



Kosova Women's Network

*Serving, Protecting and Promoting the Rights of Women and Girls*

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# Where's the Money for Women's Rights?



A KOSOVO CASE STUDY



# **Where's the Money for Women's Rights?**

**A Kosovo Case Study**

Prishtina, 2013

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By Nicole Farnsworth and Elmaze Gashi

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## Acronyms

AGE	Agency for Gender Equality in the Prime Minister's Office
AH	Alter Habitus Institute for Studies in Society and Culture
AIDS	Acquired immune deficiency syndrome
AMP	Aid Management Platform
AWID	Association for Women in Development
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women
CSO	Civil society organization
EU	European Union
EIDHR	European Instrument for Democracy and Human Rights
HIV	Human immunodeficiency virus
ICT	Information and communication technologies
INGO	International Non-governmental Organization
IPA	Instrument for Pre-Accession Assistance
KGSC	Kosovar Gender Studies Centre
KWN	Kosova Women's Network
LGBT	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender
LNGO	Local non-governmental organization
M&E	Monitoring and evaluation
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NGO	Non-governmental organization
ODA	Oversees Development Aid
OECD	Organization for Development Assistance Committee
OSCE	Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe
RAE	Roma, Ashkali, Egyptian
SGG	Security Gender Group
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNSCR	United Nations Security Council Resolution
VAW	Violence against women



## Executive Summary

Women's rights organizations play important roles in supporting the establishment of democratic institutions, furthering women's rights as human rights, transforming gender norms, raising public awareness, providing services to the most marginalized (particularly in the absence of state services), and holding governments accountable through advocacy. All of these activities require commitment and resources.

**“There are no issues that are solely women’s issues. These are human rights issues and should be treated as such.” - Donor**

Thus, in its ongoing eight-year global study, the Association for Women's Rights in Development (AWID) has asked: “Where is the Money for Women's Rights?” The Kosovo Women's Network (KWN) in partnership with Alter Habitus – Institute for Studies in Culture and Society (AH) sought to contribute knowledge to AWID's broader research through a case study on Kosovo. To what extent do global funding trends trickle down to particular (post-conflict) countries, like Kosovo, and what may differ? As Kosovo undergoes significant political shifts that potentially impact aid practices, the research also offers vital information regarding funding trends in Kosovo, which can feed into the strategic planning of both donors and women's rights organizations.

More specifically, this research examines: the importance of supporting women's organizations in relation to social change processes; funding trends between 2000 and 2013; the financial sustainability of women's organizations; trends impacting donors' decisions to fund women's organizations (or not); and opportunities for collaboration among women's organizations and donors in creating collective resource mobilization strategies and funding mechanisms for women's organizations. Conducted between January and September 2013, the research involved contacting 40 donors that had operated in Kosovo, a survey of 90 women's organizations, a review of existing literature, and participant checks towards validity.

## **Key Findings**

The survey of 90 women's organizations in Kosovo suggests a clear decrease in overall funding between 2001 and 2013, with a brief increase in 2011. Average annual income decreased from €54,197 in 2005 to €37,032 in 2012. Substantial differences exist among women's organizations with a few stronger, primarily Prishtina-based organizations receiving the bulk of the resources. Most women's organizations encounter difficulties securing sufficient resources for the issues, target groups, and strategies they prioritize.

Fewer than 10% of women's organizations receive income from individuals, assets, membership fees, or income generation activities, suggesting heavy reliance on international funding and insufficient diversification of resources. Insufficient resources led 70% of organizations to reduce staff, cut activities, and/or work voluntarily for long periods of time. Further, 36% of women's organizations have been in jeopardy of closing their offices, and a few already have closed periodically, often with dire consequences for marginalized groups, such as persons suffering from gender-based violence.

Of the 40 donors that participated in this research, only five have earmarked funding for women's organizations. Some have funding available through regular competitions (e.g., for grants or contracts), for which women's organizations compete with other organizations or businesses. Donors tend to provide short-term, project-based funding. Thus, 76% of women's organizations have never received core funding. With few exceptions, donors tend not to see the importance of funding women's organizations. Rather, they "mainstream" gender in their work (though few have sufficient knowledge on how to mainstream gender effectively). Donors tend to lack information about the prior impact of women's organizations or doubt the capacities of women's groups, which make some hesitant to provide funding.

## **Conclusions**

The research team's conclusions echo those in AWID's latest global "Where is the Money" research, though some caveats deserve attention.

- € Donors tend to agree that funding initiatives towards gender equality is important; the question is *how*. Several donors are engaged in developing new strategies in this regard.
- € While funding for gender equality seems to have increased between 2008 and 2011, this has not always translated into funding for women's organizations. Only approximately 39% of donor funding "earmarked" for gender equality or women's rights in Kosovo went to women's organizations. Pockets of substantial support exist for strong, primarily Prishtina-based organizations.
- € Kosovo's shifting political status, departing donors, increased channelling of bilateral aid through the Government of Kosovo, and short-term project-only-based support all pose threats to the sustainability of women's rights organizations. Insufficient core support from non-governmental sources in particular threatens advocacy organizations' ability to hold officials accountable and bring about new social and policy changes towards furthering gender equality and women's rights.
- € Data collection remains poor among all actors. If donors tend to be weak in tracking funding for gender equality and women's rights, most women's organizations are weak in documenting and reporting on the long-term impact of financial inputs. Monitoring and evaluation usually focuses on short-term results, based on donors' requests and annual funding. However, shifting gender norms and practices takes times and results are often difficult to measure in the short-term.

## Recommendations

This research seeks to further efficiency and effectiveness in funding for gender equality and women's rights organizing in Kosovo. Recommendations address the state, donors, and women's organizations.

### Improve Coordination among Government Institutions, Women's Organizations, and Donors

- € The establishment of a donor coordination body by the Ministry of European Integration and the donor coordination meeting organized by this Ministry together with the Agency for Gender Equality (AGE) to discuss funding for gender equality have been positive initial steps.<sup>1</sup> The Ministry and AGE should continue organizing quarterly coordination meetings, including strategizing towards improved coordination and more strategic support for gender equality initiatives, as per the Paris Declaration. Representatives of women's organizations should be included. AGE can collaborate with women leaders from politics and civil society in identifying key areas in need of support prior to donor coordination meetings, so that specific, coordinated requests for funding both the government and civil society as part of a broader strategy can be made during coordination meetings.
- “All donors could be mobilized around a government strategy for gender equality. We need a better and more active platform for coordination. There needs to be a donors briefing. The government needs to mobilize funds from donors. Also, they need to put some government money there.” - Donor**

- € Towards enhanced local ownership and sustainability, the coordination of the Security Gender Group (SGG) could be assumed by AGE in close consultation with the Ministry of European Integration. Beyond Security, SGG could be expanded

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<sup>1</sup> Meeting at the Government of Kosovo, 18 April 2013.

to deal with various issues relating to gender equality. Besides general coordination meetings, sub-groups could focus on issues, following best practices and lessons learned from existing SGG groups on sexual and domestic violence. This would consolidate the number of donor coordination bodies towards efficient time use, while moving beyond information-sharing to strategizing and more concrete coordination. Despite concerns raised that AGE may not be willing or able to take on this coordination role,<sup>2</sup> donors have a responsibility to strengthen AGE capacities for better coordinating development assistance and exercising ownership, as per the Paris Declaration.

### **For Women's Organizations**

€ Shape the agenda rather than react to it: women's organizations need to advocate more to both the government and donors, providing evidence as to why funding women's organizations is a good strategy. There is room for organizations to influence donors' strategies by responding to donors' requests for consultations and input, as well as proactively approaching donors with information about needs. As several donors are in the process of updating their mid- to long-term strategies for Kosovo, women's organizations can make their voices heard regarding women's priorities and the best way to support organizations.

€ Form positive relations with the Ministry of European Integration, responsible for Overseas Development Aid (ODA), and advocate for continued support for gender equality, women's rights, and women's organizations specifically.

**“Funds are available, but it's up to women's organizations to hold the government accountable as to how they coordinate funds. The Government needs a good strategy and then donors will respond positively.” - Donor**

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<sup>2</sup> Raised at presentation of initial research findings, Prishtina, September 2013.

- € Strengthen organizational expertise in one or two main areas, providing expertise to the government and/or donors. This can bring organizations additional resources, as they can be contracted as experts in providing such services.
- “Theoretically, women’s organizations should be among the most important actors. In practice, they do not have the capacities to be key actors. They need to strengthen their role in terms of knowledge production so that they can be more effective watchdogs.” - Donor**

- € Demonstrate impact: women’s organizations can better document publicly the results of their work. They need to inform donors and constituents of positive results and impact. They can ensure greater transparency and accountability, including by publishing an annual report with information about programs, results, impact, and finances. Organizations lacking funding for publishing can provide this information online, such as via a free organizational Facebook page.

- € Collaborate more in a collective approach: Organizations can collaborate to have greater impact on donors’ funding strategies and on mobilizing resources. Fundraising can be competitive and disempowering, contributing to divisions rather than solidarity. Organizations can collaborate more to identify joint needs and strategies. Then they can mobilize financial support for these joint strategies. As one donor commented, “The times of supporting one organization are... not over, but no longer sufficient. Why have a network or fund? Why not let organizations do the work individually? Because we deliver more if we collaborate.” Perhaps
- “A best practice has been cooperation among women’s organizations, which helped establish the NGO sector. Due to the considerable reduction in donations available, NGOs see each other more as competitors than collaborators. There must be a change in approach by associations and by donors when it comes to funding women.” - CSO**

through KWN, organize an annual meeting with all donors to present strategic priorities for coming year(s) and seek donor support for collaborative efforts.

**“Civil society is not well-organized. They should meet one time per year with all donors and present their objectives and what they need the following year. ... When donors see cooperation, it’s easier for them to support CSOs.” - Donor**

- € Work more with men, from the government and civil society, towards common goals, ensuring that women are part of broader processes on all issues (e.g., economic development).

**“To include men in this process is another milestone we have to reach.” - CSO**

Joint applications to donors, in collaboration with other organizations, can help mobilize funds while transforming gender norms related to various issues.

- € Diversify resources by fundraising from the community, providing fee-based services, and seeking support from local businesses. Participate in civil society advocacy efforts for a better enabling environment for donations from citizens and businesses (e.g., tax deductions).

- € Select the right sector. Some women’s organizations should consider moving into the private sector. Organizations that generate income, have turnover, and earn a profit may belong in the private sector, where the government and donors also provide funding for women-led businesses. KWN can assist organizations in determining the best direction for their organization.

**“I’d like to see recommendations for donors, so that they understand the scope, needs, capacities, and requests: what NGOs say would be most relevant to support. Then we can collaborate with our grantees, KWN, or the Kosovo Women’s Fund for joint initiatives that strengthen further the organizational aspect of women’s rights work in Kosovo and programmatic work.” - Donor**

## For International Donors

- € Set aside funds for multi-year and institutional grants to women's rights organizations towards furthering the capacities of the sector, as per the Paris Declaration which pledges to "provide more predictable and multi-year commitments." Also and perhaps more importantly, invest in strengthening organizations and movements as strategic actors in development, policy, and good governance, particularly with regard to advocacy and monitoring skills.<sup>3</sup>

**"It would be fantastic if donors would provide more sufficient amounts. The issue is steady investment over several years on goals that involve delivery of programs, but also strengthening organizations and movements. There needs to be a collaborative agenda to make a difference on a particular issue. It sounds like when there is money, there is music, but it has to be sustainable over time and involve collaboration with grantees." - Donor**

- € Develop better systems and specific gender responsive indicators for tracking spending over time, as well as for tracking results. Gender mainstreaming should include gender responsive budgeting. Install within financial management systems indicators for tracking spending from a gender perspective. Introduce methods of monitoring and evaluation that allow for measuring long-term impact.
- € Increase transparency of spending by publishing simple annual reports available online inclusive of gender disaggregated data on expenditures. These help justify spending to governments, taxpayers, and other financial contributors. They also aid in tracking expenditures over time.
- € Towards a needs-based approach, discuss new programs and/or strategic plans via email and focus groups with representatives of

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<sup>3</sup> The European Commission (2012) recommends this.



women-led organizations in order to gather feedback on draft strategies from a gender perspective. Discuss areas where women's organizations can be effective partners in implementing strategies and set aside funding to support their involvement.

**“We must talk to women’s organizations to know communities’ real needs.” - Donor**

- € Ensure that gender mainstreaming or transversal themes are taken seriously. Involve local gender experts in evaluating the extent to which gender has been sufficiently mainstreamed within proposals (planning) and projects (during evaluations).
- € Contract women’s rights organizations as experts to provide input on strategies and programs from a gender perspective. Qualified women’s organizations can provide vital insight and ideas for improved gender mainstreaming, including within activities towards economic development, good governance, and rule of law. Women do not only talk about “women’s issues”; they can and should provide important insight from a gender perspective on *all* issues (e.g., economic development, anti-corruption efforts, furthering rule of law, and good governance).
- € Considering the size of the European Union (EU) Instrument for Pre-Accession Assistance (IPA), European Instrument for Democracy and Human Rights (EIDHR), and other EU instruments, the EU should continue to send strategies and solicit input via email from women’s organizations, as well as during discussions on funding priorities. Involve women’s rights organizations as experts in assessing all IPA projects from a gender perspective and compensate them fairly for their expertise. Request that the Ministry of European Integration involve women’s organizations and other civil society representatives in consultations regarding the use of IPA funds, as per the Paris Declaration.
- € In order to reach grassroots groups without the paperwork, donors can provide larger grants to bigger women’s organizations

for sub-granting. They also can utilize local funds like the Kosovo Women's Fund which can provide sub-grants to women's organizations while building their capacities to grow stronger and apply for other funds.

**“As a donor, it would be interesting to see ideas for reducing work in supporting small organizations ... without being overwhelmed with M&E, and for training women's organizations to do it**

- € Include affirmative criteria encouraging women-led organizations to apply in requests for applications, bids, or proposals. Some women's organizations possess expertise, particularly related to gender mainstreaming, gender audits, and advocacy.

## **For the Government**

- € Collaboration with women's organizations can inform policy-making and facilitate the implementation of existing legislation. Women's organizations also can be contracted as experts to inform policies from a gender perspective
- € The Ministry of European Integration and AGE should organize quarterly donor coordination meetings, as well as topic specific meetings to discuss cooperation at a more strategic level, as per the Paris Declaration. Women's rights organizations should be invited to these discussions.
- € Within the National Action Plan towards Gender Equality as well as other plans, set aside resources for women's organizations' involvement as consultants, service-providers, experts, and evaluators, as relevant.
- € Legislate tax deductions for individuals and businesses that provide donations to registered non-governmental, non-profit organizations.

## Introduction

Women's rights organizations and movements have contributed immensely to the great strides made in furthering women's rights as human rights over the last century.<sup>4</sup> Through research, activism, advocacy, and awareness-raising, they have installed policies towards gender equality and shifted public discourse.<sup>5</sup> Yet, despite their accomplishments and amid the growing and often violent backlash against women's rights activists,<sup>6</sup> women's rights organizations seem to be witnessing a decline in funding.

Where's the money for women's rights? Women's rights organizations consider this question of the utmost importance as they seek funds for sustaining their work. Considering global commitments towards furthering women's rights as human rights, Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), and United Nations Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325 on Women, Peace and Security, the question also should resonate with other organizations, institutions, and governments seeking to fulfil their commitments. This research comes at an important time. As 2015 approaches, the findings provide food for thought in the context of the 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the 4<sup>th</sup> World Conference on Women in Beijing as well as the creation of a post-MDG development framework.

In its fourth FundHer report, AWID initiated research in 2011, building on eight years of research experience on this issue. The research aimed to "mobilize more and better quality resources for women's rights organizing by generating knowledge and analysis of the funding landscape and the financial situation of women's organizations; and to promote collective strategizing for resource

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<sup>4</sup> This paragraph draws from Arutyunova, Angelika and Cindy Clark for the Association for Women's Rights in Development (AWID), *Watering the Leaves, Starving the Roots: The Status of Financing for Women's Rights Organizing and Gender Equality*, Toronto: AWID, 2013.

<sup>5</sup> See Chapter I.

<sup>6</sup> In Kosovo, women's rights activists have experienced an increase in violence and hate speech since 2012, particularly from religious fundamentalists.

mobilization from a feminist movement building perspective.”<sup>7</sup>

It sought to inform both donors and women’s rights organizations about the realities on the ground and the urgent need to re-examine funding priorities and resources for rights-based, transformative work with women.

In the resulting report, AWID emphasizes that examining financing for women’s organizations is “a critical political dimension of the struggle to advance women’s human rights and justice, since control and distribution of resources is inherently political.”<sup>8</sup>

**“[Examining] where and how resources are distributed [is] a critical political dimension of the struggle to advance women’s human rights and justice, since control and distribution of resources is inherently political.” - AWID**

More specifically, AWID’s research sought to respond to the following questions:

- § Why is it important to support women’s organizations in relation to social change processes?
- § What, if any, are the historical changes in funding trends among donors and the financial situation of women organizations?
- § How sustainable are women’s organizations financially?
- § What external and internal trends impact donors’ funding decisions to support women’s organizations and movements?
- § What opportunities exist for collaboration among women’s organizations and donors to create collective resource mobilization strategies and funding mechanisms for women’s organizations?

AWID’s global study involved interviews with donors and an internet-based survey of more than 1,000 women’s organizations around the world in five languages. AWID launched its initial findings at the AWID Forum 2012 in Istanbul to a curious and crowded room of women’s organizations and donors. During the discussion,

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<sup>7</sup> AWID, 2013, p. 14.

<sup>8</sup> AWID, 2013, p. 31. See also, Annex I.

representatives from KWN, an AWID member, raised concerns about who may have been missed in this global survey.

As a 13-year-old network of women's organizations in Kosovo, KWN representatives knew that many KWN members did not have internet and could not respond to the AWID survey. Further the survey was unavailable in Albanian and Serbian languages. Rural groups in particular could not participate in the global study. Yet, grassroots groups arguably face unique funding challenges for the same reasons that they could not participate in AWID's study: insufficient internet access and English language skills, KWN hypothesized. AWID's research findings, then, may not fully address the issues these groups face.

While acknowledging these potential shortcomings, AWID researchers did not have the resources and access necessary for reaching such groups around the world as part of their survey. Therefore KWN proposed to contribute knowledge to AWID's research by undertaking a case study in Kosovo.

In early 2013, KWN and its member organization AH received a post-Forum 2012 seed grant and began research in close consultation with AWID's research team. Conducted between January and September 2013, the research involved the following methods:

- € Face-to-face survey of 90 women's organizations in Kosovo,<sup>9</sup> using AWID's survey adapted to the Kosovo context;
- € Interviews and/or email correspondence with 40 donors;<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> The research team sought to survey the entire population of women's organizations functioning as of January 2013 (103), and 87% responded. The only groups potentially under-represented are Serb women's organizations in North Mitrovica (five) due to the insecure political situation that prevented researchers from travelling there or women's groups from leaving. For a breakdown of respondents by ethnicity, see Annex 4, and for more on the methodology, Annex 3.

<sup>10</sup> The research focuses on international donors as the primary source of income for women's organizations. Studying funding from the government towards women's rights and gender equality was beyond the scope of this research, though KWN contacted a couple ministries that support CSOs. The Agency for Gender Equality did not respond to requests for interviews.

- € Desk research on current donor trends and available funds in Kosovo, including the Aid Management Platform (AMP), donors' websites, and donor strategies; and
- € Participant checks with research participants to discuss tentative findings, gain input on recommendations, and further validity.

### Box 1. Definitions

**Civil society** broadly refers to all actors outside the state and private sectors that seek to further citizens' (diverse) interests. It can include non-governmental organizations (NGOs), unregistered grassroots groups, individuals, religious bodies, media, and arguably political parties not in power. Civil society organizations (**CSOs**) include such groups, not necessarily only registered NGOs.

**Women's Organizations** are defined here as organizations led by women that *may or may not* undertake efforts towards furthering women's rights and gender equality. They are distinguished from **women's rights organizations**, which focus specifically on furthering women's rights and transforming gender norms and practices.

**Women's rights movements** involve constituents in collective action towards a shared aim: women's rights.<sup>11</sup>

**Donor**, for this research, is defined loosely as any non-governmental, governmental, not-for-profit, or for-profit institution, organization, business, or body that has provided funding in Kosovo (e.g., "donated").

This report ambitiously attempts to take a 15 year perspective (2000-2014) on funding for gender equality and women's rights in Kosovo. The time period selected enables study of shifts in funding between periods of war, post-war reconstruction, and development.

Findings from Kosovo likely contain lessons learnt for funding in other countries experiencing conflict, receiving emergency relief, and engaging in state-building. The findings also are of interest to CSOs

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<sup>11</sup> Adapted from Batliwala, S. *Changing Their World: Concepts and Practices of Women's Movements*, AWID, 2008.

and donors in Kosovo, particularly as many reflect on the past in building their future strategies. After all, donors have invested millions of Euros in Kosovo. Many are itching to know where the money for furthering gender equality has gone and what results it has produced. But first...

### **A Brief History of Kosovo (and Civil Society)**

Once an autonomous province within the former Yugoslavia, Serbia revoked Kosovo's autonomy in 1989. Soon after, most Kosovo Albanians were sacked from their jobs by Serb-controlled institutions. During the 1990s, Kosovo Albanians were denied the right to healthcare, education, and work. A decade of non-violent civil resistance ensued. Several non-governmental, CSOs established themselves during this period, seeking to fill the void in services left by the state. Without jobs, most of Kosovo's primarily Albanian population (approximately 82%)<sup>12</sup> mobilized to fill this void. Citizens' widespread involvement in peaceful resistance to oppression by Serb institutions has led Kosovars to comment that all of Kosovo was "one big civil society."

Several women taught in underground Albanian language schools, provided healthcare, and monitored human rights violations as part of larger organizations established during the 1990s. They and other activists founded organizations during the mid- to late-1990s that focused specifically on women's rights. Women's rights organizations provided educational opportunities, healthcare, psychological counselling, humanitarian assistance, and legal aid to women. Several undertook efforts towards furthering literacy among women in rural areas and increasing girls' access to education.

Women's rights organizations working in rural areas established the Rural Women's Network in 1995. It offered peer support to Albanian women's rights activists amid oppression from state authorities, but also assisted with fundraising. As of 1998, approximately 12 women's rights organizations existed in Kosovo.

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<sup>12</sup> Statistical Office of Kosovo (SOK), *Kosovo and Its Population*, Prishtina: SOK, 2003. This is based on 1981 census data, as Kosovo Albanians boycotted the 1991 census.

They organized several massive public demonstrations against Serbian oppression, such as the well-televised Bread March, bringing international attention to rights-abuses in Kosovo.<sup>13</sup>

During the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) bombing, over one million Kosovars, primarily Albanians, were forced from their homes.<sup>14</sup> Several others previously had been displaced during massacres of entire villages. During the war, roughly 10,000 civilians were killed.<sup>15</sup> Women's organizations assisted with shelter, counselling, healthcare, and trauma relief, even as many activists were refugees themselves. Recollecting the oft-overlooked work of women's rights organizations before and during the war is important in acknowledging the experience and expertise that existed in Kosovo prior to international involvement.

Soon after, as people rushed to return home, Kosovo experienced a flood of humanitarian aid. The influx of aid clearly impacted the number of organizations in Kosovo. Many were established in response to

**“My perception is that especially after the war a lot of initiatives supported women's NGOs. Money for start-ups was provided. But these were mostly donor-driven efforts, not country-driven efforts. So what money has gone where?” - Donor**

the plethora of foreign funding saturating Kosovo, what some refer to as the “mushrooming” of organizations.<sup>16</sup> The United States-funded Kosovo Women's Initiative, in particular, modelled after the respective Rwandan and Bosnian Women's initiatives, contributed to the registration of many new women's organizations.<sup>17</sup> These organizations arguably played an important role in assisting with aid

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<sup>13</sup> See Kosovar Gender Studies Centre (KGSC), *History is Herstory too*, Prishtina: KGSC, 2008.

<sup>14</sup> United States Committee for Refugees and Immigrants, *World Refugee Survey 2000: Yugoslavia*.

<sup>15</sup> American Bar Association Central and Eastern European Law Initiative and the American Association for the Advancement of Science, “Political Killings in the Kosova/Kosovo,” 1999.

<sup>16</sup> KGSC, 2008.

<sup>17</sup> KGSC, 2008.



distribution, psychosocial assistance following the extreme trauma experienced by Kosovo's population, and service provision in the absence of a functioning state.

Before the war, Albanian women led most women's organizations. Only one Serbian organization seems to have existed, providing humanitarian aid to Serbs displaced by wars elsewhere in the former Yugoslavia. After the war, the influx of international funding (particularly for "inter-ethnic" projects); eagerness to support women in their own communities; and encouragement from already existing Albanian women-led organizations led Serbian, Bosnian, Turkish, Roma, Ashkali, and Egyptian women to establish organizations.

By 2005, Kosovo had approximately 613 registered organizations led by women (out of 2,593 total registered NGOs). Not all focused on women's rights and gender equality. Nor were all organizations active; only 224 could be reached at that time.<sup>18</sup> It is difficult to know the exact number of women's organizations registered in 2013 because the NGO Registration Office does not maintain gender-disaggregated data.<sup>19</sup> Perhaps the best indicator of the number of active women's organizations is KWN's membership. As of August 2013, KWN had 103 members, including almost all active women's organizations in Kosovo. Only a few women's organizations located in North Mitrovica have not joined KWN due to the political backlash they would face within their communities; however, several cooperate as non-members. KWN's membership and experience suggests that several women-led organizations established during the "Emergency Phase" have since closed.<sup>20</sup> With a population of only 1.8 million inhabitants,<sup>21</sup> Kosovo arguably does not need 613 women's organizations anyway, though they may have served their purpose when they existed.

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<sup>18</sup> This was part of a study carried out by KGSC.

<sup>19</sup> The NGO Registration Office had 6,883 NGOs registered as of the end of 2012.

<sup>20</sup> KGSC (2008) found in its 2005 survey of organizations and research that several women's organizations established immediately after the war no longer existed.

<sup>21</sup> Kosovo Agency of Statistics, website: <http://esk.rks-gov.net/eng/>, accessed 20 August 2013.

Following the post-war Emergency Phase, foreign assistance shifted from humanitarian aid to state-building. Since its 2008 Declaration of Independence, Kosovo has become increasingly autonomous from the United Nations, Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), and EU missions that have had (and still have) legal mandates in governing Kosovo. These political shifts arguably have impacted funding for CSOs (see Chapter 3).

Kosovo's social, economic, and political context has influenced the rise (and fall) of women's organizations. Often women's organizations' work has reflected the broader context in which they operate. Therefore knowledge of this context is important for understanding their work and access to funding over time, discussed in later chapters.

## Chapter 1. Making the Case

Before answering the main research question, “where’s the money?” this chapter discusses the importance of allocating funding for gender equality, women’s rights, and women’s rights organizations.

### **Why Fund Gender Equality and Women’s Rights?**

In accordance with United Nations conventions, its anticipated EU Accession, and several Kosovo laws, the Government of Kosovo must ensure gender equality. Supporting the development of Kosovo institutions therefore should involve financing efforts to further gender equality and safeguard women’s rights.

According to an interviewed donor, allocating funding for gender equality and women’s rights is “absolutely crucial”:

Kosovo is a post-conflict area still undergoing transitions. [D]uring conflict and immediately post-conflict, there is a lot of investment in infrastructure, rebuilding, democratization, rule of law, and all of these beautiful terms. That’s all fine and respectable. But the problem is that this is either not done with a gender lens at all or it’s not done properly in terms of using a gender lens. In the long-term, gender issues, and human rights, are pushed away and are of secondary importance. However, investing in women’s rights and gender equality is important for preventing the next war.

Furthering gender equality and women’s rights is important for building a democratic society that guarantees women’s rights as human rights. This should not be an afterthought, but rather part and parcel to the entire post-conflict, peace, and state-building process.

The 40 donors interviewed through this research agree almost unanimously that furthering gender equality and women’s rights is “very important” for Kosovo’s social, political, and economic development. “Gender rights are human rights, so the government has a duty to fulfil and report on these,” one said. “Gender equality

goes hand in hand with changing social structures and changing society” and is important for democratization “because women comprise 50% of citizens,” others commented.

Donors consider furthering women’s rights important for good governance, transparency, justice, peace, reconciliation, stability, economic development, ensuring equal opportunities, and Kosovo’s overall sustainable development. Most donors’ mandates involve attention to gender equality. However, the question with which many donors are grappling is: through which strategies can they best support gender equality? One key strategy is supporting women’s rights organizations, this report argues.<sup>22</sup>

### **Why Fund Women’s Rights Organizations?**

This research has the underlying assumption that private, public, and civil society sectors require simultaneous support towards achieving transformative change. Some development interventions involve assumptions that investing in the private sector and/or public sector produces better results than supporting civil society.<sup>23</sup> A women’s rights activist noted:

A lot of donors recently focus their support on government mechanisms; they think these mechanisms are sufficient for achieving gender equality. This is an inadequate approach. Even though we have mechanisms in place, they do not function properly. ... In a country where we still do not have gender equality, women’s NGOs work to achieve it.

Experience, both internationally as well as KWN’s (e.g., with the Law on Protection against Domestic Violence), suggests that collaboration among sectors is crucial for transformative social change. Just as funding civil society alone cannot ensure institutionalization of policies towards gender equality, funding the government alone does not

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<sup>22</sup> AWID (2013) also concludes that this is a key strategy.

<sup>23</sup> Funding the private sector alone does not guarantee that it will serve the public good, as this is not its role. For more, see AWID, 2013.

ensure implementation. Civil society oversight, including by women's rights organizations, can help hold the government accountable.

Evidence from around the world suggests that women's organizations play a crucial role in impacting social change.<sup>24</sup> The Global Fund for Women argues that supporting women's organizations is crucial for establishing a sustainable civil society that can uphold citizens' rights:

**“Women’s organizations are very important. Their role was unquestionable. All the changes that we have seen after the war we can attribute to them.” - Donor**

While relief aid is the traditional philanthropic response to conflict, Global Fund takes a different approach. By strengthening women-led civil society, including movements to protect women's basic human rights and support women leaders, Global Fund uniquely meets a critical need in conflict regions. We are learning that there's a benefit to going beyond direct grant making and investing in developing networks of advisors and grantee groups. After decades of funding these networks, we now see the impact in the form of a robust, feminist movement with diverse populations and perspectives.

Investing in civil society leads to the establishment of sustainable organizations and movements, capable of adapting to shifting circumstances, ensuring that women's rights are protected and gender equality furthered. Women's rights organizations make several contributions to furthering gender equality and women's rights as human rights as advocates, watchdogs, educators, and service-providers where state services do not exist or are inadequate.

First, a role largely unique to women's rights organizations is advocacy for women's rights and gender equality. This includes analysing proposed laws and policies from a gender perspective and providing expertise to inform them; pushing for new policies towards gender equality; and monitoring and advocating for the

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<sup>24</sup> AWID, 2013.

implementation of existing laws, policies, and commitments towards gender equality.

For effective advocacy, particularly policy changes, organizations often need financial support for several consecutive years. Considering the economic situation in Kosovo, their constituents possess minimal resources. Nor can organizations usually receive funding from the government *for* advocacy. As the old adage goes, one cannot bite the hand that feeds it. Therefore, women's rights organizations depend substantially on international support for their advocacy initiatives.

A second important role of women's organizations is transforming gender norms and practices through awareness-raising. They foster public debate at local and national levels; promote awareness through information campaigns, media, and public demonstrations; provide safe spaces for otherwise secluded women to socialize outside the confines of their homes ("consciousness-raising"<sup>25</sup>); and empower individual women in realizing their rights.

Third, in the absence of functioning state services, women's organizations fill a crucial void in implementing existing legislation through service provision. In

**"Domestic violence and trafficking are on the rise. The state of Kosovo should finance those that fight these problems. However, we have no sustainable support from the state, so we need the support of donors." - CSO**

Kosovo, women's organizations provide important services related to gender-based violence, trauma counselling, and healthcare. Women's shelters and counselling centres provide vital services to women and children. It likely will take years for the state to establish such services. Meanwhile, women's organizations fill an important gap, and the state should contribute more to their operational costs.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> Also referred to as awareness-raising, consciousness-raising was popularized by feminists in the U.S. in the 1960s as a type of political activism in which a group seeks to focus others' attention on a given issue.

<sup>26</sup> See KWN, *At What Cost? Budgeting for the Implementation of the Legal Framework against Domestic Violence in Kosovo*, Prishtina: UNDP, 2012.

For some services, women's organizations possess special skills and experience. Women who have suffered violence, mistreatment, or discrimination by public institutions, and/or fear public gossip within their small communities, arguably are better served by sensitive, well-trained women's organizations than by institutions. Located in rural areas and with diverse members of varying ages, ethnicities, and abilities, women's organizations also may be among the most accessible to those in need. This is important considering many women's insufficient access to resources for travel.

**“It would have been impossible to expect any changes from our women’s literacy program without the direct involvement of women’s NGOs. NGOs have been a crucial partner.” - Donor**

Several specific examples exist of women-led organizations' contributions to gender equality, human rights, and Kosovo's development more broadly (see Box 2).

At least hypothetically, donors agree that women's organizations have an “important” role to play in social change processes. However, several donors feel they lack evidence of results produced by women's organizations. “It's difficult to know what's being done and what impact it has,” a donor said. “It would be great to know what funding is being used *for*, the number of beneficiaries, the reach, and in which areas.” Her colleague added, “There's a big number of NGOs, but I never understand what women's organizations' added value is ... The perception among donors is that so much has gone into this issue [gender, already].” Another donor agreed:

Women's organizations need to make the case. As I understand from my conversations, donors are not happy with the efficiency and effectiveness of implementing programs and projects through CSOs. CSOs need to better justify how funds are spent. NGOs need to build their own internal capacities and make the case for funding.

## Box 2. Key Contributions Made by Women's Organizations

- € Shelters have provided services in the absence of state services, assisting thousands of women and children
- € After the war, women's groups pushed successfully for a 30% quota within the electoral law. Twice the quota came under threat and women's groups successfully advocated, together with CSOs led by men, for it to remain in place, towards women's (and men's) political participation.
- € Women's groups advocated successfully for the establishment of the Agency for Gender Equality at the highest level of government (not as a separate ministry) towards gender mainstreaming at all levels of government.
- € Women's organizations have provided counselling and assisted with the integration of women who suffered sexual violence during the war. They empowered hundreds of women who lost men during the war to learn to drive, start their own businesses, and live independently.
- € Medica Kosovo's mobile gynaecological clinic provided important services to women who could not otherwise access such care, using a psychosomatic approach. They also counselled and economically empowered hundreds experiencing war trauma.
- € Several women's groups collaborated in drafting the Law on Gender Equality and National Program.
- € They furthered thousands of women's levels of education through life-long learning and supporting girls' access to higher education, cooperating with the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology and UNICEF.
- € KWN's evidence-based research reports and follow-up advocacy resulted in several new policies towards gender equality and women's rights (e.g., Law and national action plan on Protection against Domestic Violence and National Action Plan for the Implementation of UNSCR 1325).
- € Women's groups, among others, pushed for enhanced government action on Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender (LGBT) rights.
- € Organizations like the Kosovar Gender Studies Centre have compiled monitoring reports regarding government performance on CEDAW, UNSCR 1325, and other issues.

Other recurring reasons why some donors hesitate to support women's organizations include a perceived lack of capacity, inadequate long-term strategies, and insufficient issue-based expertise. A donor's remarks are illustrative:



I would like to see a more objective assessment of the strengths and weaknesses of CSOs in Kosovo [see Box 3]. It is my understanding that many are donor-driven. They don't specialize. If a donor is funding efforts against violence against women, they all work on violence. If [ethnic] communities, they all go there. Organizations need to mature and develop their own expertise in areas that are relevant and contribute to developing society.

While these critiques hold some validity, at least two key issues beg further discussion.

### Box 3. Strengths and Weaknesses of Women's Organizations

*In response to donors' requests, this table summarizes some of the strengths and weaknesses of women's organizations, identified through this research and a needs assessment conducted by KWN in 2013.<sup>27</sup> Notably, organizations cannot be generalized; strengths for some may be weaknesses for others.*

Strengths	Weaknesses
<b>Advocacy:</b> successfully backing several policies and laws towards gender equality and women's rights at municipal and national levels	Insufficient <b>strategic action</b> among some smaller/newer groups in pushing for policy changes that <i>institutionalize</i> gender equality
<b>Networking:</b> Recognized internationally, KWN grew out of the Rural Women's Network established in 1995. It has held regular bimonthly and annual membership meetings since 2000. More than half of its 103 members participate actively in information exchange, coordination, and joint advocacy.	Many though not all organizations lack adequate <b>financial management systems</b> , including financial management policies, computerized electronic accounting systems, and sufficient income to contract annual audits
<b>Evidence-based research:</b> a couple organizations conduct quality evidence-based research to inform new laws and policies	<b>Insufficient follow-up</b> on initial research and results to ensure recommendations and/or achievements are implemented
<b>Awareness-raising</b> on issues such as trafficking, domestic violence, and	<b>Inadequate public outreach</b> (among many) towards showing

<sup>27</sup> KWN, *Code of Conduct Monitoring Report and Capacity Development Plan for Members*, Prishtina: KWN, 2013.

health, among others; utilizing media, artists, cultural events, and public actions to convey messages	results and transparently reporting on finances, such as through annual reporting
<b>Service-provision</b> in the absence of state services (e.g., shelters)	<b>Unsustainable:</b> insufficient resources for long-term sustainability
<b>Monitoring</b> the implementation of laws, policies, and commitments towards gender equality	<b>Poor English skills</b> , hampering access to funding
<b>Empowering</b> women, using community connections and knowledge of needs; reaching isolated women who likely would not be reached by other actors	<b>Self-centred:</b> Some leaders more concerned about their position and salary than serving citizens; this has involved misuse of funds, negatively impacting the sector's image
<b>Cooperation with government</b> leading to concrete changes, including at the municipal level (e.g., public transport for rural women to travel to school or work)	<b>Insufficient cooperation</b> with other actors, including the government, among some organizations
<b>Working with men:</b> some involve the Kosovo Police, mayors, ministers, parliamentarians, and men in their communities towards transforming gender norms	Some women's organizations do not involve men sufficiently.
<b>Strategy:</b> While some may not have their own strategy, many seek to implement KWN's joint strategy of women's organizations, which aims to further capacities of women's organizations; increase women's participation in politics and decision-making; improve access to quality healthcare; decrease gender-based violence; and empower women economically	Several lack a <b>clear strategy</b> . Also, while most participated in creating and agreed to help implement KWN's Strategic Plan, some are not actively involved in implementing it (e.g., by raising issues within their communities or joining KWN's advocacy efforts)
<b>Legal expertise:</b> some participate actively in drafting new legislation from a gender perspective	

First, these criticisms inaccurately homogenize women's organizations. This is evidenced by the fact that some donors

disagree. As one said, “women’s organizations have developed and become strategic with what they wanted to achieve, from delivering services to promoting women’s rights.” Women’s organizations are diverse. While some may lack a long-term strategy and expertise, others possess very clear strategies bolstered by more than a decade of expertise in their sector (see Box 4).

Indeed organizations lacking a clear strategy should be encouraged (and sometimes supported) to develop clear strategic goals before receiving substantial funding. However, women’s rights organizations that do have clear strategies and expertise towards furthering women’s rights and gender equality should be supported. Perhaps women’s rights organizations can improve their public relations as well, better demonstrating their strategy and expertise to donors.

Second, critiquing women’s organizations for participating in “donor-driven” initiatives is somewhat unfair considering the very nature of funding. Women’s rights organizations wanting to implement their own strategy often struggle to secure funding for issues they have identified as priorities (see Chapter 2). Donor-imposed funding priorities and short-term funding (for periods of one to two years maximum) limit many women’s organizations’ abilities to remain focused on their strategy or area of expertise. Some activists lament that if they do not take on activities outside their priorities, they will not exist because donors do not offer funding for their priorities. Opportunities exist for women’s rights organizations to educate donors regarding their strategies, priorities, and well-documented evidence of the need for their planned interventions.

**“We need to do a lot of good work on donor education and cultivating education among donors so the need is understood within its context, and not only understood, but supported.” - Donor**

#### Box 4. Women's Rights Organizations with Issue-based Expertise

*Government officials and media have complained to donors that they cannot identify women in civil society with sufficient expertise to contribute to political debates. This box seeks to address this information void by identifying women's rights organizations capable of providing expertise, often based on more than 10 years' experience.*

Organization	Location	Expertise
Kosovo Rehabilitation Centre for Torture Victims; Medica Kosovo	Prishtina; Gjakova	Professional psychological counselling for gender-based violence and trauma, including sexual violence during the war
Kosovo Women's Network	Prishtina with members throughout Kosovo	Women's political participation and empowerment; domestic violence prevention and protection; gender analysis; advocacy; networking; national level awareness-raising; sub-granting; and gender responsive budgeting
Mother's Call	Gjakova	Missing persons; advocacy and psychosocial support for families
Protect Victims, Prevent Trafficking	Prishtina	Prevention of trafficking and protection of persons who have been trafficked
Shelter Coalition (seven shelters)	Kosovo-wide	Protecting persons who have suffered gender-based violence, particularly domestic violence; shelter; vocational training; education; healthcare; legal advice
Norma Women Lawyers' Association	Prishtina	Legal aid; legal analysis from a gender perspective; monitoring the implementation of laws and policies
She-Era Business Women's Association	Gjakova/ Prishtina	Women's economic empowerment and gender mainstreaming within economic development policies
Kosovar Gender Studies Centre	Prishtina	Policy analysis from a gender perspective: gender mainstreaming within the education system, politics, EU funding, the public service, and anti-sexual harassment policies
Jeta-Vita	Prishtina	Cancer prevention, awareness-raising, policy reform, and counselling for patients and their families
Vita-Jeta	Prishtina	Defending the needs and rights of pensioners
Krusha Women Farmers' Associations	Krusha	Rural women's economic development, particularly related to agriculture
Open Door	Prishtina	Capacity development for women's sale of handmade products; marketing
Women for Women with Disabilities	Prizren	Rights of women with limited abilities

In the spirit of aid effectiveness, efficiency, and results-based management,<sup>28</sup> donors increasingly seek evidence that their funding choices are the most effective and efficient in producing results. Fair enough: donors must justify to their supporters, usually governments, individuals, and/or taxpayers, why continued financial support is worthwhile. Donors thus turn to the groups that they finance for evidence of results. They may hesitate to support groups that do not demonstrate clear results.

**“It is getting more and more difficult to fundraise. We have to be ready to explain and make a case why we need to support women’s organizations.” - Donor**

Demonstrating impact within a restricted project timeframe poses a serious challenge for women’s rights organizations around the world. First, shifting gender norms or installing policies towards gender equality takes time; rarely can such changes occur within a (typically) one-year project. Second, social changes like shifting gender norms are conspicuously difficult to measure, particularly with limited resources. Perhaps as a result of these challenges, interviews suggest that most donors in Kosovo lack information and knowledge about the work that women’s rights organizations do and the impact that they have had over the last 13 years.

Women’s rights organizations arguably can do a better job of communicating to donors (including the government and their own communities) how these supporters’ human and financial investments produce social change over time. At the same time, donors can review their monitoring and evaluation systems, ensuring that indicators are both practical and accurate for measuring long-term social change.<sup>29</sup> One donor suggested:

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<sup>28</sup> See Organization for Development Assistance Committee (OECD), *Principles for Evaluation of Development Assistance*, Paris: OECD, 1991, and the *DAC Criteria for Evaluating Development Assistance*.

<sup>29</sup> Women’s rights activists internationally are calling for improved indicators for measuring impact. See AWID, 2013, p. 130.

Donors need to recognize their responsibility to evaluate the long-term effects of their support at an aggregated level. It is not only up to grantees, which can be impossible since they are single actors often carrying out short-term projects. [Also,] all actors should recognize that results are achieved on many levels, from individuals (e.g. changing behaviours), to communities (e.g. people taking action together), and higher levels (e.g. CSOs holding accountable, furthering implementation, and influencing laws and regulations). From all levels, there can be change in a society in the long term.<sup>30</sup>

In conclusion, this chapter sought to “make the case” for supporting gender equality and women’s rights. While donors tend to agree that such support is important for Kosovo’s development, many continue to search for the best strategy. Women’s rights organizations should be “natural strategic partners.”<sup>31</sup> While some organizations have their weaknesses, others possess extensive expertise on specific issues, advocacy experience, strong networks, connections with diverse communities for awareness-raising, and offer professional services in the absence of functioning state programs.

Theoretically more funding would be available, some donors indicated, if women’s organizations would demonstrate clearer long-term strategies, issue-based expertise, and impact. At the same time, if donors are funding needs-based (not only “donor-driven”) initiatives and want to support organizations that have clear strategies, they need to listen to organizations’ identified needs and put in place funding mechanisms that will support organizations in implementing their strategies. Donors also can review existing monitoring and evaluation systems towards better measuring impact over time.

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<sup>30</sup> Comment at release of initial findings, 2 September 2013.

<sup>31</sup> AWID, 2013, p. 24.

## Chapter 2. Where's the Money?

This chapter examines “where’s the money for women’s rights?” Before presenting the research findings, it discusses some of the challenges in data collection and analysis. It then examines funding related to gender equality and women’s rights in Kosovo, followed by funding for women’s organizations more specifically.

### Insufficient Systems for Tracking Spending

An estimated 377 international agencies existed in Kosovo in 2005.<sup>32</sup> Many have long since left. Few have maintained data regarding the funding that they provided in Kosovo prior to 2008. Some donors said that they do not have human resources available for responding

**“We don’t have the manpower to provide that information.” - Donor**

to requests for information pertaining to prior funding. Others refused to provide such information because it is “confidential.”

Identifying grants given to women’s organizations proved easier than quantifying funding towards gender equality more broadly. Donors can easily quantify programs focusing solely on furthering gender equality or women’s rights (e.g., addressing domestic violence or furthering women’s political participation). However, donors struggle to estimate funding within programs or projects involving gender mainstreaming. They also face difficulties quantifying the percentage of their operational costs that goes towards gender equality and/or women’s rights programs. As one donor wrote:

**“We tend to mainstream gender within projects. Therefore the budgetary amounts cannot be separated out.” - Donor**

Please note that the amounts indicated cover only specific gender and/or women related project activities and not activities that may impact indirectly on gender equality, such as those related to monitoring of, reporting of, and advocacy on the

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<sup>32</sup> NGO Registration Office, 2005.

implementation of laws, policies, and action plans or training/advocacy workshops where no specific women's issues have been mainstreamed. They also do not include the staff and administrative costs incurred.

Particularly after programs end, donors cannot calculate the percentage of staff time spent furthering gender equality within a broader project on economic empowerment, for example. Nor can they estimate the percentage of rent, utilities, communications, and/or transport utilized for furthering gender equality. Donors do not have indicators for measuring financial inputs related to quotas for women's participation in broader programs.

**“Sometimes it’s not direct financial support but indirect, and this is difficult to measure. It’s not only about contracts. ... We also, for example, send women’s organizations to gain experience around the world.” - Donor**

In sum, most donors interviewed for this research said that calculating their financial contribution to furthering gender equality in Kosovo is difficult, incomplete, or inaccurate. Considering these challenges, the research team found estimating the total funding allocated for efforts towards gender equality difficult. Nor does this report detail which donors provided more (or less) funding due to the aforementioned restraints in accessing data and so as to respect promises of confidentiality (that enabled some donors to provide information).

Bearing these issues in mind, within the analysis that follows, the research team has flagged areas where data is incomplete or potentially inaccurate. Considering the gaps in available data, it seems plausible to suggest that donors have allocated additional funding to gender equality and women's rights than what is presented here.

Improving data collection systems and greater willingness among more donors to share information regarding prior expenditures may enable a more thorough analysis in the future. If donors seek to mainstream gender throughout their work, they should employ



gender responsive budgeting, as well as ensure that they have systems in place for calculating financial expenditures towards gender equality.

### **Funding for Gender Equality and Women's Rights**

One source of information regarding financing towards gender equality and women's rights is government records of Overseas Development Aid (ODA). Between 2001 and 2013, Kosovo received a total of €1,187,302,464 in ODA. Approximately 1.95% went towards programs for furthering gender equality.<sup>33</sup> While detailed information about ODA was unavailable for all years, data from three years may be illustrative.

ODA is reported based on sectors and sub-sectors. In 2005, an estimated €22,587,360 was spent on the “democracy, human rights and civil society” sector, accounting for 11.3% of ODA.<sup>34</sup> This was distributed primarily to minority rights (27%). NGO development and civil society received 24% and gender 8% (€2,045,040). The EU, United States, Sweden, Switzerland, and the Netherlands provided the most support, according to the Ministry of European Integration. Projects relating to gender focused on awareness-raising among local institutions and “fostering leadership skills of women in leading positions to better influence public policies from a gender perspective.” Sweden supported the National Action Plan for Gender Equality. Finland funded the largest project relating to gender in this sector, providing €1 million for involving women's organizations in preventing and addressing the consequences of trafficking in human beings.

ODA data suggest a considerable decrease in funding related to gender equality in the years that followed.<sup>35</sup> In 2009, the total amount of funding towards gender equality was €111,970 or 0.33% of overall

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<sup>33</sup> Ministry of European Integration, *ODA Report: AMP Development Partners by Sector*, Prishtina: 2012. This also is evidenced by the Ministry's annual reports.

<sup>34</sup> Ministry of Finance, *Report on Donor Activity in Kosovo 2005*, Prishtina: 2006, p. 34.

<sup>35</sup> Ministry of European Integration, *Report on Donor Activity in Kosovo 2009*, Prishtina: 2009, p. 24.

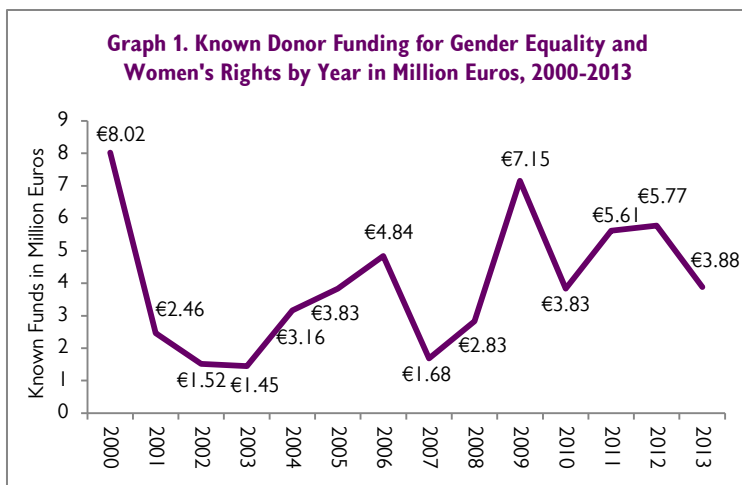
ODA. In 2010, funding towards gender equality accounted for only 1.85% or €1,337,132 of the total €74,545,608.

However, ODA data is incomplete and inconsistent. For example, in 2009 only two donors reported their funding provided towards gender equality. Yet, this research illustrates that several provided assistance that year. Further, AMP data does not track spending related to gender equality consistently. Nor do annual reports on the AMP website use a consistent methodology for reporting, making it difficult to compare funding for gender equality year to year. Out of seven annual reports, only three include data on funding for women's organizations or initiatives towards gender equality. The Ministry of European Integration should require more consistent reporting on funding towards gender equality.

Most donors interviewed for this research witnessed an increase in funding for programs towards gender equality in Kosovo between 2008 and 2012. They attribute this increase to new policies that require gender mainstreaming in all programs and activities; active fundraising; and donor interest. "Embassies in Kosovo have an increased interest in gender equality, especially Holland, Finland, Norway, and Sweden," a donor said.

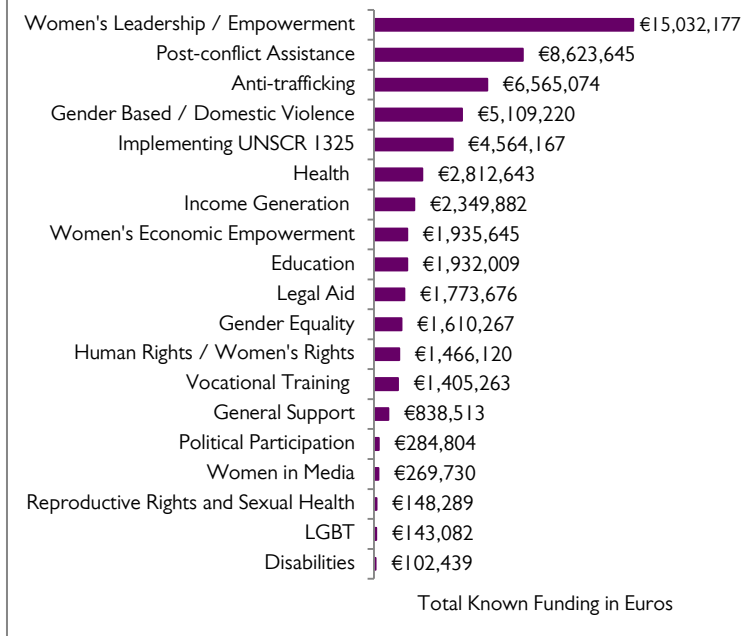
**"We had a good fundraising strategy, or rather a good management team that raised resources. This came not only from bilateral assistance, but also Thematic Funds via New York."- Donor**

This research seems to confirm such an increase, followed by a decline in 2013 (see Graph 1). The graph includes data provided by 20 of the 40 donors contacted, as well as data from AMP reports. Most donors provided more complete data for 2008 to 2012. The decrease in funding in 2007 and 2008 can be attributed in part to unavailable AMP data for those years. In total, between 2000 and 2014 donors allocated at least €57,180,605 for initiatives towards gender equality and women's rights.



With regard to specific issues, donors provided substantial support for post-conflict assistance and humanitarian aid immediately after the war, totalling €8,623,645. Between 2000 and 2014, funding for women's leadership and empowerment received the most funding totalling €15,032,177 (see Graph 2). Anti-trafficking (€6,565,074) and other initiatives to addressing gender based violence, particularly domestic violence (€5,111,717) also received substantial support. Starting in 2006, donors began allocating resources for furthering the implementation of UNSCR 1325 on Women, Peace and Security (€4,564,167). Other issues receiving between €2.9 and €1.9 million, respectively, include health, income generation, women's economic empowerment, and education. Legal aid, gender equality (more broadly), women's rights as human rights, and vocational training all received more than €1 million during this time period. Donors provided comparatively less funding for initiatives focused specifically on women's political participation; women in media; reproductive rights and sexual health; LGBT rights; rights of women with disabilities; inter-ethnic cooperation; environmental rights and justice; economic, labour, social, and cultural rights; inheritance and property rights; and the arts.

**Graph 2. Known Donor Funding for Gender Equality and Women's Rights by Issue, 2000-2014**



While donors generally agree that funding gender equality and women's rights is "very important," only five of the 40 donors participating in this study (12.5%) had *separate funds* earmarked *specifically* for furthering gender equality or women's rights. Far more common was a "mainstreaming" approach, which seldom involved specific budget lines.<sup>36</sup>

Looking forward, donors tend to believe that funding related to gender equality will remain fairly consistent in 2014 (of course, for some this means non-existent). However, few donors have concrete plans. At the time of this research, some are in the process of

<sup>36</sup> For a discussion on gender mainstreaming, see Chapter 3.

developing new mid- to long-term strategies for their overall support to Kosovo. Others such as UN agencies await decisions from their own donors regarding projects that they have submitted or plan to submit. The fact that most of the largest donors do not know specifically the amount or type of future funding they will have for gender equality or women's rights is concerning.

### **Funding for Women's Organizations**

Funding towards gender equality and women's rights does not necessarily equate to funding for women's rights organizations. Only an estimated 39% of known donor funding allocated for gender equality programs in Kosovo went to women's organizations.<sup>37</sup> In several

**“International organizations often take the meat and throw women's organizations the bones.” - CSO**

such programs, women's organizations do not receive any funding. Instead, international organizations or contractors implement these programs. “We work very little with organizations,” one donor said, “but rather tend to implement most activities directly using our own staff.” With widespread decreases in aid worldwide, AWID found that international organizations tend to prioritize their own operational costs over grant-making to CSOs.<sup>38</sup>

This approach defies the Paris Declaration, in which donors agree to “avoid, to the maximum extent possible, creating dedicated structures for day-to-day management and implementation of aid-financed projects and programmes.” Rather, they should involve Kosovar institutions and organizations in directly implementing initiatives, towards ownership, capacity development, and efficiency.

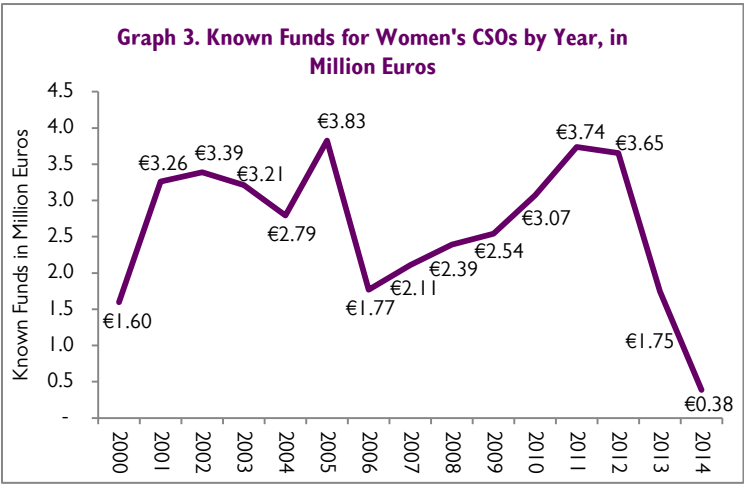
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<sup>37</sup> Research team calculation based on information provided by 17 donors.

<sup>38</sup> AWID, 2013, p. 67. They also note that increased funding for women and girls has led “other civil society actors to expand their work with women and girls, though not always from a rights-based perspective” (p. 15).

**Funding for Women’s Organizations over Time**

In total, women’s organizations received at least €39,691,148 between 2000 and 2014. Graph 3 shows all known funding provided to women’s organizations during this period, in million Euros.<sup>39</sup>



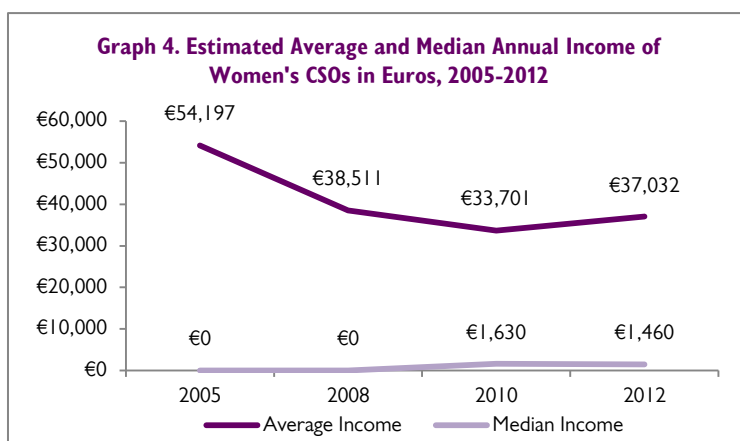
Immediately after the war, Kosovo clearly saw “a surplus of donations,” as a CSO representative said. The influx of humanitarian aid, particularly the Kosovo Women’s Initiative for women’s organizations, led to a substantial increase in funding compared to the pre-war period. Evidence suggests that additional funding existed than what is presented here, particularly in 2000, 2001, and 2004.

Graph 3 suggests that aid decreased between 2001 and 2004. The spike in funding in 2005 can be attributed primarily to three unusually large grants for two shelters and another organization. Funding then dropped in 2006, slowly increasing until 2011. New funding from the European Union’s European Instrument for Democracy and Human Rights (EIDHR) coupled with several new initiatives to counter

<sup>39</sup> Findings draw from the survey of women’s CSOs, interviews with donors, and a review of relevant documents. Data were fact-checked and cleaned for repetition.

gender-based violence contributed to increases in overall funding to the sector between 2008 and 2011. Since 2011 funding has declined.

Most surveyed organizations (65%) said they saw a “drastic drop” in funding since 2008.<sup>40</sup> On average, organizational income seems to have declined between 2008 and 2012 (see Graph 4). Data provided by 66 of the surveyed women’s organizations suggests that the sector’s average annual income decreased from €54,197 in 2005 to €33,701 in 2010.



AWID’s 2011 global survey of more than 1,000 women’s organizations suggested “moderate growth” in organizational income: “median annual income doubled between 2005 and 2010, reaching US\$20,000” (€15,870).<sup>41</sup> In Kosovo, median income seems to have increased slightly from €0 in 2005 (when 18 organizations did not receive any income) to €1,630 in 2010. The significant difference between average and median income points to substantial disparity in annual income among women’s organizations. While several

<sup>40</sup> Donors also tend to observe a decrease in funding for women’s organizations, though a couple feel it has increased and some do not know.

<sup>41</sup> AVID, p. 16. The median is the “middle number” within the sample.

organizations did not receive any income some years, a few had significant income (up to €527,304 for one CSO in 2005).

The number of organizations receiving grants also seems to have declined over time (see Graph 5). In 2001, at least 199 women's organizations are known to have received funding, whereas only 41 women's organizations seem to have received funds in 2013.



Overall, the data suggest that the number of viable women's organizations is shrinking, with a few stronger organizations mobilizing the vast majority of resources. A representative of one organization explained:

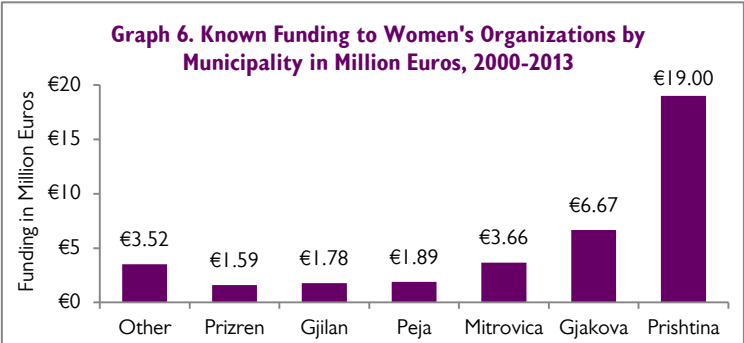
**“Personally we have been more supported since 2003 and 2008, but donors now require better implementation of projects and professional performance.” - CSO**

Financing has increased [since 2008], but the number of organizations that receive it is few. Some associations perform better, but they are small in number. The others have not received funding and have lost faith.

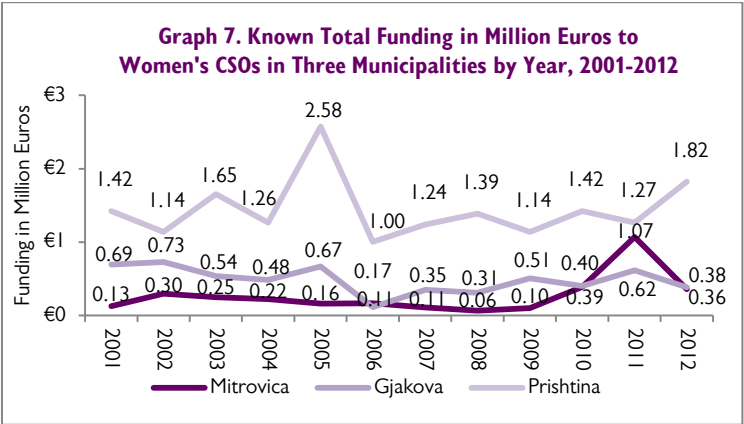
While some organizations are displeased with the present funding climate, others appreciate the stricter criteria according to which they likely benefit: “The criteria are highly selective, a fact that pleases me,” a CSO representative said.



Several smaller, newer, and rural organizations bemoan what they consider bias in donor funding towards Prishtina-based organizations. “Many rural associations have been extinguished,” one said. “Donors are more focused on larger organizations that have greater capacity in their operations. They are especially focused on the centre and policy making.” Indeed, approximately 50% of all known funding provided to women’s groups between 2000 and 2013 went to Prishtina-based organizations (see Graph 6). However, several Prishtina-based



organizations implemented their initiatives in other municipalities. Since 2010, women’s organizations operating in Mitrovica have witnessed a substantial increase in funds (see Graph 7).



“Donors are focused on Mitrovica,” a representative of a women’s organization said. “When it comes to minorities, they only give to the

Serb minority.”

Indeed, in

comparison,

organizations led by

Bosnian, Roma,

Ashkali, Egyptian,

Turkish, and Gorani

women all received

limited resources

compared to their

Albanian and

sometimes Serbian

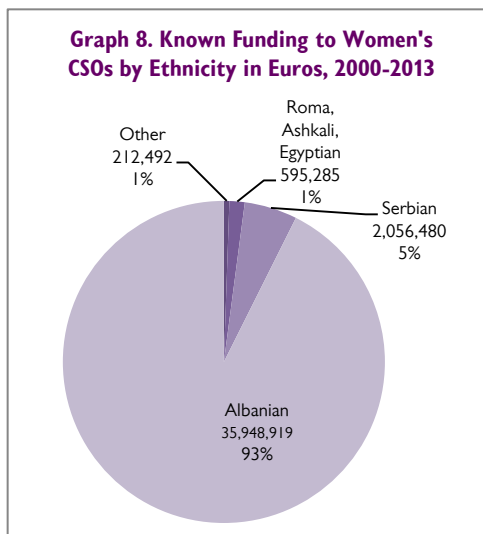
counterparts (see

Graph 8). The graph

illustrates the amount

of funding provided to

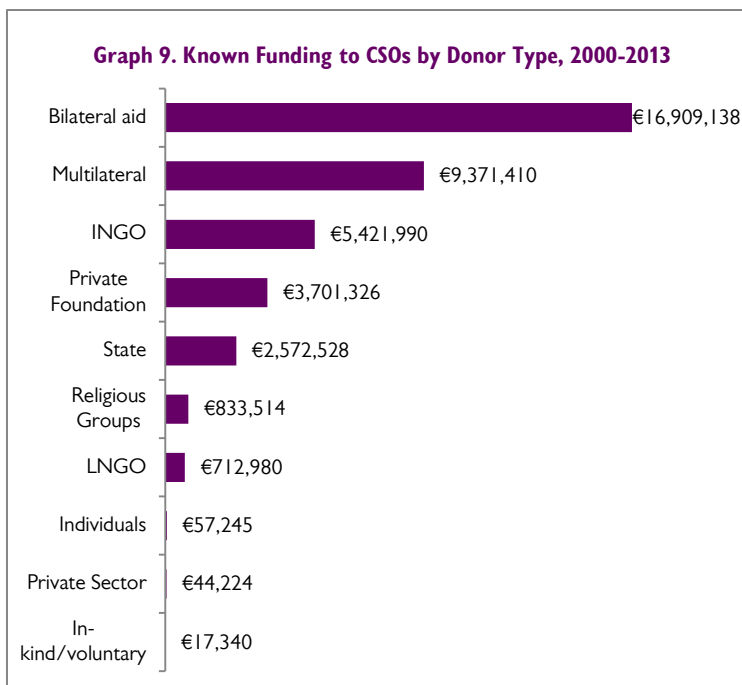
organizations *led by*



persons of the given ethnicity. However, several Albanian-led organizations collaborated with and/or targeted women from other ethnic groups through their programs.<sup>42</sup>

Between 2000 and 2013, women’s organizations received an estimated 43% of all income from bilateral donors (e.g., embassies, foreign governments), sometimes distributed by international organizations. As Graph 9 illustrates, 24% of all income came from multilateral bodies (e.g., UN agencies, EU), 14% from international non-governmental organizations (INGOs), 9% from foundations, 6% from the Government of Kosovo, 2% from local NGOs in Kosovo, 2% from religious groups, and less than 1% from the private sector, individuals, and in-kind contributions, respectively.

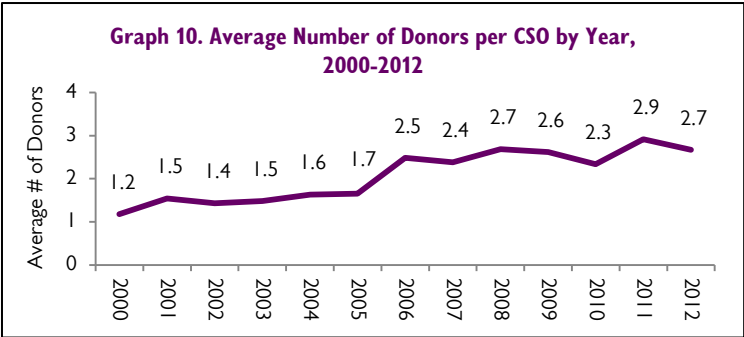
<sup>42</sup> See Annex 4, Graph 19. Insufficient data existed to identify on which ethnic groups programs focused.



Women's organizations receive the vast majority of their funds from international donors (approximately 89%). Fewer than 10% of the organizations surveyed reported receiving income from individuals, assets, membership fees, or income generating activities. During these 14 years, only €17,340 in total income derived from in-kind or voluntary contributions. However, while several organizations reported substantial voluntarism, few could quantify it in monetary terms. Notably, of the organizations surveyed, 24% had *never* received funding from any donor, including individuals and government bodies. Several reported operating without any income for months or even years.

Women's organizations have begun diversifying their sources of income (see Graph 10). On average, organizations only had 1.2 donors in 2000, but this increased to 2.7 donors in 2012. Some

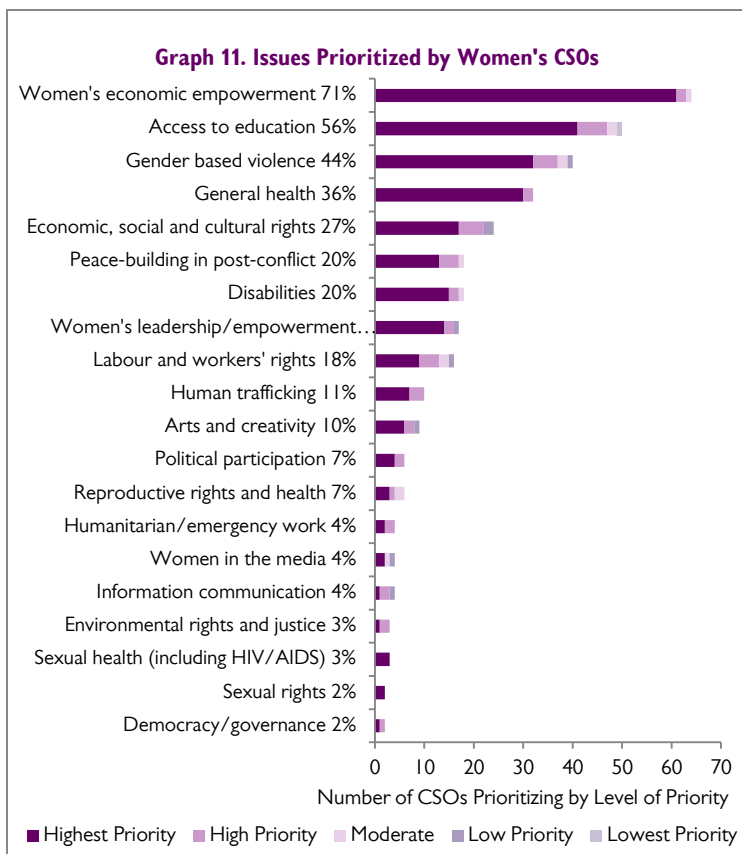
organizations reported having as many ten different donors in recent years. This often included local businesses, individual citizens, and government bodies in addition to international sources of funding.



**Organizations’ Funding Priorities and What’s Funded**

Most of the surveyed women’s organizations (71%) consider Women’s Economic Empowerment among their top priorities (see Graph 11). Several women’s groups prioritize access to education (56%), gender-based violence, including violence against women and domestic violence (44%), health (36%), and economic, social and cultural rights (27%). One-fifth of women’s organizations prioritize peace building and addressing violence against women (VAW) in conflict/post-conflict situations, the rights of women with disabilities, women’s leadership and empowerment and labour rights, respectively.

Fewer organizations identify human trafficking (11%), arts and creativity (10%), political participation (7%), reproductive rights and health (including contraception, abortion, and maternal health, 7%), humanitarian work, women in media, information and communication technologies (ICTs), environmental rights and justice, sexual health (including HIV/AIDS), sexual rights, democracy, governance, microcredit, microfinance, property rights, inheritance rights, gender-responsive budgeting, and psychosocial support as priorities. Interestingly, at the time of this research no women’s organizations considered work related to LGBT rights, land rights, religion, or migration priorities.



Only 24% of women's organizations said their entire 2011 annual budget went towards issues that they considered priorities. In contrast, 58% said they did not receive *any* funding in 2011 towards an issue that they prioritized. Some organizations felt that "donors do not look at associations' priorities, but select priorities themselves."

Most funding for women's organizations in the last 14 years (29% and at least €11.43 million) went towards addressing gender-based

violence, including domestic violence.<sup>43</sup> As Graph 12 illustrates, assisting women in dealing with trauma and sexual violence suffered during the war (€4.32 million), women's leadership and empowerment (€2.79 million), income generation activities (€2.75 million), general organizational support (€2.64 million), and women's rights as human rights (€2.48 million) received 11% to 6% of funding, respectively. All other issues received less than 4% of the funds distributed to women's organizations between 2000 and 2014.

Which issues receive funding tends to shift over time. Unsurprisingly, humanitarian aid was available immediately after the war, but dwindled after 2005. Initiatives towards addressing gender based violence have received resources, particularly since 2010. Support for income generation activities was available *en mass* during the emergency phase (largely through the Kosovo Women's Initiative), but declined substantially after 2002, rising again in 2011 with a focus on Mitrovica.

**“We try to stay in the same sectors over time, towards continuity. We see change as evolutionary rather than revolutionary.” - Donor**

Although the funding that organizations have received overlaps in a couple areas with their priorities (e.g. gender-based violence, peace-building, and women's leadership), almost every women's organization surveyed expressed concern that they do not receive sufficient funding for issues that they consider priorities.<sup>44</sup>

**“The needs are bigger than the funds we possess.” - CSO**

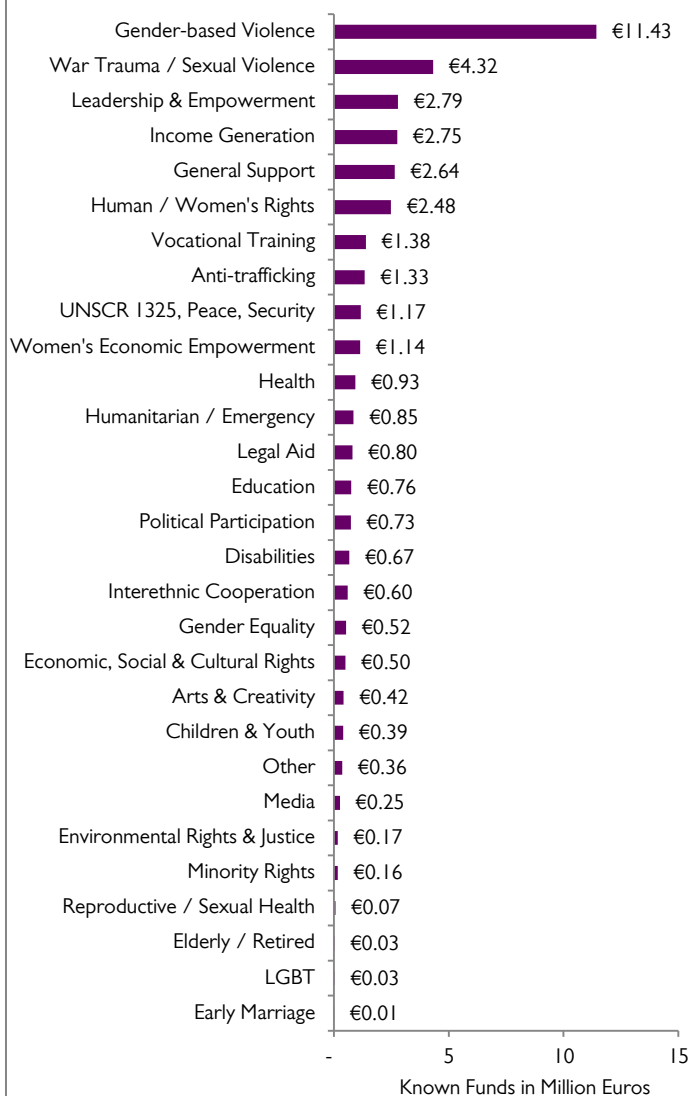
other NGOs, face problems with funds,” an activist said. “Funds for women are small, and it is impossible to complete activities.”

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<sup>43</sup> Notably, several issues overlap. Some programs combine psychosocial assistance, supporting women who suffered violence during the war, and income generation activities, for example. The research team selected the primary aim. Not all funding is represented as at least five large women's organizations did not share their financial information. Considering their mandates, the research team hypothesizes that additional funding went towards addressing domestic violence, anti-trafficking, women's political participation, and income generating activities.

<sup>44</sup> AVID's global survey had a similar finding (2013).

**Graph 12. Total Known Funding in Million Euros for Women's CSOs by Issue, 2000-2014**



For some issues like domestic violence and anti-trafficking, women's rights activists emphasize that the government in particular has a legal responsibility to increase its financial support. One activist said, "The government is responsible and should create a special fund for this issue. It should not be an obligation only of NGOs to protect victims." While institutions have begun providing financial support for shelters assisting persons who have suffered gender-based violence, activists feel that it remains insufficient.<sup>45</sup>

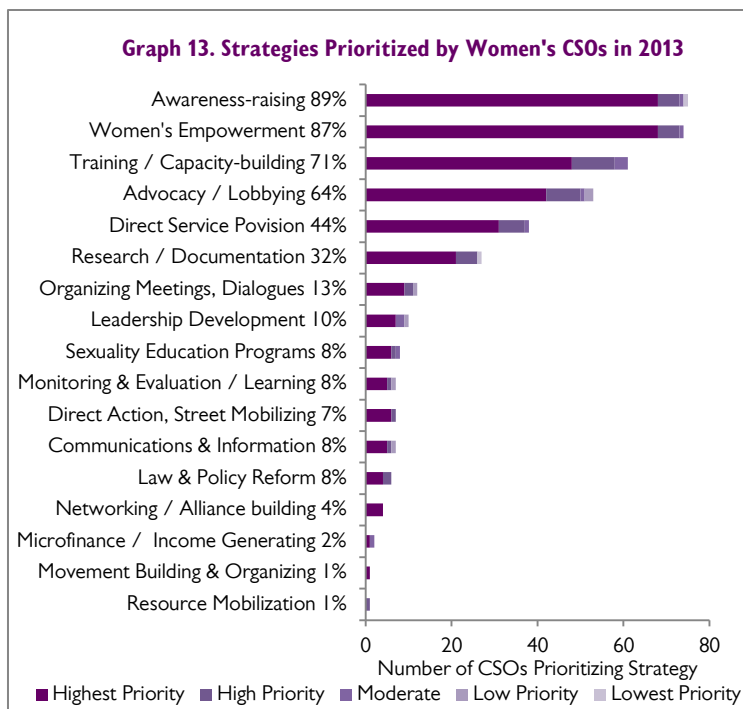
Organizations also tend to feel that they lack sufficient funding for their preferred strategies. Strategies that most women's organizations prefer include awareness-raising (89% identify this as a priority) and women's empowerment (87%) (see Graph 13). Several organizations prioritize training, capacity-building (71%), advocacy, campaigning, lobbying (64%), and direct service provision (44%). Fewer than one-third prioritize research, documentation, meetings, and leadership development as strategies.

While several organizations emphasized the importance of their KWN membership during interviews, only 4% consider networking and 1% consider movement-building priority strategies. Considering the financial status of most organizations, perhaps it is unsurprising that a meagre 1% consider resource mobilization a strategy. Nor are law and policy reform (8%), communications, information sharing (8%), or taking direct actions like demonstrations (7%) priorities for many organizations. This finding seems in stark contrast to the popularity of advocacy (64%), considering that these strategies can be part and parcel to effective advocacy. In any case, 58% of organizations did not receive any funding in 2011 for their preferred strategies, whereas 26% of respondents used all of their funding for their preferred strategy.

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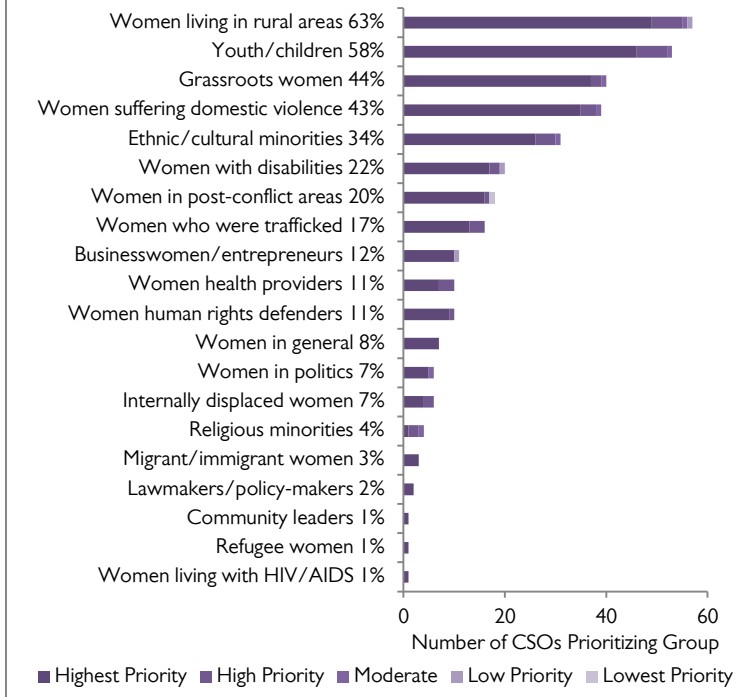
<sup>45</sup> See KWN, *At What Cost?*





Another recurring trend among women's organizations was that they do not receive sufficient support for their priority target groups. As Graph 14 illustrates, 63% of women's organizations prioritized working with women living in rural areas.

**Graph 14. Target Groups Women's CSOs Prioritized in 2013**



However, these groups appear to be among the least financed; 57% of women's groups that prioritize working with rural women did not receive any financial support for them in 2011. Similarly, 58% of women's organizations consider youth and children a target group, but 63% of them did not receive any funding for this group in 2011. Women suffering from domestic violence are prioritized by 43% of organizations. While funding seems more available for this issue, 47% still reported not receiving any such funding in 2011. Overall, 53% of respondents said they did not receive any funding for their priority target groups in 2011, while 34% said all of their funding went towards their priority target group.

## The Impact of Declines in Funding

Decreases in access to funding over time meant that 43% of women's organizations in 2010 and 51% in 2012 did not meet their ideal, planned budget. On average, these organizations fell short of their ideal budget by a staggering 74% in 2010 and 80% in 2012.<sup>46</sup>

Since 2008, 14% of women's organizations lost financial support from donors that either historically supported them or had made a commitment to provide support, but later withdrew. As a result, organizations said that they could not realize activities and could not pay their staff members' salaries. In one example:

**“The donor wanted to work with a closer association in Prishtina because of the bad roads and therefore left.” - CSO**

The association Women for Women helped our organization. For three months they provided equipment for us and taught us wood processing (boxes for bees, wooden toys for children, tables and chairs for the garden). Then Women for Women left and took the wood processing equipment with them.

A project that had given war-affected and marginalized rural women concrete skills with which they could make a living, took away more than €2,000 in assets, including crucial wood-cutting equipment required for women to use their new skills. Without assets or collateral for high-interest rate bank loans, women cannot replace this equipment and therefore cannot use their skills to generate income. They remain impoverished, as well as disappointed with this lost opportunity. The return of project-related assets to donors is commonplace, but can negatively impact the groups that donors seek to support, as this example illustrates.

Overall, 70% of women's organizations reported having insufficient resources at some point in their organizational histories. As a result, 30% of all organizations had to reduce their staff size; 42% cut

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<sup>46</sup> Only one organization in 2010 and two in 2012 exceeded their ideal budgets.

programs, projects, and/or activities; 51% had staff members work without salaries for months or even years; and 3% temporarily closed their organizations. Two organizations had not received funding since 2000 and had worked on a voluntary basis since then. Women's organizations said that insufficient funding had several other negative effects on their work. It decreased their organizational savings, reduced the quality of assistance they provided, decreased the number of women sheltered, and led staff to use their own resources (e.g., personal vehicles).

Due to insufficient funding, 36% of women's organizations have been in jeopardy of closing. "We couldn't pay our electricity bills and had to close because the association did not have basic conditions for functioning," a respondent said. Some organizations had shut their doors for periods of time, and 42% knew other women's organizations that had closed since 2008. In one notable case, this had dire impact on women and children suffering from gender-based violence, who had to sleep at a police station because they had nowhere to go.<sup>47</sup> A similar situation occurred, impacting persons who had been trafficked.

**"We are planning on closing because we lack funding." - CSO**

Several organizations fear that they may be forced to close in the near future. One commented:

Since 1995, there has never been any danger of closing. However, now I see that danger. Without funds, we cannot function voluntarily. Our organization has operated for two decades, so it is painful to see the end of funding after all this dedication, volunteer work, and professionalism. In all of [our municipality's] villages, we offer the only refuge for women. We are the only ones offering such support.

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<sup>47</sup> KWN, *Exploratory Research on the Extent of Gender-based Violence in Kosovo and Its Impact on Women's Reproductive Health*, Prishtina: KWN, 2008, p. 62.

## Sustainability

As Graph 3 above illustrates, future funding for women's organizations remains unclear. Only five donors plan to earmark funds for women's organizations after 2013. Whether funding will increase, decrease, or stay the same depends on the donor. While one relatively smaller donor will increase its support slightly, two larger donors will decrease their support in 2013 and 2014. Several others do not know what the future will hold, as they currently are finalizing their strategies for Kosovo or awaiting information from their supporters. Thus the sustainability of financing from international sources for women's organizations remains uncertain.

**“We will have money for women’s organizations, but we are not sure how much or how we will support them.” - Donor**

As most women's organizations rely on some form of international support, it is difficult for them to ensure their own financial sustainability or undertake long-term financial planning when their donors do not know what the future will bring. It also raises the question: if several major donors' programs are unsustainable, how can they expect comparably under-financed women's organizations to have clear sustainability plans?

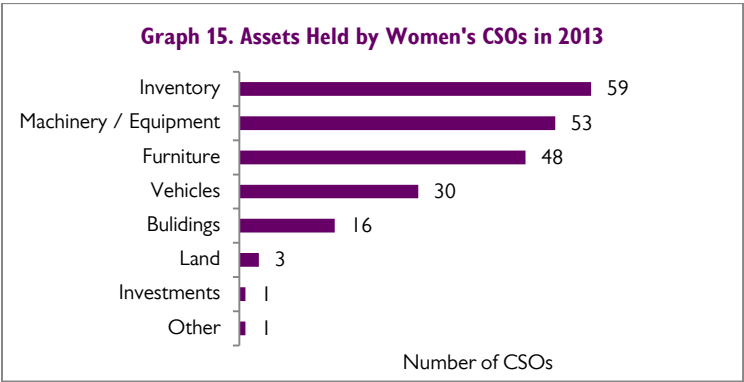
In Kosovo, 52% of women's organizations say they have a backup plan in case their organization does not secure sufficient income. The two survival strategies that women's organizations most commonly mention include volunteerism (many organizations already operate thanks to substantial voluntarism); and generating income by selling women's handmade products (e.g., handicrafts and food). Several organizations involve women in producing agricultural products, dairy products, and handmade goods. Other strategies organizations identify include their own personal contributions, membership fees, community level fundraising, approaching businesses, providing fee-based services

**“We opened a crafts store, hoping that the sale of products will help the association.” - CSO**

(e.g., training), government support, using reserves, and renting facilities.

A signifier of sustainability is the combined savings and reserves an organization possesses and can use to survive. Between 2010 and 2012, a few organizations established savings: where 89% of women’s organizations did not have any savings or reserves at the end of 2010, 86% faced a similar situation in 2012. Among the organizations that possessed savings, the amount increased from €3,450 on average in 2010 to €4,104 in 2012. However substantial disparity existed, ranging from €40 to €15,000, depending on the organization.

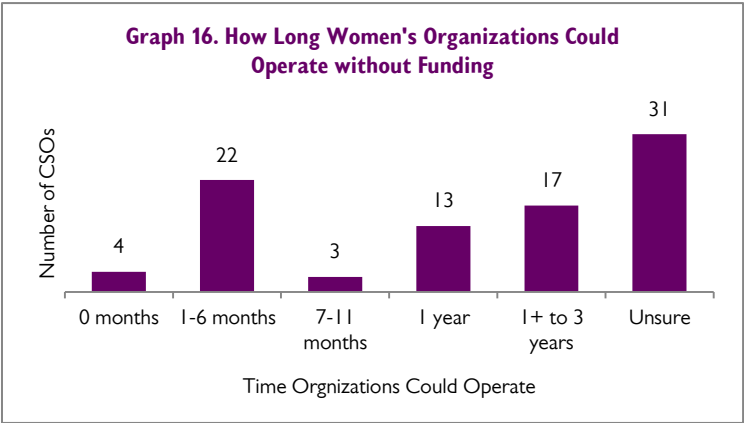
If needed, 79% of women’s organizations said they have assets that they can exchange for cash to support their organizations. Assets include inventory, machinery, equipment, and vehicles (see Graph 15).



On average, CSOs’ assets amounted to €16,933 in 2010, increasing to €24,512 in 2013. However, this increase can be attributed to a few outliers; more than 83% of organizations had assets amounting to less than €10,000.

**“We have closed our office, and the owner received our assets as collateral in place of the rent we owed ... We work on a voluntary basis.” – CSO**

Many women’s organizations are accustomed to working without salaries or offices, which perhaps explains why many could continue functioning without funding. “We have not had stable funding,” one activist commented, “only contributions by individuals, the municipality, and KWN.” More than half said they could operate for at least one month using only savings and reserves (see Graph 16). However, one-third did not know if their organization would stay afloat.



Half of the women’s organizations surveyed had not secured any funds for 2013, and more than 76% do not have any of their 2014 budget secured. Nearly half are unsure whether their annual budget will increase, decrease, or stay the same in 2015 compared to 2010. The fact that few organizations have secured funding underlines the rocky foundation on which women’s organizations survive. In this context, women’s organizations need to continue to diversify their resources, including identifying new sources of funding towards their long-term sustainability.

**Ideas for Mobilizing Resources**

Submitting project proposals is among women’s organizations’ only “strategies” for mobilizing resources. Other strategies include meeting with and/or advocating to donors for funding, welcoming

donors to visit their offices or activities, checking websites for funding opportunities, appearing in media, and cooperating with the private sector, government bodies and/or other organizations. Women's organizations can be more active in meeting with donors, presenting evidence of needs, and sharing public relations materials about their work, including examples of prior impact (e.g., via annual reports).

Most women's organizations seek information on resource allocation strategies, better knowledge about the funding situation of women's organizations, and opportunities to collaborate with other women's organizations towards resource mobilization, including advocacy for collective resource mobilization. They also want more opportunities to meet and cooperate with donors; and to have more funding opportunities available in their own languages.

**“KWN is good because they often notify us of funding opportunities and support cooperation among associations.” - CSO**

In conclusion, while funding seems to be available for gender equality and women's rights, funding does not always reach women's rights organizations. Women's rights organizations often are well-placed with expertise, experience, and connections within their communities. Several use resources more effectively and efficiently than the private sector or international bodies, which frequently have higher operational and administrative costs. As AWID has concluded, “With so much talk about women and girls ... the task is to influence how this agenda gets implemented to ensure that it effectively translates into more resources in women's hands.”<sup>48</sup> Rather than focusing on quick solutions that often ignore underlying barriers to gender equality, donors should consider supporting women's rights organizations undertaking long-term rights-based work that addresses the root causes of gender inequalities by shifting social norms.

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<sup>48</sup> AWID, 2013, p. 34.



## Chapter 3. Funding Trends

This chapter examines trends influencing the funding available for gender equality and women's rights, as well as women's organizations more specifically.

### Donor Strategies and Country Politics

Interviews suggest that the main factor influencing most donors' funding priorities is their own strategies. In identifying needs and compiling their strategies, donors tend to consult beneficiaries. A few had conducted needs assessments. Some also seek to align their strategies with development priorities identified by the Government of Kosovo.

Unsurprisingly, national politics tend to influence the strategic priorities of development agencies of foreign governments. This includes political priorities,

geographic areas of interest, and/or their country's economic situation.<sup>49</sup> For example, a donor explained that his government seeks to further the implementation of UNSCR 1325. "We have been able to refer to that in requesting funding for gender equality, particularly because the Minister of Foreign Affairs was a woman and she pushed 1325," he said.

**"We hope that our budget will stay the same. However, you never know if they will cut the budget ... its politics." - Donor**

Such political will impacts funding for efforts towards gender equality. Governments that consider furthering gender equality a priority tend

**"Development policy strategies guide our work. We try to combine these with the needs on the ground, our government's priorities, and the priorities of the government in the country where we work." - Donor**

to ensure that their development agencies set aside funding. International conventions and development priorities (e.g., CEDAW, MDGs, the Beijing Platform for Action, and UNSCR 1325) also guide several donors' funding priorities.

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<sup>49</sup> For a discussion on the impact that the 2008 economic crisis has had on funding for women's organizations, see AWID, 2013.

## Gender Mainstreaming

While few donors have programs or funds earmarked for furthering gender equality or women's rights, many seek to mainstream gender within programs and projects. Similarly, some refer to gender as a "cross-cutting" or "transversal" theme. One explained:

For our organization gender mainstreaming is very important. ... Our gender expert looks at every project from a gender perspective and projects receive higher points when they include a gender perspective. The importance of mainstreaming gender has increased. Before it was just a box-checking exercise. Now there are real experts within the organization examining it.

Donors tend to have seen improvement in gender mainstreaming over time. The gender mainstreaming practices, tools, and procedures that donors use include: gender quotas (e.g., for women's participation in activities); collecting gender-disaggregated programmatic data; gender markers for tracking the extent to which programs contribute to gender equality (see Box 5); gender-sensitive indicators in monitoring and evaluation; regular reporting on the extent to which their activities contribute to furthering gender equality; maintaining a gender balance within their office; including gender criteria in recruitment processes; and installing focal points charged with gender mainstreaming.

### Box 5. An Example of Gender Mainstreaming

UN agencies have engaged in a global effort to better measure gender mainstreaming within projects and programs. Since 2010, a UN appraisal committee has used a "gender marker" in reviewing and commenting on each project and program from a gender perspective before submitting requests for funding. All projects must allocate at least 15% for gender equality, as part of their ATLAS accounting system. They continue to work on resolving a few challenges, however. For example, the system can only measure gender equality-specific outputs. Therefore it does not enable measuring all financial inputs related to furthering gender equality.

Most donors use gender mainstreaming in programming but not in budgeting. Done properly, however, gender mainstreaming should involve gender-responsive budgeting: the “mainstreaming” of gender into the budget. This includes considering how particular budget choices may impact women and men differently.

Several donors said that gender mainstreaming may not always be done *well*. For example, one said that employees lack adequate knowledge and expertise in reviewing and assessing whether the project proposals they receive sufficiently consider gender implications. Interviews with gender focal points inside donor organizations similarly suggest that some lack knowledge as to what gender mainstreaming means. “In some instances you could be looking in a sector where you could not look at gender,” a gender focal point said. “In that case you do the analysis and you just say that it’s not there.” This comment suggests insufficient knowledge on *how* to ensure gender mainstreaming in *all* sectors. High turnover among gender focal points within donor agencies also may impact knowledge retention.

**“Most of the time gender mainstreaming is not implemented.” - Donor**

In order to address these challenges, donors may consider involving women’s rights activists and organizations as experts to assist with gender mainstreaming. As AWID recommends, “Just as a company might engage expert engineers when investing in building new technology, funders should tap the experts in the women’s rights community to support framing programs that effectively benefit women and girls.”<sup>50</sup>

The gender mainstreaming approach has additional issues. When used alone, unaccompanied by other actions that target the roots of gender inequalities, it may be insufficient for transforming gender norms. Gender mainstreaming alone does not necessarily address gender

**“Some issues might not be addressed through this approach.” - Donor**

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<sup>50</sup> AWID, 2013, p. 24.

inequalities and violations of women's rights. Arguably, addressing such inequalities requires specific initiatives that target root problems. As one donor said, sometimes there is a need for women-specific initiatives to address the problems women face.

### **From Civil Society Support to Bilateral Aid?**

Recent shifts among some donors towards bilateral aid may have contributed to decreases in the amount of funding available to CSOs. As Kosovo built its institutions between 2000 and 2008, some donors hesitated to provide direct bilateral aid. Instead, several involved civil society in distributing humanitarian aid and supporting development. Some directly funded programs towards developing the capacities of civil society. Following Kosovo's Declaration of Independence in 2008, many donors began providing financial assistance, sometimes solely, through government institutions. Indeed, the *Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness and Accra Agenda for Action* encourages linking development assistance to partner states' development strategies and delivering assistance through the government.<sup>51</sup>

Now, considering Kosovo's aspirations to join the EU, donors are channelling substantial ODA through the Ministry of European Integration. In addition to overseeing ODA, this Ministry is the EU's main partner in deciding how Kosovo will use EU development funds. Considering the substantial amount of EU funding for Kosovo, this Ministry influences which issues the EU prioritizes (e.g., towards gender equality and women's rights or other issues).

As per the Paris Declaration and Accra Agenda for Action, the Ministry and EU should involve the parliament and civil society, including women's rights organizations, in identifying development priorities.<sup>52</sup> Women's rights organizations need to ensure that the Ministry and EU consider women's priorities in selecting funding priorities. Women's groups should liaise more with this Ministry. The EU and other donors also can encourage the Ministry to consult

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<sup>51</sup> OECD, *The Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness and the Accra Agenda for Action*, 2005, 2008.

<sup>52</sup> OECD, pp. 3 and 15.

women's rights groups in determining development priorities, as per the Paris Declaration.

In this new funding climate, women's rights organizations can collaborate more with state institutions, offering expertise as well as services that fill gaps in state services. Indeed some donors have encouraged CSOs to diversify their resources via service-provision. However, other donors fear that financing CSOs may encourage them to provide services that the state should provide. "Some NGOs risk replacing what should be done by institutions," one said.

Perhaps donors can provide funding through the government, encouraging the government to contract CSOs for services that it cannot offer, the respondent added. For example, shelters receive funding from the Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare to assist women and children who have suffered domestic violence. The Ministry of Education, Science, and Technology has contracted women's organizations to provide rural women with literacy and life-long learning courses. Similar positive examples of cooperation exist at the municipal level and in other ministries.

Yet, only 6% of women's organizations' income has come from government bodies. The Government of Kosovo lacks expertise, mechanisms, and experience in appropriately channelling funds to CSOs, some women's rights activists said. Reports of clientelism exist as well. An activist commented:

Big donors support financially only the government. However donors cannot channel funds through the government because our government doesn't support civil society. ... Once a country has mechanisms for gender equality, it doesn't mean that the job is done; it is important to implement those mechanisms.

Women's rights organizations expressed concern because they rarely can approach government bodies for financial support for advocacy. Receiving state funding may undermine their independence,

particularly as watchdogs: if they receive state funds, can they “bite the hand that feeds them,” if needed?<sup>53</sup> Dependence on state resources may undermine their ability to advocate, particularly when seeking to hold government officials accountable.

Advocacy also requires long-term resources and core support, which few donors provide. A donor explained:

[We] have restrictions in terms of disbursements to CSOs. We work with governments. ... At the same time, we believe we cannot open avenues for gender change if CSOs are not there to put the issue on the agenda. [We] cannot fund NGOs unless they are working directly for us, but we provide support in a different way. We are in a good position in opening the dialogue with the government for issues, so we can bring CSOs into the conversation. ... We see ourselves contributing to the role of women’s NGOs, but just not directly financing them.

With more and more donors taking a similar approach, the question is: who *does* finance women’s organizations so that they can afford to “put the issue on the agenda”? If CSOs cannot secure salaries or fund their own priorities, they may not have sufficient human resources to participate in consultations. Most actors hypothetically want to involve CSOs, but who will foot the bill?

International support is crucial for women’s rights organizations to continue participating in decision-making processes, holding officials accountable, and furthering the implementing of laws and legislation. Indeed the Accra Agenda for Action encourages donors to support CSOs as “independent development actors in their own right whose efforts complement those of governments.” Thus, some donors and

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<sup>53</sup> This issue was discussed at the Swedish International Development Agency presentation of the *Gender Study in Kosovo* (2012) and at the KWN Bimonthly Meeting that followed, Prishtina, 7 June 2013. Within these discussions, women’s organizations recognized the importance of diversifying their funding and ensuring that no single donor, including the state, covers more than one-third of their costs.

women's rights activists call for a multi-sectoral approach that involves funding *both* the government and civil society efforts to hold the government accountable.

### **Kosovo's Shifting Political Context**

Kosovo's shifting political context since the 2008 Declaration of Independence arguably has impacted funding trends in several ways. First, negotiations between Kosovo and Serbia, including the 2013 political agreement towards normalization of relations, have contributed to some donors' decisions to increase aid to northern Kosovo, including to women's organizations there. For example, one donor reported distributing more than €580,000 to women's groups in Kosovo's northern flashpoint city of Mitrovica in 2011, compared to €0 in 2008.

**"It seems like everyone is running to plant their national flag in the North. Serbs still live in the South and need support, but the North is sexy right now. For most donors, however, it's not about the people affected, but how their organization looks." - Donor**

Second, Kosovo's comparatively stable political context has led several donors to focus funding on conflicts and crises elsewhere in the world. A donor explained:

As Kosovo enters the EU Accession process, it is not a priority for [us], as there are other places where [we] are needed more. [Our] mandate is reviewed on a monthly basis. Hypothetically, we could be asked to close next month.<sup>54</sup>

The often narrow understanding of security used in Kosovo (as national rather than human security) ignores the security threats that still face many women human rights defenders (e.g., from religious extremists). Meanwhile, donors' short-term mandates make long-term planning and thus long-term financing of women's rights organizations difficult. Few donors have long-term plans for Kosovo. A donor commented:

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<sup>54</sup> Names removed for confidentiality.

There is a lack of interest in investing in these regions. We do not get unrestricted money to the extent that we need it for Europe. I fight internally with colleagues every day: “Where should we work? Africa, South America, the Middle East...” Europe is always last on the list, and when they mention specific countries, rarely are Bulgaria or Kosovo there. ... They say, “We will have a separate strategy for Europe.” No separate strategy exists for other regions. It’s a kind of justification that Europe is somehow going to take care of itself. Yet, I see an unfortunate and continuing trend of increased pressure on the adaptability and creativity of NGOs in Europe. They are facing difficulties in making ends meet.

Since Kosovo now has access to EU funds, some donors do not feel that they need to provide substantial resources to Kosovo anymore. Yet, the types of EU funding available are limited, targeting stronger often Prishtina-based organizations with agendas in line with the EU. Advocacy organizations that critique particular EU policies and several grassroots organizations that lack advanced English writing skills cannot access these funds.

**“What we see in the Balkans is that the funds are decreasing quite fast. Emergency relief phased out, and very few organizations that were supporting women’s organizations remain here. This can be a big problem.” - Donor**

### **Privatizing Aid? Grants vs. Contracts**

Kosovo has witnessed a shift in funding mechanisms from grants to contracts. Most donors’ policies and procedures now involve procurement. One explained:

We can offer some support for direct implementation of activities, but this is a very small amount. According to our internal procurement procedures, larger contracts need to go through procurement.



Women's organizations working at the grassroots level and/or that do not speak English are not positioned to bid for contracts. Further, they must compete for funds against other organizations and the private sector. While calls for applications may highlight the importance of gender mainstreaming, seldom do donors have affirmative action policies that encourage women rights organizations to apply.

**“We contract our partners to do the work. We don’t give funds specifically to women’s organizations but we give funds to organizations that focus on the issue.” - Donor**

Women's rights activists have critiqued these processes for “privatizing” development aid. In some instances donors have used this “private sector model” to finance for-profit companies rather than funding more efficient, effective, and experienced not-for-profit women's rights organizations, they said. An activist commented:

Even though UN agencies proudly speak of implementing UNSCR 1325, where the Resolution states that women's NGOs must be supported, UN agencies are doing mainly the opposite. They are decreasing the possibilities through which women's NGOs can be supported. The application process involves competition between women's NGOs and private companies, but we are women's rights activists not contractors!

Rather than supporting women's rights organizations to realize their missions and strategies, bidding exercises foster competition among women's organizations and give resources to companies that may write nice proposals but do not necessarily have the expertise necessary for furthering gender equality and women's rights, activists

**“Foundations are increasingly treating NGOs ... not as innovators, but as contractors who are hired to deliver donors’ visions of what needs to be done.” - AWID**

said. Beyond contracts, donors also should make funds available for supporting women's rights groups' strategic, longer-term rights-based work.

## **“Watering the Leaves, Starving the Roots”**

The “private sector” approach to funding civil society is illustrative of broader trends towards “managing for results”. Funding tends to focus on projects with short-term outputs.<sup>55</sup> AVID has observed:

The core elements of a sustainable long-term struggle for transforming the institutions and structures that perpetuate both gender and other forms of discrimination and exclusion are considered too slow and difficult to measure, and receive little or no support, except from a handful of insightful and experienced donors.<sup>56</sup>

The result, as summarized in the title of AVID’s new report, is “watering the leaves, starving the roots.” That is, donors fund initiatives for women and girls, “the leaves”, but do not adequately fund the “roots”: “sustained, collective action by feminists and women’s rights activists and organizations that has been at the core of women’s rights advancements throughout history.”<sup>57</sup> For transformative changes, women’s rights organizations need support towards achieving their long-term visions and strategies.

Similarly, in Kosovo few donors offer standalone long-term, institutional or core support to organizations. Rather, they tend to allow some overhead costs, so long as costs contribute to project implementation. Many donors limit indirect costs. One explained:

It is [our] policy, particularly if cooperation lasts many years, to try not to fund indirect costs. We encourage CSOs not to have any indirect costs or fewer such costs every year. We want to ensure that our interventions become sustainable and that CSOs do not become dependent. However, we want our partners to advocate, so it’s difficult. ... There is always a risk of dependency on donor funds, but CSOs are a very

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<sup>55</sup> AVID, 2013.

<sup>56</sup> AVID, 2013, p. 10.

<sup>57</sup> AVID, 2013, p. 17.

important part of society. Donors should consider how to engage them.

Restricted funding seldom allows for core costs or flexible funding on which women's rights organizations rely for undertaking strategic initiatives. In 2010, only 18% of women's organizations reported

**“Donors do not pay wages anymore, only for activities.” - CSO**

receiving core support, which accounted for 24% of their total income, on average. However, 76% of organizations never have received core support.<sup>58</sup>

Some donors expressed concern that decreases in their own core funding may impact their future work in Kosovo. They noted the “difficult to quantify” costs for personnel and operations. Ironically, women's organizations face similar challenges in justifying their personnel and operational costs. Perhaps opportunities exist here for identifying joint resource mobilization strategies.

While a few donors said they would consider providing core support to women's organizations in

**“If CSOs are more transparent with how they use funds, donors may be willing to offer core support.” - Donor**

the future, others said that their policies make it unlikely: “[Our] support will always be project-based due to [our] procurement policies. If there is a good project, [we] may provide support, but for projects and not core support.” Donors willing to consider providing core support said they would need greater transparency from organizations, sufficient resources to provide such funding, and/or their partners would need to prioritize funding for core costs. Women's organizations need to “make the case” for core support, a donor said. They need to approach donors and make their voices heard regarding their priorities and needs.

A couple donors said they do not have sufficient internal human resources for offering core support, particularly for smaller

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<sup>58</sup> In comparison, in AWID's global 2012 study, 48% of organizations had never received core funding (p. 123).

organizations. They would need to contract or partner with another organization capable of providing sub-grants.

In order to address human resource challenges faced by donors and to reach grassroots groups that do not have access to other funds, KWN created the Kosovo Women's Fund, which pairs micro-grants with intensive training and mentoring for smaller organizations. The fund supports often marginalized women's groups in realizing their strategic priorities while providing them with concrete skills that they can use to secure additional funds in the future. "The Kosovo Women's Fund gives grassroots organizations the possibility to be more active and to focus on issues that are important for women," a beneficiary organization commented. The Fund has shown promising initial results both in terms of grassroots advocacy and enhanced organizational capacities. The Swedish International Development Agency through Kvinna till Kvinna supported the Fund, which later received additional support from the Austrian Development Agency (ADA). The Fund has enabled ADA to support grassroots groups that it would not otherwise have the human resources to fund. The Kosovo Women's Fund provides a potential solution for other donors that want to support rural and marginalized groups (both financially and in building their capacities) without the paperwork that accompanies managing a multitude of micro-projects.

**"Donors should support the network more, as an umbrella of women's rights organizations, so that women's organizations can be more empowered." - CSO**

Closely related, multi-year contracts can enable organizations to implement strategies towards a long-term vision. Donors that have

**"Financing for organizations' strategies should be for a minimum of three years. Donors except the EU do not provide financing for more than one year, and we are unable to implement fully our strategy." - CSO**

offered consistent support to the same organizations for several years said that they can see a difference in the strength of these organizations' systems, fundraising, and capacities.

For them, long-term support clearly makes a difference in strengthening the women's movement in Kosovo and furthering social change.

In conclusion, given Kosovo's current context and the aforementioned trends challenging the existence of women's rights organizations, spaces need to be created for proactively discussing these issues and potential solutions. Women's rights organizations need to raise donors' awareness about the important role women's organizations play in addressing the root causes of gender inequalities. Donors and women's rights organizations can discuss together possible solutions to issues including the inadequacies of current short-term monitoring and evaluation indicators in measuring long-term shifts in gender norms; means for a long-term financing; and possibilities for core support that will enable rights-based organizations to continue contributing to transformative changes towards gender equality and women's rights.

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## Annexes

### Annex 1. Excerpt of Forward from AWID

*By Lydia Alpízar in AWID, 2013*

Key to understanding AWID's analysis and recommendations in all these reports are the core assumptions and beliefs we hold, not only about the link between women's rights and resources, but also about what constitutes and produces the conditions for advancing women's rights and gender equality. These are founded in the insights and lessons that have emerged from the dedicated and innovative work of women's rights activists and movements over the past half a century worldwide. These are not rigid, immutable positions or uniform, universal prescriptions – as an international organization, with institutional and individual members from over 150 countries, we are particularly aware that the dynamics and manifestations of gender inequality, and its intersection with a range of other power structures (based on identities, economic power, location, and historical factors), are highly contextual. Following are the eight core propositions that inform the analysis and framing of this series of research reports:

**Our first proposition** is that gender power structures – and substructures – are best transformed through interventions in four key domains:

- i. The internalized beliefs and attitudes of both men and women – what feminists call “consciousness” – where socialization processes from earliest childhood give women and men certain beliefs about their role in society, their power – or powerlessness - as well as their rights, privileges, and responsibilities.
- ii. The social and cultural norms that uphold and “normalize” gendered differences in access to resources, power, privilege, opportunities, and responsibilities. These norms are taught



overtly in institutions like the family, clan, or tribe, or by religion, but more subtly reinforced in the school, workplace, or other spaces where the formal rules may in fact advocate gender equality, but the informal practices reinforce gender differences.

- iii. The formal laws, policies, structures and resource allocations that come through governments, law enforcement machinery, and regional and global multilateral institutions, where gender biases are often subtly embedded, or again, practiced informally.
- iv. Access to material and knowledge resources, as well as to rights and opportunities – this includes not only resources like land or employment or credit, but also education, health care, inheritance rights, training opportunities, the right to be in spaces where development agendas and budgets are shaped, and so forth.

We do not believe that women's position in society will change by simply acting in one domain - increasing their formal rights under law, or increasing their access to resources or income, or by changing social norms while internalized beliefs and formal laws and policies remain unchanged. Interventions towards gender equality and women's rights must somehow address all these domains of gender power.

**Our second proposition** is that deep, sustainable change for women's rights requires women's collective action and power. "Supply" driven approaches, such as empowering individual women with jobs, education, loans, or access to political office cannot achieve systemic, multi-domain change, though it might improve individual women's quality of life or voice in public affairs. Sustainable change in gender power can only be achieved by "demand" driven approaches, by mobilizing women, building their awareness of their strength and the possibility of change, and mobilizing their collective power to lead and act together for their vision of a more just social order. In other words, we believe – and indeed, have witnessed - that by building movements of women, with a strong consciousness of the roots of

inequality, of social and gender power structures and the mechanisms that sustain and reproduce them, they will work together to seek a wider, deeper, and more sustainable social transformation. This is, in essence, what we mean when we use the term “women’s rights organizing” or the “women’s rights approach”, to distinguish it from the instrumental, ‘supply’-driven, approaches.

**Our third proposition** is that truly transformative change in women’s lives will result in giving them access to the full body of human rights as enshrined in internationally agreed human rights instruments and agreements. We do not believe that access to one set of rights – such as economic equality – will guarantee or necessarily lead to increased access to other rights. We seek a world where the full complement of rights – civil and political, economic, social and cultural - will become lived and experienced realities, not distant norms or inaccessible ideals. This is our vision of the ultimate goal of building women’s collective power, and of the better world that can emerge as a result of supporting women’s rights organizing.

**Our fourth proposition** is that women’s rights and gender equality cannot be left to or brought about by market forces – indeed, there is no evidence that they can, even in countries where neoliberal policies have been in place for decades, and women have become both a major part of the formal workforce or a major segment of the market. Ensuring women’s rights and advancing gender equality must therefore continue to be a priority concern and commitment of state actors, and of multilateral bodies at the international level. States exist because of their citizens, and the protection of the rights of citizens is a primary responsibility of the state. When half their citizenry are, by and large, denied equality in social, economic and political life, or continue to be targets of gender-based violence, states are the primary duty-bearers for the protection of women’s rights and prosecuting those who deny or violate their rights. As such, state and multilateral institutions must continue to be key targets of our advocacy, and will be held to account for their record on protecting and advancing the rights of their women citizens.

**Our fifth proposition** is that even if states and multilateral actors carry primary responsibility for the protection and promotion of women's rights and gender equality, the role of newer actors in development – especially the private sector – is shaping and influencing women's access to their rights, or the violation of these rights, in very important ways that cannot be ignored. We therefore believe that engagement with these new actors by women's rights organizations and movements is an essential strategy, but in a critical, considered way, that does not result in either cooption or uninformed opposition. We need to educate ourselves about the new realities and range of actors involved in development processes, especially those that deeply affect women, analyze the gendered impacts of these, and take informed positions that include critical engagement to influence these processes in ways that could advance our longer-term agenda.

**Our sixth proposition** is that the fruits of transformative change cannot be taken for granted, but must be defended, preserved, and sustained. Experience shows that even women's rights victories that were won decades ago are under fresh threat of reversal – such as reproductive choice, access to basic education, freedom of movement. Backlash against women's advances have emerged not only from traditionalists but from new sources like criminal networks and terrorists distorting religion. Women's rights organizing and strong women's movements are an essential bulwark against these forces, and are often the only force fighting to protect past gains.

**Our seventh proposition** is that these kinds of collective change processes for long-term social transformation in favor of gender equality cannot be built without resources, and hence our deep concern with the availability of resources for women's rights organizing and movement building. We recognize that many of the most successful women's movements in the world are largely self-resourced and financially autonomous – but the organizations that helped build these movements are not! They have all been supported by farsighted donors, governments, and philanthropists, and allowed to find the best pathways to change. Supporting such

initiatives, in a world where wealth is being increasingly concentrated, and income disparities are increasing, is a broader social responsibility and an ethical imperative. We therefore believe that all those who proclaim their concern with advancing a more just, equitable and sustainable world, and particularly those who are currently advocating “investing in women and girls”, have a responsibility to resource women’s rights organizing in appropriate ways and with serious money. They have a responsibility to invest in women’s rights organizing. We challenge the myth that this approach doesn’t deserve serious financial support because it is too slow – if we consider that patriarchy and its institutions are at least ten thousand years old, then the kind of changes that women’s rights organizations and movements create in a matter of five or ten years must be seen as occurring at lightning speed!

**Our eighth and final proposition** is that mobilizing more resources for women’s rights organizing and the longer-term struggle for gender equality is a collective responsibility. It should not be entirely up to women’s rights organizations and movements, or other social justice movements, to convince others to invest in and support their work. It is also the responsibility of states, of the private sector, and of other actors from the donor community who wish to advance human rights and social justice, to learn what works best in creating sustainable results, and invest not only in the quick-return projects, but in the more difficult but transformative work on the roots of injustice. We believe that the current distortions in access to resources for women’s rights groups is not the result of willful neglect, prejudice or discrimination, but a lack of information and understanding of the issues at stake. We believe it is our role to help fill this gap, which is what this report and its sister publications hope to do. We believe it is our responsibility to help catalyze more informed conversations between all the concerned actors, and we hope that publications such as this will help us all move forward in that direction.

## **Annex 2. Donors with Funds for Women's NGOs**

This annex is meant to serve as a resource for women's organizations in Kosovo. It includes all known funding available to women's organizations, listed in alphabetical order. Several donors, including UN agencies, periodically provide grants or contracts to women's organizations as part of their ongoing programs. At present, however, no such funds are earmarked for women's organizations, so their programs are not presented here.

### **Association for Women's Rights in Development (AWID)**

AWID is an international, feminist, membership organization committed to achieving gender equality, sustainable development, and women's human rights. AWID gives seed grants to women rights organizations. For more information, visit: <http://www.awid.org/>.

### **Austrian Development Agency (ADA)**

In addition to funding KWN's Kosovo Women's Fund, which will have three grant rounds for women's organizations in 2014 (see [www.womensnetwork.org](http://www.womensnetwork.org) for more information), ADA also has a small grants facility, which provides up to €10,000 per project. For details about the program, contact ADA.

### **Balkan Trust for Democracy (BTD)**

BTD has supported democracy, good governance, and Euro-Atlantic integration in South East Europe since 2003. For more information, visit: <http://www.gmfus.org/grants-fellowships/grantmaking-programs/balkan-trust-for-democracy/>.

### **British Embassy**

The British Embassy in Kosovo works in areas such the rule of law, human rights, economic development, security, regional cooperation and securing increased recognition of Kosovo internationally. For information, see: <https://www.gov.uk/government/world/kosovo>.

### **Cfd The Feminist Peace Organization**

Cfd is a feminist peace organization that is active in international cooperation, migration politics, and promoting peace. Cfd regularly partners with the same women's organizations in Kosovo and plans to continue funding these organizations in the future. Cfd may work with additional partners someday, pending additional funding.

### **Danish Refugee Council (DRC)**

DRC works towards creating a sustainable and durable returns process to Kosovo. In assisting with returns, DRC supports literacy classes for Roma, Ashkali, and Egyptian women and youth. For more information, visit: <http://drc-kosovo.org/>.

### **European Commission**

The European Commission holds open competitions to which CSOs can apply, primarily through its European Instrument for Democracy and Human Rights (EIDHR), but also periodically via other instruments (e.g., IPA). EIDHR seeks to “work with, for and through civil society organizations” toward enhancing respect for human rights, strengthening the role of civil society and promoting human rights and democratic reform.<sup>59</sup> Calls for applications come out several times per year. For more information, visit: [http://eeas.europa.eu/delegations/kosovo/grants\\_tenders/grants/index\\_en.htm](http://eeas.europa.eu/delegations/kosovo/grants_tenders/grants/index_en.htm).

### **Embassy of Finland**

The Embassy periodically has calls for proposals from CSOs, including women's organizations. When available, announcements tend to be made at: [www.finlandkosovo.org](http://www.finlandkosovo.org).

### **Embassy of Norway**

The Embassy of Norway's Small-Pot Fund provides funds focusing on youth, employment opportunities, strengthening democratic practices, and promoting social inclusiveness. For more information,

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<sup>59</sup> For more information, visit: [http://ec.europa.eu/europeaid/how/finance/eidhr\\_en.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/europeaid/how/finance/eidhr_en.htm).

visit: <http://www.norway-kosovo.no/Embassy/Development-Cooperation/The-Embassy-Fund/About-the-Embassy-Fund/>.

### **Embassy of the Kingdom of the Netherlands**

The Embassy has a small fund for organizations' projects that last up to 12 months. Projects should relate to legislation, law, good governance, human rights (particularly minority and women's rights) and free, independent media. For more information, visit: <http://kosovo.nlembassy.org/services/development-co-operation/development-co-operation.html>.

### **Global Fund for Women (GFW)**

GFW offers grants on a rolling basis, typically up to a maximum of \$14,000. Most grants are single year and can cover operational costs. Organizations can apply online. GFW tends to support organizations that it has supported before, but may support new organizations if their proposals are promising in terms of impact.

### **Kosovo Civil Society Foundation (KCSF)**

KCSF has the mission to strengthen civil initiatives by providing support through information, services, and trainings to CSOs. KCSF has managed the Democratic Society Promotion (DSP) project, financed by the Swiss Cooperation Office in Kosovo (SCO-K), which sought to support the development of democratic society in Kosovo. More information about grants is available here: <http://www.kcsfoundation.org/dsp/?page=2,1>.

### **Kosovo Fund for Open Society (KFOS)**

KFOS is a local NGO and part of the international network of philanthropic foundations financed by George Soros. The Foundation works with government and civil society to strengthen capacities, improve implementation of existing policies, and develop new strategic directions. KFOS gives small grants to CSOs. For more information, visit: [www.kfos.org](http://www.kfos.org).

### **KWN Kosovo Women's Fund**

Presently funded by KtK and ADA, the KWN Kosovo Women's Fund provides grants up to €3,000, lasting up to six months or a year, which are coupled with tailored capacity development support. Applicants must be KWN members and meet the criteria, available here: <http://www.womensnetwork.org/?FaqlD=33>.

### **Mama Cash**

Mama Cash was the first international women's fund in the world. They fund and support women's rights initiatives around the globe that challenge the root causes of injustice. For more information, visit: [www.mamacash.org](http://www.mamacash.org).

### **Mott Foundation**

The Charles Stewart Mott Foundation provides grants following an application process. For more information, visit: [www.mott.org](http://www.mott.org).

### **Olaf Palme Centre**

The Centre works in the spirit of Olaf Palme for democracy, human rights, and peace. The Olaf Palme Centre in Kosovo does not have open calls for CSOs, but organizations may be able to approach them in order to cooperate on joint initiatives. For more information visit: <http://www.palmecenter.org/>.

### **Rockefeller Brother Fund (RBF)**

Founded in 1940, RBF advances social change that contributes to a more just, sustainable, and peaceful world. RBF's grant-making has three themes: Democratic Practice, Peace-building, and Sustainable Development. For more information about grant opportunities, visit: <http://www.rbf.org/>.

### **Swedish International Development Agency & Kvinna till Kvinna**

The Swedish International Development Agency (Sida) has provided funding to women's organizations in Kosovo through the Kvinna till Kvinna (KtK) Foundation (<http://kvinnatillkvinna.se/en/>) for several years. This support will continue through 2015, including support for the KWN Kosovo Women's Fund, which plans to provide at least



one round of grants to women's organizations with Sida/KtK funding in 2014. KtK will be phasing out of Kosovo in 2015. Sida plans to continue providing some form of support to women's organizations after 2015. Sida is in the process of creating its strategy, which will identify through which means such support will be provided.

### **Swiss International Cooperation**

The Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation (SDC) has a Small Action Credit Line through which it supports CSO initiatives up to €12,000, lasting up to a maximum of 12 months. Projects must assist vulnerable groups. More information is at: [http://www.swiss-cooperation.admin.ch/kosovo/en/Home/Small\\_Actions\\_Credit\\_Line](http://www.swiss-cooperation.admin.ch/kosovo/en/Home/Small_Actions_Credit_Line).

### **UN Women**

UN Women offers funding opportunities to women's organizations, pending available funding.

### **Urgent Action Fund (UAF)**

UAF works on the promotion and protection of Women's Human Rights through rapid response grant making, research, publications, advocacy, and alliance building. Women's organizations in Kosovo can apply to the United States office with urgent and/or emergency initiatives. For more information, see: [www.urgentactionfund.org](http://www.urgentactionfund.org).

### **U.S. Embassy**

The U.S. Embassy in Kosovo has a Democracy Commission Small Grants Program open to CSOs through periodic calls for applications. Information about calls is available here: <http://www.womensnetwork.org/?FaqID=33>.

### **Annex 3. Research Method**

The research involved the following methods and analysis.

**Survey of Women's Organizations:** KWN and AH surveyed 90 women's organizations in Kosovo, of the estimated 103 that existed at the time of the research. Face-to-face interviews enabled the team to reach groups that would not be able or willing to complete the survey online. It also furthered reliability by ensuring surveys were completed as fully and accurately as possible. The survey data was entered into SPSS and Excel databases, cleaned and analysed by the research team. Qualitative data was coded.

**Interviews with Donors:** The research team interviewed and/or corresponded via email with 40 donors in Kosovo or that had previously worked in Kosovo. Interviewing governmental bodies and businesses providing resources towards gender equality and women's rights was beyond the focus of this research, though a few key governmental bodies known to provide extensive financial support to women's organizations were interviewed. The research team coded and analysed the information gleaned from interviews.

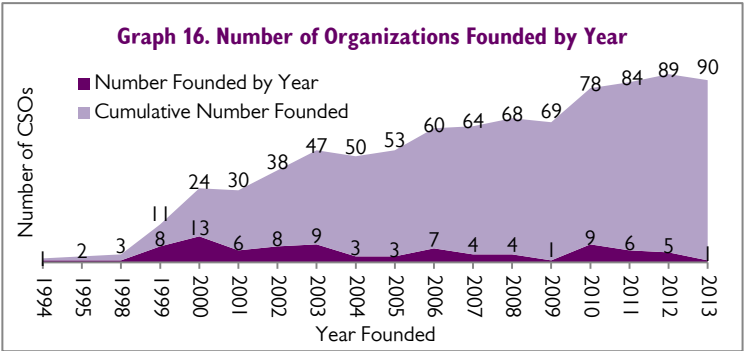
**Desk Research:** The team examined organizations' audits and annual reports, where available; donors' websites and reports; various online resources; and other relevant newspapers, government records, academic articles, journals, and books.

**Limitations:** The greatest limitation was the short period of time for conducting this research. Refusals by a few donors and organizations to participate, often for "confidentiality" reasons, combined with difficulties locating prior donors led to "holes" in the data, under-representing total funding to the sector. Of the financial information received, some reported by donors and CSOs did not correspond. The research team tried to resolve inaccuracies through additional research. Despite these limitations the research lends important, new findings.

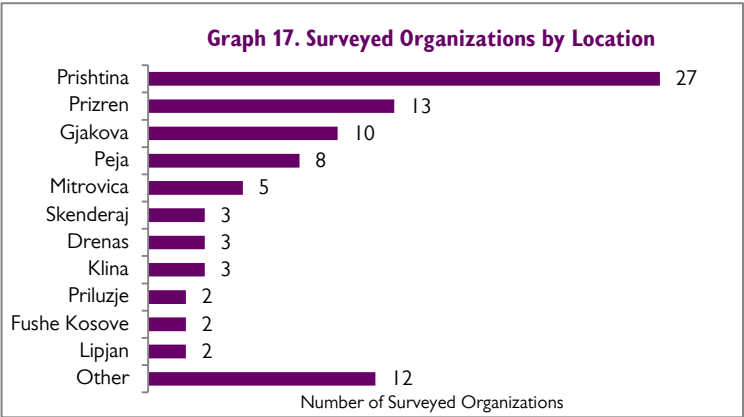
**Validity:** The research team sought to further validity through triangulation of methods, data sources, and researchers, painting the most holistic picture possible in response to the research questions. Participant checks offered a further check on the validity of findings.

**Annex 4. About the Organizations Surveyed**

The research team surveyed 90 of the 103 women’s organizations known to exist in Kosovo at the time of this research. Among the respondents, the oldest organization was founded in 1994 and the youngest in 2013 (see Graph 16). The dark area shows the number of new organizations established each year, with the most created in 2000.

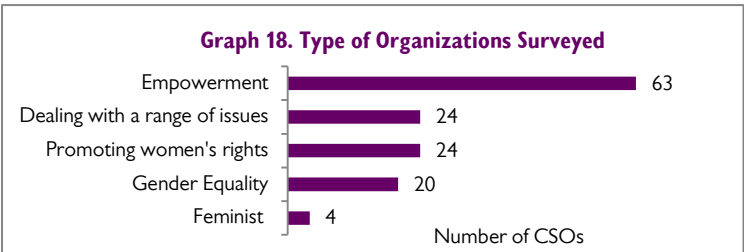


The sample included CSOs from diverse geographic locations, representing the population of women’s organizations in Kosovo (see Graph 17); 83% are urban and 17% rural. In terms of geographic focus, 36% said they focus *primarily* on the local level, 62% on the national level, and 2% internationally. Several work at various levels.

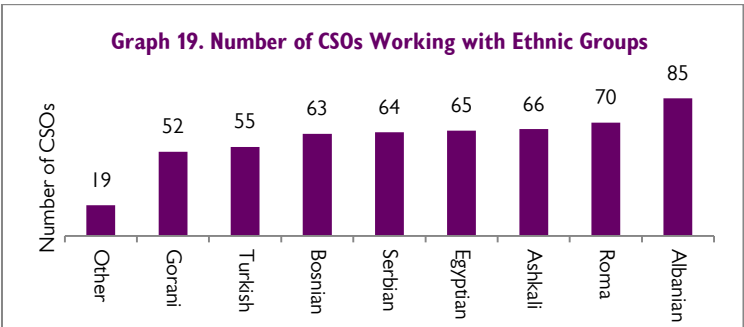


**Organization Type and Focus**

Most respondents consider themselves women’s empowerment organizations (70%).<sup>60</sup> As Graph 18 illustrates, fewer organizations focus on promoting women’s rights (27%) and/or gender equality (22%). Only four percent identify as feminist. More than one-fourth deal with a range of issues that do not necessarily relate to women’s rights, gender equality, and/or empowerment.



Most organizations work with multiple ethnic groups in Kosovo (see Graph 19). In total, respondents claim 15,028 members, averaging 169 members per organization.



<sup>60</sup> Respondents could select all categories relevant to their organization. Therefore, the percentages do not sum to 100% as some organizations identified with multiple areas.

## **Annex 5. List of Women's Organizations Surveyed**

1. Alma
2. Alter Habitus
3. Artpolis
4. Asociacioni i Grave të Mitrovicës (Association of Mitrovica Women)
5. Centar Za Ekonomski Razvoj Zena U Sterpci (Centre for Economical and Women Empowerment in Shterpce)
6. Dera e Hapur (Open Door)
7. Diakonie Kosova
8. Dora e Ngrohtë (Warm Hand)
9. Down Syndrome Kosova (Sindromi Down Kosova)
10. Duart e Dardanës (Dardana's Hands)
11. Emina Grupi i Grave Boshnjake (Emina Group of Bosnian Women)
12. Familja dhe Shpresa (Hope and Family)
13. Fatjona
14. Femra për Femra me Aftësi të Kufizuara (Women for Women with Disabilities)
15. Femrat Aktive të Gjakovës (Active Women of Gjakova)
16. Femra Vizionare e Shekullit XXI (Visionary Women of XXI Century)
17. Foleja (Nest)
18. Fondacioni për Edukim dhe Zhvillim (Foundation for Education and Development)
19. Fortesa
20. Forumi Demokratik i Gruas (Democratic Women's Forum)
21. Gruaja Bashkohore (Contemporary Woman)
22. Gruaja Hyjnore (Divine Woman)
23. HANDIKOS Femrat me Aftësi të Kufizuara (Women with Special Needs)
24. Hanemeli
25. Hendifer
26. Indira
27. Iniciativa 6
28. Iniciativa për Zhvillimin e Bujqësisë së Kosovës (Initiative for Kosovo Agricultural Development)
29. Jeta / Vita
30. Jeta Ime (My Life)
31. Kelmendi
32. Klubi i Basketit me Karroca Marsi (Basketball Club with Wheelchairs "March")
33. Komiteti i Grave Të Verbëra (Committee of Blind Women of Kosova)
34. Kori i Grave Lira (Women's Choir Lira)

35. Krusha e Vogël Women Farmers Association
36. Legjenda (Legend)
37. Lepsa Buducnost (Better Future)
38. Lidhja e Invalidëve, Viktimave Civile dhe Femrat e Dhunuara Drenas  
(Association of Civilian Invalids and Victims of the Kosovo War - Drenas)
39. Lidhja e Invalidëve, Viktimave Civile dhe Femrat e Dhunuara Fushë  
Kosovë (Association of Civilian Invalids and Victims of the Kosovo War –  
Fushe Kosovo)
40. Lulebora
41. Lulishtja (Garden of Flowers)
42. Luna
43. Medika BL
44. Medika Gjakova
45. Medika Kosova
46. Mundësia (Opportunity)
47. Nderi (Honour)
48. Ne Jemi Pjesë e Botës (We Are Part of the World)
49. NGO Arta
50. NGO Bliri
51. NGO Diana
52. NGO Fana
53. NGO Kalabria
54. Okarina e Runikut (Ocarina of Runik)
55. One to One Kosova
56. Organizata për Persona me Distrofi Muskulare (Organisation for People  
with Muscular Dystrophy)
57. Parajsa Jonë (Our Heaven)
58. Prehja (Rest)
59. Qendra e Gruas Ato (Women's Centre Ato)
60. Qendra MVPT (Centre for Protecting Victims, Preventing Trafficking)
61. Qendra Kosovare për Rehabilitimin e të Mbijetuarve të Torturës (Kosova  
Rehabilitation Centre for Torture Victims)
62. Qendra Kosovare për Studime Gjinore (Kosovo Gender Studies Centre)
63. Qendra për Ardhmëri të Sigurtë (Centre for Safe Future)
64. Qendra Për Këshillim dhe Përkrahje të Femrës (Centre for Counselling  
and Women's Support)
65. Qendra për Mirëqenien e Gruas (Women's Wellness Centre)
66. Qendra për Promovimin e të Drejtave të Grave (Centre for the  
Promotion of Women's Rights)
67. Qendra për Strehimin e Grave dhe Fëmijëve (Centre for Sheltering  
Women and Children)

68. Qendra për Trajime dhe Studime Gjimore (Gender Training and Research Centre)
69. Rikotta
70. Rona
71. Rrjeti i Organizatave të Grave RAE të Kosovës (Network of Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian Women's Organizations of Kosovo)
72. Rrjeti i Grupeve të Grave të Kosovës (Kosova Women's Network)
73. Ruka Ruci (Hand to Hand)
74. Shoqata e Grave Drita e Krushës (Women's Association Light of Krusha)
75. Shoqata e Grave Gora (Women's Association Gora)
76. Shoqata e Juristeve Norma (Norma Lawyers' Association)
77. Shoqata Afariste e Gruas (Women's Business Association)
78. Shoqata e Grave Begatia (Women's Association Begatia)
79. Shoqata e të Shurdhërve Prizren (Association of the Deaf)
80. Shoqata Iniciativa e Grave (Women's Initiative Association)
81. Shoqata Ndërkombëtare e të Verbërve (International Association of the Blind)
82. Shoqata për Edukim dhe Përkujdesjen e Familjes (Association For Family Education and Care)
83. Shpresa dhe Shtëpitë e Fëmijve (Hope and Homes for Children)
84. Shtëpia e Sigurtë (Safe House)
85. Top Radio
86. Venera
87. Violete
88. Vita-Jeta
89. Women for Women
90. Zana

*KWN also received financial information from Aureola, though the entire survey could not be completed.*



## **Annex 6. List of Donors Consulted**

1. Amica
2. Austrian Development Agency
3. British Embassy
4. Caritas Kosovo
5. Cfd The Feminist Peace Organisation
6. Danish Refugee Council
7. East-West Management Institute
8. Embassy of Austria
9. Embassy of Finland
10. Embassy of France
11. Embassy of Norway
12. Embassy of the Kingdom of the Netherlands
13. Embassy of Switzerland
14. European Union Office in Kosovo
15. Global Fund for Women
16. Helvetas Swiss Inter-cooperation
17. International Organization for Migration
18. Kosovo Civil Society Foundation
19. Kosovo Foundation for Open Society
20. Kvinna till Kvinna
21. Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare (MLSW)
22. Olaf Palme
23. Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe
24. Rockefeller Brothers Fund
25. Swiss Cooperation Office
26. Swedish International Development Agency
27. Soros Foundations (previously Open Society Institute)
28. UN Women
29. United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF)
30. United Nations Development Program (UNDP)
31. United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO)
32. United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR)
33. United Nations Kosovo Team Gender-Based Violence Programme
34. United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA)
35. United States Agency for International Development (USAID)
36. United States Department of Justice Overseas Prosecutorial Development, Assistance and Training
37. United States Embassy
38. Weltegebetstag (WGT)
39. World Bank
40. World Vision



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