 'complementarity' of roles and responsibilities of men and women. Moreover, they are reworked in relation to oppositional and imagined categories of 'real man' and 'real woman.' 'A real man' is independent, rational, and represses emotions, has power, and enjoys privileges. Moreover, 'a real man' is perceived to be a leader in the public arena and a political decision-maker. On the other hand, 'a real woman', is 'a loving good mother and nurturer of the family', 'a wife expressing unconditional love to the husband and the family.' Having employment or a certain type of employment shapes in a disproportionate way male and female identities in Kosovo.

Overall, gender and power dynamics rely upon hetero-normative understandings of feminine and masculine identities. Across the ethnic spectrum, conceptions of Kosovar masculinities and femininities are premised on patriarchy between men and women.

ANNEXES

Annex I: Scope of Work

The Assessment was based on the following **Scope of Work**, which included the following elements:

- This assignment will include meetings and consultations with the USAID Mission staff, counterparts involved in gender sector, including implementing partners and other relevant actors from civil society, international community, academia and government throughout Kosovo.
- Review reports on gender, radicalization, men and masculinity, the Kosovo conflicts of 1999 and/or other relevant topics for report background.
- Identify Key Informants Interviews (KII) in Kosovo, prepare draft questions, devise a schedule and carry out the interviews. Interview USAID/Kosovo Mission, Kosovar counterparts, donors, religious leaders, community elders, youth, government officials and other relevant actors with insight into gender dynamics in Kosovo. Specifically, the team shall meet with and interview a broad range of stakeholders that may include, but are not limited to political party representatives and local NGOs (including youth groups and woman groups) and other international stakeholders and actors, identifying trends and summarize the findings.
- Since this is a Kosovo wide assessment, please identify randomly selected groups and geographical areas for focus group discussions (FGD) and arrange a schedule for these discussions. These FGD should be held to ensure the participation of majority population, minority and the view of both genders as well as to represent the interests of different geographic and religious groups. Conduct FGD, identifying trends and summarize the findings.
- Review the quantitative and qualitative outputs to determine if there are any anomalies and determine the rationale behind them.
- Draft presentation for USAID/Kosovo Mission and preparation of the draft final report.
- De-briefing for USAID/Kosovo Mission staff.
- Final report to USAID/Kosovo Mission staff.

The following **Scheduled Tasks and Deliverables** were part of the Assessment:

- Develop Draft Work Plan and Methodology: A Draft Work Plan will be completed and presented together/at the same time with the offerors proposal on the RFTOP. The draft work plan will include the anticipated schedule, milestones by week, logistics, with scheduled assignments for all team members. The methodology shall include but not limited to: Key Informant Interviews, Focus Group Discussions, Data Collection and Analysis, Discourse Analyses, Report Drafting, Briefings for USAID/Kosovo, and Report Completion. Final Work Plan will be approved by COR during the first meeting in-country with the team if there are no comments by USAID/Kosovo.
- Desk Review and Five-page Situational Analysis: Conduct desk review of literature, to demonstrate an understanding of the current stage of the gender disparities in Kosovo affecting women and men; and among men themselves. This should be presented at the first meeting with COR in country.
- First Meeting/Briefings: The team will hold an in-brief/meeting with COR and other members of DG office, after they arrive in-country.
- Weekly Meetings: The team will hold weekly meetings with the COR to discuss the progress of the assessment.
- Draft Assessment Report: The team will present an outline of the draft report in English including findings and recommendations to the COR at least two (2) working day before the USAID/Kosovo Mission debriefing and submit a draft report 10 working days after departure

from Kosovo. USAID/Kosovo will review the draft report and send back comments 10 (ten) working after receiving draft report.

- Debriefing with USAID: The team will present the major findings of the assessment to USAID/Kosovo after submission of the outline of draft report. The debriefing will include a discussion of findings, conclusions, and issues as well as the team's recommendations
 - Agenda and Power Point Presentation: The team will present an agenda and a copy of the power point presentation to the COR at least one (1) working day before the USAID/Kosovo Mission debriefing.
- Final Report Preparation – The Final Report will be submitted to the (COR) in electronic format within five (5) working days following receipt of comments from draft report, if any, from the COR. The Final Report shall include an Executive Summary and will not exceed fifty (50) pages (excluding appendices). The Final Report will be prepared in English and shall follow USAID branding procedures. The final report will include but not be limited to the incorporation of COR comments, debriefing comments from USAID, and any other feedback reports and information collected throughout the assessment. The final report will take into consideration comments and clarifications received from debriefings.

The appendices to the report will include at a minimum:

- The Statement of Work;
- Any “statements of differences” regarding significant unresolved difference of opinion by funders, implementers, and/or team members conducting the assessment;
- All data collection tools used in conducting the assessment, such as questionnaires, checklists, and discussion guides; and
- Sources of information properly identified and listed.

All quantitative data collected by the team will be provided in an electronic file in easily readable format (Microsoft Office) to the COR. The data will be organized and fully documented for use by those not fully familiar with the assessment. USAID will retain ownership of the survey and all datasets developed.

Team Composition included:

The team shall be composed of one international subject area expert and two local subject area experts.

Relationships and Responsibilities

In accordance with USAID Policies, this task order will be managed by the USAID/Kosovo Program and Project Office. Primary point of contact is Melita Cacaj, Monitoring and Assessment Specialist, Program and Project Office mcacaj@usaid.gov.

The Mission's Monitoring and Assessment (M&E) Specialist, or his/her designee, will be the designated Contracting Officer's Representative (COR) for this award. Upon arrival in Kosovo, the Contractor shall meet with the M&E Specialist and representatives from the USAID/Kosovo Democracy and Governance Office prior to starting any work

Annex 2: Situational Analysis

Gender and Power Dynamic Assessment: Situational Analysis
RFTOP: SOL-167-16-00003

Submitted to USAID/Kosovo Mission on September 5, 2016

Acronyms

AAK	Alliance for the Future of Kosovo
AGE	Agency for Gender Equality
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women
EU	European Union
GBV	Gender-based violence
GDP	Gross domestic product
KCSS	Kosovar Center for Security Studies
KVN	Kosova Women’s Network
LDK	Democratic League of Kosovo
LGBTI	Lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and intersex
MICS	Multiple Indicators Cluster Survey
NAP	National action Plan
PDK	Democratic Party of Kosovo
SOGI	Sexual orientation and gender identity
SRGBV	School-related gender-based violence
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNICEF	United Nations Child Fund
UNSCR 1325	UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace, and Security
USAID	United States Agency for International Development

Introduction

The purpose of the situational analysis is to demonstrate what we know about gender dynamics between men and women in Kosovo. The five subsequent chapters take a closer look at the selected areas related to the Assessment:

- Gender in Policy
- Gender Concepts and Tradition, Culture, Ethnicity, Nationality and Religion
- Gender, Power Dynamics and Violence in Kosovo
- Gender, Power Dynamics in the Post-Conflict Reality of Kosovo
- Gender and Power Dynamics, and Global Forces

Background

Kosovo is a landlocked country located in the southeastern part of Europe. It spans a territory of 10,908 km² with 38 administrative units organized in local governance municipalities and 1,469 inhabited localities.⁴ According to the latest Population and Housing Census (2011), total population was 1,739,825⁵, but not including the population in three northern municipalities.⁶ Kosovo is a young country, with the mean age of population of 30,2 years. 67.2% of the total population is between 15-64 years of age, while those under 25 amounts of approximately 47.3% of the total population. There are more young males than females (427,976 and 396,770 respectively).⁷ In 2014, the life expectancy at birth was 71.1; and 73.3 for females and 69 for males⁸. On average, there are nearly 6 persons per household.⁹, and the fertility rate remains at 2.09 child per one woman.¹⁰

61% of the Kosovo population lives in rural areas, and the remaining 39% in the urban settings.¹¹ The majority of the population is Kosovo Albanians (92%), and minorities include Serbs, Bosniaks, Gorani, Turks, Roma, Ashkali, and Egyptians.¹² The main religions are Islam (96% of the population are Muslim), Roman Catholicism (2.21%) and (1.4%) Orthodox.

As a lower-middle-income country, with a solid economic growth performance since the end of the war in 1999, it is one of only four countries in Europe that recorded positive growth rates in every year during the crisis period 2008–12, averaging 3.7%. World Bank (2016) estimates the growth to

⁴ GoK. 2016. Vjetari statistikor i Republikës së Kosovës. Prishtinë: ASK. Available at: <http://ask.rks-gov.net/sq/tjera/category/79-vsrk>.

⁵ Kosovo Agency of Statistics estimates that in 2014 the population reached 1,804,944 including North Mitrovica, Zvecan, Leposavic, and Zubin Potok municipalities. For more information, see: Government of Kosovo. 2015. Estimation, Kosovo population 2014. Pristina: ASK. Available at: <http://ask.rks-gov.net/en/population/category/108-ekp?download=1434:estimation-of-kosovo-population-2014>.

⁶ GoK. 2011. Kosovo Population and Housing Census 2011. Final Results. Main Data. Pristina: ASK. Available at: <http://ask.rks-gov.net/en/census-2011?download=15:final-results-of-census-2014>.

⁷ GoK. 2011. Kosovo Population and Housing Census 2011. Final Results. Main Data. Pristina: ASK, p.31 and 32. Available at: <http://ask.rks-gov.net/en/census-2011?download=15:final-results-of-census-2014>.

⁸ The World Bank Statistical Data. 2016. Online edition available at: <http://data.worldbank.org/country/kosovo>.

⁹ GoK. 2011. Kosovo Population and Housing Census 2011. Final Results. Main Data. Pristina: ASK, p.28. Available at: <http://ask.rks-gov.net/en/census-2011?download=15:final-results-of-census-2014>.

¹⁰ Geobase Statistical Data. Available at: <http://www.geoba.se/country.php?cc=XK&year=2015>.

¹¹ GoK. 2011. Kosovo Population and Housing Census 2011. Final Results. Main Data. Pristina: ASK, p.42. Available at: <http://ask.rks-gov.net/en/census-2011?download=15:final-results-of-census-2014>.

¹² GoK. 2011. Kosovo Population and Housing Census 2011. Final Results. Main Data. Pristina: ASK, p.60. Available at: <http://ask.rks-gov.net/en/census-2011?download=15:final-results-of-census-2014>

remain at the same level in 2016.¹³ However, Kosovo remains one of the poorest countries in Europe, with a per-capita gross domestic product (GDP) of about US\$ 3551. Although poverty rate has been decreasing gradually from 45.4% in 2006/2007 to 29.7% in 2011¹⁴, about 30% of the population is living below the national poverty line - and roughly one-eighth Kosovars in extreme poverty.¹⁵

Illiteracy rates are alarming. According to the Kosovo Agency of Statistics (2011), approximately 3.9% of the total population aged 10 and up is fully illiterate; among which 79.7% are females.¹⁶ These figures are some of the highest in Europe¹⁷. More females than males graduate from the primary and lower secondary level education (30.2% of all graduates) but only 13.7% of all in upper secondary level education graduates are females. Women are also in the minority of university graduates: in 2011 only 3.0%.¹⁸

Unemployment rates in Kosovo are very high. The labor force (economically active population) aged 15-64 is 442,716, of which 337,119 are males and only 105,597 are females. In 2015 unemployment reached 32.9% of unemployed on the labor force. Of total 145,776 unemployed persons, 36.6% are women and 31.8% men.¹⁹ These numbers show that youth unemployment is a serious concern reaching staggering 57.7% of all young men and women aged 15-24. Women labor force participation is a concern. In 2015 only 18.1% of all women, as compared to 56.7% of all men, participated in the labor force.²⁰ Females are also far less likely than man to own a business: for instance, in 2013 only 14% of all private businesses in Kosovo were owned by women.²¹ More young women than young men are unemployed: approximately 67.2% as compared to 54.2% respectively.²²

Migration from Kosovo has taken place during the last century in separate waves for economic and political reasons, and especially during the war at the end of the century, and it still continues. Currently, approximately 7.5% is Kosovar are international migrants.²³ Male migrant dominate the rate of international migrants with 56.67%.²⁴ Higher rates of unemployment among men, pushed

¹³ For more information, please see the World Bank (2016) statistical data sources available at:

<http://www.worldbank.org/en/country/kosovo/overview>

¹⁴ Government of Kosovo. 2016. Vjetari statistikor i Republikës së Kosovës. Prishtinë: ASK, p.115. Available at: <http://ask.rks-gov.net/sq/tjera/category/79-vsrk>

¹⁵ For more information, please see the World Bank (2016) online statistical data sources. Available at:

<http://www.worldbank.org/en/country/kosovo/overview>

¹⁶ Government of Kosovo. 2011. Kosovo Population and Housing Census 2011. Final Results. Main Data. Pristina: ASK, p.29. Available at: <http://ask.rks-gov.net/en/census-2011?download=15:final-results-of-census-2014>.

¹⁷ Government of Kosovo. 2014. Kosovo Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey in the Republic of Kosovo 2013-2014. Key Findings. Pristina: ASK. Available at: http://ask.rks-gov.net/images/Multiple_Indicator_Cluster_Survey_in_the_Republic_of_Kosovo_2013-2014_Key_Findings.pdf

¹⁸ Government of Kosovo. 2011. Kosovo Population and Housing Census 2011. Final Results. Main Data. Pristina: ASK, p.29. Available at: <http://ask.rks-gov.net/en/census-2011?download=15:final-results-of-census-2014>. See also: Uka, Sanije. 2015. Women and Men in Kosovo. Pristina: ASK, p.39. Available at: <http://ask.rks-gov.net/en/population/category/118-wm?download=1538:women-and-man-in-kosovo-2014>

¹⁹ Government of Kosovo. 2016. Results of the Kosovo 2015 Labour Force Survey. Pristina: ASK, p.21. Available at: <http://ask.rks-gov.net/en/lm?download=1636:results-of-the-kosovo-2015-labour-force-survey>.

²⁰ Government of Kosovo. 2016. Results of the Kosovo 2015 Labour Force Survey. Pristina: ASK, p.24. Available at: <http://ask.rks-gov.net/en/lm?download=1636:results-of-the-kosovo-2015-labour-force-survey>.

²¹ Uka, Sanije. 2015. Women and Men in Kosovo. Pristina: ASK, p.70. Available at: <http://ask.rks-gov.net/en/population/category/118-wm?download=1538:women-and-man-in-kosovo-2014>

²² Government of Kosovo. 2016. Results of the Kosovo 2015 Labour Force Survey. Pristina: ASK, p.10. Available at: <http://ask.rks-gov.net/en/lm?download=1636:results-of-the-kosovo-2015-labour-force-survey>.

²³ Government of Kosovo. 2011. Kosovo Population and Housing Census 2011. Final Results. People on the Move: An Analysis of International, National and Local Mobility of Kosovo People. Pristina: ASK. Available at: <http://ask.rks-gov.net/en/census-2011?download=20:people-on-the-move>.

²⁴ Kastrati, Avni. 2014. Kosovan Migration. Pristina: ASK, p.22. Available at: <http://ask.rks-gov.net/en/population/category/109-migration>.

many husbands and fathers migrate abroad in search for employment. In the recent years female international migration is higher than that of men close to 56,7%, and is partially attributed to foreign marriages.²⁵ This recent trend of migration is due to the increase of female population marrying abroad and seeking unification with their husbands. The data indicate that since the declaration of independence in 2008 until 2012²⁶

Gender in Policy

In February 2008, Kosovo declared independence and by early 2016, 109 of a total 193 United Nations (UN) member states and 23 member states of the European Union (EU) have recognized country's independence. On April 9, 2008, Kosovo ratified its Constitution, which guarantees gender equality as a fundamental right of all Kosovar men and women.²⁷ The same year, the country ratified the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) along with the European Convention on Human Rights, and other international treaties including the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination and the Convention on the Rights of the Child, which promote gender equality between men and women.²⁸

Significant progress has taken place in Kosovo related to gender equality legal and policy developments. Under the Kosovo Criminal Code any forms of discrimination and violence on the grounds of one's gender are punishable.²⁹ In 2004, the Kosovo Assembly adopted the Law on Gender Equality, which aims to prohibit all forms of direct and indirect gender discrimination³⁰, and the Anti-Discrimination Law The to combat all forms of discrimination including gender discrimination.³¹ In 2010, the Law on Protection Against Domestic Violence,³² which criminalizes any form of violence occurring within the domain of domestic sphere and family relations, was adopted; and in 2013 the Law on Prevention and Combating of Trafficking with Persons and Protection of Victims of Trafficking was adopted to prevent and combat trafficking in human beings, and to protect victims of trafficking.³³ Finally, the Electoral Laws requires each political party to have at least 30% of male and at least 30% of female candidates on the list.³⁴ These and other laws are subsequently

²⁵ Kastrati, Avni. 2014. Kosovan Migration. Pristina: ASK, p.22. Available at: <http://ask.rks-gov.net/en/population/category/109-migration>.

²⁶ Swiss Cooperation Office. 2014. Kosovo Human Development Report 2014. Migration as a Force for Development, p. 26. Available at: <http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/khdr2014english.pdf>

²⁷ Kosovo Assembly. 2008. Constitution of the Republic of Kosovo, Article 7.2. Available at: <http://www.kuvendikosoves.org/common/docs/Constitution%20of%20the%20Republic%20of%20Kosovo.pdf>.

²⁸ Ibid.: Article 22.

²⁹ Kosovo Assembly. 2012. Code No. 04/L-082 The Criminal Code of the Republic of Kosovo. Available at <http://www.assembly-kosova.org/common/docs/ligjet/Criminal%20Code.pdf>

³⁰ Kosovo Assembly. 2004. Law No.2004/2 On Gender Equality in Kosovo. Available at http://www.kuvendikosoves.org/common/docs/ligjet/2004_2_en.pdf.

³¹ Kosovo Assembly. 2004. Law No.2004/3 The Anti-Discrimination Law. Available at http://www.unmikonline.org/regulations/2004/re2004_32ale04_03.pdf

³² Kosovo Assembly. 2010. Law No.03/L-182 On Protection against Domestic Violence. Available at <http://www.assembly-kosova.org/common/docs/ligjet/2010-182-eng.pdf>.

³³ Kosovo Assembly. 2013. Law No. 04/L-218 Law on Prevention and Combating of Trafficking with Persons and Protection of Victims of Trafficking. Available at <http://www.kuvendikosoves.org/common/docs/ligjet/Ligji%20per%20parandalimin%20dhe%20luftimin%20e%20trafikimit%20me%20njerez.pdf>.

³⁴ Kosovo Assembly. 2008. Law No. 03/L-073 On General Elections in the Republic of Kosovo, Article 27. Available at http://www.kqz-ks.org/Uploads/Documents/zgjedhjetpergijithshme_en_oieflvprux.pdf; Kosovo Assembly. 2008. Law No. 03/L-072 On Local Elections in the Republic of Kosovo, Article 7. Available at http://www.kuvendikosoves.org/common/docs/ligjet/2008_03-L072_en.pdf; Kosovo Assembly. 2008. Law No. 03/L-073 On General Elections in the Republic of Kosovo. Available at http://www.kuvendikosoves.org/common/docs/ligjet/2008_03-L073_en.pdf.

reinforced by several state mechanisms, which aim at mainstreaming gender equality in the legal environment in Kosovo.

As highlighted in the earlier paragraph, a set of state mechanisms was created to promote implementation and monitoring of the gender equality laws in Kosovo. These mechanisms include: (1) the Agency for Gender Equality (AGE) in the Office of the Prime Minister mandated with the implementation and monitoring of the Law on Gender Equality. One of the main responsibilities of AGE is to review and revise all draft laws and policies from human rights and gender perspective; (2) Officers for Gender Equality responsible for furthering gender equality within ministries and municipalities; (3) the Parliamentary Committee on Human Rights, Gender Equality, Missing Persons, and Petitions, which oversees the executive work on gender equality, reviews laws and policies from a gender perspective and monitors their implementation nationwide. The Committee monitors also the implementation of the Law on Gender Equality, and; (4) the Women's Caucus at the Kosovo Assembly, which mission is women's empowerment and establishment of an environment in which women are equal social partners with men.³⁵ The Women's Caucus monitors the implementation of the Law on Gender Equality and integration of gender in the law-making process in Kosovo.

Several national strategies aim to actively promote gender equality in Kosovo and to advocate for an increase of state resources to address and prevent gender discrimination. For instance, the Kosovo Program on Gender Equality (2008) sets the general framework for integrating gender equality into laws, policies, and public services. In 2010 the government approved the second National Strategy and Action Plan to Combat Trafficking in Human Beings (2011- 2014). The Kosovo Program against Domestic Violence and Action Plan (2011-2014) details the roles of all actors related to prevention, protection, rehabilitation/reintegration, and coordination in domestic violence cases. In January 2014, the government approved the National Action Plan (NAP) on implementing the UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace, and Security (UNSCR 1325). The NAP calls for women's participation in decision-making processes and diplomatic missions, as well as justice for survivors of war-time sexual and other violence. The government has also committed 51% of the financing required for its implementation.

The Kosova Women's Movement Initiative Strategy on Gender Equality for 2015-2018 includes provisions for the prevention of GBV and support for female survivors of violence, women's access to health-care services, women's political participation and economic empowerment, and the capacity building of interagency networks addressing these issues. These and other national strategies promote gender equality.

However, despite significant progress over the past decade, Kosovo shares many of the global challenges to attaining gender equality. According to UNDP Kosovo (2014) women face unequal access to economic and environmental resources, social and legal discrimination against women and girls prevail, and there are barriers to women's political participation³⁶. Women continue also to carry a disproportionate burden of unpaid work, and are the primary survivors of GBV³⁷. Many legal challenges exist despite progress made in legal environment addressing gender inequality in Kosovo.

³⁵ Kosovo Assembly, Women Caucus. 2011. Annual Report January-December 2011. Available at <http://www.kuvendikosoves.org/common/docs/EngL.pdf>.

³⁶ UNDP. 2014. Gender Equality Strategy 2014-2017. United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) Kosovo; August 2014. Available at: <http://www.ks.undp.org/content/dam/kosovo/docs/womenPub/Kosovo%20GES%202014-2017.pdf>.

³⁷ UNDP. 2014. Gender Equality Strategy 2014-2017. United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) Kosovo; August 2014. Available at: <http://www.ks.undp.org/content/dam/kosovo/docs/womenPub/Kosovo%20GES%202014-2017.pdf>.

Among many, limitations in the implementation of the gender policies remain at large in part due to structural constraints in budget allocations, political will, and weak leadership to enact gender policy in earnest. This resulted in sporadic and sluggish integration of gender in policy-making processes and their subsequent implementation. The concept of gender equality, which goes beyond equality between men and women, and involve diverse spectrum of gender identities, expressions and sexualities including lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and intersex (LGBTI) individuals and their rights, have remained largely absent in the policy developments. Finally, coordination among government agencies and institutions, which would create a space for society-wide gender transformation, remains a fragmental.

Gender, Power Dynamic and Tradition, Culture, Ethnicity, Nationality and Religion

National, cultural, ethnic and religious characteristics play a central role in the construction of gender concepts, identities and dynamics in Kosovo. These gender concepts and identities derive from culturally constructed norms and are reinforced by tradition, ethnicity, nationality and religious affiliation. Culture embeds gender norms, which shape the everyday life in the family, the community and the workplace. Moreover, culture defines acceptable behaviour for men and women.

Gender and power dynamics ideology is based on traditionally constructed patriarchal norms. Patriarchy, a concept of a man's superior position to woman, and a woman's position inferior to that of a man, is often deeply rooted and nutrient in tradition, ethnicity, nationality and religion. In Kosovo, patriarchy is part of the social fabric. The division of labour between the man and women, is culturally determined. In Kosovo, there are clear patterns of "women's work" and "men's work" in the household and in the wider community. The family is regarded as the most important social institution. Yet, it is a site of unequal power relations between men and women.³⁸ Women are primarily tasked with unpaid care for domestic work. Men are perceived as heads of the household, decision-makers and leaders in the family, community and the society at large.

Cultural norms shape individual, family, community, or the society at large practices in a way that may often be gender discriminatory discouraging women (or men) from claiming rights, consequently preventing them from securing and advancing their lives. Among the Kosovo Albanians, the customary law the *Kanun of Lekë Dukagjini*, even though no longer widely observed, continues to influence the lives of men and women. The customary law gives the authority to men over women in all matters of the family and public life relegating women to a subordinated position. For example, while in Kosovo, legally, both women and men are equally entitled to land and property inheritance, it is the male family member who inherits family property. Female heirs are often excluded in the inheritance processes experiencing coerced renunciation of rights.³⁹

By invoking localized tradition and pride, Kosovar nationalism creates and sustains specific, and often inequitable, gender concepts and gender dynamics. In that way, for instance, Kosovar women become, "signifiers of ethnic and national differences"⁴⁰, and are seen as, "biological and social reproducers,

³⁸ Krasniqi, Elife. 2014. Women in Search of Social Security: Hostage of Family, Tradition and State in Anna Pilińska and Harmony Siganporia (ed.) All Equally Real: Femininities and Masculinities Today, pp. 203-2015.

³⁹ USAID. 2015. Gender, Property, and Economic Opportunity in Kosovo. The United States Agency for International Development (USAID). Available at: https://www.usaid.gov/sites/default/files/documents/1863/Kosovo%20PRP%20Report_Gender%20Property%20and%20Economic%20Opportunity%20in%20Kosovo_ENG....pdf.

⁴⁰ Yuval-Davis, Nira and Anthias, Floya. 1989. Women, Nation, State. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

cultural signifiers, and embodied agents”⁴¹, and in the context of conflict or war, as “*beautiful souls*”, “*non-violent, offering succor and compassion*”.⁴² The prevailing national ideology in Kosovo shapes also gender norms related to political citizenship and women’s agency. As such, for instance, Kosovar women are not viewed as actors or subjects in their own right; rather, they are valued through the fulfillment of roles and responsibilities within the family domain – cleaning, cooking, raising children, taking care of the elderly – all at the expense of their potentially significant role in the community and the society at large. In Yugoslavia’s modernist led policy, deemed more egalitarian and emancipatory for women, it did not wither away the trope of motherhood as social and national duty⁴³. This trope is also true in today’s reality of Kosovo, in which the prevailing symbolic role of women is that of the respected mother and nurturer of the nation⁴⁴.

Along with shaping national identities, religion is a powerful marker of gender concepts, identities and gender dynamics in Kosovo. Religion maintains patriarchal conventions and traditional gender roles of women as caretakers of the children, the home and the family. After long occupying the private sphere, today religion has returned in public domain, influencing the society. In the on-going nation and state building processes, the tensions between ‘secular’ and ‘religious’ ideologies have further created a divide among groups and individuals.⁴⁵ The situation has pushed many individuals to search for new identities, consequently leaving them vulnerable to radical ideologies and agendas. As highlighted earlier and in the USAID assessment (2015), concerns for violent extremism in Kosovo persist.⁴⁶

Tradition, culture, nationality and religion shape gender concepts in Kosovo. They impose social norms and patriarchal regimes that disadvantage women. By reinforcing cultural identity in relation to patriarchy, they maintain unequal power relations between women and men. Moreover, they contribute to unequal distribution of resources across public and private domains.

Gender, Power Dynamics and Violence in Kosovo

Kosovar men and women, boys and girls, face a range of types of violence because of their gender and gender expression/identity throughout their lives. Domestic violence and sexual harassment are among the most widespread forms of GBV in Kosovo. Psychological violence against men and women Discrimination against minority women, especially Roma, continues.⁴⁷ Abuse of children, especially girls, remains a problem, and children experience and witness school-related gender-based violence (SRGBV). Lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and intersex (LGBTI) individuals experience violence, discrimination because of their sexual orientation and gender identity. Trafficking of persons remains a challenge, and the ongoing concern of gender-biased sex-selection is likely to continue. Numerous research studies, reports and publications provide however insight into the scale and nature of GBV

⁴¹ Yuval-Davis, Nira. 1997. *Gender and Nation*. London: Sage, 1997.

⁴² Elshtain, Jean Bethke. 1987. *Women and War*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press.

⁴³ Iveković, Rada and Mostov, Julie. 2002. *From gender to nation*. Ravenna: Longo.

⁴⁴ Iveković, Rada and Mostov, Julie. 2002. *From gender to nation*. Ravenna: Longo.

⁴⁵ Krasniqi, Vjollca. 2014. Kosovo: Topography of the Construction of the Nation, in Pål Kolstø (ed.) *Strategies of Symbolic Nation-Building in South Eastern Europe*, London: Ashgate, pp. 156.

⁴⁶ USAID. 2015. *Kosovo Violent Extremism Risk Assessment*. The United States Agency for International Development (USAID), p.3. Available at: http://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/PA00M3P6.pdf

⁴⁷ U.S. Department of State. 2015. *Kosovo Country Report on Human Rights Practices for 2015*. U.S. Department of State. Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor.

in Kosovo, and; while women and girls in Kosovo are far more likely to suffer various forms of violence than men,⁴⁸ men and boys also experience and witness GBV.

Numerous reports have described the extent and nature of GBV during the Yugoslavian wars that took place between 1991 and 2001, and especially during the conflict in 1998-1999 in Kosovo.⁴⁹ Men and women, boys and girls, experienced the horror of GBV during the conflict. Psychological and physical violence, torture, mass rapes and sexual abuses of women and castration of men and boys imprisoned in war camps have been widely reported.⁵⁰ Sources have estimated that between 10 and 45 thousand women were raped and sexually assaulted during the war⁵¹, and nearly a third of all women in Kosovo suffered physical violence when they were displaced from their homes.⁵² Men faced certain forms of violence including sex-selective killing, forced sodomy, and genital mutilation, and were forced to watch or participate in sexual violence committed against female or male family members⁵³.

There are many risk factors and root-causes of GBV in Kosovo. Violence against women (VAW) has been attributed to high unemployment⁵⁴, poverty and inadequate dwelling space.⁵⁵ Ethnic and political tensions combined with high rates of unemployment, especially among men, contribute to the new wave of domestic violence.⁵⁶ The post-war trauma has been linked as a factor in various types of

⁴⁸ Farnsworth, Nicole et. al. 2015. No More Excuses, An Analysis of Attitudes, Incidence, and Institutional Responses to Domestic Violence in Kosovo. Prishtina: Kosovo Women's Network, 2015. Available at: <http://www.womensnetwork.org/documents/20151124105025622.pdf>

⁴⁹ For example, please see: Human Rights Watch (HRW). 1998. Humanitarian Law Violations in Kosovo. U.S.A.: Human Rights Watch, October 1998; Human Rights Watch. 1999. A Week of Terror in Drenica: Humanitarian Law Violations in Kosovo. U.S.A.: Human Rights Watch, February 1999. Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe. (OSCE). As Seen, As Told, Part III; UNFPA. Gender-Based Violence in Kosovo, p. 6; and Corrin, C. 2006. Post-Conflict Situation in Kosovo in If Not Now, When?. 11-16 June 2001, p. 93. According to OSCE, Serb forces ousted 863,000 Albanians from Kosovo from March to June 1999. In May, approximately 590,000 Kosovo Albanians were internally displaced (p. 146). American Bar Association Central and Eastern European Law Initiative and the American Association for the Advancement of Science estimated that 10,000 civilians died ("Political Killings in Kosovo/Kosova" March - June 1999), and the U.S. Committee for Refugees and Immigrants approximated that more than a million people were displaced ("World Refugee Survey 2000: Yugoslavia").

⁵⁰ Zarkov, Dubravka. 2001. The Body of the Other Man: Sexual Violence and the Construction of Masculinity, Sexuality and Ethnicity in Croatian Media in C. Moser and F. Clark (eds) Victims, Perpetrators or Actors? Gender, Armed Conflict and Political Violence. London: Zed Books, pp. 69-82.

⁵¹ Michelle Hynes and Barbara Lopes Cardozo estimated that between 23,200 and 45,600 Kosovar Albanian women were raped between August 1998 and August 1999. Please see: Sexual Violence Against Women in Refugee Settings. Journal of Women's Health and Gender-based Medicine. 9, no. 8 (2000): pp. 819-824. Corrin cited estimates ranging from 10,000 to 30,000 thousand war-related sexual assaults. Please see: Post-Conflict Situation in Kosovo. p. 93. Centre for Protection of Women and Children (CPWC) estimated that "at least 20,000 women and girls were raped" during the war (Annual 2003, p. 136). CPWC used estimates made by Physicians for Human Rights that one percent of unprotected intercourse results in pregnancy for its estimate. CPWC assisted 1,960 war rape survivors (pp. 120-137) as cited in KWN and UNFPA. 2008. Exploratory Research on The Extent of Gender-Based Violence in Kosovo and Its Impact on Women's Reproductive Health. Kosova Women's network and United Nations Population Fund: Kosovo, Prishtina, 2008.

⁵² Medica Kosova records, 2007 in Gjakova/Djakovica region. WWC et al. found 27 percent of women suffered violence during displacement in Peja region as cited in KWN and UNFPA. 2008. Exploratory Research on The Extent of Gender-Based Violence in Kosovo and Its Impact on Women's Reproductive Health. Kosova Women's Network (KWN) and United Nations Population Fund (UNDP): Kosovo, Prishtina, 2008.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Centre for Protection of Women and Children (CPWC). 2002. Annual Report 2001. Prishtina: CPWC, 2002; Weber, Renate and Nicole Watson eds. Women 2000: An Investigation into the Status of Women's Rights in Central and South-Eastern Europe and the Newly Independent States. Vienna: International Helsinki Federation, 2000.

⁵⁵ Centre for Protection of Women and Children (CPWC). 2003. Annual Report 2002. Prishtina: CPWC, 2003; United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM). 2000. No Safe Place: An Assessment on Violence against Women in Kosovo. Prishtina: UNIFEM; 2000.

⁵⁶ Weber, Renate and Nicole Watson eds. Women 2000: An Investigation into the Status of Women's Rights in Central and South-Eastern Europe and the Newly Independent States. Vienna: International Helsinki Federation, 2000.

intimate parent violence⁵⁷. “Excessive male pride” has been identified as a root cause of male-to-male violence, and men’s desire “to dominate” as well as men’s perceived need to assert “morals” and “pride” as root causes of violence against women.⁵⁸ Prevailing gender and societal norms interact with other social markers – such as ethnicity or religion - and create, reinforce and sustain the complex patterns of GBV. The phenomenon is underpinned by society wide acceptance of violence, and is surrounded by stigma, shame and fear of repercussion and re-victimization⁵⁹, and in case of sexual violence against men and boys by widespread homophobic attitudes.⁶⁰ Violence and discrimination based on sexual orientation and gender identity (SOGI) is driven by deeply traditional and even hostile societal attitudes towards sexual minorities.⁶¹ Further, insufficient and inadequate services available for survivors and perpetrators of GBV, poor implementation of laws and enforcement of protective measures, institutional capacity, and insufficient human and financial resources including coordination among agencies addressing GBV, and lack of systematic data collection on GBV adds to the pervasiveness of the problem in Kosovo.

Domestic violence, including against men, and sexual harassment and psychological violence remain among the most widespread forms of GBV in Kosovo. A mix-method research conducted by Kosova Women’s Network (2015) with a nationally representative number of 1,315 Kosovars women and men found that 62% of all respondents, men and women, experienced some form of domestic violence in their lifetimes (68% of women and 56% of men respectively).⁶² In the study, the vast majority (91.1%) of the perpetrators of domestic violence were men, mostly husbands, and 8.9% were women, through other members of family perpetuated violence as well. An estimated 48.5% of respondents experienced some form of sexual harassment in their lifetimes: 64% of women reported being sexually harassed during their lifetime, compared to 32.5% of men⁶³. The most common form of sexual harassment experienced was: unwelcomed sexual comments, jokes, or gestures including while walking down the street. The primary perpetrators identified included unknown persons, but also acquaintances, friends, co-workers, teachers, bosses at work, and intimate partners. The earlier mentioned study (KWN 2015) revealed also that nearly 41% of women and slightly more than 30% men reported have experienced psychological violence in 2014.⁶⁴ Also young Kosovar men and

⁵⁷ Centre for Protection of Women and Children (CPWC). 2002. Annual Report 2001. Prishtina: CPWC, 2002; Weber, Renate and Nicole Watson eds. Women 2000: An Investigation into the Status of Women’s Rights in Central and South-Eastern Europe and the Newly Independent States. Vienna: International Helsinki Federation, 2000. The Kvinna till Kvinna Foundation reported, “War is often followed by a new wave of domestic violence when men act out their war traumas they have not been able to heal” – please see: The Kvinna till Kvinna Foundation. 2004. Rethink! A Handbook for Sustainable Peace. Halmstad: Bulls tryckeri, 2004, p. 10.

⁵⁸ CARE International. 2011. M Research 2011 PLA Summary. Exploring dimensions of masculinities, femininities and violence with young men and young women in Kosovo. Banja Luka: 2011.

⁵⁹ UNDP. 2015. UNKT Joint Programme on Gender Based Violence/Domestic Violence in Kosovo Final Project Report. 1 January 2012 – 30 June 2015 Prepared For: The Embassy of Finland in Kosovo; UNDP. 2011. Support to addressing GBV in Kosovo through Strengthening and Implementation of the Kosovo Law, National Action Plan and Strategy Against Domestic Violence 2010-2013. Available at: <http://www.undp.org/content/dam/kosovo/docs/UNKT-GBV-ProDoc%20signed.pdf>

⁶⁰ Munn, Jamie. 2007. The Hegemonic Male and Kosovar Nationalism, 2000-2005. Men and Masculinities, 10, No.4 (June 2008): 440-456; Russell, Wyne. 2010. Sexual Violence Against Men and Boys. Together for Transformation – Men, Masculinities and Peacebuilding. IFOR Women Peacemakers Program; May 2008; pp. 43-44.

⁶¹ CARE International. 2011. M Research 2011 PLA Summary. Exploring dimensions of masculinities, femininities and violence with young men and young women in Kosovo. Banja Luka: 2011; Fauchier, Agathe. (N.D.) Kosovo: what does the future hold for LGBT people? Sexual orientation and gender identity and the protection of forced migrants. Forced Migration Review. Available at: <http://www.fmreview.org/sogi/fauchier.html>.

⁶² See: KWN. 2015. No More Excuses. An Analysis of Attitudes, Incidence, and Institutional Responses to Domestic Violence in Kosovo. Prishtina: KWN, 2015. Available at: <http://www.womensnetwork.org/documents/20151124105025622.pdf>; Rrjeti i Grupeve të Grave në Kosovë/Kosovo Women’s Network. 2016. Ngacmimi Seksual në Kosovë, Prishtinë: KWN. Available at: <http://www.womensnetwork.org/documents/20160224112147815.pdf>

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Rrjeti i Grupeve të Grave në Kosovë/Kosovo Women’s Network. 2016. Ngacmimi Seksual në Kosovë, Prishtinë: KWN, p.24. Available at: <http://www.womensnetwork.org/documents/20160224112147815.pdf>. 2015. KWN. 2015. No More Excuses. An Analysis

women are subject to various type of GBV. For instance, in a PLA research conducted by CARE (2011) with Kosovar youth, respondents highlighted that physical violence among young men was the most common type of GBV experienced by young men, whereas young women typically engage in psychological violence.⁶⁵

The idea that domestic violence is a normal part of any relationship and a family matter remains present. For instance, the KWN study (2015) found that out of 1,315 Kosovars interviewed, 21% of women and 22% of men agree with the statements that, “sometimes it is okay for a husband to hit his wife”, and that more women than men (58% and 47% respectively) think that, “if a husband is unemployed, violence is bound to happen sometimes”. The same study identified also a widespread culture of “blaming the victim” when sexual harassment occurs, with approximately 74% of respondents, with slightly more women than men, believing that, “women bring harassment problems on themselves by dressing or acting provocatively.” 40.5% of all respondents said that, “young women like being harassed”, and nearly a third of all respondents said that people naturally harass others when they are attracted to them and that such behavior is “okay”. More men (35.4%) than women (26.9%) in the study agreed also that such behavior is “acceptable”. In a PLA research conducted by CARE (2011), despite strongly opposition to VAW, in general, both young men and young women indicated that, for instance, slapping or hitting, may not be violence, and/or may be a form of needed “education” for women “in certain situations”; and that a woman’s possible infidelity demands harsh, violent punishment.⁶⁶ Further, many young Kosovars felt that the use of violence to defend oneself remains important, and reported that men who do not use violence may face negative reactions in the community.⁶⁷

Societal violence and discrimination against members of ethnic minorities, including women and persons with disabilities is a significant area of concern. A U.S. State Department report (2015) indicated that Kosovo-Albanian widows, particularly in rural areas, risked losing custody of their children due to a custom requiring children and property to pass to the deceased father’s family while the widow returned to her birth family.⁶⁸

Although child marriage is rare in Kosovo, it continues to take place in certain communities. According to the Kosovo Agency of Statistics (2014) and the Multiple Indicators Cluster Survey 2013-2014 (MICS) among Kosovo Roma, Kosovo Ashkali, Kosovo Egyptians, and Kosovo Gorani communities 11.6% of children, mostly girls, were married before the age of 15.⁶⁹ Evidence suggests that schools in Kosovo are a place where children are subjected to various forms of GBV. Children experience (and witness) various types of GBV perpetrated by teachers, other children, parents and other adults on the way to/from schools, on school premises and in the classrooms. For instance, in a research (UNICEF) conducted with 680 children, 50.6% of interviewed children experienced verbal abuse; 27.3% physical violence, 18.5% emotional violence and 17.4% identified experiencing threat of

of Attitudes, Incidence, and Institutional Responses to Domestic Violence in Kosovo. Prishtina: Kosova Women’s Network (KWN). Available at: <http://www.womensnetwork.org/documents/20151124105025622.pdf>

⁶⁵ CARE International. 2011. M Research 2011 PLA Summary. Exploring dimensions of masculinities, femininities and violence with young men and young women in Kosovo. Banja Luka: 2011.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ U.S. Department of State. 2015. Kosovo Country Report on Human Rights Practices for 2015. U.S. Department of State. Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor.

⁶⁹ Government of Kosovo. 2014. Kosovo Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey in the Republic of Kosovo 2013-2014. Key Findings. Prishtina: ASK. Available at: http://ask.rks-gov.net/images/Multiple_Indicator_Cluster_Survey_in_the_Republic_of_Kosovo_2013-2014_Key_Findings.pdf, Kosovo: The Kosovo Agency of Statistics as cited in the U.S. Department of State. 2015. Kosovo Country Report on Human Rights Practices for 2015. U.S. Department of State. Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor.

violence.⁷⁰ In a similar study UNICEF (2014) found that 30% of children in the country, and 40% for Kosovo Roma, Kosovo Ashkali, and Kosovo Egyptian children, were victims of abuse.⁷¹

Trafficking continues to be a serious problem in Kosovo. According to U.S. Department of State (2015), Kosovo is a source and destination country for women, children, and men subjected to sex trafficking and forced labor, with most sex trafficking victims being girls, though criminal groups in Kosovo also force ethnic women from Albania, Serbia, Romania, and other European countries into prostitution.⁷²

LGBTI individuals in Kosovo experience physical violence, psychological abuse, verbal harassment at school, at work, or elsewhere due to their sexual orientation and/or gender identity. According to the USAID-funded 2015 public opinion poll in Kosovo on LGBTI, 81% of the LGBTI community has suffered threats or insults because of their sexual orientation or gender identity – this is the highest rate of discrimination in the western Balkans.⁷³ As of December 2015, LGBTI persons had reported 13 hate crimes since the country's independence in 2008, but none of these reports had resulted in an indictment.⁷⁴

There are concerns around the disparity between the number of males and females as a result of sex selection practices in Kosovo. According to the Kosovo Agency for Statistics (2011) the date of the last census, the male to female gender ratio at birth was 110.7 to 100.⁷⁵ UNICEF reports instances of women being pressured to have sons and requesting free ultrasounds to determine the sex of their unborn child.⁷⁶

Gender, Power Dynamics in the Post-Conflict Reality of Kosovo

Sketching the complex conceptions of masculinities and male identities in the post-conflict reality in Kosovo is challenging. Various factors - political and ethnic, cultural and religious identities along with resurrection of patriarchy and violent extremism, ongoing economic difficulties, and political instability, among many other factors – shape the notion of 'Kosovar' masculinity. For instance, studies find significant adherence to rigid, violent and homophobic norms, often overlapping with ethno-centric attitudes among men in Kosovo, shape the definition of manliness among men.⁷⁷

⁷⁰ UNICEF. 2005. Research Into Violence Against Children In Schools In Kosovo. UNICEF-Kosovo. Available at: http://www.unicef.org/kosovoprogramme/kosovo_media_prot_011.08.pdf.

⁷¹ Government of Kosovo. 2014. Kosovo Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey in the Republic of Kosovo 2013-2014. Key Findings. Pristina: ASK, Kosovo: The Kosovo Agency of Statistics as cited in the U.S. Department of State. 2015. Kosovo Country Report on Human Rights Practices for 2015. U.S. Department of State. Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor.

⁷² U.S. Department of State. 2015. 2015 Trafficking In Persons Report. Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons. Available at: <http://www.state.gov/i/tip/rls/tiprpt/countries/2015/243470.htm>

⁷³ NDI Democracy. 2015. LGBTI Opinion Poll: Western Balkans. NDI Public Opinion Poll in the Balkans on LGBTI Community. NDI Democracy and Ipsos Research; June/July 2015.

⁷⁴ U.S. Department of State. 2015. Kosovo Country Report on Human Rights Practices for 2015. U.S. Department of State. Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor.

⁷⁵ See: Kosovo Population and Housing Census 2011- Final Results: Quality Report. Available at: <http://unstats.un.org/unsd/censuskb20/KnowledgebaseArticle10700.aspx>

⁷⁶ United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF). 2004. Situation Analysis of Children and Women in Kosovo . Kosovo: UNICEF, 2004 as cited in UNDP. 2015. UNKT Joint Programme on Gender Based Violence/Domestic Violence in Kosovo Final Project Report. 1 January 2012 – 30 June 2015. Prepared for the Embassy of Finland in Kosovo.

⁷⁷ Barker, Gary and Pawlak, Peter. 2014. Understanding Young Men and Masculinities in the Balkans: Implications for Health, Development and Peace. Young Men Initiative, and CARE International Western Balkans.

Like in many other settings in the world and in the region, historically and today, men in Kosovo, from birth, are expected to conform to a certain role as males. They are expected to care for their families, for female family members in particular, to provide, to act confidently as a breadwinner, to adhere to cultural and religious practices and norms, to lead and protect others. In a PLA research (CARE 2011) young Kosovar men (and women) identified characteristics central to definitions of “hegemonic” masculinity or “ideal” man. These included: physical strength and sexual prowess; getting married; providing for their families and parents and, for some, “protecting” family and friends; personality characteristics including honesty, fairness toward others, and receiving and retaining respect; and deep emotional bonds to family and male friends (although men are not expected to show emotion openly).⁷⁸ Yet, men in Kosovo, as highlighted in the Introduction chapter, face various socio-economic challenges - high levels of unemployment and illiteracy, high mortality rates and lower average life expectancy than women, high rates of alcohol and substance abuse. These findings, and other literature, suggest a reality, in which, in one or another way, pathways for men to achieve the desired ideals of masculinity may be obstructed. For instance, the PLA research (CARE 2011) found that, as compared to the desirable ‘ideal’, the “typical” Kosovar men in communities lack employment and income.⁷⁹ And when a Kosovar man fails to attain the objectives of a ‘real man’, his masculinity and therefore, his male identity, are called into question by the society, community, family, and by himself. Research suggests that this may lead some men to feeling disempowered and in a ‘feminized’ position. Zivkovic (2006), describing shifts in conceptions and masculinities (and femininities) driven by socio-economic challenges and political transformations in Kosovo, calls the phenomenon, “economic emasculation”⁸⁰ of men. Further, a body of research suggests that changes in the labor market, which created employment opportunities for women in Kosovo drives some men to feel threatened by women who enter labor force. This frustration often manifests itself in misogynist reaction and violent behavior in particular towards women in family and the society at large⁸¹. Unable to fulfill their roles of breadwinner, provider and protector of the family, men resort to violence as a mean to re-establish their status, reaffirm their power over women, and revert to conceptions of hyper-masculinity, which sees them as dominant members of society through the assertion of physical power. This is reflected in the existing research, which confirms that the notion of ‘Kosovar’ masculinity is closely linked with violence, on the family level with domestic and IPV, and on the community and the society levels and with extreme violence and radicalization.⁸²

Others have argued that men returning from war in the mid-1990s faced a “masculinity crisis” as they were unable to provide financially and care for their families, as they had been able to before the war and under the socialist system before the breakup of Yugoslavia.⁸³ Furthermore, others have asserted

⁷⁸ CARE International. 2011. M Research 2011 PLA Summary. Exploring dimensions of masculinities, femininities and violence with young men and young women in Kosovo. Banja Luka: 2011.

⁷⁹ CARE International. 2011. M Research 2011 PLA Summary. Exploring dimensions of masculinities, femininities and violence with young men and young women in Kosovo. Banja Luka: 2011.

⁸⁰ Zivkovic, Marko. 2006. Ex-Yugoslav Masculinities under Female Gaze, or Why Men Skin Cats, Beat up Gays and Go to War. Nationalities Papers, 34, No. 3 (July 2006): pp. 257-263.

⁸¹ See: Farnsworth, Nicole et. al. 2015. No More Excuses, An Analysis of Attitudes, Incidence, and Institutional Responses to Domestic Violence in Kosovo. Prishtina: Kosovo Women’s Network, 2015. Available at:

<http://www.womensnetwork.org/documents/20151124105025622.pdf>; Rrjeti i Grupeve të Grave në Kosovë/Kosovo Women’s Network. 2016. Ngacmimi Seksual në Kosovë, , Prishtinë: KWN. Available at:

<http://www.womensnetwork.org/documents/20160224112147815.pdf>

⁸² For example: Huffington Post (14 March 2016): Countering Islamic Radicalization and Violent Extremism in Kosovo by David L. Phillips. Also in: Saferworld. 2014. Masculinities, conflict and peacebuilding. Perspectives on men through a gender lens. Saferworld: October 2014; For example, please see: KWN and UNFPA. 2008. Exploratory Research on The Extent of Gender-Based Violence in Kosova and Its Impact on Women’s Reproductive Health. Kosova Women’s Network (KWN) and United Nations Population Fund (UNDP): Kosovo, Prishtina.

⁸³ Eckman et al., 2007. Exploring Dimensions of Masculinity and Violence. Western Balkan Gender-Based Violence Prevention Initiative.

that as the stability of the former Yugoslavia ended, the creation of nationalistic identities, including a return to traditional and patriarchal norms, was prevalent.⁸⁴ This broader backdrop plays a fundamental role in shaping masculinities in Kosovo⁸⁵.

Multiple masculine identities are shaped and formed through the intersection of gender, religion, nationality, ethnicity, and socio-cultural and economic circumstances. A research has identified a range of ways in which patriarchal gender norms - and masculinities in particular - can, for instance, drive conflict, insecurity and war. For instance, in Kosovo, political and military actors have valorized violent masculinities in order to recruit combatants and build support for war⁸⁶. During the conflict in Kosovo, masculinity was associated with men's military strength, sexual virility, and the expectation for men to act as, "*defender of freedom, honor, homeland and of their women*"⁸⁷, while women remained in "*supportive, symbolic, often suppressed, and traditional roles*".⁸⁸ According to Bracewell (2000), the militarized version of masculinity, "*offers militarism as a way of winning back both individual manliness and national dignity*", and with respect to the past conflict, played a role in "*making war thinkable – even attractive*".⁸⁹ Further, Munn writes, "*soldiers and former militiamen (...) are not only upholding a tradition but are defending a particular racial, gendered, and sexual conception of self: a white, male, heterosexual notion of masculine identity loaded with all the responsibilities and benefits that go along with the hegemonic male.*"⁹⁰ Any diversion from these dominant roles and conceptions of self, including homosexuality viewed as, "*sexual practice that endangers national military strength*"⁹¹, can therefore be subjected to discrimination, oppression, ostracization, and violence.

Today, the rise of radicalization and violent extremism resurrects the idea of militarized masculinity in Kosovo. With the country's failure to gain greater global recognition as a member of the international community, overall poor economic conditions and rising unemployment, political instability and corruption, weak education system and high-drop-out rate, social isolation and thwarted aspirations and frustrated expectations among younger generations, and with narrow options to forge a livelihood, men in Kosovo recreate the concept of militarized and violent masculinity - especially those men who seek identity. A report by the USAID (2015) found that, "*as the next generation to follow those who fought for Kosovo's independence from Serbia, there may be a desire to be part of a similar cause. Kosovar Albanian identity is still one that has been shaped by war and resistance to oppression as well*

CARE and International Center for Research on Women (ICRW). Banja Luka and Washington DC, 2007. CARE and ICRW as cited in Barker, Gary and Pawlak, Peter. 2014. Understanding Young Men and Masculinities in the Balkans: Implications for Health, Development and Peace. Young Men Initiative, and CARE International Western Balkans.

⁸⁴ Krasniqi, Vjollca. 2007. Imagery, Gender and Power: The Politics of Representation in Post-War Kosova. Feminist Review, No. 86 (2007), pp. 1-23 in Gusia, Linda and Luci, Nita. 2011. Masculinity: Literature Review. Available at

http://www.alterhabitus.org/repository/docs/Care_-_Masculinity_Literature_Review-1_244896.pdf as cited in Barker, Gary and Pawlak, Peter. 2014. Understanding Young Men and Masculinities in the Balkans: Implications for Health, Development and Peace. Young Men Initiative, and CARE International Western Balkans.

⁸⁵ Barker, Gary and Pawlak, Peter. 2014. Understanding Young Men and Masculinities in the Balkans: Implications for Health, Development and Peace. Young Men Initiative, and CARE International Western Balkans; The Young Men Initiative, CARE, Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. 2012. The Young Men Initiative – A Case Study. Engaging young men in the Western Balkans in Gender Equality and violence prevention. The Young Men Initiative, CARE, Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Sarajevo: 2011.

⁸⁶ Saferworld. 2014. Masculinities, conflict and peacebuilding. Perspectives on men through a gender lens. Saferworld, October 2014.

⁸⁷ Munn, Jamie. 2007. The Hegemonic Male and Kosovar Nationalism, 2000-2005. Men and Masculinities, 10, No.4 (June 2008): 440-456.

⁸⁸ Page, Ella. 2009. Men, Masculinities and Guns – Can we break the link?" in Together for Transformation – Men, Masculinities and Peace-building. IFOR Women Peacemakers Program, pp. 24-28 as cited in Piccard, Sabine. (N.D.). Masculinities and Gender-Based Violence in Conflict and Post-Conflict Settings. Addressing the Gap in Violence Against Men. Gender, Sexuality and Violent Conflict; Pristina, Kosovo.

⁸⁹ Bracewell, Wendy. 2000. Rape in Kosovo: Masculinity and Serbian Nationalism. Nation and Nationalism. Vol. 6, Issue 4. October 2000. pp: 563–590.

⁹⁰ Munn, Jamie. 2007. The Hegemonic Male and Kosovar Nationalism, 2000-2005. Men and Masculinities, 10, No.4 (June 2008): 440-456.

⁹¹ Ibid.: 440-456; Russell, Wyne. 2010. Sexual Violence Against Men and Boys. Together for Transformation – Men, Masculinities and Peacebuilding. IFOR Women Peacemakers Program; May 2008, pp. 43-44.

as a traditional code: the Kanun, which glorifies honor killings and fighting. Warfare is closely tied to Kosovar Albanian masculine identity. The humdrum of daily life is lackluster in comparison to the exploits of the previous generation, stories which are familiar to every Kosovar, and the stories making up Albanian folklore. So identity and reward/adventure-seeking behavior is perhaps more common among young Kosovars than others”.

The revival of militarized and violent masculinity plays into the recruitment into armed militant organizations and violent groups.⁹² For instance, the Kosovo Government confirms 232 cases of Kosovars who have joined militant organizations in Syria and Iraq - and the actual figure may be considerably higher. A report by Kosovo Center for Security Studies (KCSS 2015) inquiring into the causes and consequences of Kosovo citizens' involvement as foreign fighters in Syria and Iraq indicates that per capita, Kosovo has the highest number of jihadist of any country.⁹³ The report finds also that among the 22 Western states from which most of the foreign fighters are suspected to have joined militant organizations in Syria and Iraq, Kosovo is ranked 8th⁹⁴. On the other hand, as mentioned in earlier paragraphs, poverty and unemployment itself creates economic incentive for both adult and younger men to join militant forces in search for award. As such, recruitment and participation in violence becomes a mean to obtain income.

For a new generation of younger Kosovar men, the world today is not the world of their fathers. Data from the Western Balkans suggest that younger generation of boys and men have developed attitudes that are more supportive of gender-equitability than those of their older peers and relatives⁹⁵. This may suggest a shift in how 'manliness' is being defined. However, as the social expectations about men's roles and responsibilities are changing, albeit slowly, worldwide, Kosovo may lack behind. The conception of masculinity that is shaped by patriarchal and rigid norms continues to be prevalent in Kosovo. These norms influence men's, and in particular young men's attitudes, behaviors, and relationships with other young men, young women, families, and larger communities. The PLA research (CARE 2011) conducted with young Kosovar men and women concluded that, *“while the young men in the research generally voiced support for gender equality, many of their specific attitudes and perceptions regarding relationships and family roles reflected non-equitable norms”*.⁹⁶ Research also suggests that the cultural demands and expectations for young men in Kosovo in relation to their gender roles have resulted in many being raised to be aggressive, competitive and courageous, which can lead them to perpetuate violence towards women and girls, and other men and boys.⁹⁷ Moreover, research has shown significant divergences between young

⁹² See: USAID. 2015. Kosovo Violent Extremism Risk Assessment. The United States Agency for International Development (USAID). Available at: http://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/PA00M3P6.pdf.

⁹³ Kursani, Shpend. 2015. Report Inquiring Into the Causes and Consequences of Kosovo Citizens' Involvement as Foreign Fighters in Syria and Iraq. Pristina: QKSS. p. 25. Available at: http://www.qkss.org/repository/docs/Report_inquiring_into_the_causes_and_consequences_of_Kosovo_citizens'_involvement_as_for_eign_fighters_in_Syria_and_Iraq_307708.pdf.

⁹⁴ Data reflect period until mid-January 2015. Please see: Kursani, Shpend. 2015. Report Inquiring Into the Causes and Consequences of Kosovo Citizens' Involvement as Foreign Fighters in Syria and Iraq. Pristina: QKSS. p. 24. Available at: http://www.qkss.org/repository/docs/Report_inquiring_into_the_causes_and_consequences_of_Kosovo_citizens'_involvement_as_for_eign_fighters_in_Syria_and_Iraq_307708.pdf.

Barker, G., Contreras, J.M., Heilman, B., Singh, A.K., Verma, R.K., and Nascimento, M. 2011. Evolving Men: Initial Results from the International Men and Gender Equality Survey (IMAGES). Washington, D.C.: International Center for Research on Women (ICRW) and Rio de Janeiro: Instituto Promundo. January 2011.

⁹⁶ Ibid; p. 9.

⁹⁷ For example, please see: CARE, Young Men Initiative, 2015; Barker, Gary and Pawlak, Peter. 2014. Understanding Young Men and Masculinities in the Balkans: Implications for Health, Development and Peace. Young Men Initiative, and CARE International Western Balkans; CARE International. 2011. M Research 2011 PLA Summary. Exploring dimensions of masculinities, femininities and violence with young men and young women in Kosovo. Banja Luka: 2011.

men's and young women's attitudes and values related to gender. A recent study with Serbian young men in Kosovo, for example, found that while young women prioritize values such as independence, competency, and social justice, young men prioritize values related to hedonism, tradition and power.⁹⁸

Gender, Power Dynamics and Global Forces

As highlighted in earlier paragraphs, the socio-political reconstruction and economic growth in Kosovo after the 1999 conflict improved country's war-torn economy, which is still struggling with high rate of unemployment and poverty. Kosovo is modernizing its economy by establishing some elements of well-developed financial market; thus becoming more open to international trade, and to a lesser extent, global financial markets.⁹⁹ However, these gains have not been translated into equal benefits for men and women, and women in Kosovo continue to carry the unequal burden of unpaid care housework. Various studies confirmed that the unpaid care and household work performed by women underpins their lower rates of labor force participation and their lower pay. This inequality is compounded by a greater burden of care for the elderly, which is increasing owing to demographic shifts as populations in much of the world grow older. Indeed, numerous studies from diverse countries demonstrate that a key factor in women's labor market decisions continues to be the issue of juggling work outside the home along with care for children and other family members.¹⁰⁰ For instance, findings from the national Labor Force Survey in Kosovo (2015) suggests that the reasons for low rate of female labor force participation are: unequally high level of responsibilities and duties in the family that (38.5%), a perceived belief there is simply no work (16.8%), and child care obligations and carrying for elders in the family (2%).¹⁰¹

Gender and power dynamics in Kosovo interact with various global trends and socio-economic and cultural shifts. The diffusion of modern ideas and trends throughout the globe challenge the existing cultural gender norms in Kosovo. As such, traditional Kosovar culture that limits opportunities for women and subordinate them to men's will, is at odds with global, modern forces that undermine the local gender regime. The consequences of these tensions devastating for women, men and children as highlighted in earlier paragraphs.¹⁰²

The powerful global transformation and trends influence and shape the economic socio-political sphere in Kosovo. It's positive effects have been well documented - for instance, the 2008 Constitution of the Republic of Kosovo was developed in alignment with several international laws including the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms and its Protocols, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and its Protocols, the CEDAW¹⁰³. And while progress has been made in the policy area, the other parts lag behind; and women's participation and representation in political decision-

⁹⁸ Barker, Gary and Pawlak, Peter. 2014. Understanding Young Men and Masculinities in the Balkans: Implications for Health, Development and Peace. Young Men Initiative, and CARE International Western Balkans; September, 2014 citing Radovic, 2010.

⁹⁹ Arias, Omer, et. al. 2014. Back to Work, Growing with Jobs in Europe and Central Asia. Washington, D.C.: International Bank for Reconstruction and Development / The World Bank, p.19. Available at: <http://www.worldbank.org/content/dam/Worldbank/document/Back-to-Work-Full.pdf>

¹⁰⁰ Morrison and Lamana, 2006 as cited in Barker, Gary, and Pawlak, Piotr. 2011. Men's Participation in Care Work, in Families, and in Gender Equality in the Contemporary World. New York: United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Division of Social Policy and Development; 2011.

¹⁰¹ Government of Kosovo. 2016. Results of the Kosovo 2015 Labour Force Survey. Pristina: ASK, p26. Available at: <http://ask.rks-gov.net/en/lm?download=1636:results-of-the-kosovo-2015-labour-force-survey>

¹⁰² Farnsworth, Nicole et. al. 2015. No More Excuses, An Analysis of Attitudes, Incidence, and Institutional Responses to Domestic Violence in Kosovo. Prishtina: Kosovo Women's Network, 2015. Available at: <http://www.womensnetwork.org/documents/20151124105025622.pdf>

¹⁰³ Kosovo Assembly. 2008. Constitution of the Republic of Kosovo, Chapter I, Article 16.3, 17 22, and 53. Available at: <http://www.kuvendikosoves.org/common/docs/Constitution1%20of%20the%20Republic%20of%20Kosovo.pdf>

making processes is low compared to that of men. In 2014, out of 120 seats in the Kosovo Parliament women occupied only 38 seats. Although women are represented in the Parliamentary commissions, it is only at 33%.¹⁰⁴ Women have also limited presence in the four major political parties. For instance only 16% in the Democratic Party of Kosovo (PDK), 20% in the Democratic League of Kosovo (LDK), 23% in the Vetëvendosje Movement (VV), and 30% in the Alliance for the Future of Kosovo (AAK) were women.¹⁰⁵ According to AGE (2014), while women accounted for 42% of all ministerial employees in 2014, only 7% of them were in the decision making positions, and only 27% in executive positions. The situation is worst at the municipalities-level: in 2014, while 27% of all employees were women, only 4% were in decision making-positions and only 19% in executive positions.¹⁰⁶

Some of the global shifts and transformations may also influence and drive the gendered radicalization of men and women in Kosovo. The USAID Kosovo Violent Extremism Risk Assessment (2015) concludes that citizens' frustrated expectations related to integration into the international community and unfulfilled expectations after the independence of the state are some of the push and pull factors for radicalization.¹⁰⁷ And while these may influence men and women in a similar way, some gender-specific differences exist. For instance, a research on *Women and Terrorist Radicalization* concluded that experiencing GBV and discrimination, limited access to higher education, unemployment, exclusion from decision-making and political processes are factors influencing radicalization of women. These gender-specific factors overlap in Kosovo with other forms of discrimination based various social markers – ethnicity, religion, age, socio-economic status. Consequently, these experiences deepen the alienation and exclusion of women and serve as a ground for radicalized groups to establish a 'discourse of female victimization, which provides a platform for their active recruitment into their structures.'¹⁰⁸ A report (Kursani 2015) suggests that married women may be specifically vulnerable to being involved in radical or violent extremist groups. Their subordinate status and lack of voice and agency may often lead to follow their male spouses to participate or move to areas of war and conflict.¹⁰⁹

Gendered impact of global trends that influence radicalization of women (and men) in Kosovo are clear. As such, global radical ideologies may undermine the voice and agency of women in Kosovo restricting their socio-economic and political independence and subordinating them to male dominance.

¹⁰⁴ Gashi, Ardiana. 2014. Participation, the role and positions of women in central and local institutions and political parties in Kosovo. Research Report. Pristina: Agency of Gender Equality, p.127 and 128. Available at: <http://abgj.rks-gov.net/Portals/0/ABGJ%20Pjesmarrja%20roli%20dhe%20pozitat%20e%20grave%20ne%20institucione%20qendrore%20lokale%20dhe%20parti%20politike.pdf>.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶ Uka, Sanije. 2015. Women and Men in Kosovo. Pristina: ASK, p.81. Available at: <http://ask.rks-gov.net/en/population/category/118-wm?download=1538:women-and-man-in-kosovo-2014>. See also: Gashi, Ardiana. 2014. Participation, the role and positions of women in central and local institutions and political parties in Kosovo. Research Report. Pristina: Agency of Gender Equality, p.129, 131, 133, and 134. Available at: <http://abgj.rks-gov.net/Portals/0/ABGJ%20Pjesmarrja%20roli%20dhe%20pozitat%20e%20grave%20ne%20institucione%20qendrore%20lokale%20dhe%20parti%20politike.pdf>.

¹⁰⁷ USAID. 2015. Kosovo Violent Extremism Risk Assessment. The United States Agency for International Development (USAID), p.3-7. Available at: http://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/PA00M3P6.pdf

¹⁰⁸ OSCE. 2013. Women and Terrorist Radicalization. Final Report. Vienna: The Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), p.3 Available at: <http://www.osce.org/atu/99919?download=true>. See also: USAID. 2015. Kosovo Violent Extremism Risk Assessment. The United States Agency for International Development (USAID), p.13. Available at: http://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/PA00M3P6.pdf

¹⁰⁹ See: Kursani, Shpend. 2015. Report Inquiring into the Causes and Consequences of Kosovo Citizens' Involvement as Foreign Fighters in Syria and Iraq. Pristina: QKSS, p.27. Available at: http://www.qkss.org/repository/docs/Report_inquiring_into_the_causes_and_consequences_of_Kosovo_citizens'_involvement_as_foreign_fighters_in_Syria_and_Iraq_307708.pdf

Annex 3: List of Stakeholders Interviewed

Annex 4: Schedule of Meetings

Annex 5: List of Documents Received and Reviewed

List of Documents Received and Literature Reviewed

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Annex 6: Research Instruments

FEMALE In-depth Interviews

Masculinity

What are your expectations for men?

- Their education and employment
- Their family background/status
- Their religion and ideological beliefs
- Personality, behavior and attitudes
- Their external features, physical health

In what way do those expectations may impact some radical or risky behaviors among men?

What does it mean to be 'a real' man (young men)?

- In your family
- In your community
- How does it differ among Serbian, Albanian communities?
- How does it differ between Orthodox, Catholics, Muslims, Salafis?

What is expected from a 'real' man?

- On the family-level
- On the community-level
- What does your religion say about it?

What role should a man play/what are the men's roles and responsibilities?

- In the family
- In the community
- In the society
- In his religion

What does it mean to be a 'good' man?

- What is a profile of such 'good' men?

How that understanding of 'real men' differs between ethnicities/religious minorities in Kosovo?

What men in Kosovo are inspired to be?

- What men in your ethnic/religious community inspired to be?

What are your role models for men in Kosovo?

- Role-models for men in your specific community (ethnic, religious)

What does it mean to be a good girl/woman/wife – what are the attributes of a good woman?

Gender and Power

What are some of the things that men can do but women can't (key challenges, constraints, bottlenecks)?

- In personal/professional life
- In the family, community, society at large

What things can some men do that other men can't?

- What are the differences between some groups of men (Albanian, Serbian; and Muslim Orthodox, Catholics)

Conflict and Radicalization

In your opinion, what are the main causes that generate or/and drive radicalism and extremism among individuals in Kosovo? (e.g. Economic motives such as unemployment, poverty etc.; education level; social isolation; criminal past; influence of foreign groups; globalization and/or social transformations)

- Religious radicalism and extremism
- Ethnic radicalism and extremism

What are the enabling factors for radicalization/what are the key drivers of violent extremism in Kosovo?

- Socio-economic drivers
- Political drivers
- Cultural drivers
- How about the 1999 conflict

What activities could be developed keep people away from vices and risky behavior?

Social Transformations and Globalization

What is life like today in Kosovo?

What do you like and dislike about this situation?

Personal data – questions

Ages, gender, religions, ethnicity

Family status

Are you currently in school/working?

Do you think about your life in the future?

Dream, worries, what makes you most happy?

MALE In-depth Interviews

Masculinity

What does it mean to be 'a real' man (young men)?

- In your family
- In your community
- How does it differ among Serbian, Albanian communities?
- How does it differ between Orthodox, Catholics, Muslims, Salafis?

What is expected from a 'real' man/what are the male roles and responsibilities?

- On the family-level
- On the community-level
- What does your religion say about it?

What are the roles and responsibilities for other men?

- Albanian, Serbian
- Between Muslim, Orthodox and Catholic men
- Men in Pristina and men in rural settings

In your opinion, in what way those expectations may impact some radical or risky behaviors among men?

What role should a man play?

- In the family
- In the community
- In the society
- In your religion

What does it mean to be a 'good' man?

- What is a profile of such 'good' men?

How that understanding of 'real men' differs between ethnicities/religious minorities in Kosovo?

- Between Albanian, Serbian men
- Between Muslim, Orthodox and Catholic men
- Between men in the north, south (urban/rural)

What men in Kosovo are inspired to be?

- What men in ethnic/religious community inspired to be?

What are your role-models?

- For you: could you describe them; what do you admire in them

- For other men in your community (ethnic/religious community)

What are the role models for other men in Kosovo?

- From ethnic minorities: Albanians, Serbians
- From religious minorities: Muslim, Orthodox, Catholic men

Gender and Power

What does it mean a good girl/woman/wife – what are the attributes that describe a good woman?

What are some of the things that men can do but women can't (key challenges, constraints, bottlenecks)?

- In personal/professional sphere
- In the family, community, society at large

What things can some men do that other men can't?

- What are the differences in power and influence between some groups of men?
- How they affect them as men?

Radicalization (and conflict)

In your opinion, what are the main causes that generate or/and drive radicalism and extremism among individuals in Kosovo? (e.g. Economic motives such as unemployment, poverty etc.; education level; social isolation; criminal past; influence of foreign groups; globalization and/or social transformations):

- Religious radicalism and extremism
- Ethnic radicalism and extremism

What are the enabling factors for radicalization/what are the key drivers of violent extremism in Kosovo?

- Socio-economic drivers
- Political drivers
- Cultural drivers
- How about the 1999 conflict

What activities could be developed keep people away from vices and risky behavior?

Social Transformations and Globalization

What is life like today in Kosovo?

What do you like and dislike about this situation?

Personal data – questions

Ages, gender, religions, ethnicity

Family status

Are you currently in school/working?

Do you think about your life in the future?

Dream, worries, what makes you most happy?

Ethnic communities: Key Informant Interview Questionnaire

Ideal member of the community

What does it mean to be 'a real' Serbian/Albanian/Gorani/Bosniak/Roma, man (young men)?

- In family
- To what religious rules/norms males have to adhere to be a good man?

What is expected from a 'real' man?

- On the family-level
- On the community-level
- What do social norms and culture say about it?

Masculinity

What are community expectations for men?

- Their education and employment
- Their family background/status
- Their religion and ideological beliefs
- Personality, behavior and attitudes
- Their external features, physical health

In what way do those expectations may impact some radical or risky behaviors among men?

What role should a man play/what are the men's roles and responsibilities?

- In the family
- In the community
- In the society
- For his nation

What does it mean to be a 'good' man?

- What is a profile of such 'good' men?

What men in Kosovo are inspired to be?

- What men in your national/ethnic community inspired to be?

What do you think of other ethnic communities, what men in those communities are inspired to be?

What are the role models for men in Kosovo?

- Role-models for men in your specific ethnic community

Femininity

What are community expectations for women?

- Their education and employment
- Their family background/status

- Their religion and ideological beliefs
- Personality, behavior and attitudes
- Their external features, physical health

What does it mean to be a good girl/woman/wife – what are the attributes of a good Serbian/Albanian/Gorani/Bosniak/ Roma woman?

Gender and Power

What are some of the things that men can do but women can't (key challenges, constraints, bottlenecks)?

- In personal/professional life
- In the family, community, society at large

What things can some men do that other men can't?

- What are the differences between some groups of men (Albanian, Serbian, Gorani, Bosniaks, Roma; and Muslim, Orthodox, Catholic)

In your opinion, what are the main causes that generate or/and drive people to become violent nationalist zealot/fanatic among individuals in Kosovo? (e.g. Economic motives such as unemployment, poverty etc.; education level; social isolation; criminal past; influence of foreign groups; globalization and/or social transformations)

What are the enabling factors for violent extremism in Kosovo?

- Socio-economic drivers
- Political drivers
- Cultural drivers
- Ideological drivers
- Religious/beliefs drivers
- How about the 1999 conflict

What activities could be developed keep people away from vices and risky behavior?

Social Transformations and Globalization

What was community's life in the pre-war period?

What was life in the period immediately after the war?

What is life like today in Kosovo?

What do you like and dislike about this situation?

Personal data – questions

Age, gender, religion, ethnicity, urban/rural

Family status

Education

Occupation

Religious leaders: Key Informant Interview Questionnaire

Ideal member of the community

What does it mean to be 'a real' Orthodox, Catholics, Muslims, Sufi, man (young men)?

- In family
- To what religious rules/norms males have to adhere to be a good man?

What is expected from a 'real' man?

- On the family-level
- On the community-level
- What does your religion say about it

Masculinity

What are community expectations for men?

- Their education and employment
- Their family background/status
- Their religion and ideological beliefs
- Personality, behavior and attitudes
- Their external features, physical health

In what way do those expectations may impact some radical or risky behaviors among men?

What role should a man play/what are the men's roles and responsibilities?

- In the family
- In the community
- In the society
- In his religion

What does it mean to be a 'good' man?

- What is a profile of such 'good' men?

What men in Kosovo are inspired to be?

- What men in your religious community inspired to be?

What do you think of other religions, what men in those communities/religions are inspired to be?

What are the role models for men in Kosovo?

- Role-models for men in your specific religious community

Femininity

What are community expectations for women?

- Their education and employment
- Their family background/status

- Their religion and ideological beliefs
- Personality, behavior and attitudes
- Their external features, physical health

What does it mean to be a good girl/woman/wife – what are the attributes of a good Muslim/Christian/Sufi woman?

Gender and Power

What are some of the things that men can do but women can't (key challenges, constraints, bottlenecks)?

- In personal/professional life
- In the family, community, society at large

What things can some men do that other men can't?

- What are the differences between some groups of men (Albanian, Serbian, Gorani, Bosniaks, Roma; and Muslim, Orthodox, Catholic)

In your opinion, what are the main causes that generate or/and drive people to become violent religious zealot/fanatic among individuals in Kosovo? (e.g. Economic motives such as unemployment, poverty etc.; education level; social isolation; criminal past; influence of foreign groups; globalization and/or social transformations)

What are the enabling factors for violent extremism in Kosovo?

- Socio-economic drivers
- Political drivers
- Cultural drivers
- Ideological drivers
- Religious/beliefs drivers
- How about the 1999 conflict

What activities could be developed keep people away from vices and risky behavior?

Religion

Do religious values and norms govern the personal life/ family life/ community life?

Do community members govern their personal life/family life according to religious values and norms?

Are religious norms and values important for community members, personally/ for their family/ for the entire community?

Do you believe religious norms are valid for women's (spouse, daughter, sister) lifestyle and morality in their family and community?

Do community members regulate their marital relationship with their partner (wife/husband) in accordance to religious norms and rules?

Do male community members behave towards women in their family (spouse, daughter, sister) in compliance to religious norms?

Would someone in the community allow their daughter to choose her school even if they don't approve/like it?

Would someone in the community allow their daughter to choose her partner even if it is not approved by religious rules?

Would someone in the community allow their wife to choose her job even if they don't approve/like it?

Who decides on how to spend family budget?

Who spends more time looking after and educating children in families?

Who has the final word when it comes to deciding what is best for children?

Do community members enquire/want to know when their spouse goes out with his/her friends or relatives?

Do they ask from their partner permit to go out with friends or relatives or invite them at home?

Does in-laws interfere in personal or marital life decisions? And, if yes, what do you think about this?

Do community members encounter dilemmas in your personal life when they have to act contrary to their religious beliefs they hold dear? Could you give an example to illustrate such a situation?

Do community members encounter dilemmas in their family life when they have to act contrary to their religious beliefs they hold dear? Could you give an example to illustrate such a situation?

What activities could be developed keep people away from vices and risky behavior?

Social Transformations and Globalization

What was community's life in the pre-war period?

What was life in the period immediately after the war?

What is life like today in Kosovo?

What do you like and dislike about this situation?

Personal data - questions

Age, gender, religion, ethnicity, urban/rural

Family status

Education

Occupation

Stakeholders Questionnaire

Introduction

My name is _____. I am a consultant for the ME&A conducting a USAID-funded research project examining gender and power dynamics in Kosovo. The objective of this research is to explore gender constructions and their relations to religious or national radicalization and to examine the key challenges, constraints, and bottlenecks in regards to the power relations between men and women in Kosovo. The findings and conclusions will help USAID to better understand the gender roles and better incorporate men and women as equal partners across all USAID activities in Kosovo.

The interview is premised on several questions related to the assessment topic aiming to gather insights which will enable us to determine the underlying factors for gender constructs, root-causes and risks factors for gender based violence and/or intersectionality of ethnicity/nationality/gender to contribute to religious or national radicalization. They are structured around the interrelated themes of gender policy: current policy, programs & strategies and investment, as well as perspectives and challenges of such policy interventions in Kosovo.

Policy on Gender Equality

I will begin with the questions on current policy related to gender equality in Kosovo.

Please tell us your organization/institution's approach to gender equality?

What has been the rationale of the current gender policy? What are the objectives?

In your opinion, what are the gender roles today?

- How did they change after the 1998-1999 conflict in Kosovo?
- What prompted the shift (probe: diaspora and migration (West and East), education and employment; religion, war trauma, etc.)

What in your opinion does it mean:

- real Kosovar man and
- real Kosovar woman

What are the expectations for:

- ideal man
- ideal woman

In your opinion, what are the gender differences between men and women across ethnicity?

- Albanian
- Serb
- Bosniak
- Turkish
- Gorani
- Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian

To what extent is gender inequality among men and women is a concern in Kosovo?

Why there is a disparity and inequality between men and women?

- What propels this situation (existing or lack of policy; social norms; religion or ethnicity, etc.)

Are there any specific risks factors that contribute to gender inequality between men and women?

- In your opinion, are there any specific practices that may influence inequality (religion, ethnicity, migration)?

To what extent are some of these risk factors a threat to the community, society at large, to men and women?

Institutional Approaches to Gender

So far, what are, if any, the major obstacles that your organization faces in the attempt to address inequalities between men and women?

- Situation in government
- Recruitment, training and retention of staff, lack of budget
- Men and women themselves (their social and gender attitudes and behaviors)
- Other

Who are your major allies in the attempt to address gender inequalities in Kosovo?

- Collaboration with the government
- Partnerships with other multilaterals, NGOs, local organizations
- Social and gender norms in the society
- Religion, ethnicity, etc,?

Religion and Gender Identities

How do you see the role of religion (Islam, Catholics, Orthodox,...) in the construction of gender identities in Kosovo today?

How do you see the role of religion in redefining masculinity and femininity in Kosovo today?

In your opinion, what does this redefinition mean for gender relations in Kosovo?

Religious Radicalism and Gender

In your opinion, does the family/community/society at large places pressure on men in Kosovo to behave certain way?

What are the safeguards (legal, policy, programs, social attitudes and norms, or family practices) that protect men/women from risks of radicalization?

Conclusion

Thank you very much for your participation and valuable contribution in the assessment!

Is there anything you would like to recommend?

Is there anything you would like to add related to the topic of the interview?

Once again, thank you and looking forward to meeting you again soon!

Focus Group Discussion Guide

I. Introduction

- Introduction of the moderator and welcoming note;
- Explanation on using the audio recording and data privacy (all the data will be solely used for research purposes);
- Explanation that each and every respondent can freely express his/her opinions and attitudes even if their opinions and attitudes differ from those of other respondents in the group;
- Explanation of the topic of discussion; and
- Introduction of respondents.

II. Gender and Power

- What do you think are the most prevalent understandings of gender roles in Kosovo?
- What are the dominant gender roles in Kosovo? For men? For women?
- In your opinion, what are the men's and what are the women's roles and responsibilities
 - In the family
 - In the community
 - In the society
- How do you see women's roles today? How do you see men's roles today?
 - Are there any jobs/things/tasks that men can do but women can't?
 - Are there any jobs/things/tasks that women can do but men can't?
- These roles are changing today?
- What and how has contributed the most to those changes? What drives these changes in what men and women can do?
- Do you think that men and women have equal opportunities in life?
 - In education
 - In employment,
 - In decision-making
 - In owning properties, houses, flats, and other things
 - If yes, why? If not, why not?
- Do you think boys and girls are valued equally in the Kosovar society?
 - If yes, why? If not, why not?
- In what way do these expectations influence men's behavior and attitudes?
- In your opinion, in what way these expectations influence relationships between men (young men), young women, their families, communities, the society at large?
- What opportunities boys in Kosovo, and what opportunities girls in Kosovo have?
 - Are these equal, what is the difference?
 - Can girls be/do things that boys do etc.?
- In your opinion, why are there differences and disparities in opportunities that men and women, boys and girls have in Kosovo?
- Where women have power/advantage – where men have power/advantage?
 - Family
 - Community
 - Society
- What difference ethnicity, nationality, religion plays in who has opportunities/ advantage in Kosovo?

III. Conceptions of Masculinity and Femininity: Social Expectations

- What does it mean to be 'a real' man (young men)?
 - In your family
 - In your community
 - How does it differ among Serbian, Albanian communities?
 - How does it differ between Orthodox, Catholics, Muslims, Salafis?
- What is expected from a 'real' man?
 - On the family-level
 - On the community-level
 - What does your religion say about it?
- What does it mean to be 'a real' woman (young woman)?
 - In your family
 - In your community
 - How does it differ among Serbian, Albanian communities?
 - How does it differ between Orthodox, Catholics, Muslims, Salafis?
- What is expected from a 'real' woman?
 - On the family-level
 - On the community-level
 - What does your religion say about it?
- What role should a man play/what are the men's roles and responsibilities?
 - In the family
 - In the community
 - In the society
 - In his religion
- What role should a woman play/what are the women's roles and responsibilities?
 - In the family
 - In the community
 - In the society
 - In her religion
- Have these conceptions changed over the time?
 - Your generation, and generation before?
- What is an ideal Kosovar man? How would you describe him?
 - (physically strong, sexually virile, brave, strong-willed, and protects his honor and the honor of his family; sports and drinking, no weaknesses, no effeminate traits)
- What is an ideal Kosovar woman? How would you describe her?
 - (caring mother, good housewife, confident, feminine, virtuous)
- What would you say are the characteristics of "real Kosovar man" between Serb, Bosniac, Turkish, Roma, etc. ethnic backgrounds?
 - Same for women
- What are your expectations for men?
 - Their education and employment
 - Their family background/status
 - Their religion and ideological beliefs
 - Personality, behavior and attitudes

- Their external features, physical health
- What are your expectations for women?
 - Their education and employment
 - Their family background/status
 - Their religion and ideological beliefs
 - Personality, behavior and attitudes
 - Their external features, physical health
- In what way do those expectations may impact some radical or risky behaviors among men?
- What does it mean to be a 'good' man?
- What is a profile of such 'good' men?
- What does it mean to be a good girl/woman/wife – what are the attributes of a good woman?
- How that understanding of 'real men' differs between ethnicities/religious minorities in Kosovo?
- What men in Kosovo are inspired to be?
- What men in your ethnic/religious community inspired to be?
- What are your role models for men in Kosovo?
- Role-models for men in your specific community (ethnic, religious)

IV. Religious Radicalization

- In your opinion, what are the main causes that generate or/and drive religious radicalization among individuals in Kosovo? (e.g. economic motives such as unemployment, poverty etc.; education level; social isolation; criminal past; influence of foreign groups; migration)
 - Religious radicalization
 - Nationalism and ethnic radicalization
- What are the enabling factors for radicalization/what are the key drivers of religious radicalism in Kosovo?
 - Socio-economic drivers
 - Political drivers
 - Cultural drivers
 - How about the 1999 conflict
- What activities could be developed keep people away from vices and risky behavior?
- What are the consequences of radicalization?
 - Personal (mental health, physical health, social isolation, stigmatization, job loss and/or diminished chances for future employment, etc.)
 - Family
 - Community
- What these consequences of radicalization mean for Kosovo society?

V. Conclusion

The moderator:

- Is there anything you would like to add or recommend?

Thank you very much for your participation and valuable contribution in the FGD!