

# **Gender Perspectives in Kosovo's Foreign Affairs**

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## ***Dedication***

*To my daughter, my son and my husband to whom I love very much*

*Something there is that doesn't love a wall,  
that sends the frozen-ground-swell under it,  
and spills the upper boulders in the sun,  
and makes gaps even two can pass abreast.  
The work of hunters is another thing:  
I have come after them and made repair...  
(Mending wall, Robert Frost)*

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*I wish to extend my warmest thanks to my family, my brother, my sister and sister in law, for all their support and motivation; my sincere thanks to my colleagues, the AUK staff and to all those who have helped me with my work.*

*During studies, my husband has been serving to the UN Mission in Haiti and currently he is assigned in Sudan. As Kosovo citizen who have faced the war and forced to leave houses, hereby I wish to extend my best wishes for a peaceful life to the Haitian and the Sudan people.*

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## **Acronyms**

ADK	Kosovo Democratic Alliance
AAK	The Alliance for the Future of Kosovo
AGE	Agency for Gender Equality
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women
CEO	Chief Executive Officer
CFA	Committee on Foreign Affairs
CGE	Committee on Human Rights, Gender Equality, Missing Persons and Petitions
ChD	Chief of Division
CO	Chief of Office
CS	Civil service
DD	Department Director

DtyD	Department Deputy Director
ECLO	European Commission Liaison Office
EEAS	European External Action Service
EPAP	European Partnership Action Plan
EU	European Union
EU HRFSP	European Union High Representative for Foreign and Security Policy
EULEX	European Union Rule of Law Mission in Kosovo
FA	Foreign Affairs
FPC	Foreign Policy Club
FMA	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
HoM	Head of Mission
HR	US House of the Representatives
ICJ	International Court of Justice
IO	International Organization
ICO	International Civilian Office - European Union Special Representative
IPA	Instrument Pre- Accession
JIAS	Joint Interim Administrative Structure
KWL	Kosovo Women's Lobby
KPGE	Kosovo Program for Gender Equality
KTC	Kosovo Transitional Council
LDK	Democratic League of Kosovo
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
MCYS	Ministry for Culture Youth and Sport
MEI	Ministry for European Integration
MPA	Ministry for Public Administration
MPS	Ministry for Public Service
MTEF	Medium Term expenditure Framework
NAP	National Action Plan for the achievement of GE
OPM	Office of the Prime Minister
OGA	Office of Gender Affairs
OGE	Office for Gender Equality
OSCE	Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe
PDK	Democratic Party of Kosovo
PISG	Provisional Institutions of Self-Government
PoK	Parliament of Kosovo
PM	Parliament Member

PP	Political Party
PS	Permanent Secretary
SEE	South East Europe
SDP	Social Democrat Party
SOK	Statistical Office of Kosovo
SPAC	Senior Public Appointments Committee
SRSG	Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General
TL	Team Leader
TEU	Treaty on European Union
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNHCR	United Nations High Commission for Refugees
UNIFEM	United Nations Fund for Women
UNMIK	United Nations Interim Administration for Kosovo



## **Executive Summary**

This paper addresses exclusion of the Kosovo women in building its foreign affairs (FA) and involvement in a newly established diplomacy. Women are not admitted to the FA in appreciable number. In decision making, executive appointments and in the foreign affairs women are few. Having chosen the male in leader decision making position is common in the Kosovo public institutions as such to the foreign affairs. Application of laws and some affirmative measures in Kosovo condition the changes of cultural values and professional preferences, which means that more women are considering participation in decision making, politics and diplomacy as naturally as their men colleagues.

Nevertheless Kosovo Constitution ensures gender equality (GE) as a fundamental value for the democratic development of the society. Kosovo women remain under represented in all public offices though. Kosovo must comply with its constitution which endorses the UN landmarks including the Convention on the elimination of all forms of discrimination against women (CEDAW ); beside with EU requirements and in accordance with the international mechanisms to take action to provide an environment, in which women and men could pursue equal career opportunities in all and state institutions.

This paper is not about inclusion of more women in public offices but it is to encourage 'productive interaction and communication of women and men in working processes, based on full gender equality (Ganser, Helmut, 2010). Further this paper identifies gender equality mechanisms in Kosovo and the EU and its shortcomings putting forward recommendations as to how the gender equality should be implemented in full. Having inclusion of women with merits in foreign affairs within Kosovo government, will upgrade the organizational structure in Kosovo institutions.

A comprehensive quantitative and qualitative research, involved policy makers, gender equality stakeholders, civil servants and Kosovo diplomatic employees. The aim of the research is to present knowledge on GE mechanisms of Kosovo institutions officials, and their attitude to bridge the gap between cultural stereotypes to effective action and execution of the laws.

Accomplishment of this paper was based on existing analyses in Kosovo, United Nations and European Union's policies in the context of gender and foreign affairs. Although a great work has been done by stakeholders dealing with gender equality in Kosovo, the literature on the subject on the gender is still in its formative stage. However huge and volume reading material in regard of international experience are available in the web sourced books and various publications providing theories and scholars views. Reading of the Jean Wilkowski biography "Abroad for my country", of the first woman pioneering in the USA Foreign Service and the publications that present current diplomats helped out to extend the knowledge on the diplomacy. All references are incorporated and can be found throughout the paper and in the last chapter.

If by any chance I missed to provide proper information on the subject and relevant point or quote any of the sources, I kindly ask for understanding and I assure that is not done intentionally.

*Key words: gender equality, foreign affairs, CEDAW, women in decision making, women ambassadors,, diplomatic service, quota, EU external relation, EU women in diplomacy*

## **Chapter One**

### **Gender Equality and Foreign Affairs**

#### **1.1. Gender equality perspective in Public Policies**

*Sharing of responsibilities between women and men not only provides a better quality of life for women and their daughters but also enhances their opportunities to shape and design public policy, practice and expenditure so that their interests may be recognized and addressed* (Beijing Peace Platform for Action 1995)

The concept of gender equality was introduced in the last century. International significant legal instruments and events on women rights developed as a concept which was about equal opportunity and gender mainstreaming. Following calls for equal rights, gender equality became an issue of importance on the international stage. The Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) 1979, and the Beijing Platform for Action, (Fourth World Conference on Women, 1995), are the crucial international landmarks on women rights. While CEDAW sets legally binding obligations to the states, the Beijing Platform is not a legally binding document. However the CEDAW was approved by 189 governments and most powerful intergovernmental organizations. Consequently countries expressed commitment to comply with the Beijing Platform for Action. Women enrollment in decision-making. Women access to power is among of the 12 areas for actions (Table 1.1). The Beijing Platform for Action calls on integrating women in the national power structures. In order to ensure the gender equality in public policies, states are to create new organizational and legal structures, add resources and people, and create mechanisms to monitor implementation of the gender mainstreaming.

**Table1.1. - Strategic Objectives on Women and Decision making The United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women Beijing, China - September 1995 Action for Equality, Development and Peace Platform for Action<sup>1</sup>:**

● **Strategic objective G.1.** - Take measures to ensure women's equal access to and full participation in power structures and decision-making.

● **Strategic objective G.2.** - Increase women's capacity to participate in decision-making and leadership.

Moving toward gender equality is not a technocratic goal - it is a political process (UN report). The global women movement is the driving force in this political process. The commitments of the individuals or women networks are endorsed globally. Progress has been made but women remain a minority. 'Increased power for women is also a way to change policy based on their view that overall women have different values than men on variety issues (Rourke and Boyer 2008).

However, 15 years after the Beijing Platform was endorsed, in international relations men are still key players. Two of most powerful diplomats grabbed world's attention: Hilary Clinton and Catherine Ashton having assignments in international politics. For the first time in the history of diplomacy two of the most important positions are held by women who are appointed to discuss and decide the international affairs. The 'eve' of a new century and new order of a world's diplomacy shows a new dimension: inclusion of the feminine perspective.

Women worldwide have had and continue to have fewer economic and political opportunities than men have (Rourke and Boyer, 2008) but today women are engaged in every facet of global affairs from policy making to deal making, from arms control to trade, from the courtrooms of the War crime tribunals to the far-flung operations of the UNHCR (Albright, Madelyn1996).

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<sup>1</sup> [www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/beijing/platform/](http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/beijing/platform/)

Integrating gender in public policy means addressing the needs of both men and women and accordingly ensures availability of the benefits from the outcomes of the policies by both gender. A democracy which does not make enough room for 52% of the population at the decision-making table is no real democracy at all (Margot Wallström). To conclude, gender equality is an ultimate democratic goal in the world. Kosovo must follow too! Half of the population in Kosovo is women.

Gender equality in Kosovo practice is process to which Kosovo had responded affirmatively. Even though the legal framework sets affirmative actions for achieving gender equality, in practice they are still in phase of declarative statements.<sup>2</sup>

### 1.2. Kosovo Gender equality perspective in Public Policies 2000 – 2008

Kosovo Constitution (2008) endorses all international instruments. In fact those prevails national laws. The United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) Constitutional framework (2001) has been a catalyst for enacting the gender equality.<sup>3</sup> The turning point in Kosovo traditional society for women was 30 per cent quota enacted in 2001, still in use. Institutionalizing gender positive actions in its legislation in Kosovo new reality is initiated by UNMIK and women activists after the first municipal election in Kosovo. Women un - representation was obvious therefore a mobilized network of women's advocates demanded from then Special Representative of Secretary General (SRSG) in Kosovo to impose gender quota for reserved seats.<sup>4</sup>

In 2004 Parliament of Kosovo (PoK), adopted a Law on Gender Equality which establishes the Office for Gender Equality under the Office the Prime minister (OPM), within provisional

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<sup>2</sup> Gashi Gorani, Visare. (2010). Personal interview

<sup>3</sup> Office of the Prime minister/Agency for Gender equality (December, 2008)/CEDAW, Initial report of The Republic of Kosovo, Unpublished

<sup>4</sup> Tahiri, Edita. (2010). Personal interview

institutions for self governance. Two years later, the office advances to an independent body under the supervision of the OPM. Considering that the Agency for gender equality is placed in central government it could be said that the Government of Kosovo is committed to empowerment of women.<sup>5</sup> Institutionalizing gender budgeting in Kosovo public policy is a vital activity the government plans to work on.

Law on gender equality (2004) calls on establishment of the Gender Equality Offices (GEO) at ministerial and municipal level. At both levels, central and municipal, gender officers are employed. To most of them the 'gender' was included to their existing duties. Gender is still understood as women issue. Financial sustainability of gender equality sector is of key significance. GEO's have clear mandate but budget line. The officers couldn't get their budget share guaranteed by the law; therefore most of planned activities remain only on paper.

Besides the Kosovo consolidated budget, the gender equality projects are supported by US, EU member states embassies, and UN agencies and recently Japan Embassy. Since 2003, four national strategies for achieving the gender equality have been approved. Kosovo Prime Minister declares 2007 the year of affirmative actions expressing political will to improve women position in society. The action targets mainly women in public offices. In 2008, Kosovo under UN administration was called to submit the CEDAW Report. The initial report was drafted the same year. Yet it didn't reach the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights in Geneva. The Kosovo report remains a pending case for the Kosovo government.

The Kosovo Constitution enacted in 2008, ensures gender equality as a fundamental value. Once observed by UNMIK, gender equality in Kosovo, are monitored by EU. The European Council endorsed the introduction of the European Partnerships as a means to realize the European Integration of the Western Balkan<sup>6</sup> including Kosovo (under UN SCR 1244). Two of

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<sup>5</sup> Kuqi, Hajredin .(2010).Personal interview

<sup>6</sup> Official Journal of the European Union (2008).Council Decision

priorities emphasizing women rights (39 and 116) set in the EU Partnership 2008/2010 are recommended to Kosovo institutions.

The new century is throwing away rigid traditional practices. Kosovo must be part of global political and economic environment. Some steps in stage of the international politics are to be learned. As the new kid on the block Kosovo should understand that good judgments and good moves come from experience so it should try to stand up, catch up international walk like the other countries do.

### 1.3. Kosovo country profile and Foreign affairs 2008 – 2010

On 17 February 2008, Kosovo declared its independence from Serbia. Kosovo's independence brought the division in the United Nations Security Council between the United States and its European allies in one side and Serbia with its allies in other. The recent International Court of Justice advisory opinion affirmed the legality of Kosovo's unilaterally self determination. Ever since, in the front yards of the UN and EU headquarters, the Kosovo flag doesn't wave among others, though a good part of the UN and the majority of the EU members acknowledged the Kosovo independence. European integration is on Kosovo's agenda but joining the European Union, is uncertain, as the five of the EU's member states, Greece, Cyprus, Spain, Romania and Slovakia don't recognize Kosovo.

The UNMIK was settled in Kosovo in the aftermath of NATO's Operation in Yugoslavia, ruled' over Kosovo for nine years. External relations, with states and international organizations primarily were lied under Powers and Responsibilities reserved to the SRSG<sup>7</sup>. A limited representational and ceremonial role was tailored to then President of Kosovo (Brand Marcus 2003). Supervised by SRSG a Joint Administrative Structure with its highest consultative body, Kosovo Transnational Structure (KTC) was created. A 'double desk'

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<sup>7</sup> Constitutional Framework for PISG(2001).at [www.unmikonline.org/regulations](http://www.unmikonline.org/regulations)

structure of international and local co-heads of municipal administrations and certain ministries are established (Zaumm, 2009).

After a Declaration of Independence, UNMIK is reconfigured from an administration sweeping executive and legislative powers to a much smaller political mission (Zaumm 2009). However Kosovo's Declaration of Independence invited an international civilian presence. During UNMIK administration, Kosovo became a member of regional, organizations. In the EU integration context Kosovo under UN Resolution 1244 was considered as potential candidate country. Lately, in 2009 it became the 186<sup>th</sup> member of the International Monetary Fund and World Bank.

Throughout last decade Kosovo has been object of the most powerful inter- Governmental Organizations (IGO) and states foreign policies. Independence of Kosovo has shifted the Kosovo's status in the international stage since; Kosovo entitled to foreign affairs is being focused to building its mechanisms. To date, Kosovo's independence has been recognized by a total of 71 countries. Kosovo recognition and adherence to the international organizations is one of the most challenges Kosovo foreign policy faces today. Joining the UN club and EU remains desirous.

In 2008, Kosovo focuses on establishment and strengthen the domestic instances and it laws on FA and its foreign service. The main domestic stakeholders on Foreign policy are:

- President of Republic of Kosovo,
- Parliament of Kosovo (PoK),
- Committee of Foreign Affairs (CFA),
- Prime Minister,
- Ministry on Foreign affairs (MFA),
- Diplomatic and Consular Service

Meanwhile, the Kosovo government established foreign relations and it is on the way to settle the diplomatic missions on the continent and overseas. To maintain and functionalize this



operation a legal framework was developed and diplomatic establishment started in 2008. USAID is providing assistance to the MFA in establishing Kosovo's diplomatic missions abroad. This support ranges from legal advice regarding many treaties to drafting of additional legislation as well as reporting on various treaties implementation.<sup>8</sup> So far MFA, a latecomer in the Kosovo government is headed by Minister, and deputy minister position hold by woman (Vlora Citaku)<sup>9</sup>. Two political advisors of the Foreign Minister are women. Four departments out of ten are run by women.

In the diplomatic service, two women assigned for the mission abroad are the first women diplomats (Table 1.3) but also the first chosen in non - political leading position in central and local level governance.

**Table 1. 2 - Kosovo Women ambassadors**

In March 2010 HE Shkendije Geci - Sherifi, presented the credentials to the President László Sólyom

In April 2010, HE Ariana Zherka-Hoxha, presented the letters of credential to the President of Bulgaria, Georgi Parvanov

In 2008, aiming to debate on Kosovo foreign affairs and international politics, a non government organization Foreign Policy Club (FPC) has been established. FPC (Figure 1.1) gathers expert's intellectuals, politicians, well-known civil society activists affiliated in foreign policy<sup>10</sup>.

<sup>8</sup> [www.usaid.gov/kosovo/eng/democracy\\_governance](http://www.usaid.gov/kosovo/eng/democracy_governance)

<sup>9</sup> [www.mfa-ks.net](http://www.mfa-ks.net) (October 2010/Foreign affairs Ministry /In the MFA official web site, accurate information and updated are provided regularly only for the Minister while the section for the deputy minister profile is empty. In any event, the activities of the minister are closely monitored by media which is not case with the deputy minister/

<sup>10</sup> [www.foreignpolicyclub.org](http://www.foreignpolicyclub.org)

**Figure 1.1- Foreign Policy Club /Friendly Talk**  
**Source: Foreign Policy club web site.**



#### 1.4. Women Representation in Kosovo Foreign Affairs

Women inclusion is not regarded fully in the formation of the newly established Kosovo Foreign Affairs. No single woman is a member of the Parliamentary Committee on Foreign Affairs (CFA). Men directors in central Ministry on Foreign Affairs (MFA) outnumber the women; Few women were admitted to the diplomatic service, and yet MFA didn't recruit Gender Equality Officer's as the Law on GE requires. In general Kosovo public administration, women participate equally with men in building development plans but when it comes to present their work or represent Kosovo in particular events abroad, men mainly are to have this privilege, because they occupy representative positions. Women exclusion in the state activities contradicts the Kosovo Constitution 2008, which endorses CEDAW, a known Women's Bill. CEDAW first introduced in the UN Constitutional Framework 2001 and to the Kosovo Constitution 2008 states "women should have the equal opportunities as men to represent their countries internationally and be involved in the work of international organizations" (Article 8). Law on MFA and Diplomatic service<sup>11</sup> establishes the MFA and specifies its mandate. Additionally sets criteria for diplomatic mission and service abroad. The appointment of the ambassadors and heads of missions should be carried out in accordance with the Civil Service

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<sup>11</sup> Foreign Affairs Ministry(2010). at [www.mfa-ks.net](http://www.mfa-ks.net)

regulation and recruitment policies. The appointments of the first diplomats for mission abroad were made regardless of the recruitment procedures.

### 1.5. Appointments of the diplomats

Appointments of the diplomats in Kosovo occurred in two waves :

- The first emergent Tasked Diplomats (Gender equality non Responsive)
- The second was Law based , regular /inclusive (Gender equality light sensitive )

The first involved the President and the Prime Minister who in their authority and ‘regardless’ of recruitment procedures, appointed 10 men diplomats.

**Figure 1.2 Competitors for ambassadors in Final stage/  
Charge de Affairs appointed in the first round / Source: KosPress.com**



When the first bilateral diplomatic relation are established between Kosovo and countries recognizing it, the Kosovo Government and Presidency responded by creating an Ad Hoc national diplomatic task. To represent Pristina abroad, the Government of Kosovo proposed to the President, the names of the first batch of senior diplomats. The first 10 Charge de Affairs

nominated are 'people of high national attributes, vision and dedication (Kosovo Prime Minister 2008). Surprisingly 'highly and national visional profiles' aren't attributed to any Kosovo woman; the first diplomat appointees were all men.

The second wave of appointment of the ambassadors was based on law and recruitment procedures. Involving all FA domestic stakeholders and civil society representative. after a long complex porcedure, only two women ambassadors were selected.

After nominating the 'emergent' tasked diplomats', government announced first procedural round for selection of the ambassadors. The debate was raised in the media: Institutions are filling positions at the speed of light, without being sure that who is to be assigned in mission abroad, or who'll divide a justice<sup>12</sup> The selection of the ambassadors is to be carried out through the advertised vacancies in accordance with the Law on DS, recruitment policies, regulating Civil Service and the sub-normative acts of the MFA.

After passing a test of MFA and an interview, the list of potential ambassadors prepared by Prime minister, Minister of MFA, civil service officials and one civil society representative, was sent for consideration to the CFA. CFA conducted a 'private hearings' with short listed candidates. Thus the final fully 'confident report' after hearings in CFA, was sent to the President for nominations.

Appointment of an ambassador is a very complex issue, which involves domestic and international treaties. Internal institutional recruitment proceedings includes the back stage negotiations on the name proposed for ambassador. According to the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations (1961) a final acknowledgment of the nominee is to e expected by receiving country. Afore mentioned UN treaty does not emphasize the gender of the diplomats. Based on the records in history of the diplomacy men domination is evident. Composition of

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<sup>12</sup> Buzhala, Berat. (2009).Express

first diplomats in a new Kosovo's diplomacy service, top list is similar. The President nominated 18 ambassadors, among them were two women.

Civil Service Regulation requires that one of member in a panel of interviews should be opposite gender and the other one minority. The same Regulation foresees equal opportunity therefore and the short listed of names for the potential candidate for each vacancy for a position should contain at least one of the opposite genders.<sup>13</sup> The Selection of candidates in certain positions is always based on merit; without prejudice to the gender differences, qualification of the candidate determined by required criteria's for respective services.<sup>14</sup>

Governmental list of the nominees for 18 posts released in media contained for each post one or two women names (Appendix 1). The official list and that of CFA for the selected nominees never appeared in public. However it was unclear if CFA or Presidency involved in the selection of the ambassadors ignored a Constitution that calls on equal opportunities. Men nominees for ambassadorial positions outnumbered the women, even though some of the women nominees had outstanding credentials<sup>15</sup>.

Considering that minister, PM and panel of interviewers and CFA members are men the recognition of the women diplomat underwent through the eyes of a men .Only one woman was part of the selection of the ambassadors. None of the members involved in a selection process had any diplomacy background. For the Ambassadorial 18 positions 353 candidates applied, of which 275 men and 78 women; these figures imply to the numbers of the applications not the candidates as one candidate applied for more than one slot. Above mentioned selection panel admitted 18 ambassadors among only 2 women. Following the nomination of the ambassadors the MFA selected the staff of the Consular service based on

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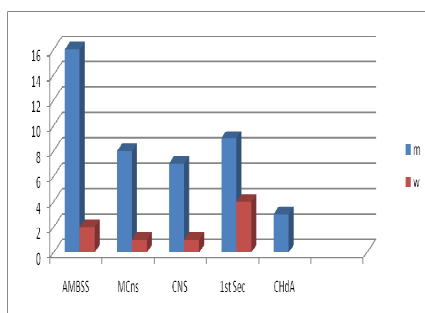
<sup>13</sup> Selmani, Leonora.(2010). Legislation expert

<sup>14</sup> Kuqi Hajredin.(2010).Personal Interview

<sup>15</sup> Gjini Ardian.(2010).Personal Interview

Law<sup>16</sup>. For the diplomatic and consular service 415 men and 96 women applied. The diplomatic staff after recruitment procedures counted 52 staff, out of which 9 are women<sup>17</sup>. Under representation of women in the first diplomatic presences (Figure 1.3) prompted a reaction from the Parliaments of Kosovo ( PoK) women members who organized a fifteen minute protest in one of the Parliamentary sessions<sup>18</sup>.

**Figure 1.3: Men and Women representation in Diplomatic and consular service. Compiled by reference**  
<sup>19</sup>AMBSS - Ambassador/MCn - Minister Counselor / 1<sup>st</sup> Sec - First secretary / ChdaA Charge de Affair



Prior to the final selection of the ambassador, a known newspaper<sup>20</sup> expresses the support for three women nominees for the ambassadorial position: for the first time in competition for the highest ranks some women applied of which their political or social reputation was not built based on the dress quotas<sup>21</sup>. Additionally the Mr. Chief Editor of that paper argued on the reasons these women from civil society deserves to be selected: they have been working closely in the international organizations in different development projects thus should be qualified for the ambassadorial positions.

<sup>16</sup> Law On Consular Service Of Diplomatic And Consular Missions Of The Republic Of Kosovo

<sup>17</sup> Zogu,Avni.(2010) Director of Admin and Finance Department , MFA

<sup>18</sup> Office of the Prime minister/Agency for Gender equality (December, 2008)/CEDAW Initial report of The Republic of Kosovo, Unpublished./pp767-70,

<sup>19</sup> Berdyna,Jetmira. (2010). MFA

<sup>20</sup> Buzhala, Berat(2009).Express

Indeed the international presence in Kosovo has had a strong mandate and a very complex mission. Their human capacities were resourced with local employees, who contributed to the Kosovo state building. Dozens of Kosovo women were employed in the international organizations such as UNMIK, OSCE, and the embassies. Equipped with knowledge, experience and skills during the 10 years of international state building effort must be considered as enforcement to the Kosovo new Foreign Service establishment. A practical experience gained during the war and that of active involvement of women in Kosovo peace building processes could be seen as valuable contributions to the international politics.

The Law on MFA and the MTEF 2011- 2013, foresees the establishment of the Academy of Diplomacy. Its establishment process may be not being an issue of the public review; otherwise if chance would be given to the senior personalities involved in Civil service, in the international relation and human rights, the gender equality could be proposed to be incorporated in academy curricula. In this context courses would be enriched with this particular dimension.

While building the internal and external service of the MFA and other establishment of FA in Kosovo, legal equality has not led to de facto equality. Kosovo Constitution ensures gender equality as a fundamental value for the democratic development of the society, providing equal opportunities for both men and women participation in the political, economic, social, cultural and other areas of societal life. Nevertheless Kosovo must comply with the EU requirements and beside in accordance with its constitution to take ‘action to provide an environment, in which women and men could pursue equal career opportunities in all ministries and state institutions’.

#### 1.6 Kosovo Women participation in Diplomacy: stereotypes and barriers

Exclusion of women in public and recently established important state pillar is reflection of the stereotyped approach on women involvement ‘out of the house yard’.

For a decade Kosovo had established a reach legislative framework on gender equality. though it is still needed , to be amended and address some other important issue which affects women in carrer.

Besides laws, lack of family friendly policies and Policies supporting women is evident. For example those which would address:

- Reconciling family and professional life;
- Un -recognized work in house hold and absence of a financial allowance package for child care.

Existence of the laws determines building specific indicators. Lack of indicators to monitor implementation of the actual mechanisms, and gender disaggregated data are the other issue Kosovo institutions should consider. In particular lack of laws on parental/father leave, the policies and infrastructure to harmonize the family and professional life, barriers women in career development. Un recognized work in house hold and absence of a financial allowance package for kids/young's are affecting women well being. In Kosovo the capacities for a daily child care are insufficient. The public kid gardens allow enrollment for the children of employed parents. Therefore unemployed mothers could not benefit from these public services. Thus women who are studying cannot rely on society support.

However it should be noted that the number of graduated women, those with special and vocational skills is increasing and more women compete in employment and decision making.<sup>22</sup> Women have been studying in Kosovo universities and admitted, and graduated to the EU and USA universities. Career building in all fields of society and following a career path in international relation could be attributed to the Kosovo women as well. Although Albania and Albanians living on Balkans have gone through thorough historical, social, economic and political changes on their way of modernization and development in the last century, norms of

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<sup>22</sup> Xani ,Nexhmije (2010). Chief of Division of personnel,Office of the Prime minister



the Albanian customary law, or the Canon of Lekë Dukagjini, still have a strong impact among Albanians nowadays, besides contemporary constitutional and other legal rules.”<sup>23</sup>

Traditional stereotypes for the women in social roles barriers women in many fields of society. Subordinate role of women embedded in a society, ruled over centuries, discriminatory for women rights, remained and has still impacts a newly established Kosovo's state pillars. Civil status conditions Kosovo women social role and career, and assigns women to the domestic and private sphere. Most of the married women should have a family support and their husband's say in planning a career in higher social ladders. Man is a 'pillar of the house'. Albanian idiom 'zoti i shtëpisë' (in polite translation; a 'master' of the house" indicates that, in mostly conservative families, men is head of family and/or head of large family (or the tribe). A man leads the family and hosts their guests. The 'Oda' in Albanian custom is a room in which only men could have access. "Oda" for Albanians is prideful institution that synonyms 'holy' traditional hospitality custom. Traditionally large families posses an "Oda" in which men are gathered in different occasions. Wise elderly men and guests along are to host the event. In Oda the honorable guests will be asked to be seated 'beside the fire place (in Albanian "te balli" or "te oxhaku"); they will be discussing and tackle everyday life, decide for the deeds of the individuals and external relation of the tribe or the village. Moreover this Oda order and protocol is fashionable. During the Parliamentary election campaigns in 2007, the moderated Kosovo political leaders were gathering in Oda to discuss politics and gain voters. The Oda attitude in Parliament of Kosovo is evident as well. For three terms in a row, none of the Kosovo Albanian parties proposed any woman member for the Presidium. It is like honoring the most senior members to head the highest body in state institution. For the time being 'te oxhaku' of Parliament is man dominated as it is the Kosovo Foreign affairs Committee.

This attitude clearly reflects the situation of women within Kosovo, facing classical barriers; but

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<sup>23</sup> Trnavci ,Genc. The Albanian Customary Law And The Canon Of Lekë Dukagjini: A Clash Or Synergy With Modern Law

women lack courage to compete in the positions that they consider "traditionally the domain of men."<sup>24</sup> On other hand the media plays a key role on empowerment of women. Focusing the attention to the differences that women may impact in a society and with a better portrayal of the advanced women, media may improve women representation in society.

When the president of Kosovo appointee the first women ambassadors, the Kosovo media didn't pay attention to that news. Breaking news of the day was Kosovo young women award in a world beauty competition. Cover pages of most papers showed her photo with the headlines indicating that Kosovo flag waved among other winning countries. This example shows a weak response of the media toward women leadership role. Even though 14 out of the 41 Kosovo media outlets, 36 per cent of women journalist covers international sector; whereas 31 per cent of those reported, covers the internal politics sector"<sup>25</sup> Beside in the national level two dailies, one weekly paper and two televising channels are run by women.

Women and diplomacy is not a new concept for a traditional and patriarchal Kosovo. Looking back in 80-90's, in Kosovo circumstances under Serbian regime with regard to the peaceful struggle for independence and Kosovars in public diplomacy appreciation is to be acknowledged to Kosovo Edita Tahiri, first ever women Minister of the MFA in 1991. Beside Edita Tahiri was only woman<sup>26</sup> from the both sides in the international negotiations conference held in Rambouillet.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> Gashi Gorani, Visare.(2010).Personal interview

<sup>25</sup> KMAP(2006)/ Survey on Ethnicity and Women in the Media, An Assessment for USAID and IREX, at [www.irex.org/programs/kmap/-Survey-June06\[1\].pdf](http://www.irex.org/programs/kmap/-Survey-June06[1].pdf), pp 29-31

<sup>26</sup> Edita Tahiri( 2010), Personal interview

<sup>27</sup> Rambouillet France, was an international negotiations conference (1999 and ) on crisis in Kosovo, in Yugoslavia. The conference, purpose was to protect the human rights of ethnic Albanians being persecuted by Serbs and to validate Kosovo to autonomous governance under international protection.

Foreign Service is a highly competitive, male dominated profession<sup>28</sup>. It was reality embedded in traditional diplomacy and still persists. The reality a half century after myriad of gender equality mechanisms worldwide are adopted, is that Kosovo women are facing the glass ceiling in diplomacy same as the women abroad long time ago. Globally, recent developments on women involvement in international diplomacy are encouraging women all over the world: the Hillary effect is opening up what had been an elite's men club for more than a century<sup>29</sup>. Worldwide women are more likely to choose occupations and career paths that involve international relation. Kosovo women are too.

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<sup>28</sup> Wilkowski Jean (2008) Abroad for her country /Atalesof pioneerwomenAmbassador in theUSForegnnService,Unievrsityof NotreDame

<sup>29</sup> Mary ,Jordan,.(01/ 11/ 2010) .at www.washingtonpost.com

## Chapter Two

### Kosovo Women in Decision making

#### 2.1. Women participation in public Administration

In 2009, in Kosovo Foreign service 2 women out of 18 men are nominated ambassadors. Alike, in domestic central level only 2 out of 18 ministerial positions are occupied the, similarly 3 out of the 18 deputy ministers are women (as of 2007 election). Only one woman is acting PS. In a municipal level, no single woman is mayor in the 37 municipalities of Kosovo. As of last election within new government formation in 2007, only two women out of 17 holds ministerial posts and three women are deputy ministers.

**Figure 2.1 Gender Distribution in Central Government/Ministerial level/as of September 2010**

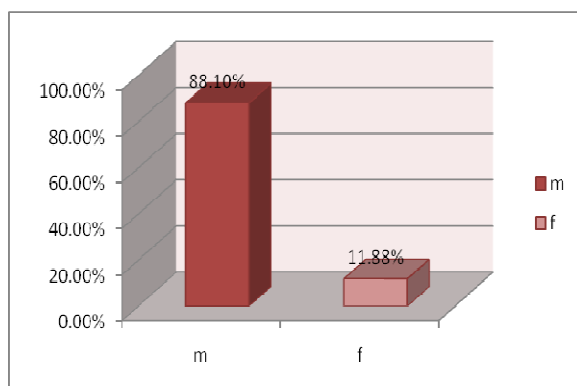
	Men (Number)	Women (Number)
Prime Minister	1	0
Minister	16	2
Deputy Minister	17	3

At managerial level posts, men hold 88.1% of posts, whereas women only 11.9%.”(Figure 2.1)<sup>30</sup>

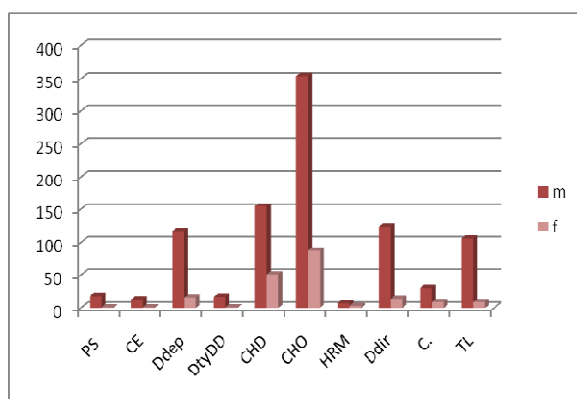
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<sup>30</sup> Ministry for Public Administration. Department for Civil service administration

**Figure 2.2: Men and women in decision-making in highest level of central government (Non-political), positions. Compiled from reference 30**



**Figure 2.3 - Men and women occupying managerial positions in central administration, Compiled from reference 30**



PS and Chief Executive Officers are the highest ranks in Kosovo CS. As Figure 2.3 indicates these positions are men dominated. Senior Public Appointments Committee, established in 2002, headed by the prime minister, composed by men and women from various public institutions, international organizations and NGO's (in rotation) had only once appointed a women in a high level position and that was PS to MCYS.

Years from 2005 to 2007 coincides with the time of the Kosovo status talks (standards before status), the requirements of the international community to fulfill the standards envisioned a

series of obligations to the Government of Kosovo among other issues, the observance of the human rights, of minorities and respect for the principles of gender equality in all spheres of public and private life<sup>31</sup> To respond to these requirements the Strategy for Increasing the Number and Improving the Position of Women (2006) was approved by Government but it ceased to be mentioned a year after. Only one of its activities is undertaken by AGE. Aiming to increase the number of women in decision making and prepare them for higher ranks, seven women have been granted scholarships for postgraduate Master studies at the University of Pristina.

Since Kosovo's first establishment as KTC was, with wider society representation and few women members, accommodating women equally in public administration and decision making is challenge Kosovo society still faces today. Various GE mechanisms are structured in Kosovo institutions: the Parliament of Republic of Kosovo and two levels in Central Government and Municipal. Parliament of the Republic of Kosovo constitutes the Committee on Human Rights, Gender Equality, Missing Persons and Petitions and another informal Group of Women Parliamentarians. The Ombudsperson as independent body established by PoK has also the Gender Equality Unit. (Table 2. 1)

Due to the Kosovo unrecognized status and number of the problems identified, gender equality perspective into society was not regarded. Functionality of the above mentioned structures was debated on occasions marking women day or launching events, but never questioned seriously.

**Table 2.1 - Gender Equality Mechanisms in Kosovo**

<b>UNMIK – Office of GE 1999 -2007</b>
<b>Parliament of Kosovo</b>
Committee on Human Rights, Gender Equality, Missing Persons and Petitions
Informal Group of Women Parliamentarians; /Women Caucus
Ombudsperson
<b>Government of the Republic of Kosovo</b>

<sup>31</sup> Gorani Gashi, Visare(2010), Personal interview

Agency of Gender Equality / OPM
Office for Good Governance OPM
Gender Issues Technical Group (GITG
Gender Equality Officers / Ministries/Municipalities
Inter-ministerial council of Gender Equality
The Sector of Gender Issues /MLGA
<b>Mechanisms in Local Level</b>
Officers of Gender Equality
Municipal committees for Gender Equality

## **Chapter Three**

### **Kosovo Mandates on Gender Equality**

#### **3.1 Parliament of Kosovo (PoK)**

The post war Kosovo electoral process introduced a legislative constitutional <sup>32</sup>30 per cent, quota which ranked Kosovo in 52<sup>nd</sup> place among countries in the world, in term of women representation in parliament<sup>33</sup>. Women representation has been seen as achievement of the ‘critical mass which is about at least of 30 per cent’.

In 2007 the presence of women in PoK reflects only the minimum legal requirement for gender representation, in electoral lists with 30 per cent out of 120 seats in the POK, and 28 per cent of all municipal assemblies’ seats being occupied by women.

PoK in its third period legislation (2007 – 2011) consists of Presidency and 16 committees. The structure of Presidency and of PoK and committee of foreign affairs (CFA) is dominated by men. The presidency comprises of: The President and eight deputy Presidents and CFA is headed by President, two vice Presidents and 6 members. Only 2 out of 16 parliamentary

In accordance with the Rules of Procedure, the Presidency meets every working week to prepare the agenda for the PoK next sessions. When the presidency is gathered in its meetings no women member is present. Therefore PM women are prevented to setting parliamentary agenda and to voiced their concerns and also exercise their rights with men fellows. In fact un-

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<sup>32</sup> In 2001 a Constitutional Framework for Interim Self-Government was adopted (UNMIK Regulation 2001/9 (2001)) which divided responsibility between UNMIK and the Provisional Institutions of Self-Government (PISG) to develop self-government in Kosovo, pending the final settlement .

<sup>33</sup> The Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM) which reflects the numbers of women in decision-making in the public and private sectors places Kosovo between 52 and 53 out of 177 countries listed, and indicates a high level of development..

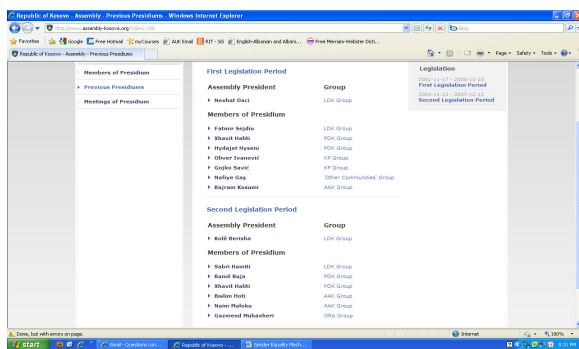


representation of women in presidency disrespects the legislative 40 per cent quota. According to the Law on Gender Equality (2004) gender equality is achieved with a 40% representation of the minority gender in all public institutions.

**For the aforementioned body, is very difficult to consider the 40 per cent quota, because each PG is entitle to nominate member for the presidency or committees and deputy presidents; it is kind of unwritten code that for the presidency the political parliamentary groups delegate their most senior members<sup>34</sup> so the names proposed are elected by majority vote of all PM<sup>35</sup>. Therefore is up to PG to select a man or woman representatives. The previous PoK's presidiums in the first legislation period (2001- 2004) and the second Legislation period (2003 -2207) were dominated also by men. Only one woman member of the Minority PG was appointed in the first legislation (Figure 3.1)**

The only chance for women to gain seat at POK's presidium is if the Regulation on Rule and procedures of PoK is corrected in a way that the eligible PG for two seats in the Presidium of PoK, one of members proposed to be woman.

**Figure 3.1: First and Second Legislation /Names of the members of the Parliament Presidiums/ Source: PoK web site**



<sup>34</sup> Gjini, Ardian,(2010) Personal interview,  
<sup>35</sup> idem

Within PoK, the Committee on Gender Equality, and an informal group of women parliamentarian's (Women Caucus) deals with gender and women rights. Likewise the CGE, Informal Group of Women Parliamentarians /Women Caucus has the role of to bring the GE and women rights to the Parliament.

However women PMs are not prevented to raise any question and exercise their oversight role in the Parliamentary sessions, or to make interoperations demanding from the government to report on GE and women rights. In contrary they were so silent in this regard.

Monitored by Pock, Ombudsperson Institution safeguards and boost respect for human rights<sup>36</sup>. Issues of discrimination which are gender-based are treated by the Unit for Gender Equality within this institution.

### 3.2. The Committee on Human Rights, Gender Equality, Missing Persons and Petitions (CGE in this paper)

Women issues are perceived in vulnerable context therefore the GE in the PK has been integrated in mandate of the Committee which deals with Human Rights, Gender Equality, Missing Persons and Petitions. The CGE was established to review draft legislation and align it with EU and international legislation on human rights. Never questioned or initiated any particular issue in this regard. For instance the CGE has been discussed on the amendment of the LGE but it did not take any specific action. Overseeing the developments and implementation of the national laws and strategies and to holding the government of Kosovo accountable on GE and women rights programs is also a crucial role that CGE is to carry out. During this period CGE and Women caucus lacked the power to focus parliament attention on the issues that are important to women and men. Lacking GE responsive approach the CGE and women PM are often criticized by civil society actors.

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<sup>36</sup>UNMIK Regulation No.2000/38 on the establishment of the Ombudsperson Institution in Kosovo.

### 3.3. Agency of Gender Equality / Office of the Prime Minister

The Agency for Gender Equality in the Prime Minister's Office is tasked with monitoring the implementation of the Law on Gender Equality by promoting its values and equal opportunity regardless of gender. The Government of Kosovo, in 2005, has established the Gender Equality Office. As of September 2006 the Kosovo Government transformed the Gender Equality Office into the Gender Equality Agency at the Prime Minister's Office. AGE most significant projects include KPGE, the CEDAW initial report and the Law against domestic violence.

### 3.4. Advisory Office on Good Governance, Human Rights, Equal Opportunities and Gender Equality functions within the Office Prime Minister's

Established in 2002, the Advisory Office on Good Governance, Human Rights, Equal Opportunities and Gender Equality functions within the Prime Minister's Office. The OGG still holds a gender component and thus overlaps with the AGE's mandate .

### 3.5. Inter-ministerial and Inter- municipality committee of Gender Equality Officers

The Law on Gender Equality calls for the establishment of the Inter-Ministerial Council and Inter- municipality committee on Gender Equality. Gender Officers are appointed within each Ministry and municipality. (Until now the MFA and MEI did not recruit the GEO). Functions , according to the separate regulations on the Competencies and Tasks of the Inter-Ministerial Council on Gender Equality and the Municipal Committees on Gender Equality are: promoting appropriate legislation; to coordinate drafting of gender mainstreaming policies; setting priorities for advancing women's status in Kosovo; initiating research in order to advance gender equality. The municipal officers report to the Sector of Gender Equality in the Ministry of Local Government and Administration (MLGA) and meet every month with the Agency for Gender Equality.

In particular ministerial and municipal gender equality officers, lack financial resources to fulfill their functions.

### 3.6. Women Nongovernmental organizations

Aiming to support and promote the rights of women NGO is very active in Kosovo since 1990's. The Kosovo Women's Lobby (KWL) is a group of women leaders in politics, civil society, media and the economic sphere which engages in and supports constructive critical thinking and strategic actions on women's issues. Two of most large NGO like Kosovo women network and Center Gender studies.

### 3.7 UNMIK Office of Gender Affairs

The creation of sustainable gender equality structure within Kosovo institutions is one of the achievements of the UNMIK. Between, 1999-2007, the work of UNMIK OGA was concentrated on institutions and legal framework building, awareness rising on gender issues, partnership with the local community of NGOs and coordination with donors, other UN agencies<sup>37</sup> (UNFEM, UNKTA, UNDP), and international organizations.

### 3.8. National Strategies for Achievement of GE

From 2003 until 2008, Kosovo Governments have drafted and approved 4 strategies (Table 3.1):

- National Action Plan for the achievement of GE (NAP) 2003/2004 – 2007;
- The Strategy for Increasing the Number and Improving the Position of Women 2006 – 2015
- Kosovo Development Strategy Plan 2007-2015;
- Kosovo Program for Gender Equality 2008 – 2010

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<sup>37</sup> Office of the Prime minister/Agency for Gender equality (December, 2008)/CEDAW, Initial report of The Republic of Kosovo, Unpublished

The NAP was developed during 2003-4 as a part of the follow-up to Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action as well as CEDAW.<sup>38</sup> Primary goal of the National Action Plan for the achievement of GE (NAP) was to ensure equal participation, representation and benefits for women in all levels of political economic cultural and social life in Kosovo. The Plan assesses six critical areas of concern (education, economy, politics, health and social welfare, human rights and violence against women, and culture). The National Action Plan was endorsed and adopted by the government in April 2004.

The Strategy for Increasing the Number and Improving the Position of Women 2006 – 2015 aiming to serve as a guideline and mechanism for professional advancement of women to increasing their participation in leading positions in public institution. The above-mentioned document was ratified by the government without particular budgetary proposal and it has been never abolished. Aiming to enhance women's participation in decision-making and in compliance with this, strategy seven women civil servants women have been granted scholarships for postgraduate MSc studies at the University of Pristina. The strategy was integrated to the KPGE.

Kosovo Development Strategy Plan 2007-2013, was a milestone for Kosovo women's equal participation in policy formulation processes of development, but also the integration of principles of gender equality in government policy; the plan integrated principles of gender equality all areas of policy, programs and actions that Kosovo's government had foreseen.<sup>39</sup> In 2006 the Gender Issues Technical Group (GITG) was established to develop the gender mainstreaming component.

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<sup>38</sup> UNMIK / PISG Government of Kosovo (2004)National Action Plan for the achievement of GE, pg15

<sup>39</sup> Gorani Gashi, Visare, former CEO , Personal interview

While myriad of strategies has been drafted and a great of national and international financial assistance involved, implementation of the objectives determined in these strategies remained mostly in papers. Women still faces difficulties in all fields of the society.

**Table 3.1: Kosovo Strategies for achievement of GE**

National Action Plan for the achievement of GE 2003 - 2007	UNMIK/PISG Government of Kosovo
The Strategy for Increasing the Number and Improving the Position of Women 2006 - 2015	UNMIK/PISG Government of Kosovo
Kosovo Development Strategy Plan and the 2007- 2013	UNMIK / PISG Government of Kosovo
Kosovo Program for GE 2008 - 2013	Government of Kosovo
National Strategy Against Domestic Violence 2009 (in progress)	- Government of Kosovo

### 3.8 The Kosovo Program for Gender KPGE

The Kosovo Program for Gender KPGE is one of the utmost affirmative action ever undertaken in Kosovo. Determined by Law on Gender equality and supported by UNMIK OGA, the government of Kosovo has drafted and approved Kosovo Program for Gender Equality 2008 –

2013 'based on the strategic orientations placed by the KSDP, adhering to the objectives for European Integration and MDG.

The KPGE drafted by 60 government and civil society experts includes the action plan, time frame. KPGE determines a budget only for 19 out of 69 out of specific actions. Thus total budget is 2. 275. 000 M Euro. KPGE covers six areas: integration of women into the economy; women's integration in the labour market; participation of women in decision-making processes; healthcare and access to healthcare; education; and women's representation in the media and cultural sphere.

According to the LGE, government has to report to the PoK, every other year on KPGE progress Approved by government in 2008; it was sidelined by PoK for two years. KPGE is ratified in summer 2010 by PoK, with a recommendation to integrate: security dimension. As it has been noted none of the PM's made any remarks for the two years submission delay of the KPGE. Neither among PMs argued how that huge budget amount KPGE foresees has to be resourced.

## **Chapter Four**

### **Legal Framework and Affirmative Actions**

#### **4.1. Constitution of the Republic of Kosovo**

The Republic of Kosovo Constitution<sup>40</sup> (2008), ensures gender equality as a fundamental value. The right of representation of women is provided for by the Constitution of the Republic of Kosovo with requires the respect of the equal right in all areas of societal life. The Constitution stipulates that international human rights standards are applicable in Kosovo. In the case of conflict, the International Agreements and instruments have priority over provisions of laws and other acts of public institutions.<sup>41</sup>

#### **4.2. Kosovo and Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW)**

CEDAW is guaranteed by Constitution and it is directly applicable in the Republic of Kosovo. CEDAW consists of a preamble and 30 articles, it defines what constitutes discrimination against women and sets up an agenda for national action to end such discrimination.<sup>42</sup>

Invitation to submit the Kosovo report on CEDAW, reached the Office of the Prime Minister of Kosovo in 2007. The Agency for Gender Equality led the process for the compilation of the first official report on the implantation of the CEDAW for period 2001 -2007.UNMIK was in

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<sup>40</sup> [www.kushtetutakosoves.info](http://www.kushtetutakosoves.info)

<sup>41</sup> Idem., Article 22. Section 6

<sup>42</sup> [www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/cedaw/](http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/cedaw/)



charge to report for 1996- 2001. Two working groups have been constituted to review de jure and de facto<sup>43</sup> dimensions of CEDAW implementation in Kosovo.

AGE engaged government experts to draft the report and for a good part of it the civil society and one international experts were consulted. AGE was supported for CEDAW report by United Nations Development Programme, United Nations Development Fund for Women and the European Agency for Reconstruction EAR.

The report was supposed to be submitted to the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights in Geneva in June 2007. AGE has been contacting MFA and UNMIK to solve the issue of submission of the CEDAW report to the respective committee. However the Kosovo CEDAW initial report remains be pending issue for the Kosovo. The NGO CEDAW shadow report has been presented to the public in 2008.

#### 4.3. Kosovo and Millennium Development Goals MDGs

Kosovo did not attend the Millennium Summit in 2000 and have not signed MDG declaration<sup>44</sup> However the MDGs have been endorsed as of October 2008, Supported by UNDP in Kosovo PoK has expressed its commitment to improve economic and social conditions in Kosovo by ratifying it. The eight MDG's have impact to women wellbeing. Third goal is about promoting gender equality and empower women.

#### 4.4. The Law on Gender Equality LGE

LGE (2004) recognizes gender equality as a fundamental value for the democratic development of Kosovo society, providing equal opportunities for both male and female participation in political, economic, social and cultural and all other walks of life. The implementation of LGE is also dependent on the sanctions for non-compliance.

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<sup>43</sup> Office of the Prime minister/Agency for Gender equality (December, 2008)/CEDAW, Initial report of The Republic of Kosovo, Unpublished. (Author of this project was appointed by Prime Minister to lead the De facto working group)

**Table 4.1 - Constitutional and Legal framework on gender equality**

Constitution of the Republic of Kosovo
The Law on Gender Equality
The Anti - Discrimination
Law on General Election and Law on Local Election
Family Law
Law Protection Against Domestic Violence 2010
Constitutional Framework for Interim Self-Government
Law against Domestic Violence

#### 4.5. Affirmative Action to Increase Women Participation in Public and Politics

In Kosovo two ranges of mechanisms and legal instruments imposed by the international community and civil society were created towards advancement of the position of women in the Kosovo society: 30 per cent quota for the Parliamentary seats, and 40 per cent for representation of the both gender in all institution including political parties. The former one, in a political discourse and policy-making as a necessary and effective tool to achieve the equality, has been discussed in the first election in 2001. Central Election Commission (CEC) based on authority through UNMIK adopted the Election regulation on certification of political entities imposing quotas. Voluntary party quotas are adopted by PP: AAK and SDP.

From a very first Kosovo municipal election in 2000, when the number of elected women for the assemblies was low, quota of 30 per cent of women candidates in the list of election imposed to the PPs, resulted to be very useful. In election 2007, despite the complexity of the election system for the Assembly of Kosovo, Municipal Assemblies and Mayors, marked a new

and very strong positioning of women in the Kosovo political system. Citizens elected a significant number of women. As the CEC results showed women are elected whereas others were appointed on the basis of the 30 per cent gender representation quota as defined by the CEC<sup>45</sup>. Kosovo's parliament in its first session sworn in became not only the regions first democratically elected but the only parliament in Europe with an electoral system guaranteed to elect high numbers of women (Wood, Nicholas, 2007).

**In contrary to the 30 per cent quota, the 40 per cent of quota was not applied as, the LGE, promulgates. According to the law, equal participation is achieved if the participation of the particular gender in the institutions, bodies including the political parties is 40 per cent.** Aiming to improve the position of the discriminated gender, which in Kosovo case is women this quota type was not very popular among women as well. Ahead of the election campaign in 2007, AGE has organized a multimedia campaign “Only 40 per cent quota” (Figure 4.1) which aimed to call on implementation of the respective provision.

**Figure 4.1: AGE/Office of the Prime Minister/  
Multimedia campaign: “Only 40 per cent quota”**



Even though in ‘back stage’ women PMs applauded to AGE for the media campaign, this support was not expressed in public, nor mentioned the need for use the quota. Only one weekly paper wrote about this large activity that AGE had undertaken.

Anyhow the 40 per cent quota seems to have been not easily applied as the LGE requires. Having chosen men in decision making positions is common in Kosovo institutions. Implementation of the gender quota and other positive actions which have been embraced in the Kosovo laws may be threatened by some trends. An inferior administration may delay the implementation of legal framework for women's advancement and social prosperity. Another fact is that patriarchal-traditional and /or religious opinions obstacle the promotion of the women rights. Such attitudes and prejudices represent difficulties for participation of women in politics considering that women participation in politics would change the traditional role women in the family and community.<sup>46</sup>

#### 4.6 Women in politics

The political scene of Kosovo today is a mosaic of large number of political parties, typical for a country that just started transition”<sup>47</sup> According to the OSCE Office for PP registration, in 2007 out of 45 registered parties only 2 were led by women . In 2008, ORA a woman replaced resigned president. Merging to the LDK, ORA suspended its activities Also SDP woman leader resigned living presidents position to man fellow.

In the highest organ within all political parties commonly called as Presidency of Party, only 15.32% are women, thus 137 out of 894 members (Figure 4.2)<sup>48</sup>. The CEC political party certification process information includes details about presidency membership but not about membership overall. In fact PP's are not required to submit information about the percentage of women members in the party structure. Thus the percentage of women members of political parties is not known.

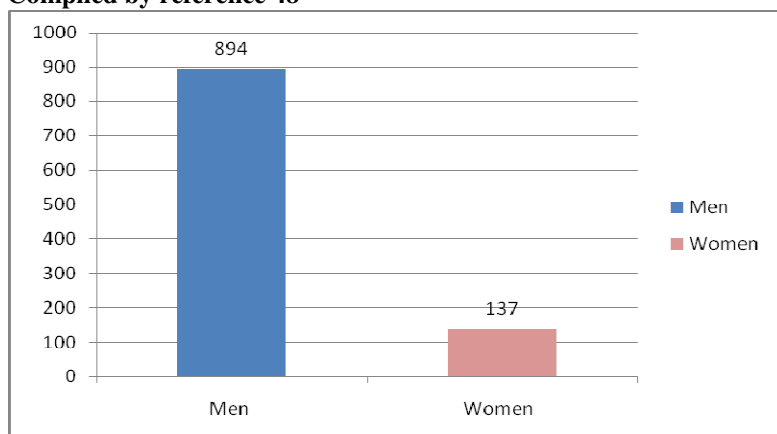
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<sup>46</sup> idem

<sup>47</sup> Tahiri, Edita. Women in Politics.(2001).An Agenda for Kosovo Communities,/OSCE , pg16

<sup>48</sup> Gjeli Drita.(2008).OSCE

**Figure 4.2: Women representation in 45 Political Presidiums -2007**  
**Compiled by reference 48**



CEC is main gate for registration of the political parties. Until now it did not establish any mechanism for gender disaggregating data's .Out of the last three CEC presidents, two are women.

Twenty per cent out of 45 parties have a functioning women's forum and the president of that forum is normally also a member of the Presidiums of the Parties. Women forum within the party has been seen a path dependence, it continues to focus on women and not much on the general concerns society faces. <sup>49</sup> If forum is to tackle socio economic issues which concern all citizens would be more acceptable. <sup>50</sup> However the women forums of the two of largest parties are mostly visible in International occasions marking women day or when celebrating the forums anniversary.

<sup>49</sup> Gjini, Ardian(2010), Personal interview

<sup>50</sup> Idem

## **Chapter Five -**

### **International Experience - EU and US**

#### 5.1. EU women and Foreign affairs

Throughout last century the EU has evolved, diversified, dimensions of its external policies as well. Even though 27 country members of EU, beside the South East Europe, mainly have enjoyed the democratic order of government, lack of gender balance, in EU legislative and executive decision making bodies still remains to be. 27 European countries grouped into the union still are not very keen to women assignment in the European foreign affairs. In early sixties a years the EU was established there were no women among of the founders. Nevertheless in Treaty establishing the European Economic Community only one provision covered the GE. Beside only single (unmarried) woman could consider a diplomat career s. Lately in EU, the number of women in foreign postings in national level of a member states has increase. More women seek diplomacy career. In contrary in EU level, issue of concern is appointment of the women in EU highest bodies and its Foreign Service.

#### 5.2. History of women in Diplomacy – Europe

Historically, worldwide diplomacy has been preserve of men.<sup>51</sup> History of Europe signifies first women pioneers in diplomacy in sixteenth century. Women were not admitted to diplomatic and consular services in any appreciable numbers until 1933( Appendix 2)<sup>52</sup>. In the beginning of the traditional diplomacy was as how to ‘accommodate “the wives of the ambassadors as they were contributing to the representation of their countries along with husband but being unpaid. Later, women were appointed in a ‘necessity capacity’, in a

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<sup>51</sup> Bloch Chang,, Julia ,Women in Diplomacy, Records and Historical Services1782-pg 1

<sup>52</sup> Idem

secretarial or household of the post. Besides only single women were considered for admission to the diplomacy.

Since 30s women have been posted as ambassadors to very important and highly demanding capitals and organizations as London, Berlin, Moscow, and International organizations. Ms Elena Vararesco, who represented Romania in 1924, was the only woman Permanent Delegate in the whole history of the League of Nations. First women in diplomatic career, women permitted to 'to join the diplomacy were faced with anti women bias. However the low number of women assigned in diplomacy is still being discussed. Other interesting point of a debate is that nowadays women do not wish to risk their own career instead of their husbands involved in diplomacy. In any case it shows empowerment of women in EU.

### 5.3. EU's - Foreign Affairs Current Trends

European Union Foreign Affairs is dominated and influenced by traditional diplomacy in which old boy club's is to be composed mainly by men. The Chief of Foreign Affairs is a woman in the EU's new body dealing with foreign affairs shows tendency toward women involvement in diplomatic corps. The EU legislation (Acquis Communautaire) and its policies promulgate gender equality in all field of society. Although women share has increased in context of the decision making, over the last decades, still women are under-represented in economic and political decision-making positions. Beside women representation in the EU foreign affairs reflects the situation which is common in –house of the most of the EU national country members.

Throughout last century the EU has evolved, diversified, the dimensions of its external policies as well. Since its birth in the 1950s the EU is key player in relations with the rest of the world. Its foreign policy is based on common policy on trade, development assistance and formal trade and cooperation agreements with individual countries or regional groups and enlargement. The

emergence of a new post-communist world order and the rise of international terrorism pushed EU countries to redouble their efforts to speak as one on world affairs.<sup>53</sup>

Nevertheless recent development in the institutional aspect of EU foreign affairs and gender representation brought two novelties: creation of the EU High Representative for Foreign and Security Policy (EU HRFSP) body and appointment of the woman in that of highest rank of the EU institutions. Creation of the High Representative for Foreign and Security Policy institution is one of the two institutional innovations introduced by The Lisbon Treaty. The HRFSP is to coordinate between EU countries to shape and carry out foreign policy. Interestingly these important tasks fall in the shoulder of a single woman.

Appointment of the Baroness Catherine Ashton of Up Holland, ‘unknown woman’ to lead the EU foreign policy and security was followed by loud disputes and critiques: ‘far from the EU choosing world-besiding figures to carry its ambitions into the halls of power from Washington to Moscow to Beijing’,<sup>54</sup>. Criticized for being incompetent, selection of a former EU trade commissioner, of the largely unknown to be EU foreign policy head, smacked of back-room deals made by global elitists seeking to fill the new posts created by the Lisbon Treaty with EU global elitists like themselves (Jerome Corsi, 2009).

Anyhow the Chief for Foreign affairs is in charge of setting up an EU diplomatic corps, or External Action Service (EEAS), a new institution within the EU as well. EEAS will have as many as 3,000 diplomats driving foreign policy, aid and trade. It will serve as a diplomatic service for the EU, including Union delegations in third countries.

In September 2010 the critiques reached again the EU Chief of Foreign Affairs, when she announced the first, and most senior, batch of appointments of the diplomatic corps, EEAS<sup>55</sup>.

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<sup>53</sup> / Foreign and Security Policy, at [www.europa.eu](http://www.europa.eu)

<sup>54</sup> Reynolds, Paul [www.news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk\\_news/politics/8370191.stm](http://www.news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/politics/8370191.stm)

<sup>55</sup> Banks, Martin (09/20/ 2010) [Balance in EU Diplomacy should be legally binding at www.theparliament.com/latest-news](http://www.theparliament.com/latest-news)



She appointed only six women out of the 28 heads of EU delegations in various parts of the world. Women diplomats and those from the European Union's new member states were largely shut out of the first round of ambassadorial posts for the bloc's new diplomatic corps, the external action service<sup>56</sup>

Recruitment policy that Chief of Foreign Affairs, approved has been seen by Greens/EFA group in EU parliament as an insult to 250 million European women. In this regard Chief of Foreign Affairs statement that she had appointed the best and brightest people contradicts her promise to make gender balance one of her top priorities, and ignores the legally binding EU provisions to ensure gender balance in recruitments.

In any event, post - Lisbon EU Foreign affairs as introduced, comparing to the international equivalents is on its embryonic stage. Anyhow 'just over thirty years ago, there were no female leaders in Europe (Brian J. Forest 2010).

Nowadays a single woman is assigned to the two of very important tasks within EU; since 1 December 2009 when the post was created Head of EU HRFSP also the First-Vice-President of the European Commission (since February 2010).

In near future gaining a seat in the UN as one single entity, Middle East and Balkans, Turkey membership in EU and global would trouble the EU FA. In this endeavor women cannot be left aside. The productive interaction and communication of women and men in working processes, based on full gender equality over "the more women involved, the better (Ganser, Helmut, 2010) would be the appropriate approach for EU institutions and foreign policy as well.

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<sup>56</sup> Chaffin , Joshua , Financial I Times , Published: September 15 2010

Otherwise if EU doesn't respect gender equality within the EU, in the context of the EU adherence requirements<sup>57</sup> 'imposed "to the countries that are to join the EU, a question is to be raised: how the EU wants to reflect to these countries with its gender blind attitude toward its citizens? By not offering a good model EU ruins its image and slows the improvement of the women in Kosovo.

#### 5.4. EU presence in Kosovo

Throughout the past decade the European Union was key player in Kosovo. It has allocated a huge financial assistance and its representative offices to Kosovo to built stable society. Beside the EAR, and ECLO settled since 2004 in Kosovo, Kosovo's Declaration of Independence on 17 February 2008 expressly invited an international civilian presence, including the International Civilian Office.<sup>58</sup> The International Civilian Office provides international support for a European future for Kosovo<sup>59</sup>

The European Council endorsed the introduction of the European Partnerships as a means to realize the European of the Western Balkan<sup>60</sup>, including Kosovo (under UN SCR 1244). The European Partnership emphasizes two of Priorities for the Kosovo institution on women rights. Kosovo is eligible for the EU financial instruments as new Instrument for Pre accession (IPA) and variety of tools (TAIEX and Twinning). The so called IPA programm for Kosovo was focused in line with the priorities in the Medium Term expenditure framework. The financial allocation for Kosovo under IPA for the period 2007-2010 was 326.4 M Euros.<sup>61</sup> So far AGE was entitled to few EU projects and has been working minor EU GE project. As for the IPA, AGE in two years in row applied for same project, which twice was rejected. AGE simply failed to fulfill the IPA application requirements criteria's.

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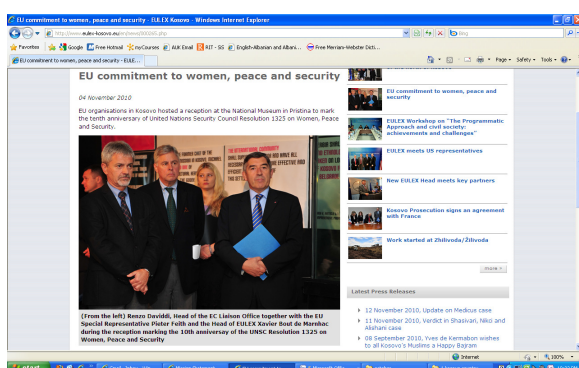
<sup>58</sup> [www.ico-kos.org/](http://www.ico-kos.org/)

<sup>59</sup> Idem

<sup>61</sup> [www.delprn.ec.europa.eu/repository/docs/IPA](http://www.delprn.ec.europa.eu/repository/docs/IPA)

Women under representation are identified in the EU institutions deployed in Kosovo. All heads of EU institutions are men<sup>62</sup> (Figure 5.1.): International Civilian Office - European Union Special Representative, The European Union Rule of Law Mission in Kosovo (EULEX)<sup>63</sup>, and Head of EU Commission Liaison Office (ECLO).

**Figure 5.1: EU heads marking 10th anniversary of the UNSC Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security in Kosovo (From the left Renzo Daviddi, Head of the EC Liaison Office together with the EU Special Representative Pieter Feith and the Head of EULEX Xavier Bout de Marnhac**



Only 27 per cent of the women are employed in the EULEX, while in the ICO 33 per cent are women.<sup>64</sup> The only institution with office with the different picture of the gender composition is the ECLO, 43 per cent are women among its staff<sup>65</sup> Gender balance in national missions from the EU member states settled in Kosovo, is low as well. Only 3 out of 17 women diplomats represent their countries in Kosovo (Table 5.1).

<sup>62</sup> [www.eulex-kosovo.eu/en/news](http://www.eulex-kosovo.eu/en/news)

<sup>63</sup> EULEX is the largest civilian mission ever launched under the Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP).

The central aim is to assist and support the Kosovo authorities in the rule of law area, specifically in the police, judiciary and customs areas. The mission is not in Kosovo to govern or rule. It is a technical mission which will monitor, mentor and advise whilst retaining a number of limited executive powers

<sup>64</sup> Kosovo Center for Gender studies, Gender audit of the EU projects in Kosovo, 2010, pg 64.

<sup>65</sup> Idem pg64

**Table 5.1 - Gender representations of the Diplomats  
from EU countries in Kosovo /As of November, 2010**

<b>Ambassador/Charge de affairs/Head of Office</b>	
France	M
Germany	M
Italia	M
UK	W
Austria	M
Belgium	M
Bulgarian	M
Finland	M
Hungary	M
Luxembourg	
The Kingdom of the Netherlands	M
Romania	M
Slovak Republic	M
Slovenia	M
Sweden	W
Czech	W

### 5.5. EU Gender Equality Mechanisms

In 2007 the EU has marked the 50th anniversary of the Law on GE. In the early sixties a single provision on equal pay for men and women was introduced in the Treaty establishing the European Economic Community, which was the origin of the current EU. Equality of women and men is a common value on which the European Union is founded and developed. It is a fundamental right, enshrined in Article 2 of the Treaty on European Union (TEU) and in the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union. The EU is committed to implement the objectives the MDGs, also to 'helping to attain the standards set by CEDAW as well the Declaration and Platform for Action at the Beijing.

Throughout six decades the EU has adopted a comprehensive legislative framework entailing the adoption of the directives and institutional mechanisms to promoting gender equality (Table 5.2 and 5.3).

The new Treaty of Lisbon (2007) and the Charter of fundamental rights enforces the EU gender legislation. The new Lisbon treaty and the Charter of fundamental rights for the EU also ‘have introduced the principles of non-discrimination and gender equality. Moreover, the Union aims to fight social exclusion and discrimination as well as to boost equality between men and women. Since 1957 key pieces of legislation (Table 6.3 ) ensures, among other things, equal treatment concerning access to work, training, promotions and working conditions, including equal pay and social security benefits, as well as guaranteed rights to parental leave. Furthermore case law has played a very important role in the field o equal treatment between men and women, in ensuring that individuals can effectively invoke and enforce their right to gender equality (Burri and Prechal, 2008). The European Court of Justice has delivered more than two hundred of binding judgments.

Responding “to the requests of stakeholders at all levels – European institutions, Member States, social partners and civil society – to accelerate progress towards real equality<sup>66</sup> and to keep gender equality high on the political agenda and inspire us all to tackle this issue (Špidla 2006), five year Strategy for Equality between Women and Men 2010-2015 to follow-up on the Roadmap 2006-2010 Roadmap for Equality between Women and Men 2006-2010 was adopted. In February 2010 ‘ahead of International Women's Day, the European Commission strengthened and deepened its commitment to equality between women and men with a Women's Charter (2010 -2015)<sup>67</sup>.

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<sup>66</sup> Špidla Vladimír (2006),Roadmap for Equality between Women and Men 2006 -2010,pg 3Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities,

<sup>67</sup><http://ec.europa.eu/social/main/ EC/ Employment, Social Affairs and Equal Opportunities>

The EU GE institutional mechanisms<sup>68</sup> comprises of:

- EU Institute on Gender Equality;
- Advisory Committee on Equal Opportunities for Men and Women ;
- Gender balance within the committees and expert groups set up by the Commission;
- Equality bodies.

The idea of setting up a European Institute for Gender Equality came into being in 1995. It took 12 years for EU to functionalize the EIGE .The Institute was established in May 2007, aiming to assist the European institutions and the Member States in the promotion of gender equality in all Community policies and resulting national policies and in the fight against discrimination based on sex<sup>69</sup>.

Formulating and implementing community measures, fostering the exchange of the policies and experiences between the member states and delivering the opinions aimed at promoting equal opportunities for women and men mandates the Advisory Committee on Equal Opportunities for Women and Men.

Aiming to ensure that there are at least 40% of members of each sex in every expert group and committee Commission commits itself to creating a gender balance in expert groups and committees established by it. For expert groups and committees already in existence, the Commission will aim to redress the gender balance upon each replacement of a member and when the term of a member of an expert group or committee comes to an end.<sup>70</sup> Since 2002 a specific directive requires from Member States to establish the equality bodies. Member states may form part of agencies with responsibilities at the national level for defending human rights or safeguarding individual rights. (Burris,and Prechal, 2008). The tasks of these bodies are the promotion, analysis, monitoring and support of equal treatment.

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<sup>68</sup> <http://www.eige.europa.eu>

<sup>69</sup> [www.eige.europa.eu/history](http://www.eige.europa.eu/history)

<sup>70</sup> Idem

Launched in June 2008, European Commission's network of women in decision-making provides a platform at EU level for exchange of good practices and successful strategies to improve gender balance in decision-making positions.

The EU funds<sup>71</sup> for supporting the effective implementation of the principles of gender equality and promoting gender mainstreaming in all EU policies are: Progress (2007-2013) and The European Social Fund.

**Table 5.2 - EU Landmarks on Gender Equality**

<b>The EU Acquits on GE</b>
The Lisbon Treaty and Charter of fundamental rights for the EU
EU GE Laws directives
Case law
<b>EU Strategies</b>
Strategy for Equality between women and men/ A women's charter 2010 -2015
The Lisbon Strategy 2008 -2010
Roadmap for equality between men and women 2006 -2010
<b>GE institutions<sup>72</sup></b>
EU Institute on GE - 2006
Advisory Committee on Equal Opportunities for Men and Women
Gender balance within the committees and expert groups set up by the Commission
Equality bodies
EU network of women in decision making

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<sup>71</sup> Idem

<sup>72</sup> Idem

**Table 5.3. EU Gender Equality Directives**

• Equal Treatment Directive – 1976
• Social Security Directive – 1979
• Occupational Social Security Directive – 1986 Amended in 1996
• Self-employment Directive – 1986
• Pregnant Workers Directive – 1992
• Parental Leave Directive – 1996
• Burden of Proof Directive – 1997
• Equal Treatment in Employment Directive – 2002
• Substantially amends the 1976 Equal Treatment Directive.
• Goods and Services Directive – 2004
• Recast Directive Equal Treatment in Employment and Occupation – 2006
• Longer parental leave and incentive to fathers – 2009

### 5.6. Gender Equality in EU institutions and Candidate Countries

Despite remarkable advances towards equality between women and men in the last 50 years, significant inequalities persist at global and EU levels, clashing with the fundamental goals of the Union.<sup>73</sup> According to the Euro barometer survey, 62 per cent of the Europeans think that

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<sup>73</sup> <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/>

Communication From The Commission To The European Parliament, The Council, The European Economic And Social Committee And The Committee Of The Regions Strategy For Equality Between Women And Men, 2010-2015



gender equality is not met in most of the fields of the societies<sup>74</sup> within 27 EU member states. Women face difficulties in breaking through the ‘glass ceiling’ into positions of responsibility at their workplace. A significant gender imbalance continues to exist at all levels and in both the public and private sectors<sup>75</sup>.

All legislative framework and the institutional structure mentioned above is fostered by the European Commission and the EU parliament Both have an important task in the enforcement of EU gender equality but both lack to improve the situation of women and men in EU.

The low employment rate of women comparing to the men’s, pay gap between men and women; under representation in economic and political decision-making positions are some of the findings of the annually EU Report on Equality between women. The 2010 report presents progress which in fact is not in compliance with the commitments of these bodies to improve GE.

Within the highest decision-making bodies in EU commission (Table 5.4) and EU parliament (Table 5.5) women members occupy 33 per cent respectively 35 per cent of the posts<sup>76</sup>. The percentage of the women PM in EU from Chez, Italy and Poland parliament is less than 25 per cent. At the same time, within the EU Parliament and elected members to the National Parliaments the Nordic countries have gender composition that approaches gender equal representation. Malta is the only country that has not single woman in EU parliament.

**Table 5.4 - Gender distribution in European Commission /European Commission Members Commissioners**

Women - Number	Men – Number	W %	M -%
9	18	33	67

<sup>74</sup> [www.europa.eu](http://www.europa.eu)

<sup>75</sup> Idem, pg 17

<sup>76</sup> European Commission /European social Affairs and Equal opportunities at [www.ec.europa.eu/social](http://www.ec.europa.eu/social)

**Table 5.5 - EU – 27 Gender distribution in European Parliament**

Women - Number	Men – Number	W %	M -%
257	479	35	65

Women account for about 24 per cent of members of the EU national parliaments<sup>77</sup>. The countries which have particularly low women representation in combined houses of the national parliaments below 25 per cent includes UK and France, below 15 per cent Hungary and Romania, Malta. In both ministerial and parliaments level, 40 per cent of women are in the Finland and Sweden.

The states seeking the membership of the EU must meet the Copenhagen Criteria for accessions and conform to the conditions laid down on the EU enlargement package. The process of the accessing compliance is monitored in the ‘Progress report’ and also the countries which are enrolled in the integration process are given grants and assistance to meeting the EU requirements.

For this purpose the European Commission monitors and supports the Copenhagen Criteria for accession of the EU in the field of Gender Equality, especially in the Western Balkan states and Turkey.

Government bodies in the Western Balkans including Turkey, alike the EU countries lack the gender balance in decision making institutions. Most of the WB countries have emerged from the communist regimes and the violent conflicts and still challenged by the dominating patriarchal values. However the table indicates that Kosovo with 30 per cent quota in parliament and FR Macedonia with 34 per cent of women PM in its parliament, women are placed in much better position to men at those levels than PM women in the EU institutions.

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### 5.7. Quotas in EU member states

The EU does not place the gender quotas for women enrollment in its legislative branch. However the EU Commission commits in terms of the gender equal representation aims to ensure the 40 per cent quota in every expert group and committees established by it. In national level of EU member states Sweden is number one on women representation in national level. Quotas have been used by some EU of countries (table 5.6 ) asserting the importance of equal representation of both genders. Quotas are abandoned in some of EU countries after have being applied.

**Table 5.6 - Quota system in EU Member states**

<b>Country</b>	<b>Quota system</b>
<b>Sweden</b>	Voluntary Three PP*50 per cent
<b>Denmark</b>	Voluntary In 1996 abandoned
<b>Belgium</b>	Constitutional legislative and PP (for national parliament)
<b>Netherlands</b>	Two PP Voluntary - 50 per cent quota for women
<b>Spain</b>	Voluntary One PP - 40 per cent for either gender
<b>Austria</b>	Voluntary – three PP 33,3 per cent / 40 per cent / 50 per cent
<b>France</b>	Used to have In September 1982, abandoned
<b>Germany</b>	Voluntary Two PP: 33.3 per cent 40 per cent...
<b>Italy</b>	Two legal quotas In 1995 abandoned
<b>UK</b>	Used to have One PP 50 per cent

PP\* - Political Party

### 5.8. US Women in Public Offices and Foreign Affairs

Women make up 51 percent of the U.S. population; women still remain minority in US state institutions. Since the first Congress, only 260 women out of 11,699 people have served in the House or Senate.<sup>78</sup> In total, there have been 222 women Representatives and 38 Senators. Eight women have served in both chambers. 11Tth Congress counts ninety-three women members: 76 in the House and 17 in the Senate<sup>79</sup>. Nancy Pelosi is the first women to serve as speaker of the House.

Woman never held the presidential position even Victoria Woodhull was the first woman to run for president in 1872<sup>80</sup>. Hillary Clinton was most supported woman to run for president in 2008. Madelyn Albright was the first ever women to serve as Secretary of State (1997 - 2001). The first serving the position was Thomas Jefferson who while holding the third Presidential position (1801 -1809) stated the appointment of a woman to office is an innovation for which the public is not prepared, nor I. After 2 centuries, three of the last four of State Secretaries of State were women. Albright-Rice-Clinton sequence has a worldwide effect; it is encouraging and motivating (Claudia Fritsche, ambassador Liechtenstein). Sworn in as the 67th Secretary of State of the United States in 2009, Hillary Rodham Clinton succeeded Condoleezza Rice, first female African-American Secretary of State who served from 2005 -2009.

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<sup>78</sup> Center for American Women and Politics of the Eagleton Institute of Politics/ [atwww.cawp.rutgers.edu](http://atwww.cawp.rutgers.edu)

<sup>79</sup> Historical-data/representatives-senators-by-congress /at [www. womenincongress.house.gov](http://www.womenincongress.house.gov)

<sup>80</sup> Center for American Women and Politics of the Eagleton Institute of Politics(2010).at[www.cawp.rutgers.edu/](http://www.cawp.rutgers.edu/)

More than half of new recruits for the U.S. Foreign Service and 30 percent of the chiefs of mission are women. (Jordan, Mary, 2010)<sup>81</sup>. 11 years after first woman was permitted to join the FS in non diplomatic rank, was Ruth Bryan Owen (Picture 6 as member of the Congress), to head the U.S. embassy for Denmark and Iceland and the first woman holding ambassador rank was Helen Eugenie Moore Anderson.

Eleanor Roosevelt was a first woman to serve in UN, Appointed by President Harry S. Truman in 1946, as a delegate to the United Nations General Assembly. She served as the first Chairperson of the UN Human Rights Commission and contributed to drafting the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

**Figure 5.2 - The women of the 71st Congress (1929–1931)** pose on the Capitol steps. From left to right they are: (front row) Pearl Oldfield of Arkansas, Edith Nourse Rogers of Massachusetts, Ruth Baker Pratt of New York, and Ruth Hanna McCormick of Illinois; (back row) **Ruth Bryan Owen of Florida**, Mary Norton of New Jersey, and Florence Kahn of California.



In March 2009 President Barack Obama signed an Executive Order creating the White House Council on Women and Girls (Table 5.7)<sup>81</sup>. The purpose of this council is to ensure that

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<sup>81</sup> /[www.whitehouse.gov](http://www.whitehouse.gov)

American women and girls are treated fairly in all matters of public policy,” (Obama statement)<sup>82</sup>

In December, 1961 President John F. Kennedy establishes the President's Commission on the Status of Women , mandated to protect women's basic rights, opportunity for women, the national interest in security and defense ‘. Eleanor Roosevelt was appointed to head the Commission.

US did not ratify the UN Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Discrimination against Women (CEDAW). Though there are some signs that Obama Administration strongly supports this landmark treaty, and is committed to United States ratification<sup>83</sup> , there were some voices to stop signing CEDAW stating that is discriminatory against men. Joseph Biden, current US vice President is known as supporter of the Women bill. While serving in Foreign Relations Committee he had declared: It is long past time we join the rest of the world.

The most significant pieces of legislation which deals with women civil rights of the US is The Nineteenth Amendment (1920). It became part of the U.S. Constitution, provides the women rights to vote. Whereas Lilly Ledbetter Fair Pay Act became the major act of Congress signed into law by signed President Barack Obama in 2009.

**Table 5.7 – Initial Members of White House Council on Women and Girls**

The Secretary of State;  
The Secretary of the Treasury;  
The Secretary of Defense;  
The Attorney General;  
The Secretary of Interior;  
The Secretary of Agriculture;  
The Secretary of Commerce;

<sup>82</sup> [www.boston.com/news/politics/politicalintelligence/2009/03/](http://www.boston.com/news/politics/politicalintelligence/2009/03/)

<sup>83</sup> <http://usun.state.gov/briefing/statements/2009>

The Secretary of Labor;  
The Secretary of Health and Human Services;  
The Secretary of Housing and Urban Development;  
The Secretary of Transportation;  
The Secretary of Energy;  
The Secretary of Education;  
The Secretary of Veterans Affairs;  
The Secretary of Homeland Security;  
The United States Ambassador to the United Nations;  
The United States Trade Representative;  
The Director of the Office of Management and Budget;  
The Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency;  
The Administrator of the Small Business Administration;  
The Director of the Office of Personnel Management;  
The Chair of the Council of Economic Advisors;  
The Director of the National Economic Council; and  
The Director of the Domestic Policy Council.

According to the results of the survey conducted by Angus Reid Public Opinion, half of the 1,006 representative national of American adults reject quotas for women representation in public Office. 42 per cent are pro quotas, 41 per cent against application of quota. Application of quota is popular among 34 per cent of the young sample. 64 per cent of Republicans are against setting quotas, whereas 43 per cent of Democrats agree with using quotas.<sup>84</sup>

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<sup>84</sup> Angus Reid Public Opinion (11/02/2010) [americans-reject-quotas-to-bring-more-women-into-public-office](http://www.angus-reid.com/americans-reject-quotas-to-bring-more-women-into-public-office) at [www.angus-reid.com](http://www.angus-reid.com)

## **Chapter Six**

### **Assessment of the Gender Equality in Kosovo**

#### **6.1 Methodology**

The project research employed both a qualitative and quantitative methodology. The Qualitative Methodology employed face to - face interviews and two via email. In depth interviews were conducted to determine the insights of the participants/ interviewees on the current trends of gender mainstreaming in Kosovo and their engagement in this regard. This study attempts to deliver some answers to the wide ranging questions, therefore selection of the stakeholders involved political representative, governmental and civil society (Table 7.1.). Three interview PM participants, represents three political parties; AAK, PDK, and ADK, two of are officials of highest rank in the Kosovo Government. Two first (Table 6.1 ) are vice-presidents within the party and the last one is President of the party;

- Two participants are civil servants working in the in SPAC and Office of the Human Resources /OPM;
- Gender expert , former acting CEO of the AGE;
- A veteran journalist and OGE in MCYS.



The interviewees have been contacted in advance and to each, explained the purpose of the interview, why he/she has been chosen, expected duration of the interview, whether and how the information will be kept confidential, and the use of a note taker and/or tape recorder” as well.<sup>85</sup> Providing quotes of the interviews throughout the report adds credibility to the information (Boyce and Nael, 2006). Therefore information taken from the interviewers are abstracted and put in his paper.

Although the research focuses on the gender matters and foreign affairs, women participants were not as responsive as expected; four key personalities, two of which are dealing with gender, and two other who are currently engaged in FMA and FS didn’t replied to the researcher request for individual interview.

**Table 6.1- List of interviewers**

<b>Name and Surname</b>	<b>Position / Institution</b>	<b>Interview Date</b>
<b>Ardian Gjini</b>	Parliament Member Member of the Foreign Affairs Committee AAK deputy President	06 10 2010
<b>Hajredin Kuqi</b>	Deputy prime Minister Office of the Prime Minister PDK Deputy President	21 07 2010
<b>Edita Tahiri</b>	Minister /Ministry of public administration Former Minister of Foreign affairs ADK President	21 07 2010
<b>Fitim Tahiri</b>	Acting Director SPAC	07 06 2010
<b>Nexhmije Xani</b>	Chief of Personnel Office of the Prime Minister	06 10 2010
<b>Nezaqete Rukovci</b>	Journalist	03 08 2010
<b>Visare Gorani Gashi</b>	Gender Expert	27 07 2010

<sup>85</sup> Boyce, Carolyn and Neale, Palena. (2006). Conducting In –Depth interview, Pathfinder International, pg 6

The aim of this research is to find if officials are in knowledge of the respondents on gender equality mechanisms in Kosovo and identifies their approach, acceptance and attitudes toward the implementation of the affirmative action to improve the gender equality in Kosovo society. Survey questionnaire involved two samples: Parliament of Kosovo and Government of Kosovo (Table 6.2). The former sample was contacted twice.

**Table 6.2 -Sample and Number of Questionnaires Delivered**

<b>Sample/Institution</b>	<b>Positions</b>	<b>No. Questionnaire</b>
Kosovo Parliament: Committee for GE Committee for FA Women Caucus	<b>Parliament Members</b>	<b>20 (Delivered by hand)</b>
Kosovo Government: OPM AGE MFA MEI, MLSW MPA MCYS	Permanent secretaries Gender Equality officers European Integration Officers Diplomatic/consular officials	<b>30 (Delivered by Survey Monkey)</b>
<b>Municipalities</b> GEO	Gender Equality officers	

A total of 85 participants were invited to take part in the survey. Achieved sample numbered 64 respondents (26 men and 38 women). 52 participants responded to the online questionnaire (Figure 6.1). Exclusion of the men sample with incomplete answers numbered 1, and other 7

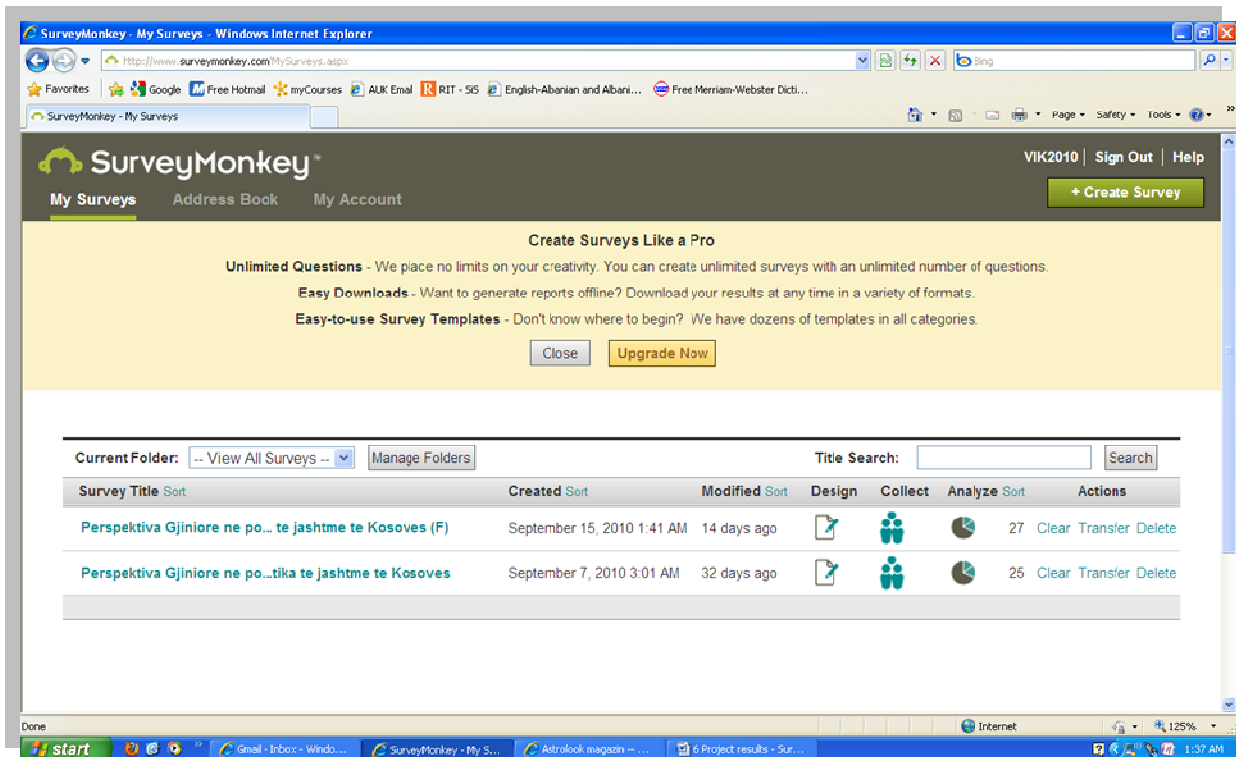
from women sample. Refusal of participants counted 21. The response rate in this research is 75.3 per cent.

Considering that the topic of this study is a cross cutting issue and may involve all the committees within Parliament of Kosovo, sample was limited to three out of sixteen committees. Key personalities were contacted in advance; initially an explanatory note with enclosed survey (Word Documents) was e-mailed to the Parliament of Kosovo secretariat, to the Head of the Women Caucus and to the President of the CGE. To ensure anonymity the questionnaires were handed out to the third party (not involved in the survey). The assistant working in the Women Caucus assisted in delivery and collection of the questionnaires. The first contacted participant showed interest to take part in the survey but preferred to have questionnaire in their notebook. For this purpose the online survey was created. An online invitation message addressed to the each participant including the purpose and details of the research thoroughly explained; the contact details of the researcher were included. Two survey links provided, one addressed for men and other separate for women participants. The online model showed to be more acceptable. In other hand resulted to be faster for response collection. A survey was conducted in Albanian language.

**Figure 6. 1 - The Online survey: Collected answers from responders<sup>86</sup>**

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<sup>86</sup> The figure 3 shows the Print screen of the Online Survey, The survey was conducted in Albanian language. In section; Survey Title there are two titles listed. In the first and second row the original title of the survey: Gender Perspective in Kosovo Foreign policy .The first survey is indicated with (F) meaning Female.



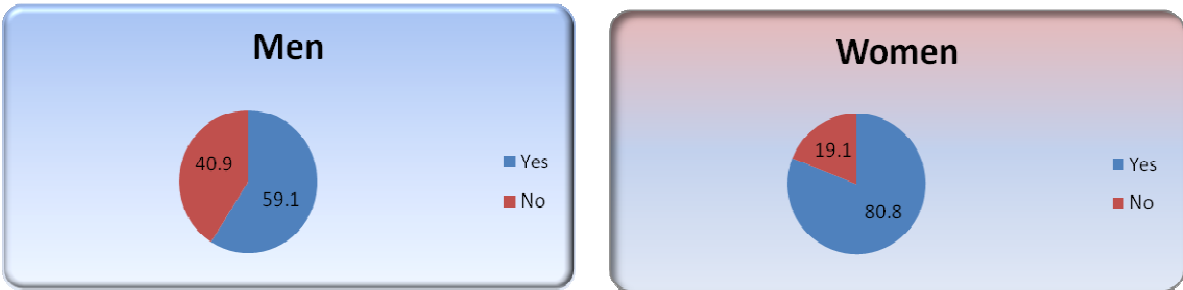
Survey developed ten questions (Appendix 4) which were mainly about examining the knowledge and attitude of the respondents on the legal (national and international) and institutional mechanism dealing with the gender equality mechanisms; and other measures on empowerment of women. The questionnaires contained the closed and open ended questions, although the mixed chose answers were included. None of the questionnaires were coded nor were respondents asked to be identified. One sample (a woman identified herself) wrote immodesty remarks in the questionnaire.

## 6.2. Survey Findings

Findings from the research shows affirmative attitude of men and women toward application of the GE national and International affirmative instruments on gender equality , and inclusion of the women in Foreign Service; men are in knowledge of those mechanisms but lack the deepened knowledge about; men accept existing quotas while women want higher quota.

However figures below presents the responses of the 25 men and 27 women to the 10 questions on subject of this study.

**Figure 6.2/Q1 - Do you know Kosovo institutions and legal mechanisms that promote gender equality?**



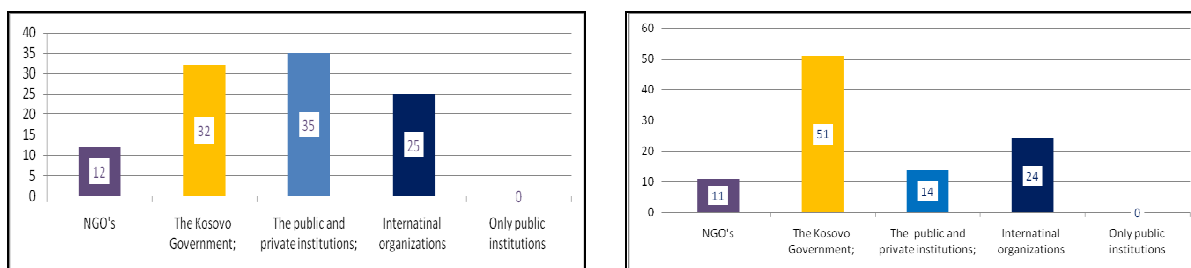
Given the fact that among responders of which the job task does not correspond directly with GE, asked whether they know the institutional and legal mechanisms (local and international) for Gender Equality in Kosovo, 59.1 per cent men and 80.8 per cent women answered with Yes. The respondents were asked to provide names of the institutions and the legal national and international mechanisms that cover the gender equality. It is interesting to note that only 5 of men provided correct answers while all women provided accurate answers.

**Figure 6.3 - Q2 - Have you attended any training the field of gender equality?**



Question which aims at understanding how the responders learned on GE mainstreaming and if they have attended any training on GE, 66.7 per cent of men answered that they did not whereas 60 per cent of women gave a positive answer.

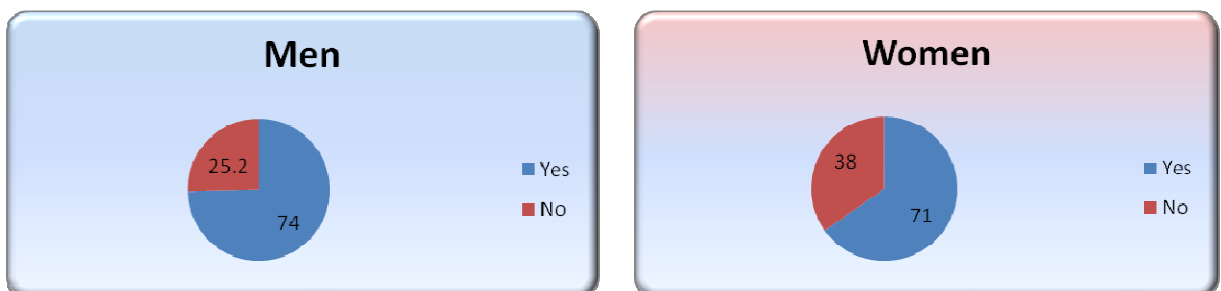
**Figure 6.4 - Q3 - The Parliament of Kosovo adopted a resolution on the Millennium Development Goals, which institution is responsible for implementing, monitoring the Millennium Development Goals? (left Men , right Women answers)**



Kosovo didn't sing the MDG declarations. However the parliament issued an Resolution on the MDEG and expressed its commitment for achieving the MDG objectives. Primary Institution for 35 per cent men and 51 per cent women respondents to work out the MDG objectives is Government. Both women and men share the same opinion on the International organizations stake for MDG.

The International Organization should continue assisting and monitoring Kosovo on targeting the MDGs was one comment. Other women stated; 'does the UNMIK in Kosovo fulfilled any of the targets during the administration in Kosovo? We lived in poverty for a decade...'

**Figure 6.5 / Q4 - Law on Gender Equality sets quota of 40% for equal participation of women and men in the institutions, bodies or levels of government. Do you think this quota should be applied?**





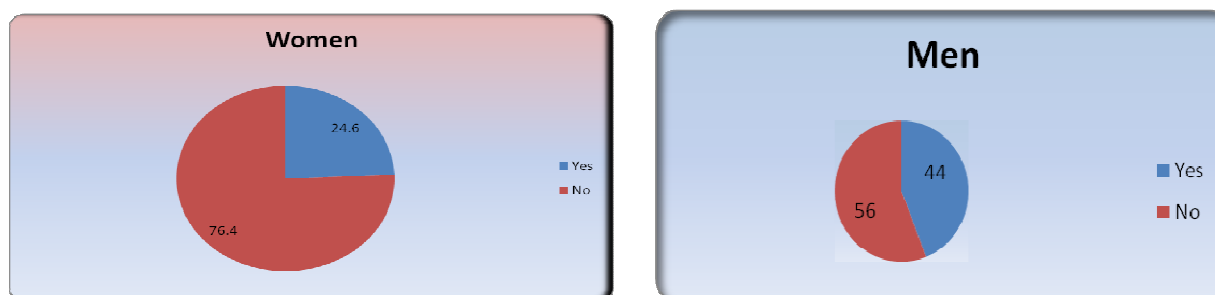
Men's rate pro equal gender participation quota is higher than women's. Asked to comment on question, only one man stated: '(quota) could endanger quality and professionalism'.

71.4 percent of women agree with the 40 per cent quota whereas 33.3 percent disagree. Four women have elaborated their thoughts commenting the need to use equal participation quota system in Kosovo, two other stated against this quota. The first group agrees on the necessity of quota and that 'it must be applied:

- 'For quota mentality;
  - '...the awareness of decision makers (both gender) is low toward women engagement in the public;
  - Unless is not obliged by law the women will never succeed to be equal with the men".
  - One woman response against the quota:
- Equal opportunities should be offered, quota can result in non-professionalism.

One of neutral statement was: (quota) is a legal obligation, but I prefer to not always exist.

**Figure 6.6 /Q5 Do you agree with the 30 per cent quota specified by the Law on election on women appointment to Kosovo Parliament?**

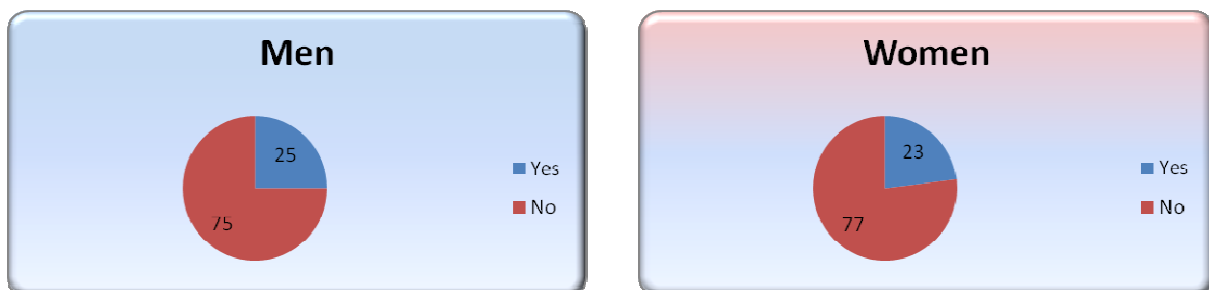


44 per cent of men versus 24.6 per cent of women agree with Parliament Quota. Actually affirmative and negative answers from both gender differs. Reason for this is that: Women want higher quota.

Men commented on this question:

- '...Quality should prevail (professional background, political credibility),.., not numbers';
- No impact on the development and emancipation of women';
- I think that (quota) creates a basis for equal development';
- Must be applied in beginning.

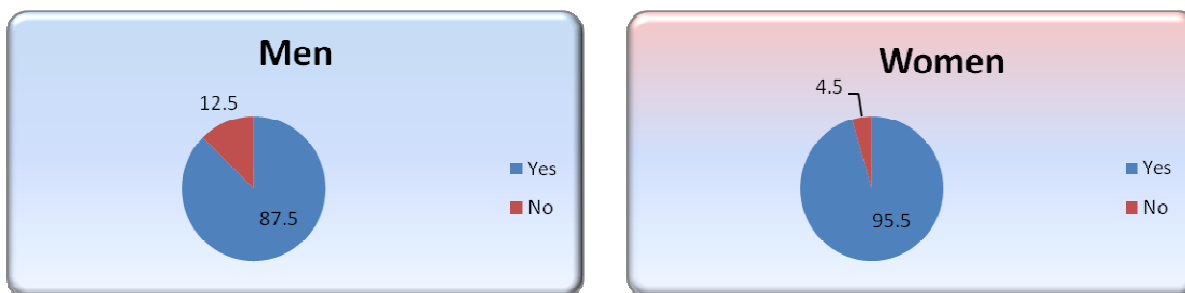
**Figure 6.7 /Q6 - Do you perceive quota discriminatory for men?**



The view that quota is not discriminatory is shared by 75 per cent of men and 77 per cent of women. Men comments on the question:

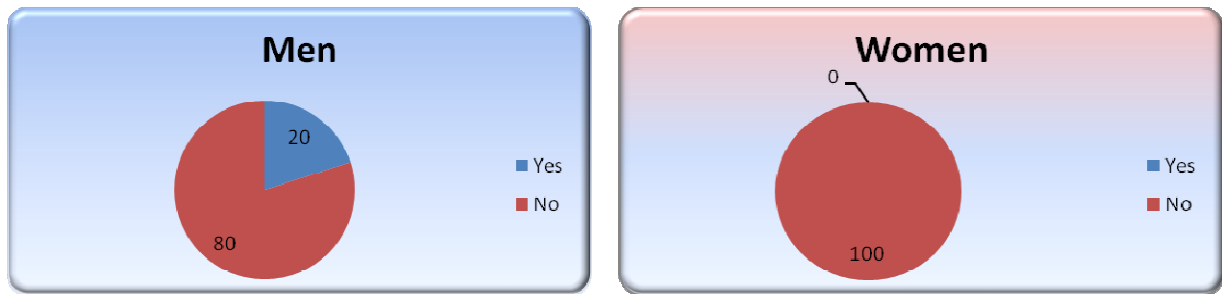
- (Quota )... is discriminatory for both gender;
- Quota discriminates women itself;
- Men are excluded from their benefits;
- All would have to compete with its values”;
- Should be without quota;
- Quota for gender equal representation should not be mandatory; it should target professional values, moral, etc..;
- Women comments:
- Men and women should be selected on merit;
- Quota is not discriminatory because favors women in politics;
- ‘ ...ones becomes a privilege to the one party(gender), shouldn’t’ be considered discriminatory;
- Quota is the first step to leaving the practice of evil: discriminatory attitude against women;
- In contrary the quota discriminates women.

**Figure 6. 8/Q7 Is Convention on the Elimination of All forms of Discrimination against Women- CEDAW obligatory for Kosovo?**



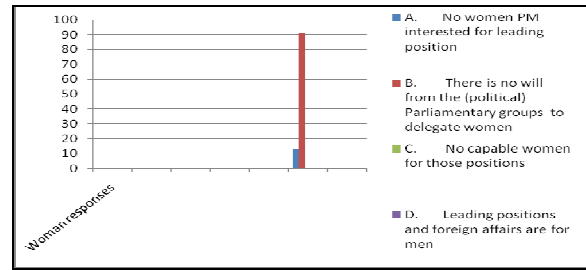
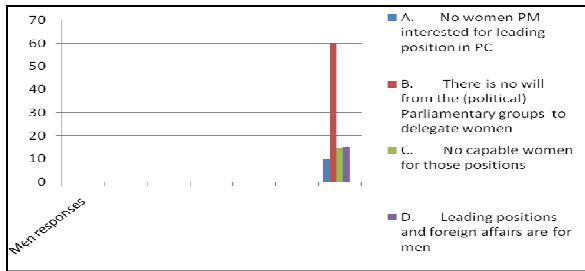
88 per cent of men and 96 per cent of women as graph 7 shows, think that Kosovo is obliged to fulfill the CEDAW known as ‘women bill’. Asked to name any of the section of the CEDAW, 4 out of 8 men responds revealed a superficial understanding, rest provides an overall review of the CEDAW, while 10 out of the 13 women provided the detailed explanation on CEDAW articles.

**Figure 6.9 - Q8 In the Kosovo diplomatic and consular service .Few women are appointed to the diplomatic and consular service. Do you agree with current composition?**



Majority of men, 80 per cent and 100 per cent of women disagree with the fact of men dominated foreign service. 5 women out of the 26 have skipped the question. One of the interesting statements on question: "If to consider the overall number of (women) applicants and the professional criteria, few women are selected but 'many' women compared with the total number of applicants."

**Figure 6.10 - Q9 No women representatives within the Kosovo Parliament Presidency and Commission for Foreign Affairs, beside few Committees are headed by women. What is your opinion about?**



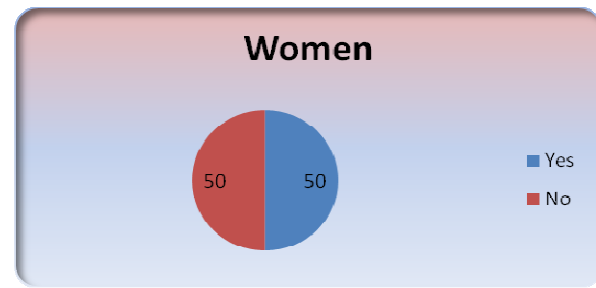
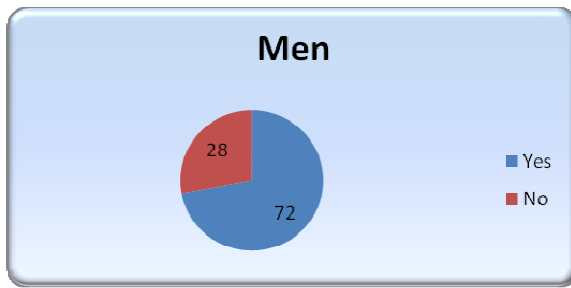
Graph shows men (60 per cent) and women (91.3 per cent) think that Political Groups are not willing to propose women in the presidency of the Parliament and the committees; 10 per cent of men think that women aren't interested in leading position; 14.3 per cent state that women are not capable and 15 per cent of men perceive leadership as men arena.

Only 13 per cent of women think that women aren't interested in leading position.

Following are comments from women respondents:

- Women lack the courage to compete with man';
- Women do not support each other;
- They (women) protect political and group interests to which they belong;
- Participation of men and women in Kosovo's political scene is 'accidental' and it is futile to expect to have pro-gender approach which means that GE is unknown "science" for their capabilities;.
- Kosovo women are capable and educated for leading positions but still lack the men support;
- Women do not have a proper support from their political parties they belong.

**Figure 6.11/ Q10 - Is Kosovo society prepared to accept women in decision making position?**



72 per cent of men answered that Kosovo society is prepared to accept women in decision making position whereas 28 do not think so.

5 out of 25 men respondent views on women leading role in our society, were mainly on prevalence of the opinion that men are smarter and capable than women.

In two equal groups women respondents are divided, 50 per cent with affirmative and the other part with negative answer. First group feels (Kosovo), society is prepared to accept women in to leading position, while the other group opposes.

Woman agreeing that Kosovo society is prepared for women in top positions commented:

Kosovo has the best legal framework for women advancement it is up to women to take advantages on this ground.

Other different views on the women in decision making position are as follows:

- ‘...however women are educated and intellectual but still continue to be underestimated by the opposite sex;
- Mentality still plays a key role on discrimination of women; men still look to us as a servants;
- Discrimination begins at the family and ends in institutions;
- (Society) is less readily unless is bound by law; otherwise in no case our society will accept our advancements.

## **Chapter Seven –**

## **Final Discussions and Recommendations**

### **7.1. Final discussion and Conclusions**

Foreign affairs reflects the domestic politic culture. Kosovo women appointment in decision making and diplomatic service stays within the single digits: 2 out of 18 women are admitted in Diplomatic service; Also in ministerial level 2 women out of 18 occupies ministers positions and the Civil service is composed by 12 per cent of women are 89 per cent of men. A few women are breaking through traditional barriers in Kosovo, where a leading position in public offices, politics and diplomacy is still perceived as man a world. Kosovo institutions including the MFA are not in compliance with the Constitution commitments. MFA did not recruit the GEO.

The Constitution protects gender equality. A myriad of legal and institutional and national polices have also been built. Beside affirmative actions 30 per cent for PPs and 40 cent quota for equal participation of women and men in all institutions and national policies are introduced.

Kosovo has rich legislation but when it comes to implementation, results are not satisfactory. The imperative of a successful project management is based on the three components: define, delegate and track. Translating this to Kosovo building and managing public policies, Kosovo has worked out the good part of defining the needs (problematic issues) by building the legal and institution framework based on the best international experiences. But on delegating the ‘task’ in regard to the equal opportunities dimension, and ‘track ‘ of the implementation and outcomes of a ‘product’ it could be said that there is place for disappointments.

Apart from Nordic countries, many of the EU countries gender equality approach is distant goal. However it would be not appropriate to conclude that Kosovo has a great deal to learn from international experiences.

International treaties endorsed by Kosovo Constitution, the EU and national policies which address the gender equality are path to an democratic society to what half of Kosovo population



is looking forward. Based on the analyses and findings of this project the officials including men and women expressed pro gender approach toward equality. If Kosovo deviates from its commitment for implementation of the constitutional provisions in the regard of the human rights, its determination for the CEADAW as well, may be questioned.

The grounds for the necessity of the gender equality in Kosovo society are:

- •Kosovo is obliged to implement and pursue a framework of approved laws, deriving from international instruments and domestic legislation;
- Accomplishment and direct implementation of Article 21 of the United Nations Human Rights Declaration, which provides for the right of each person to participate in its country government, equal access of women and men in institutions, decision-making and leadership at all levels as a necessary precondition for a proper democratic functioning as well as the Convent on Elimination of all Kinds of Discrimination against Women (1979);
- In Kosovo, the right of representation of women in Kosovo leadership and governance is provided for by the Constitution of the Republic of Kosovo with requires the respect of the equal right to elect and to be elected;
- Gender Equality Law (2004/18) sets out the compulsory quota for equal gender representation at all Kosovo institutions.
- Kosovo as a Potential Candidate country to join the European Union must comply with the legislation and directives with regards to gender perspective;

## 7.2. Recommendations

### **Recommendation 1**

#### Acceptance of the international conventions

Due to its un - recognized status, Kosovo faces barriers of the formal methods of accession to the international mechanisms. Kosovo had not signed any declaration nor is a contracting party to multilateral institutions dealing with women rights. MFA must notify the UN Secretary General and express Kosovo's will for accession for each International Treaty.

## **Recommendation 2**

### **CEDAW and Kosovo**

Kosovo constitution as noted in this paper, endorses all International treaties and Laws. As mentioned the Kosovo CEDAW submission to the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights in Geneva is disputed due to the unrecognized Kosovo status from the UN. Therefore a MFA could rely on USAID expertise to finding a solution on reporting issues.<sup>87</sup> Reporting to this respective mechanism on CEDAW progress is significance for the whole society. Moreover MFA should activate its foreign diplomatic service by lobbying for Kosovo enrollment to the to the respective committee. Finally the Government should coordinate with NGO's on drafting the national CEDAW and get approval from the PoK for the final report

## **Recommendation 3**

### **Increase the number of the women appointees in MFA and Diplomatic Service**

Kosovo will hopefully in near future will join the UN and EU and other IGO; therefore prepared officials could serve e prosperous capacities. Kosovo has valuable women capacities to represent Kosovo abroad. The international presence in Kosovo has had a strong mandate and has had very complex mission. Their human capacities were resourced with local employees, who contributed to the Kosovo state building. Dozens of Kosovo women were employed in the international organizations such as UNMIK, OSCE, and the embassies. Equipped with knowledge, experience and skills during the 15 years of international state building effort must be considered as enforcement to the Kosovo new Foreign Service establishment. As such these women can also serve with their experience in peace keeping

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<sup>87</sup> [www.usaid.gov/kosovo/](http://www.usaid.gov/kosovo/)

mission, conflict resolution, Having this women representing Kosovo in to countries which have emerged from war, could have positive impact on the bilateral relation.

#### **Recommendation 4**

##### **MFA recruit the Gender Equality Officer**

Law on GE requires the recruitment of the gender equity officer in all ministries. oversees the implementation of the equal access and full participation of women in power structures and decision-making.

#### **Recommendation 5**

##### **Introduce the gender dimension to the forthcoming Diplomatic Academy**

The MFA is about to establish the Diplomatic Academy. Its establishment process may not be an issue of the public review; otherwise if chance would be given to the senior personalities involved in Civil service in GE affairs, international relation and human right, gender equality could be incorporated in academy curricula. In this context the Diplomatic Academy curricula could include 3 of these particular dimensions:

- Implementation of the international treaties including CEDAW, Resolution 1325, and Beijing Platform Action Plan.
- Role of diplomats on integration of Kosovo Diasporas women in their community
- Role of Women Diplomats in peacekeeping missions

#### **Recommendation 6**

##### **Creation of the Kosovo women diplomats' council**

Establishment of this kind of association in which women diplomats (pioneers) could share experiences, promote diplomacy as attractive career. Women diplomats could serve as authentic model to all women interested in this field. The council could adhere to some international networks as well.

#### **Recommendation 7**

MFA DS and CS announce and conduct recruitment procedures in transparent manner

MFA should announce the ranks, country profile and conditions for the post and other interview procedure and especially the test sample.

### **Recommendation 8**

#### Strengthen the Parliamentary Diplomacy

Future members of the fourth legislation in PoK , including Presidium, CGE and of the committees should have chances to exchange experiences with their international counterparts. And specifically enhance cooperation with the EU and UN foreign affairs gender equality stakeholders aiming to implement the international treaties.

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**Appendix 1. – Unofficial MFA list of nominees for the Kosovo diplomatic service**  
**Source: Kosova Press**

## Lista jozyrtare e kandidatëve për ambasadorë

SHBA: Safete Beqiri, Avni Spahiu, Faton Bislimi,  
Mbretëria e Bashkuar: Safete Beqiri, Muhamet Hamiti, Besa Luzha.  
Francë: Muhamedin Kullashi, Mehdi Halimi, Vjollca Gjonbala  
Gjermani: Vilson Mirdita, Besa Luzha, Dardan Velija.  
Itali: Albert Prenkaj, Luan Nimani, Bukuriye Gjonbalaj.  
Belgjikë: Ilir Dugolli, Mehdi Halimi,  
Austri: Anton Marku, Sabri Kiqmari, Dardan Velija.  
Zvicër: Eqrem Zenelaj, Naim Malaj, Daut Dauti.  
Shqipëri: Gazmend Pula, Ariana Zherka-Hoxha, Bukuriye Gjonbalaj.  
Turqi: Sevim Novobërdali, Bekim Sejdiu, Besa Pupa,  
Bullgari: Leon Malazogu, Shpend Kallaba, Ariana Zherka-Hoxha,  
Holandë: Avdulla Kajragdiu, Vehbi Miftari, Lundrim Aliu, Afrim Hoti  
Hungari: Skënder Durmishi, Zeqir Veselaj, Bujar Maxhuni. Shkëndije Geci,  
Japoni: Burim Breznica, Bujar Maxhuni, Alban Dermaku.  
Kroaci: Luan Nimani, Visare Gashi, Dardan Velija. Drita Bala,  
Slloveni: Bilbil Kastrati, Anton Berisha, Dardan Velija,  
Suedi: Lulzim Peci, Qibriye Hoxha, Burim Breznica,  
Çeki: Hilmi Zogiani. /

## Appendix 2 - First EU female Ambassadors

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The list of First EU women diplomats e<sup>88</sup>

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<sup>88</sup> [http://www.guide2womenleaders.com/UN\\_Representatives.htm](http://www.guide2womenleaders.com/UN_Representatives.htm)

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**Austria**

1959 Johanna Mondschein,

**Belgium**

1966-69 Edmonde Dever,

**Bulgaria**

1949-52-? Stela Dmitrova Blagoeva,

**Czech****Republic**

193-95 Hanna Seveikova,

**Cyprus**

1993-96 Myrna Y. Kleopas,

**Denmark**

1949-55 Bodil Begtrup,

**Estonia**

1991-92 Senta Alas, Denmark

**Finland**

1958-66 Tynne Leivo-Larson, Norway

**France**

1646 Renée du Lac (or du Bec),

1972-74 Marcelle Campara,

**Germany**

1958-66 Eleonora Straimer

**Greece**

Ca.1987-92 Elizabeth Papazoi,

**Hungary**

1918 Rosika Schwimmer,

**Ireland**

1950-55 Josephine McNeill

**Italy**

Ca. 1980 Jolanda Brunetti Goetz,

**Latvia**

1991 Anna Zigure,

**Lithuania**

1918-19 Jadvyga Chodakauskaite-Tubeliene,

**Luxembourg**

1993-98 Arlette Conzemius-Parroud, Council of Europe

**Malta**

1970-75 Alice Emo-Capodolisk

**The Netherlands**

1956-? Maria Z.W. Witteven,

**Poland**

1983-87 Dr.iur. Maria Skóra Regent-Lechowicz,

**Portugal**

1974-79 Maria de Lourdes Pintasilgo da Silva

**Romania**

1924 Elena Vacaresco, League of Nations

1978 Stana Dagoi,

**Slovakia**

1994-? Klára Novotná,

**Slovenia**

1992-? Dr. Katja Boh,

**Spain**

1933 Isabel

de

Zulueta,

Chancelier

1985-94 Maria de las Mercedes Rico Carabia

**Sweden**

1632-34 Katarina Stopia Möller,

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1951-55 Alva Reimer Myrdal,  
**UK**  
1763-65 Mrs. White, Acting Consul at Tripoli  
1973-? Eleanor Emery  
**Albania**  
Ca. 1982 Syeda Laze,  
**Croatia**  
1992 Anamarija Besker,  
**Kosovo**  
2008 Shkendije Sherifi  
**Macedonia**  
1991-95 Ljubira Z. Acevska

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**Appendix 3 - Gender distribution at Kosovo Parliament (third legislature period form 2007- 2011)/ Data: as of September 2010, Compiled from the Parliament web site**

### 1. Gender distribution Presidency of the Parliament of Kosovo

Gender	President	Members Of Presidium	Total
W	0	0	0
M	1	8	9

### 2. Gender distribution Committee on Foreign Affairs

Gender	President	1st/2nd Vice President	Member	Total
W	0	0	0	0
M	1	2	6	9

## **Appendix 4 - Questionnaire**

1. Do you know the institutions and legal mechanisms that promote gender equality within the country?

Yes

No

Please write at least one of each category (domestic and international)

---

2. Have you had any training the field of gender equality?

Yes

No

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3. The Parliament of Kosovo adopted a resolution on the Millennium Development Goals  
Which institution is responsible for implementing, monitoring the Millennium Development Goals?

- ☐ NGO's
  - ☐ The Kosovo Government
  - ☐ The public and private institutions
  - ☐ International Organizations
  - ☐ Only Public Institutions
- 

4. Law on Gender Equality sets quota of 40% for equal participation in the institutions, bodies or levels of government. Do you think this quota should be applied?

Yes

No

Please elaborate

---

5. Do you agree with quota specified by the law for election for women appointment to Kosovo Parliament?

Yes

No

Please comment

---

6. Do you perceive Quota discriminatory for men?

Yes

No

Please comment

---

7. Is Convention for Elimination all forms of Discrimination against Women obligatory for Kosovo?

Yes

No

Optional: are you aware of the content of any CEDAW article

---

8. In Kosovo diplomatic and consular service few women are appointed to the diplomatic and consular service. Do you agree with this composition?

Yes

No

Please comment

---

9. There are no women representatives within the Kosovo Parliament Presidency and Commission for Foreign Affairs, beside few Committees are headed by women. What is your opinion about?

No women PM interested for leading position

There is no will from the (political) Parliamentary to groups to delegate women

No capable women for those positions

Leading positions and foreign affairs are for men

---

10. Is Kosovo society prepared to accept women in decision making position?

Yes

No

Please comment

---

End