

# Newsletter „Women, Peace and Security“ January 2011.



Dear readers, by publishing this newsletter, we wish to contribute to better information about UN documents on security, demilitarisation, and to the greater influence of women on post-conflict problems solving, first of all in Serbia, and then in the Western Balkans. We hope that this newsletter will be read by those who are interested in the re-examination of the traditional concept of national security, the reform of the security sector, the gender dimension of security, security integrations and feminist antimilitarist concept of security. We expect your contributions on these questions. It is accessible online on the website: [www.zeneucnom.org](http://www.zeneucnom.org)

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# Women in Black and 1325 Resolution



## Peacekeepers from the casern

Forty activists tried to go back to the 'Archibald Reiss' casern in Novi Sad and to continue the activities of the Social Centre, but the police prevented them to do so. They managed to go through the military police, but then increased civilian police forces drove them out again. About twenty members of the military police and Ministry of Internal Affairs dislodged them the morning after, after they identifying them. Some of their belongings were thrown out as well. They were then invited to take the rest of them. On the entrance of the casern there is a sign saying: 'These are military premises. Entrance is forbidden.' The activists have spent three weeks in the casern and they used to organise concerts, theatre performances, demanding of the municipality of Novi Sad to provide them with permanent premises for their work. The police intervened earlier too and have warned the activists in the casern regarding their violation of the ban on entering the military facility.

Initiative for Social Centre activists have squatted the part of the casern on Futog street, since December, 22 – which used to be the former Yugoslav People's Army Day. They will demand the authorisation to use it together with NGOs dealing with issues of ecology, youth, sport, etc. But they would also share it with youth, cultural and sports associations, artists and other creative people.

The activists have cleared the former barracks and called for support – among other things, by online petitions. For the Social Centre they requested donations, most needed things as blankets, sleeping bags, generators, electric heaters and wood and according to the activists, they need everything – from pins to locomotives. According to the Initiative for Social Centre activists, the date to squat the place – December, 22<sup>nd</sup> – was chosen to emphasise that the time of war has ended and the time of art and social activism is coming. More than 20 representatives of NGOs, citizens groups, associations and individuals have occupied the abandoned barracks of the Serbian Army. The idea to turn the barracks into a public space, dedicated to all citizens of Novi Sad, and following the example of similar transformations of barracks into cultural centres in the region, has been existing for already several years. Anyhow, it has been tried to sell Futog street casern for the past several years, but without success. The activists and citizens associations who have 'captured' those barracks have arrived three days after the threat of the extremist organisation 'Serb action.' 'Serb action' announced in a press release that it will 'clean up the barracks' of 'affiliated group of neo-communists, drug users and homosexual perverts.' With a similar statement 'Serb action' used to draw public attention to the 'violence of Gypsies' in Leskovac. 'Do not let your neighbourhood become a meeting place for drug addicts. Novi Sad, stand up and confront them!' 'Serb action' said.



## War without guns

Women in Black severely condemned the violent expulsion of the activists from the Social Centre of Novi Sad casern in a statement on January, 13<sup>th</sup>, noting that 'the shameful conduct of the authorities, police and army toward Social Centre actions, once again confirms the continuation of militant politics in Serbia and impudently ignoring the real needs of citizens.' 'Sharp setting of accounts of those in power with those whose social commitment goes beyond the framework of the militant-nationalist politics, is becoming the everyday style of the elite in power. The criminalisation of civil society in Serbia has been intensifying over the past six months, and as evidence, we have seen the increase of criminal charges against activists who provided support to the Roma population settlements during the forced eviction. The actual government thus sends a clear message that solidarity and any commitment regarding the care of the public good in our society are actually undesirable. We demand of all the relevant institutions to actually start implementing processes they only declaratively advocate. This means that they should enable activists to work in an abandoned barracks of 'Archibald Reiss' casern and to stop criminalising the engagement of civil society.'

## II Activities of Women in Black on the demilitarization of security



### Mother, son and a machine gun

During the trial to Miša Vacić, one of the leaders of the fascist organisation Serbian National Movement 1389 in Belgrade, accused of spreading racial and all other forms of discrimination during the preparations of the 2009 Gay Pride (Criminal Law, article 387) and also of illegal possession of weapons, Violeta Vacić, mother of the accused and police inspectors Željko Marković, Slobodan Isailović and Slobodan Škugović witnessed on January, 23<sup>rd</sup>. This is the first time in domestic law cases, that some of the fascist organisations representatives and members are charged based on the article 387 of the Criminal Law for violence or discrimination against LGBT people. The mother of the accused witnessed: 'Since my son was arrested on September, 20<sup>th</sup> in 2009, in front of the Saint Sava's Temple, my family has been under severe pressure. I was in his flat two days after he was arrested and did not find the gun. I repeat it: I did not find the gun. Five days after that, police officers came to search the flat. I went out and called the neighbours to witness the search. I also called a lawyer. I asked the policeman: 'Are you looking for something specific?' and he answered: 'We are going to find what we are looking for.' I was surprised when they found the gun. It was so small, a feminine gun, a women's gun does not suit my son. He likes everything huge and grandiose. One could expect to find a machine gun, in his apartment,' Violeta Vacić concluded. Police inspectors said among other things: 'The search in 10 Youth Brigade Street was conducted with the presence of witnesses and the defendant. During the search we found the gun wrapped in aluminium foil, placed in the living room's closet. We also found bulletproof vest, propaganda material, as well as hooded sweatshirts. In one of the drawers in the living room, we found white powder in a nylon bag,

which was taken to be tested. The entire process was filmed.' The witness claimed: 'I was with the policeman who searched the kitchen and the bathroom. Nothing was found in there.' The mother of the accused alluded that the inspectors actually planted the gun to her son.

On the entrance of the court, members of the '1389' organisation hindered the entry of human rights activists. But the court guards removed them.

Miloš Urošević

## **The trial for the crimes in Čuška village**

### ***Bombes in the children's laps***

The trial for the crimes in Čuška village (municipality of Peć, Kosovo) started in front of the Council for war crimes of Belgrade Special Court in December 2010. Women in Black representatives have been monitoring the trial from its very beginning. The accused are: Miladinović Toplica, Popović Srećko, Kastratović Slaviša, Bogićević Boban, Cvetković Zvonimir, Brnović Radoslav, Korićanin Vidoje, Korićanin Veljko i Abdulah Sokića, and are charged with the accusation of: committing the war crime against the local population by executing forty-three Albanian civilians, as members of armed forces belonging to Republic of Serbia-'Jackals' and as Territorial Defence members. The executed Albanian civilians are: Rasim Rama, Muhamet Shalia, Brahim Gashi, Kadri Cheku, Hasan Cheku, Halit Gashi, Selim Gashi, Sul Gashi, Skender Gashi, Muharem Gashi, Ibish Gashi, Chaush Lushi, Avdi Berisha. In the house of Azem Gashi were executed: Emin Gashi, Jashar Gashi, Ram Gashi, Halil Gashi, Iber Kelmendi, Skender Kelmendi, Dem Kelmendi, Uk Lushi, Osmani Lushi, Ismet Dima, Gani Avdulaj. Isa Gashi is the only one who survived among them. In the house of Dem Gashi, the executed were: Ahmet Gashi, Brahim Gashi, Besim Kelmendi, Erdogan Kelmendi, Brahim Kelmendi, Mentor Kelmendi, Sefedin Lushi, Hasan Avdulaj, Ramiz Lushi, Reg Kelmendi. The only one who survived here was Reg Kelmendi. In the house of Sahit Gashi were executed: Mus Gashi, Gafer Gashi, Abdulah Lushi, Gafer Lushi, Arjan Lushi, Zeqir Alijaj, Isuf Shala, Emruh Krasniqi, Skender Alushi. The accused burnt their bodies. They have destroyed more than forty houses and more than forty facilities and expelled more than four hundred Albanian civilians – women, children and elderly people.

During the argumentative procedure in late January, Zoran Rašković said: 'I am revolted, angry, upset and I do not feel safe. I have been accused by mistake for the rape of the Iso Baljaj's daughter, the butcher. I have a witness for this but he is afraid to face the court, regarding all those security measures. My crucial question would be why the witnesses are scared. I am ready for the threats; I am not scared of the 'Jackals.' A high police official informed me that the Albanians are executing their witnesses and so I should be careful and think what I do. They are threatening my father and my mother that they will be executed, slaughtered. The police was sent to my father. He is not under protection, and he lives in a refugee camp. The police invade and search the flat looking for the weapon. No one from the witness protection unit has visited them yet.

What happens to me is not because of the 'Jackals,' but because of the other, more powerful people. I want to reveal the names of the people who were loading Serbia with the refrigerator vans full of corps of women and children. I do not know for how long Serbia will keep protecting war crime

perpetrators who were killing in its name. At the Prosecution office, they told me I am courageous and a patriot. I am a Serb, one who has an attitude, who is disobedient, do not play in accordance with the attitude of anyone else, and I am ready to die for it, there is no trade with my beliefs. I am here in the name of ideals, I do not betray Serbia, I defend all those three Serbian armies that were honestly dying until the capitulation. Not all the Serbs were loading the refrigerator vans. They can kill me, but not the truth. I would not like to end as a previous protected witness did, who was found with a stick in his ass and with his head cut off, along the road. Police officers tell me I am a skunk and they stare at me. If we have listened to Milošević, Mladić, Dr Dabić and grand duke Šešelj, let's hear something different now. It is inappropriate for the attorney Petronijević to declare that it is very inconvenient that this trial is covered by the media so much. If the filth is pushed under the carpet then the whole house stinks. Some of the politicians are involved in all these things.'

Miloš Urošević

## III The experiences from the world



### **Impact of Resolution 1325 on Peace Accords (Online Dialogues & Blogs)<sup>1</sup>**

With last October's tenth anniversary of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security (2000), the resolution's effectiveness is coming under intense scrutiny. (image credit) In our recent research on the impact of the resolution on the text of peace agreements, we make some significant findings about the impact of 1325 on peace agreement drafting.

Our methodology, coding decisions, findings and our fuller analysis may be found in 'Peace Agreements or 'Pieces of Paper'? The Impact of UNSC Resolution 1325 on Peace Processes and their Agreements', our article published in the October 2010 edition of *International & Comparative Law Quarterly*.)

Peace agreements can play a crucial role in setting post-conflict priorities and shaping the internal constitutional order. Women often attempt to influence agreement texts in pursuit of gender equality, in an effort to influence the key roadmap to the political and legal future that will shape their lives. For these reasons Resolution 1325 specifically targeted peace negotiations and agreements in paragraph 8, which calls on all actors involved, when negotiating and implementing peace agreements, to adopt a gender perspective, with particular reference to post-conflict needs. The aim of this perspective is to support local women's peace initiatives as well as the human rights of women with relation to constitutional reform.

In our research project, we were interested in whether the texts of peace agreements post-1325 showed evidence of the resolution's impact. Did peace agreements signed after the resolution contain more references to women and gender equality than those signed before the resolution? If so,

<sup>1</sup> [http://www.peacewomen.org/portal\\_initiative\\_initiative.php?id=906](http://www.peacewomen.org/portal_initiative_initiative.php?id=906)

what was the nature of these provisions? What difference did involvement of the United Nations in the negotiation of the agreement make regarding, firstly, the number, and secondly, the nature, of peace agreement references to women and gender? Were peace agreements more likely to address the specific issues for women and girls identified in paragraph 8?

In summary we found:

- ▶ Only 16% of peace agreements contain references to women. But references to women have increased significantly since the passing of Resolution 1325, from 11% to 27% of agreements.
- ▶ This rise is more dramatic for agreements in which the UN had a third-party role (from 4% to 12%) than it is for agreements which did not involve the UN in such a role (from 7% to 14%).
- ▶ However, both before and after Resolution 1325 women are more likely to be referenced in agreements in which the UN is not named as a third party. The more marked increase in references to women in 'UN' agreements must therefore be understood in a context where such agreements were less likely to reference women prior to Resolution 1325.
- ▶ Peace agreement references to women are qualitatively often poor. They constitute scattered references to women, some of which contravene provisions of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women. Only on rare occasions do these references illustrate good practice.

### ***Our data***

Our study involved 585 peace agreements signed since between 1 January 1990 and 1 May 2010. We began by identifying provisions making explicit reference to 'women', 'gender', 'widows' or 'girls' and to 'sexual violence', or named forms of sexual violence such as 'rape'. We separately coded whether the UN was involved as some type of third party to the peace agreement. This enabled us to question the extent to which the UN has played a role in implementing its own normative standards. UN third party involvement was defined using the agreement text and documenting whether the UN, a UN agency, or a UN representative was party or signatory, mediator or facilitator, observer, witness or negotiator to the agreement. In addition we undertook a qualitative analysis of the reference to women.

### ***Our Analysis***

The overall finding that only 16% of peace agreements make any sort of reference to women is disappointing. Even the higher figure for post-Resolution 1325 references to women of 27% (up from 11%) indicates a long way to go before peace agreements systematically include references to women. However, it does seem that the 2000 Security Council measure is having some effect, and particularly where the UN is involved.

Our qualitative review of the nature of the peace agreement references indicates that many of these references are unsubstantial.

There is little evidence of systematic inclusion of women in peace agreement texts, or systematic

treatment of issues across peace agreements within conflicts. Moreover, some of the references in our database are, at best, ambiguous in terms of feminist gains, for example: the use of quotas which not only encourage but limit the participation of women (Bangladesh/Chittagong); references to ensuring women's 'moral integrity' (Philippines); references to women as mothers to be targeted for early prisoner release (Nicaragua). Some strong textual provisions do however exist, often in countries that also have actions plans (see for example, Uganda).

### ***Our conclusions***

We suggest that further thought must be given to the strategies and barriers to effective implementation of Resolution 1325. Our findings regarding the resolution's effectiveness with respect to peace negotiations and peace agreement texts suggest the need for further thinking on:

- ▶ What constitutes a 'gender perspective' in a peace agreement.
- ▶ How Resolution 1325 is being taken forward by organizations other than the UN is required, particularly as their role is increasing.
- ▶ Whether a 'gender justice v peace' dilemma exists where gender-specific concerns of women are left off the table, not due to oversight, lack of expertise, or lack of commitment, but because of concerns that inclusion would make it more difficult for the parties to reach agreement on other matters or destabilize any agreement reached.
- ▶ What constitutes good practice in terms of inserting 'a gender perspective' in peace agreement texts.
- ▶ How to retain space for women to re-envision peace processes in a transformative way, while influencing texts as they arise within the processes in which women are engaged.

### **1325 Facts & Fables<sup>2</sup>**

A collection of stories about the implementation of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security in Kosovo

Kosova Women's Network  
Prishtina, Kosovo, 2011

#### **What's the story?**

*"I want this publication to be seen not as a report, but more like something that makes you smile and say, 'How can that happen?' And I want to bring attention to the fact that 1325 is important, not just its sister resolutions."*

– Igballe Rogova, Executive Director, Kosova Women's Network.

*"There is always a risk of backlash after war, and I think women were frustrated as well. I remember Igo told me that she would never ever go to another 1325 conference again; she had enough of*

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[http://www.womensnetwork.org/images/pdf/KWN\\_1325\\_Facts\\_and\\_Fables.pdf](http://www.womensnetwork.org/images/pdf/KWN_1325_Facts_and_Fables.pdf)



*that. So I think there was also some tiredness or frustration. But I hope that it has passed. It was a time of big expectations and then perhaps things did not go as well as people had hoped."*

– Sirpa Rautio, former Head of Human Rights and Gender Office, European Union Rule of Law Mission in Kosovo (EULEX)

"I'm sick of reports," Igballe (Igo) Rogova told a group of young women crowded around a wooden picnic table in Prishtina. "Just like I tell people: I'm sick of conferences on 1325 too." As Executive Director of the Kosova Women's Network (KWN), she had spoken at dozens of conferences in Brussels, Vienna, and Stockholm about United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace, and Security. This Resolution affirms the important role of women in preventing and resolving conflict, peace negotiations, peacekeeping, humanitarian assistance, and reconstruction. It calls for women's equal participation in all efforts to further peace and security.

"I'll never go to another conference. You know why? Because it's just words. You talk and talk and these high level people pretend to listen, but then they don't take any action. Then you go to another conference on the same topic two months later and say the same things again. I'm sick and tired of talking to people who don't listen. I want to see some action." The women nodded sympathetically, and everyone took a sip of Peja beer. It was summertime, and they had gathered to discuss writing a report on the implementation of Resolution 1325 over the last ten years in Kosovo.

Perplexed, one woman asked, "Why do you want to work on this report now?"

"I want it to be seen not as a report," Igballe said, "but more like something that makes you smile and say, 'How can that happen?' And I want to remind people that 1325 is important, not just its sister resolutions."

The five researchers set off to collect stories from UN bodies, military forces, Kosovar institutions, and activists. Nazlie Bala, women's rights activist, described clearly the questions they sought to answer: "We've used 1325 since 1999, even before such a Resolution existed," she said, "and how much it has been implemented by those who have the responsibility is a question that needs to be answered. It was started by the UN Mission, and how much implementation was done, we don't know. The other UN agencies all have it in their documents, but how much it is used, we don't know."

Researchers knew from past experience that breaking the somewhat elusive Resolution into measurable actions was no easy task. However, their load had been lightened: the UN Secretary General's proposed indicators for measuring Resolution 1325 could now serve as their guide.<sup>2</sup> With these indicators in hand, they entered offices and bars, drank coffees and wine, wrote emails and emails and more emails, requesting information from various institutions.

These are the facts they collected and the stories they heard. This publication includes "facts": statistics, dates, names, places, and issues surrounding the implementation of Resolution 1325 in Kosovo. Yet, it also includes "fables," that is, "a narration intended to enforce a useful truth," as Merriam Webster puts it.<sup>3</sup> Thus, while we do not claim that all stories presented here are factual, we do feel that they are crucial in illustrating how people remember and believe that the Resolution has been implemented. When stories are contradictory, they may shed light on misunderstandings and miscommunication that slow cooperation and progress towards the Resolution's implementation.

While the Secretary-General's indicators were useful for guiding our research, when we began writing they quickly became a "straightjacket" that obscured cross cutting themes and stifled the thick description arising from our interviews. Stories did not seem to fit within the indicators, but burst beyond indicators' seams. Prevention of domestic violence required legal protection, but also economic independence, women's greater participation in police, and training for police and judges, for example. Thus our findings related to the UN Secretary-General's indicators are woven throughout the chapters rather than arranged in neat little categories. In case you miss each fable's lesson, findings are summarized in Annex 1.

This introductory chapter includes a definition of Resolution 1325, as well as respondents' understandings of the Resolution. It also presents the key actors in the context of post-conflict Kosovo. The first section of the book focuses on women's participation in international organizations; negotiations; Kosovo politics; and other public institutions like the Kosovo Police and new security force. The second section weaves together the Secretary-General's "pillars" of prevention, protection, and relief and recovery in chapters that focus on safeguarding women's security. These deal with insecurities emphasized by respondents, but also identified in prior research: war-time sexual violence; preventing further conflict; trafficking; domestic violence; and human security more broadly. In the conclusion we summarize key findings on the extent to which Resolution 1325 has been implemented; factors contributing to or hindering its implementation; and suggested actions moving forward.

## CONCLUSIONS

*"The new EULEX Head of Mission Xavier Bout de Marnhac promised that he would make sure that 1325 would be implemented. I am hoping that something will happen. Yes, EULEX is here to monitor Kosovo's government, but we are here to monitor you, EULEX."*

Igballe Rogova, speech on the Anniversary of Resolution 1325, 31 October 2010

"To what extent do you think Resolution 1325 has been implemented in Kosovo over the last ten years?" This was the question. The general consensus is clear: few institutions that have the responsibility to implement Resolution 1325 have done so. "Not even internationals have implemented the Resolution, let alone people from Kosovo," Belgjyzare Muharremi said.

Kosovo's legal framework, generally aligned with international standards, sets a foundation for the institutionalization of gender equality, towards implementing Resolution 1325. The Constitution includes CEDAW. The Parliament adopted the Criminal Code, the Anti-discrimination Law, the Law on Domestic Violence, and the Law on Gender Equality, providing the quota that safeguards women's seats at all decision-making levels.

Yet, "Implementation represents a greater problem than establishing a law," said Besim M. Kajtazi. Social norms, tradition, poor economic conditions, and weak institutions, particularly the judiciary, allow for continued systematic exceptions to the application of existing legislation, exemplified by women's limited access to property, hesitancy to file for inheritance rights, inability to claim child custody, insufficient protection from domestic violence, and lack of access to justice for crimes committed. The persistence of violence in families, unequal access to education for girls, economic inequality between women and men, and continued underrepresentation of women in political deci-

sion-making at all levels are evidence that Resolution 1325 is far from implemented.

Where there has been progress, it often followed women's advocacy. "A lot of things don't get implemented, but a lot do, and the majority of them do simply because of civil society," said Clare Hutchinson in 2007. "Not for one moment do I think that our office has made a change in society in Kosovo. I think that civil society has made a change." "KWN remains a very good example," said Shqipe Krasniqi. "They took on the slogan of 1325, and it became a very strong slogan." Women's rights activists advocated for strategies towards gender equality, the establishment of the Agency for Gender Equality at the highest level, and women's participation in negotiations on Kosovo's political status, conducted between 2005 and 2008. When women were not included in the negotiations, the Women's Peace Coalition and the Regional Women's Lobby pushed for women's voices to be heard. Following their extensive advocacy, by 2011 Edita Tahiri led Kosovo's team in the dialogue with Serbia, and Atifete Jahjaga was elected President of the Republic.

Perhaps the "triangle" of cooperation between international actors, civil society, and government institutions has contributed the most to the implementation of Resolution 1325. UNICEF collaborated with women's organizations and the government to improve girls' and women's access to education. UNFPA worked with women's organizations to protect domestic violence victims and train health-care professionals. UNIFEM (later UN Women), UNDP, and the UNMIK Police united with women's rights activists to support the police and security forces in institutionalizing gender equality, Tilly Stroosnijder said: "I looked for close cooperation with the local women's network and UN Women in Kosovo. Without them nothing would have moved forward or been sustained!" More women in law enforcement and better training have made the police and Kosovo Security Force sensitive to the principles of Resolution 1325.

While international organizations may not have always implemented the Resolution themselves, their presence and sometimes pressure had some positive impact on Kosovo institutions. "The sociopolitical environment in Kosovo with its large international presence in combination with the Kosovar desire to prove to internationals that we are capable as a state have been great motivators regarding the implementation of 1325," said Behar Selimi. Shqipe Krasniqi agreed that it was not the internationals per se, but Kosovars' hopes for integration into the European Union and United Nations that encouraged domestic institutions to implement the Resolution.

"It's the human factor," said Flora Macula. "When you have the wrong person in the wrong place at the wrong time, it costs a lot." Leadership made the difference. Lesley Abdela pushed for Kosovar women's participation in decisions made by UNMIK and the OSCE; Behar Selimi advocated gender mainstreaming within the police; and Besim M. Kajtazi, Head of the Department of Human Rights, carefully reviewed all legislation: "A gender perspective is not a priority in our society, but for me it was really interesting," he said, "and I felt obligated to compile these legal acts that have to do with gender equality." "Often men can be the most convincing champions for gender equality," Osnat Lubrani said, "especially with other men, helping to bring down barriers and explain that we're not talking about women being against men, but about the equal status of women for the betterment of the entire society, including men. We have evidence today that supporting gender equality accelerates any country's development agenda." Igballe Rogova agreed, "We women cannot push gender alone. That is why we work with men. This made the change in Kosovo." Men's and women's

leadership can circumvent the major obstacles to implementation: a lack of coordination, hierarchic bureaucracy, and the fact that gender equality, so clearly stated in the Resolution and Kosovo's laws, has not been internalized fully yet.

"We have a proverb in Bulgaria 'Five grandmothers and the child is sick' meaning that we are many; but with no proper coordination and division of labor, some issues may be dropped," said Theodora Krumova. "Traditionally the grandmothers take care of the child, but if there are too many grandmothers it may be counterproductive. One might think, 'Okay, the other four will take care of it.'" Several "grandmothers" in Kosovo, from UNMIK to EULEX to Kosovo institutions to KFOR... may mean nobody takes responsibility for implementing Resolution 1325. In some instances responsibilities have been tossed to and fro as "someone else's mandate," while in other cases inefficient overlap and competition exist over who "owns" particular activities. Coordination is so important for progress.

"It's so bureaucratic," Flora Macula said. "It's very technical and oppressive. This is the UN. You can make changes where you are, but they are very personal." While UN bodies look to New York, EULEX depends on directions from Brussels where the European Union sits. Agencies and offices responsible for gender mainstreaming and furthering gender equality at the mission level seem limited by insufficient political weight.

Their superiors often do not understand that "gender" is not a separate "issue" to be considered later. Rather, each policy debate and decision should involve women and assess the different ways women and men may be affected, from security policy to Kosovo's final status to the economy and beyond. The crucial understanding of "how" to implement Resolution 1325, beyond simply "what" 1325 is, has been lacking. "How you actually make it actionable and effective was missing," said Sirpa Rautio. "Police will laugh at 1325 if you don't say, 'This is your job. This is how you monitor...' It must be concrete." At the outset, clearer instructions from the top are necessary.

Ultimately, implementing Resolution 1325 requires a change in the mentality of people and institutions. "Difficulties arise from the mentality here, in which the man is always dominant and professions that have to do with physical force are seen as typical male professions," Behar Selimi said. "This mentality also exists in the Western world but they are too afraid to show it openly."

#### Impresum

The *Women, Peace, Security* newsletter is edited by the editorial board.

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